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The Modern Review

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पुस्तकालय

विषय संख्या
पुस्तक संख्या
आगत पंजिका संख्या

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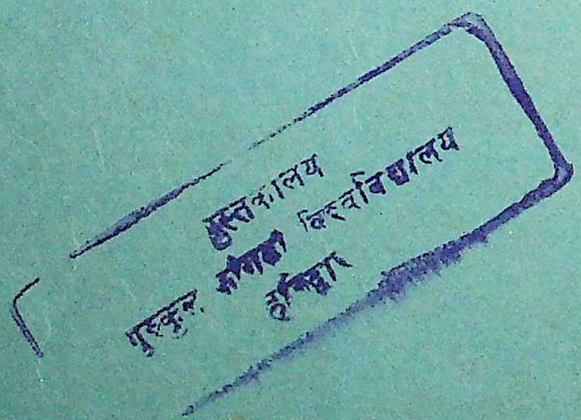

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THE MODERN REVIEW

EDITED BY
RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

January, 1934

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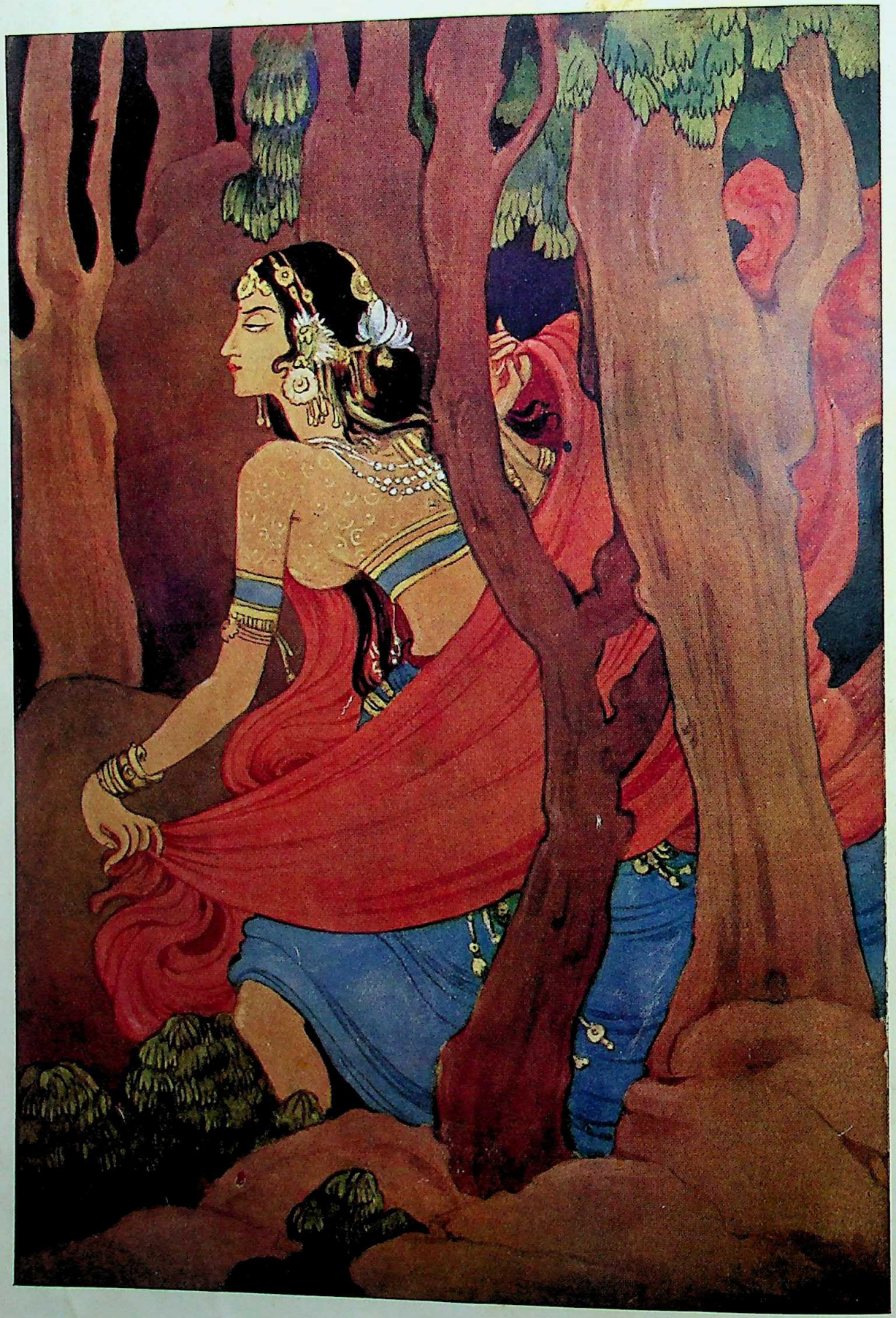

TO THE TRYST

By Ramgopal Vijayavargiya

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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LALA LAJPAT RĀI

I. Early Impressions

BY ST. NIHAL SINGH

I

SIX years ago, on November 17th, Lala Lajpat Rai was flung from his earthly activities into the mysterious beyond.

Even now the tragedy of his passing overwhelms me. But a short time earlier I, then residing in Colombo, had received a hastily written note apologizing for not having fulfilled his promise to pay Mrs. St. Nihal Singh and me a visit and pledging his word that he would make amends as soon as he could.

A few years stood between him and me. His intellectual and spiritual outlook, at least in the beginning, differed from mine.

These differences kept us apart for a considerable time. But for them we might have known each other some twelve or fifteen years longer than we actually did. Of this matter I shall speak a little later.

Once we had met face to face, however, we took to each other instantly. As time went on our intimacy increased. He did not hesitate to ask me for introductions when he sailed across the Atlantic to the United States of America, then to him a strange land filled with people of whom he knew little. Several years later, when he started the *Bande Mataram*, an Urdu daily in Lahore, he prevailed upon me, busy almost to the shrieking point, to become its London correspondent. When I visited India I went to the jail in the city of his adoption to hold converse with him. After he had turned Swarajist, he visited England and learning that I had been pressed to accept the editorship of a daily newspaper in Colombo, chided me, as if I were a mere lad, for deserting my motherland; and secured my promise that I would train one or more of his young men in the art and practice of journalism.

During these years of intimacy we saw each other frequently whenever we happened to be in the same city—usually London, where such a large slice of my life has been spent. When land and sea separated us we exchanged thoughts by letter—he a far better correspondent than I.

Perhaps because he was an exile, more often than not through necessity rather than choice, he opened his heart to me, a voluntary exile through a great portion of my life. I thus came to see him from an angle somewhat different from the one from which others, associated with him in one undertaking or another, viewed him.

To know him was to love him. Few men I have known have been more lovable or more loving than he. Never was a more genuine patriot borne by Mother India.

II

Lalaji—as I and other friends of his usually called him—had shifted his legal

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practice from the mofussal to Lahore just about the time I entered the Government College there. Soon after occurred an incident that awakened me to his presence in the capital of the Panjab. Mr. Robson, the Principal, took it into his head that all the students should wear blazers. With him, as I remember him, action followed thought with lightning speed. Without, I believe, consulting any of his colleagues, he issued an order carrying that idea into effect.

Had he discussed this matter with some of the senior students and roused their enthusiasm, a blazer might have been adopted without any dissent and might have become a symbol rousing pride among the under-graduates. Either that the thought did not strike him or he did not wish to take the trouble that such action would involve. He soon found however that the students were not putty to be moulded by him as he pleased.

Most of us did not know what a blazer was. It was necessary for us—myself included—to look up in the dictionary the meaning of the word, which we now heard for the first time. I discovered, upon consulting my lexicon, that it was a jacket, usually coloured or decorated in a distinctive fashion, worn especially for sports.

The play-grounds and hostels hummed with the word. Many of the students did not see the necessity of incurring expenditure upon a blazer. They could not understand why, when our predecessors in the college had not been asked to wear one, we should be ordered to do so.

Finding himself opposed, Principal Robson did a little propaganda work. He got hold of the students who took pride in presenting what they regarded as a "smart appearance," and used them to popularize his idea.

Then, all of a sudden, the controversy took a new turn. A small group of students announced that they had been talking with a pleader who had pointed out to them that while the colour of the blazer and the way it was cut and decorated, might be an important issue, nothing had been said of the cloth of which it was to be made. Was it to be of Indian manufacture and would the money for it remain in India to benefit the traders and workers of our country? Or was it to be imported from abroad and the money be drained away to add to the wealth of foreigners?

The pleader who had given this new turn to the blazer controversy was Lala Lajpat Rai. I had not heard of him before. He stood, at that time, at the foot of the ladder that was to enable him to climb to dizzy heights of fame.

III

I was urged by some of the older students who cherished a friendly feeling for me to accompany them to Lalaji's house. I would no doubt have done so but for another incident that occurred about the same time and prejudiced me against Arya Samajists.

A little explanation is necessary to enable the reader to understand the inwardness of this occurrence. Sikhism, as evolved by the ten Gurus, made no differentiation in respect of caste or sex. Such differentiation however asserted itself some decades after the demise of Guru Govind Singh—the last of the founders of the faith. Even "untouchability" crept in and certain groups among the Sikhs were treated as depressed classes and were known as *maxbi* Sikhs, etc.

Some Arya Samajists brought a number of Sikhs to Lahore and "purified" them in front of the sacrificial fire. Choudhri Ram Bhai Dutt* delivered a highly emotional speech that ended on the note: "now the tonsure ceremony begins."

Immediately the *maxbi* Sikhs took off their turbans and were shorn by barbers of their long hair and beards.

No love had been lost between the Sikhs and the Arya Samajists even before this incident took place. The tonsure ceremony added to the bitterness of feeling. It was taken by the Sikhs as an affront deliberately offered to them. It helped them however to see that between the theory and practice of

* Better known as Ram Bhuj Dutt Choudhri. He altered his name about the time he married Sarala Devi Ghosal, a niece of the Poet Tagore, as Dutt, though in the Panjab a Brahman caste, was not regarded as such in Bengal. I met him shortly afterwards and our friendship lasted until death claimed him. He told me in 1910, when I reminded him of this episode, that the "tonsure business" was a great mistake.

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Sikhism there was a wide gulf; and led to a crusade against "untouchability."

I did not take the trouble to find out whether Lala Lajpat Rai had anything to do with this "affront" or not. Even had I been assured that he had not, it would have mattered little. I was soured against the whole tribe. The aversion I felt was not for a particular person or group of persons, but was of a generic character.

How foolish the attitude I then assumed was appears to me nearly thirty-five years later! But warm, red blood coursed through my veins when I was an under-graduate at the Lahore Government College and blinded me to the realities of life.

IV

It was easy enough for me to turn my back upon the opportunity to make Lalaji's acquaintance, but I could not become oblivious of his activities. They obtruded themselves upon my attention at every turn, through conversation, newspaper reports and (soon afterwards) leaflets and books.

Polemics seemed to be the very breath of his nostrils in those days. He appeared to be ever on the look-out for contention and if he discovered none did not hesitate to create one. As I told him years later, he reminded me of the Irishman who, happened to see two men going at each other with their fists, inquired eagerly: "Is this a private fight, or can any one join in it?"

No young man can remain indifferent, for any length of time, to a challenging personality like Lalaji's. I at least did not.

One of the earliest controversies in which he engaged interested me greatly, as soon as one of his admirers told me about it. The attitude of a section of our Muslim countrymen towards the Indian National Congress enraged Lalaji, who, almost from the very beginning, had been attracted by that movement.

He felt that they were doing a great disservice to their own co-religionists as well as to their fellow-nationals professing other creeds.

Instead of laying the blame upon the shoulders of the officials, he attacked the leader of this section of Muslims—Mr. (afterwards Sir) Syed Ahmed Khan. In hot haste he indited a pamphlet in Urdu in which he joined issue with the instigator of the separationist move, as he called it. The fire he put into the language he employed set youthful hearts aflame.

A copy of the pamphlet did not fall into my hands. I therefore set down here only what I remember of it as it was related to me at the time.

I distinctly recollect that it must have made as many enemies for him as friends—perhaps more enemies than friends. The Muslim separationists, whose number unfortunately grew rapidly, never forgave him for his attack upon their adored leader. They certainly never forgot it. Again and again in later life this matter bobbed up in the Indian Muslim mind and even many followers of the Prophet professedly nationalists in outlook and aspiration did not believe that Lajpat Rai could rise superior to credal and caste consciousness.

V

Had he not been so completely identified with the Arya Samaj—or rather with one section of it, as I shall presently mention—I have little doubt that his burning patriotism would have branded itself upon the minds of his—and my—generation. But for that fact we should have realized that he was much more than a staunch and active member of a protestant Hindu sect—a man who thought in terms of the people in general and of the country as a whole and not merely of the province upon whose strong breast he had been nurtured. His Arya Samaj work overshadowed everything else in his life in those days. Such indeed is the impression that I have carried all these years.

Before he had shifted his legal practice to Lahore he had fallen in love with the doctrines preached by the Maharishi Dayanand Sarasvati. The pristine purity of the Vedic times that that great teacher wished to revive appealed to his heart as nothing else had done.

Belief was no dead letter to him. It was an impelling force. It made him an enthusiast in the propagandist cause. He joined issue with Hindus of the old type who believed that caste was born with a man and died with him. True to the teachings of the Maharishi, he

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held that caste was not in reality regulated by birth but by a person's *guna, karma* and *swabhava*. He also believed that image worship represented a decadent phase of Hindu thought. He inveighed against it in terms that lacerated the feelings of the Sanatanists.

His mind was not however of a negative kind. Destruction, as such, did not appeal to him. He demolished what he considered to be a mean building so that he might raise a magnificent structure in place of it.

VI

The work of rebuilding the nation, he then thought (as I afterwards heard from his own lips) could best be done through education. His concept of education was however materially different from that entertained by many of his contemporaries. He believed in a type of education that would free the mind from servility of every description, including subjection to Europe, which then held the Panjabi—indeed the Indian—mind in subjection.

He therefore gave all the time and energy he could spare from his professional work to the promotion of education—especially higher education—through private effort untrammelled, as far as possible, by official control. He went about the Panjab and the neighbouring provinces raising funds for the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College that had been started not long before he came to Lahore.

Lalaji possessed a constitution of iron. It was nothing for him to visit four or five towns during the week-end and address one or more meetings at each place. He devoted the long vacations during which the Chief Court was closed to propaganda work in behalf of the "D. A. V." College, going from station to station, delivering addresses and collecting donations.

He possessed a silver tongue. More often than not he spoke, in those days, in Urdu, over which he had gained a mastery that surprised even his worst Muslim critics. His highly emotional oratory loosened purse-strings that ordinarily were held very tight. His words were potent because he put them into practice in his own life. At an age when most men waste their substance upon the pleasures of the flesh, he adopted a simple way of living so that he could save money to be applied to meeting the expenses of the "D. A. V." College. All his savings, at this period, were handed over to the managing committee of that institution. The example of self-sacrifice set by him, Lala Hans Raj and a few other Arya Samajists had, I remember, a most powerful influence upon young men like myself who were their juniors only by a few years.

VII

Had he not neglected his professional work in favour of his public activities he undoubtedly could have risen to dizzier legal heights than he did. He had a natural aptitude for law. His retentive memory enabled him to remember even obscure provisions in the legal code and to recall, without effort, judgments handed down by the Chief Court (it had not then been raised to the status of a High Court) and the Privy Council, which would be useful to his clients. Words came to him without fumbling for them, whether he was pleading in Urdu or in English, which he studied with great assiduity. His charm of manner and magnetic personality drew hearts to him. These assets enabled him to acquire a reputation at the bar that brought many clients to him.

Less able lawyers than he rose to the Chief (now High) Court Bench at Lahore. Lajpat Rai however never hankered for that or any other job. Quite the reverse. By cultivating interests that were unpopular with the officials, and by pursuing a manly, independent course, he gave umbrage to the very persons who had high office in their gift.

Many litigants insisted upon engaging him even though they knew that the law was only a matter of bread and butter with him, in preference to obtaining the services of legal practitioners who placed private gain above public good. Nor were they wrong in making that choice. Lajpat Rai possessed honesty of purpose that made him do his utmost for any client whose case he accepted. With his power of concentration he could master a brief in a remarkably short time, quickly seize upon his adversary's weak points and adopt a line of argument that usually enabled him to win the suit.

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The law therefore yielded him a rich harvest, at least judged by the standards of those times. I remember him telling me years later that shortly after joining the bar he had saved enough money to buy a house for his mother. A little later he was able to make it possible for his father (Lala Radha Krishan)—a schoolmaster—to retire and devote himself to the study of religions and ethical literature, which had fascinated him ever since his boyhood days, when he had sat at the feet of a Muslim teacher.

The work of studying briefs and pleading before the Courts held no interest for Lalaji except as a means of livelihood. He, in time, grew to hate the profession. On more than one occasion he spoke of it as "crooked." He declared : "It not only makes men dishonest, but also turns them into cowards." I reminded him that lawyers had played a great part in every movement for freedom.

"Lawyers are too calculating," he replied, "to risk their necks for freedom. They are the greatest cowards on the face of the earth."

VIII

In view of the hatred he had for his profession, he would have done far better had he taken to banking rather than to law. He had inherited a remarkable financial genius from countless generations of forbears. He was an Agarwal *bania* by caste. Many of his near relatives were traders and money-lenders, as his and their ancestors had been. His grandfather had been a village accountant who knew no characters other than the *Mahajani* ones, yet whose book-keeping was invariably correct.

As if his professional and public work were not heavy enough for him, he seized the opportunity that the Panjab presented during the first decade of the present century for organizing banking and insurance and was singularly successful in the enterprises he launched. I had it from his own lips that personal gain did not constitute the sole or even the main motive in his starting the Panjab National Bank and the Bharat Insurance Company. He felt that improvements in the material conditions of our people could be hastened by the organization of banking and insurance.

Not until financial institutions in which the people could place reliance had been created could they be expected to bring their treasure out from the holes where they had secreted it. Nor would it be possible, until such confidence had been inspired, for joint stock concerns to take root in the Panjab soil.

Lalaji realized that the methods of banking in vogue at the time, especially in his part of India, were antiquated in the extreme. Unless they were modernized, it was useless to expect that India would ever be able to compete successfully with Britain or any other country in any walk of life. He wished above all other things for our people to be financially independent. He knew that every other kind of independence was, in the last analysis, dependent upon economic independence.

He looked upon sound banking, moreover, as the hand-maiden of modern industrial progress. His reading—remarkably wide for an Indian in those days who had never left his native shores—had amply satisfied him in that respect.

Motivated by these diverse objects, he gave a great deal of time and energy to organizing the money-power of Panjabis. In this respect, as in many other ways, he was far ahead of his time. Conservative persons looked askance at his projects. They feared that it would be risky for them to invest their money in a joint liability company. They not only personally refused to embark upon such an enterprise, but used their influence to dissuade as many other persons as they could to refrain from doing so.

These were not the only difficulties that Lajpat Rai had to encounter at this juncture. He came into conflict with another Panjabi who, unlike him, had been educated at a British University and who had abandoned a professorial career to engage in banking in the province of his birth. Rivalry between the two inevitably resulted in friction and involved much waste of time and energy. I still remember the zest with which I used to await the publication of the leaflets that both parties issued frequently while the fight between them was proceeding in the early years of this century.

IX

About this time a terrible catastrophe occurred in the Panjab. An earthquake

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wrought great havoc, particularly in the Kangra Valley. Thousands of houses were destroyed. Many villages were wiped out of existence.

The men, women and children left without shelter or means of subsistence were, if anything, worse off than their relatives and friends who had perished. Private agencies that could rush to their relief did not then exist, as they do now.

The agonized cries of these hill-folk were borne on the wings of the breeze to Lajpat Rai's ears. He arranged with friendly lawyers to look after his urgent cases and, accompanied by a party of young men who, at his command, would face any ordeal, proceeded to the distressful valley to render such succour as he could.

Men who saw him at work—some of them by no means enamoured of his Arya Samajist activities—never tired of praising the devotion with which he served these sufferers. Foreigners who had talked of Indians lacking both the instinct of humanity and the capacity for organization, were forced to revise their opinion after seeing his accomplishment in that connection.

X

The time was coming when politics would crowd professional and social activities out of his life. The work done by Mazzini (pronounced as if written "Matzini") for unifying Italy and freeing it from the Austrian grip had caught his fancy early in life. He had published a biography of that hero in Urdu that, to my knowledge, passed from hand to hand among young men of my generation. He did not however feel within him the call to devote his energies to promoting nationalism in India until after the close of the Russo-Japanese war, which I have reason to believe galvanized him.

Were Britain served in India at the time by an agent who possessed the gifts of imagination and tact, the victories scored by Asiatics over Europeans on the Manchurian battlefields and the Tsushima Straits might not have had the repercussion on Indian minds that they actually had. Lacking the ability to see beneath the surface, the Earl (afterwards the Marquis) Curzon chose the moment when a thrill of pride was running through every Asian breast, for forcing his will upon the Bengalis—then in the vanguard of Indian political progress. Instead of meekly submitting to the *fait accompli* as he no doubt thought they would do, they organized a movement that ultimately succeeded in upsetting the partition.

No one outside Bengal was more powerfully influenced by this Curzonian blunder than Lajpat Rai who had come to hate the policy of the officialization of the Universities that the Viceroy had inaugurated. That policy threatened the work to which the Panjab patriot had given the best that was in him almost ever since he came of age.

The spirit of independence that had actuated Lalaji to promote higher education untrammelled, as far as possible, by official interference and to engage in campaigns to file social fetters, led him inevitably towards the left wing of the Indian National Congress. He threw his influence into the movement for the boycott of British goods that had originated in Bengal.

There would have undoubtedly been a split in the Indian National Congress but for the skill shown by Gopal Krishna Gokhale in presiding over the session of that organization held in Benares in December, 1905. Lajpat Rai had raised the temperature in the Congress *pandal* by joing forces with Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Bepin Chandra Pal.

The details of the proceedings of that memorable assemblage reached me in China, where I was then engaged in journalism. It was apparent to me that Lajpat Rai was swayed by nationalism of an aggressive type. It was patent that he had no patience with the political sycophants who looked upon petitions and prayers as the keys that would unlock the door and set our country free.

XI

I was living in Chicago—the chief city, but not the capital, of Illinois, one of the mid-western States of the American Union,—when the news was published that Lala Lajpat Rai had been suspected of complicity in an agrarian trouble in the Panjab colonies and, with Ajit Singh (of whom I then heard for the first time) had been arrested. The telegram

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reproduced in the American newspapers with which I was connected at the time was laconic. I knew that intelligence sent out from India could not always be taken at its face value and therefore eagerly awaited the papers from Home that would contain the full report of the affair.

When I finally had the opportunity of reading these accounts however I found them hardly more satisfactory than the reports in the American papers had been. That was not the fault of the reporters and editors of the Indian publications. They could only print such information as they could get hold of. In this case no details were forthcoming. There was only the bald fact of Lalaji's arrest and deportation. Everything else was conjecture.

After racking my brains in the effort to solve the conundrum I formed the view that Lala Lajpat Rai had been arrested under an ordinance of which I had never heard and without being so much as charged, much less tried, had been locked up in Mandalay, because the officials must have regarded him as dangerous. From my student days I had known that he was not in their good books. He was not one of those Indians who took off their shoes before entering their offices—who fawned upon them—remained standing while they were seated—retreated from their presence backwards like crabs, bending half-double with salaams. He cringed before no one, however mighty.

He never minced his words. Nor did he have any patience with the slogan: "Half an inch, half an inch, half an inch onward." He was for forcing the pace of progress at a rate that, I can easily realize, must have appeared "catastrophic" to the officials who had no use for him, and even less for the Arya Samaj, with which he had been so prominently identified since his early manhood.

My faith in Mr. John (later the Viscount) Morley, who, after the victory of the Liberal Party in England, had been appointed Secretary of State for India, had already been shaken. In Canada and the United States I had come across men who had closely followed his career when he was Secretary for Ireland and they assured me that he, as an official, was quite different from the Morley who prattled pretty platitudes about Liberalism from the private benches of Parliament or enlarged upon them in essays.

During my Indian tour in 1910-11 I expected to meet Lajpat Rai who had some time earlier been restored to freedom. To my great disappointment I found that he was away from Lahore on the only occasion when I could visit that city.

I did not have to wait for long. Shortly after I had taken up residence in Britain I received an invitation to attend a dinner that was being given in celebration of our "feast of lights," at which Lalaji was asked to preside. As we arrived at the hall in which the function was to be held a man of medium height, bold features and a sallow complexion shook us warmly by the hand and expressed his great pleasure at meeting us. He had a typical Panjabi face—pleasant to look at but conveying a suggestion of strength. His eyes were large and luminous. They showed mirth as well as flashing fire. The nose was prominent. The mouth was well-shaped. The lips were firmly set. Infectious laughter could ripple through them as I found almost immediately afterwards. Words could pour out of them that could lift men from their feet or (what is probably more difficult) could make them dip their hands into their pockets and bring forth money to finance a deserving cause.

It was hardly necessary for me to be told that I was meeting Lala Lajpat Rai—meeting him for the first time. No introduction was necessary. We felt as if we had known each other for years. I had devoured everything emanating from his pen that came my way and he lost no time in telling me that he had been reading my articles and books almost from the time they began to appear.*

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ANGLO-JAPANESE RIVALRY IN COTTON INDUSTRY AND INDIA

By TARAKNATH DAS, PH. D.

GREAT Britain's national wealth and power is largely due to her national industry and export trade ; and her cotton industry has contributed considerably to augment British national prosperity. This national prosperity is seriously threatened by Japan which has successfully ousted Lancashire cotton goods from the markets of the world. The Japanese are determined to maintain their newly acquired markets by every possible means ; because Japan's loss of markets for the export of textile goods would mean economic chaos leading to bankruptcy and revolution. This aspect of commercial rivalry between Japan and Britain may produce serious international political repercussions.

From recent debates in the British Parliament, one can realize that there is virtually an economic war going on between Japan and Great Britain. In one of these debates Mr. Runciman, representing the National Government of Great Britain, assured the Parliament that the Anglo-Japanese commercial difficulty will be solved through negotiations. But it was quite apparent that many British statesmen did not share this optimistic view of the complicated situation. It is well known that in some quarters in Britain there is open talk about the necessity of retaliatory measures against Japan, if necessary by making a common cause with those nations in Europe and other parts of the world which are feeling the pressure of Japanese competition. More sober, yet definitely anti-Japanese policies were advocated by Hon. Mr. Bailey, a Conservative member of the British Parliament, representing Manchester, during his speech in the House of Commons on the 23rd of November 1933. Mr. Bailey has been reported to have said :

> "Today Japan was selling more all over the world than ourselves, and the reason was that twenty years ago Lancashire was blind to the danger. You could not prevent the Japanese competition by merely putting on a tariff. The fundamental difficulty was not our home market, but our oversea markets, where tariff could not be imposed by this country. *The Government should take steps to abrogate the most-favoured-nation clause with Japan as regards our colonies, and endeavour to induce the latter to accord to our textiles a preference, while as regards foreign countries we should bargain for purchases equivalent to our exports. The sale of second-hand machinery to Japan should be prevented, and apprentices should not be allowed into our engineering shops to take away our skill."—The Manchester Guardian,* Nov. 24, 1933.

It is generally asserted that the Japanese success in textile industry and capturing the world markets is due to lower wages of Japanese workers, so-called dumping method or unfair competition, depreciation of Japanese currency. Some even naively charge the Japanese of selling below the cost of production. Lord Snowden, whose patriotism as a British statesman cannot be questioned, has expressed his views on the subject in the following manner :

> "We are hearing complaints that Japan is driving us out of the Asiatic market. It is not long hours and low wages which are the reasons for this. There is nothing to be feared permanently from the competition of low wages and long hours. Japan's commercial success is due to her adaptability to the needs of the markets. For the countries with low purchasing power she produces an attractive cheap article of such a low quality that the British manufacturer says he would be ashamed to make it. If the British trader wants to capture these markets, he must stop blushing and face facts."

What are the real facts in respect to Japanese-Lancashire competition in textiles ? I, for various reasons, wish to answer this question, by quoting some interesting passages from an exceedingly well-informed article on "Japan's Way and Lancashire" published in

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the editorial page of the *Times* (London) of November 23, 1933 :

"The greatest direct menace to Lancashire is the meteoric increase of Japan's competition in our former markets. Ten years ago this competition was insignificant; five years ago it became acute in a few markets; today no market exists, to which Japan has access, where she does not undersell all comers by impossible margin. *With fewer than 9,000,000 spindles Japan has a larger export trade than Lancashire with 50,000,000; in five years she may eliminate us. To assess the true value of her striking force we must disregard tales of Government subsidization, selling under cost, and sweated-labour. The prosperity of Japan's export trade is due to her efficiency and organization of industry combined with certain adventitious benefits and natural advantages not possessed by Lancashire.*"

* * * *

"Largely owing to its modernity and an almost fanatical belief in scrapping the obsolete, the Japanese industry is equipped with the most up-to-date plant in the world. *There is not a single mill and scarcely a weaving-shed in Lancashire today which could produce economically* (*as measured from the mechanical standpoint*) any of the mass-produced cloths which forms the backbone of the Japanese industry, no matter how elastic and accommodating trade-union regulations might be."

* * * *

"The all-powerful influence in Japanese progress is the immense driving power of its organization and direction. This embraces complete knowledge of every requirement of the productive side of the industry, combined with instant contact with demand in all parts of the world, relating the one to the other in the manner best suited to Japan. Absolute control is in the hands of the Japan Cotton Spinner's Association, which governs the industry's entire spindlege and 60 per cent of its export looms, and by dominating the entire yarn output, has a scarcely less effective control of the independent looms···The pattern on which this marvel of industrial enterprise is built is not a chance product, but a carefully planned edifice of unshakable strength in which the builders have utilized complete knowledge of what is aimed at with every process through which the raw material passes. Such comprehensive knowledge in those controlling the industry is the key of Japanese supremacy. It implies an economy of production beyond the power of an industry in which ignorance of the next of final purpose is intentionally preserved by those in charge of each section. Until this medieval obstruction between each horizontal layer of our industry is removed Lancashire can never hope to challenge the single-minded effort of Japan. The horizontal structure of the Lancashire industry is largely responsible for its decadence; it maintains a perpetual clash of interests between one section and another; it excludes the master-hand and the master-mind···"

The sum and substance of the above arguments regarding Japanese ascendency is that Japanese national efficiency in the whole field of textile industry—production as well as distribution of the product in world markets—is far superior to that of Great Britain. Japan is beating Britain at her own game. Japan is demonstrating that "Anglo-Saxon superiority" and the so called "Asiatic inferiority" is a myth. In the past western admirers of Japan often classed her as an excellent imitator without any originality and ability to assimilate. This has also been completely disproven.

The Anglo-Japanese struggle for world markets are fought in many lands; but India is a very important battle-ground. In India Britain has the initial advantage over Japan, because of Imperial Preference and discriminatory legislations against Japan. Under the present circumstances Indian cotton mill-owners have no chance to compete with Japan even in India, although they have easy access to raw materials, home markets and the cheapest labour. This is due to the fact that Indian national efficiency in textile industry is far inferior to that of Japan. This inferiority is not due to any innate inferiority of the Indian people. There was a time when Indian textiles had ascendency all over the world. It is due to the selfish policy of Indian capitalists—textile mill-owners who are most concerned with their profit and not anxious to spend any substantial part of their profit for raising the efficiency of workers and bettering their plants. To make this point concrete I wish to emphasize that Indian mill-owners during the last twenty-five years have made profits of several millions of pounds sterling; and if they were anxious to raise Indian national efficiency in the field of cotton industry, they might have spent one per cent of their profit for providing facilities for the study of textile engineering in India! Alas there is not one institution in India where the

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technique of the textile industry is adequately taught. What have the Indian mill-owners done to raise the standard of efficiency of Indian workers? Indian mill-owners like many other Indians wish to get something for nothing. They even now are not concerned with the question of raising Indian national efficiency but howling against the supposed "Japanese dumping" and siding with Lancashire cotton magnates against Japan; because Indian mill-owners think that by taking such a stand they may secure such favourable legislation—high tariff—as will help them to make easy profit. Lest I may be misunderstood, I wish to say that for the purpose of protecting an infant industry tariff may be justified; but by mere imposition of tariff and without systematic efforts for increasing national efficiency no nation can build up an industry nor maintain it. The question that comes before me is this: Are the Indian politicians and industrialists as well as educators doing their best to raise India's national efficiency?

Anglo-Japanese rivalry in world commerce is bound to be more acute than it is today; and it may lead to a serious international consequence, because every economic conflict, unless peaceably solved, is bound to lead to a political conflict. One of the underlying causes of the Anglo-German conflict was Anglo-German commercial rivalry; and Anglo-Japanese commercial rivalry is no less acute today than was the Anglo-German commercial rivalry in 1910. Here lies the real seriousness of the situation. Unless the Indian people—especially Indian industrialists, capitalists and political leaders—show evidence of practical and genuine patriotism, then the present day Anglo-Japanese economic rivalry, instead of becoming an indirect impetus to India's economic and commercial regeneration, may become a source of terrible misery and degradation.

THE INDIAN RENAISSANCE IN MEXICO

By SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI, M. A., D. Litt. (London)

SOME time ago I read in the *Literary Digest* an item of news about Mexico which both surprised and pleased me. I felt surprised—at seeing the impossible happen, at seeing the coming back to life of what we all knew to be dead; and I was pleased to see that a people which had built one of the great original cultures of the world and which had lost its very soul and was being crushed out of existence through centuries of extraneous tyranny and pressure was at last recovering something of its consciousness and was trying to get back something of its spiritual and cultural life. I am a man of the present age, and I am a Hindu: and for both these reasons, the necessity of each kind of culture, of each type of religious experience and faith continuing its own existence (in so far as it is in harmony with the rights of others) and maintaining its honoured place in the comity of cultures and creeds strikes me as something axiomatic. Unity in the midst of variety, and variety in spite of a fundamental unity—this is what appears to be most desirable in life: in fact, life is nothing but that; consequently I would consider it a sin if an attempt is made to destroy a particular localized expression of a common and universal human culture and human mentality. It would thus be only natural for me and for others who believe in the fundamental unity and the inevitability and justification of the civilizations and in all kinds of human endeavour that manifested themselves in different lands at different periods, to feel glad when some unique type of culture and mentality seems once more to be on the eve of a new existence, for the enrichment of the spiritual and mental experience of the whole of mankind.

To cut short this preambulatory digression—the item of news regarding Mexico was simply this; that the Mexican Minister for Education had circularized to all the schools in the land to the effect that school children were to be told that it was *Quetzalcoatl*, the benign deity of the ancient Mexicans, who gave children presents on Christmas Eve: the name of Quetzalcoatl was to be substituted for that of Saint Nicolaus, the familiar *Santa Claus* of English children. In the Christian lands of Europe little children are taught that Saint Nicolaus or Santa Claus comes down from heaven on Christmas Eve with a bag full of toys for them, and children keep their stockings near their beds for Santa Claus to fill them with his gifts, and when they are asleep, parents act on behalf of the Saint, filling their socks with things that would please them when they wake up the next morning. This is a pretty domestic custom which adds greatly to the joy of the children. The story of Santa Claus seems to have originated in the cold lands of Northern Europe where it is all snow and ice at

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Christmas time. Santa Claus largely embodies in himself some of the old Teutonic and Slav conceptions of godhead—at least in his appearance and his habits. He is a jolly old man with a red nose and a snow-white beard, dressed in a fur-lined coat and cap of red collar, with top-boots, and he comes riding along the snow on a sledge. He is a veritable god of Christmas cheer, kind and jovial, the beloved Father Christmas of children. Saint Nicolaus came down to the warmer lands of Southern Europe, and did not lose a bit of his popularity. With the other gods and godlings of the Roman Catholic pantheon this presiding deity of Christmas time lost no time in coming to Mexico after the conquest of that country by Hernando Cortes and his Spaniards in 1521. Mexico as a civilized country possessed its own religion and other institutions. But after the fall of the Aztec empire, the national life was crushed entirely. The old religion was taboo, and a *regime* of the worst type of religious persecution and suppression was inaugurated which went hand in hand with wholesale forcible conversion. The old gods of Mexico had to yield to the new ones of Christianity, but the olds are very hard to kill—their attributes and functions and their functions lingered on, and were foisted on the foreign gods—called Saints and Angels—imported from Europe. Saint Nicolaus also came, although his costume and his sledge would be totally out of place in a land like Mexico, and there are hundreds of thousands of sandal-wearing Mexican children who never saw snow or a sledge and who never wore socks in their life which they could hang on by their beds for Santa Claus's toys. The circular of the Education Minister of Mexico was just to save the Mexican children from this silly and ridiculous imposition. Quetzalcoatl was the ancient Aztec deity of all the gentler virtues—kindness and civility, and arts of peace. He was the only Aztec god to whom human sacrifices were not offered. The Aztec and Maya-speaking Mexicans have not wholly forgotten him, although they have been Christians (even if only in name) for the last four hundred years. It would only be natural for a Mexican child of American Indian origin to think of Quetzalcoatl or some other god, at the time of festivity, more than to think of a fur-clad Santa Claus, and when they would think of Quetzalcoatl, they would unconsciously feel a sort of national pride in their past, of which Quetzalcoatl is but a symbol. All these evidently were in the mind of the Mexican Minister for Education when he sought to graft the name of a Mexican deity upon the greatest of Christian festivals,—when he attempted to bring about a remarkable type of synthesis in which the thought and imagination of ancient Mexico was combined with Christian and European institutions.

A similar synthesis has been effected by Indian Muslims also. The cult of Allah and His *Rasul*, and the idealism of Iranian Sufidom, have not been able to eradicate from the deepest consciousness of the Indian Muhammadan the world of ideas of his Hindu forbears. And in many a sphere a compromise has been effected; and in spite of the sporadic attempts of Muhammadan orthodoxy which pins its faith on the Koran and on the Traditions, this compromise forms the actual or living faith of the larger portion of Indian Muslims. This kind of compromise is the rule in Indian Muslim art of all kinds—architecture and painting, music, and literature. As a typical example, mention may be made of that oldest and most important Urdu drama—the *Indar Sabha*. It is a musical ballet with a very slender plot, with the thinnest of love stories with a happy ending in the background, but it is a curious mixture of Hindu ideas and those of extra-Indian Islam. The work was composed in 1853 by Amanat, the Muhammadan court poet of the last independent Muhammadan ruler of Oudh, Wazid Ali Shah. In this work, in the court of Raja Indar—Indra, the King of the Gods, that is—*Paris* (from the Paristan of Persia) sing and dance in place of the *Apsarases* of Hindu mythology, there are no Hindu *devas*—gods—in Indra's heaven,—only two *Devs* or Demons from Persian mythology figure. *Lal Dev* and *Kala Dev*, the Red Demon and the Black Demon, who obey the behests of Indar. The *Paris* are named *Pokhraz Pari*, *Nilam Pari*, *Sabz Pari*: they make their obeisance to Allah, and sing in Indar's court. The King of the Gods has been transformed into a sort of inferior angel, and the sanctity of the Muhammadan *Bihisht* or Heaven has been kept intact by having Indar's *Sabha* or assembly in a separate and far away locality. No one objected to a compromise like the above,—neither the Muslim King, nor his courtiers, nor the three generations and more of Indian Muslim audiences who have been applauding the play in the theatre, and recently in the talkie.

To come back to Mexico. We may ask ourselves—what is behind this circularization by the Mexican Minister for Education? What does this gesture symptomize? On the face of it it appears so puzzling, that in Christian and a Hispanized country there should be official propaganda for the suppressed culture of the Aztecs and other "Indians." Who are the people of Mexico—what are they really? How do they live, and feel, and what do they think? How is it possible for the cult of Quetzalcoatl to be revived—even in this decorative form—at this late hour? In asking ourselves these questions, if we take stock of the actualities all over the world, one noteworthy thing at once presents itself before us, and it is this: that this desire to build up once again the broken link with the age-old spiritual and national culture in Mexico is no isolated thing; it is a product of the Time-spirit,

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which has manifested itself not only in Mexico but in all lands with a history and a past, where the surging waves of national renaissance is breaking the immediate past, and under the impact of this incoming tide the edifice of a superimposed Christian and Islamic mentality is being battered and broken in many a land.

The original inhabitants of America are believed to have come over from Asia through Siberia and Alaska crossing the Behring Strait at some prehistoric epoch: in fact the Red man of America is distinctly a modification of the Yellow man of Asia. Once in America, they rapidly spread all over North and South America and under altered climatic and other conditions they slightly differentiated in the different tracts. In some parts of the present United States the Red man developed fairly advanced types of culture, but the highest achievement in civilization of the American Indian took place in Mexico and Yucatan, and second to that in Peru and Bolivia. Various American tribes in Mexico and Yucatan built up a city culture of a very high type which included architecture and sculpture, painting, and other arts and crafts, and astronomy among the sciences and the beginnings of this culture go back to centuries long before the Christian era. The cultured groups of Mexico fall into a number of related tribes, like the Nahua, the Tarascan, the Otomi, the Totonac, the Mixtec, the Zapotec and the Maya-Quiche, which spoke different languages but were nevertheless of the same race and possessed virtually the same culture. Of these tribes, the Maya-Quiche were by far the oldest and cleverest nation of ancient Mexico, whose art and whose huge temples in South-eastern Mexico and Yucatan still excite our wonder, and whose astronomical studies have been described as the foremost intellectual achievement of ex-Columban America. To explain the situation in the Mexican world in terms of that of the Mediterranean world of antiquity, the Maya have been compared to the Greeks, and the Aztecs (the most prominent of the Nahua tribes to the Roman, while the other tribes are like the lesser nationalities of ancient Italy.

The Zapotec ruins at Mitla as much as the Maya temples at Chichen-Itza and elsewhere and some of the Aztec edifices are as noble as the architectural achievements of any people on earth. It will not be quite *a propos* to give a sketch of Mexican culture and to appraise the nature and value of Mexican civilization: for that purpose there is a modest but exceedingly well-written literature in English. The greatest blot on Mexican culture was human sacrifice on a terribly large scale as a most important rite of their religion. These human sacrifices were as frequent as they were cruel, and Mexican international or inter-tribal politics was largely based on this practice of making war to have captives for the sacrificial altar. The Aztecs were particularly guilty in this respect. But in this matter we have the voice and evidence of the Spanish Christian priests only. Apologists finding the *raison-d'etre* for this barbaric rite have not been wanting among recent historians and students of Mexican culture and antiquity; and while condemning this aspect of old Mexican religion and culture, we need not shut our eyes to the nobler aspects of Mexican religion where we can join hands with the Aztec priests, forgetting for the time being the blood that is on them from the hearts torn out of the palpitating breasts of human victims sacrificed by the dozen and the score. Leaving aside the tribes like the Mayas, the Zapotecs and others, we can take Aztec religion as typical of the rest of Mexico at the time of the conquest. The Aztec pantheon consisted of a large number of gods and goddesses, and in its richness and variety this pantheon can bear comparison with those of India, Greece, Babylon and Egypt. But three deities were outstanding figures in the Aztec Olympus—namely, Huitzilopochtli, the terrible God of War, the particular tribal god of the Aztecs; Tezcatlipoca, the God of Storms, of Life as well as Death; and Quetzalcoatl. Tezcatlipoca reminds us of our Siva in both his terrible and benign aspects—he was a Cosmic force, embracing life as a whole, he is cruel and death-bringing, and at the same time he is a god of truth and wisdom and a god of mercy. Quetzalcoatl by contrast may be compared to our Vishnu. These Gods were worshipped by most other tribes: among the Maya-Quiche, Tezcatlipoca (particularly in his aspect as a Storm-God) was known as Hurakan, the source of the English word *hurricane*; and Quetzalcoatl was known as Kukulcan, or Gucumatz. There is plenty of evidence to show that the Mexicans—at least the Aztecs—were developing the idea of monotheism through the figure of Tezcatlipoca. Some of the old Aztec prayers to this deity are as fine things as any in the way of prayer and praise, and reveal to us the height of nobility and the depth of sincerity and faith which the man-sacrificing Mexicans were capable of. To give one such prayer to Tezcatlipoca:

> O mighty Lord, under whose wings we seek protection, defence and shelter! Thou art invisible, impalpable, as the air and as the night. I come in humility and in littleness, daring to appear before thy Majesty. I come uttering my words like one choking and stammering; my speech is wandering, like as the way of one who strayeth from the path and stumbleth. I am possessed of the fear of exciting Thy wrath against me rather than the hope of meriting Thy grace. But, Lord, do with my body as it pleaseth Thee, for Thou hast indeed abandoned us according to Thy counsels taken in heaven and in hell. Oh, sorrow! Thine anger and Thine indignation are descended upon us in all our days...
>
> O Lord, very kindly! Thou knowest that

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we mortals are like unto children which, when punished, weep and sigh, repenting their faults. It is thus that these men, ruined by Thy chastisements, reproach themselves grievously. They confess in Thy presence; they atone for their evil deeds, imposing penance upon themselves. Lord, very good, very compassionate, very noble, very precious! let the chastisement which Thou hast inflicted suffice, and let the ills which Thou hast sent in castigation find their end!

The name Tezcatlipoca signifies "Smoking or Fiery Mirror," (*Dhumradarsa*, or *Jvalan-mukura*, to translate the name into Sanskrit) a round mirror of obsidian stone with fire or smoke issuing from it, signifying his power of seeing everything as in a mirror and his control over everything as of the wind over smoke, forms his symbol. Quetzalcoatl or Kukulcan means "feathered serpent" (which may be rendered into Sanskrit as *Patri-sarpa* or *Patri-naga*), a name and a figure of mystic significance, probably hinting at the god's control over the elements, like a bird on the wing and a snake under the ground. Quetzalcoatl is a civilizing deity, he is also a hero-king, and it is he, as his rites were never stained with human blood in Aztecland, who has now been set up as a fitting symbol of a revived interest in and an intensifying appreciation (we cannot as yet call it a passionate love) of the old culture of Mexico.

Ancient Mexico was thus a land of flourishing culture and was already on the way to unification as a great nation or confederation under the warlike and powerful Aztecs. The human sacrifice which was a blot on their culture would have died out gradually, as it has done in other parts of the world: it was a rite favoured particularly by the Aztecs, but other forces were already working against it. If Mexico could work out her destiny unimpeded by the disastrous foreign assault under the Spaniards, we might have seen the spectacle of a new type of culture independent of that of the old world come to full perfection. But Fate has relegated it to the lumber room of the might-have-been, and has deprived humanity of the richness and the novelty of a fresh cultural and spiritual experience. Nevertheless, the ancient culture of Mexico holds an honoured place among the results of corporate human endeavour and takes its stand worthily beside the ancient cultures of Egypt and Mesopotamia, Japan and China, Greece and India, and of medieval Europe as a great expression of creative energy.

The Spanish conquest came over Mexico as a scourge from God and the peoples of Mexico had to leave their task unfinished,—their destiny remained unfulfilled. To all cultured men this will be regarded as a loss to the world. Mexico fell, and seemed to fall for ever. Her ancient peoples have not wholly died out—the Aztecs, the Otomis, the Tarascans, the Zapotecs, the Mixtecs, the Mayas and the rest are still there in their hundreds of thousands, but they have been brought low; they are completely shorn of their past glory through the last four centuries of contact with Spanish rule, which was so long based on a complete denial of their past and its achievements. All life has been crushed out of the Indians of Mexico through Spanish economic exploitation and religious intolerance and persecution. The history of Mexico for the last four hundred years, from the conquest in 1521, is a history of the gradual decay of the mental and spiritual culture of the native peoples, over and above their economic enslavement. The Aztecs and the other Mexican tribes fought the Spaniards with a superb heroism, but they could not resist the better armed and better armoured cavaliers of Spain: The Mexicans did not know the use of iron—it is surprising how they could raise such huge stone structures and could execute such detailed sculpture work without iron tools. The Spaniards continued the deliberate and systematic destruction of the native culture which had begun with the conquest, with the idea that they were doing a thing pleasing to their God. A most ruthless programme sought during the whole of the 16th century and later to do away with all the vestiges of the old religion and culture. Perhaps nowhere else in the world has the work of destruction been carried on on such a large scale. Wherever the arm of Spain extended in Mexico (as in other parts of America, people were forcibly made to acknowledge themselves as Christians, and their old temples, images, art and literature (the Mexicans had different systems of picture writing, and had a large literature with MS. books, a few of which have somehow escaped destruction and are now being published and studied by scholars) were destroyed. After which the masses were made for all practical purposes the slaves of the conquerors.

But although they were suppressed in this way the people of Mexico did not die. Outwardly forced to accept the Spanish yoke, in both economic and cultural life, the enduring vitality of this ancient and civilized race gave a subtle resistance from within. By a sort of apparent placidity which was nothing but a non-violent opposition offered by a whole people—although unconsciously—the ferocity of the spirit of the Conquistadores and their Padres has been very much whittled down. The conquerors are finding themselves conquered by the environment: they are becoming slowly and inevitably merged among the Indian people. In 1805, the different elements in the population of Mexico were as follows:

Spanish (more or less pure)	1·1 millions,	18 p.c. of the total population
Mestizo (mixed Spanish & Indian)	over 2 millions	38 p.c. „ „
Pure Indian	2½ millions.	44 p.c. „ „

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According to the estimates for 1910, the percentage indicated below would show how the Spanish element is being absorbed :

Spanish	1.1½ millions,	7.5 p.c.
Mestizo	8 millions,	53 p.c.
Indian	6 millions,	39 p.c.

The second class—Mestizos—are mainly Indian in blood, and in their outward appearance, way of life and their temperament they approximate to the Indian rather than the Spaniard.

The history of Mexico from 1531 to 1917 meant, both to the Mexicans and to the people outside, the doings of the foreign or settled Spanish people in the country. Nobody cared whether the Indian masses existed in the land at all. They were simply native *peons*, simply Indians who were to be suffered to exist as they supplied the labour, which alone made the country go on. Their old faith and ritual was destroyed, or very nearly destroyed—they followed a curious amalgam of Spanish catholicism and their own ideas and institutions. They had their own languages, Aztec and Maya and the rest, which at one time were vehicles of the finest literature the people of the New World produced but there was no study of it, and Spanish was forced on them. There was no unity, and no aspiration for unity ; the memory of their ancient feuds dating back to the pre-Spanish period still lingered in their minds. There were no leaders, as the aristocratic and thoughtful classes had all made the supreme sacrifice during the conquest. It was not possible for the Mexican masses—stunned and made dumb by the calamity of the conquest and the subsequent ruthless exploitation —to be articulate, and to seek an expression of themselves through a cultural life or rebirth.

During these four centuries, again, through the dominant influence of the culture of Spain and Europe, the Mexicans themselves altered a great deal, both in their outer economic life and in their spirit. But the impositions from the outside were slowly engrafted, and have been properly assimilated : otherwise the Indian population would not have lived on and increased. The Spanish contact has been responsible for the introduction of many of the amenities of European life among the Mexicans. The Spanish language, when all is said against Spanish occupation, has proved to be a blessing even when we regret that the development of Aztec and Maya speeches as great modern languages of America could not take place. A perfect Babel prevailed, and does prevail among the different Mexican tribes. There are according to one competent authority, 192 American Indian languages and dialects current in Mexico, to which we might add another 62 which have now become extinct ; another view brings down the number to 59, distributed among 20 different families. About half Mexico is still purely Indian in language ; the other half has been Hispanified. Of the major Indian languages, Nahuatlan or Aztec is spoken by about a quarter of Indian-speaking Mexicans, namely, by some 650,000 people ; then comes Maya, 400,000 ; Zapotecan, 350,000 ; Otomian, 350,000 ; Totonacan, 75,000, and Tarascan, 40,000. The Hispanification of Indian Mexico in language is proceeding rapidly, much as a philologist would regret the ultimate loss of those interesting and historical forms of speech, the unification of the Mexicans by a great Indo-European language like Spanish will not be an unmixed evil : on the contrary it will be a blessing in disguise. The Mexicans cannot deny the last four hundred years of their national existence, and Spanish has been the predominant tone, at least outwardly of their modern life and culture. The Christianity of Mexico has on its popular side preserved a great many things connected with the old religion, among which the most noteworthy are the old dances in feathered costumes reminiscent of the pre-conquest period. The Mexicans have nationalized the Virgin Mary into a great Mother goddess who has a special pity for the Indian masses and at the shrine of Guadalupe near Mexico city the image of the Virgin is fast becoming a sort of palladium for native Mexico to which the pent up faith of the suppressed millions is aspiring. The ancient habits of life are still going strong : the old Aztec and other types of houses still persist, with a great deal of the old type of furniture ; the people have as their staple food maize *tortillas*, or *chapatis* as we would call them in India, made of maize dough mashed over a stone slab by a stone pestle (in the style we pound and pulp our spices into paste for curries), which they eat with local peas and vegetables and meat highly seasoned with chilis.

The frame-work of economic and social life has on the whole persisted and it only requires freedom of movement, a little economical amelioration and education for the masses of Mexico to grow once more into a great nation, worthy descendants of the ancient Aztecs and Mayas.

The Spanish connexion with a viceroy periodically appointed by the king of Spain, was a great economic strain on Mexico, the land with its agricultural and mineral resources being ruthlessly exploited for the benefit of the Spanish royalty and its satellites. The Spaniards who had made Mexico their home felt the pinch more than anybody and with the Mestizos and their Indian tenants they rebelled against Spanish authority. Armed resistance began in 1808, and in 1820 Mexico, with her destinies in the hands of the Spanish upper class, became virtually free. Mexico was rid of a perpetual stream of needy, fortune-hunters in quest of offices and emoluments and privileges from Spain. This stream was closed after the independence, and the native people both Mestizo and Indian, freed from this perpetual drag on their progress, came to the forefront. But nobody looked at the situation from the point of view of the

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submerged Indian masses who were practically slaves bound to the soil. For them the "independence" of their country did not mean much change. In 1877 Porfirio Diaz became the President of Mexico, and from 1884 to 1911, he was continually President and uncrowned autocrat of Mexico. Diaz gained considerable popularity abroad by giving foreign commercial people and exploiters of Mexican resources, considerable privileges at the expense of the Indian masses. A superficial prosperity marked by an increased volume of commerce and building of roads and railways characterized the period of his domination, but the Indians were slowly being driven to desperation by certain old privileges and rights such as the communal ownership of the land being taken away from them. In the meanwhile a sort of pride in the past of Mexico and a changed attitude towards the achievement of her ancient peoples was making themselves manifest among the ever-decreasing Spanish elite of Mexico and the ever-increasing group of Mestizos. The solid block of the Indian masses for the first time began to be given recognition, and cultured Mexicans of Spanish origin realized the great qualities of the people which still retained an ingrained sense of art and civilization even in the days of their fall and full decadence and sought to make amends for the injustice of the centuries done to them. The Mexican *Intelligentzia* turned to the people for inspiration in their life and work. Artists studied their own people with a sympathetic eye and scientists began to advise a more rational attitude towards Indian life and mentality than that preached by the Roman Catholic Church. An anthropologist like Manuel Gamio showed the proper way of guiding the Mexican masses, simple and yet inheritors of a great culture. Of the artists Diego Rivera's is the greatest name, and Rivera is acknowledged to be one of the greatest artists of the world today, a man of international fame. He turned to the Mexican people, and his sympathetic rendering of the life of the masses of Mexico is one of the great things given to the world by art and by Mexico.

In the field of politics and economics and legislation, the influence of this altered attitude began to make itself felt. After a number of revolutions, the famous land law of Mexico was passed in 1917, which has rehabilitated the Mexican peasant and has enabled him to make a fresh start in life to work out his destiny. With the attendant economic freedom, they are now in a position to improve their lot along lines most suitable to their environment and history. With the sort of education inaugurated for them by Gamio and Atl and other leaders of Mexican thought, they are being brought to a position when they can *find themselves*—understand the value of their past culture and give once again their best to the world.

All this movement—economic and cultural—has been called the Indian renaissance in Mexico. (It was through Columbus's mistake that he discovered India when he reached America that the original people of America got the name which properly belongs to us—an original "native" in Spanish America is an *Indio* just as his brother in Anglo-Saxon America is an *Indian* or a *Red Indian*.) One remarkable thing in this Indian renaissance of Mexico is that the descendants of the Conquistadors, among whom the bluest blood of Spain is well represented, have joined wholeheartedly in this "native revival" and naturally enough, it is their superior intelligence and power of organization which has inaugurated the movement and is helping it on. Dr Atl, one of the Spanish leaders of this movement, is typical of these highly cultured men. His original name was Gerardo Murillo, but he has taken an Aztec name (*Atl* means 'water' in Aztec) in order to show his whole-hearted interest in this Mexican renaissance. Another artist, a lady named Carmen Mondragon, has assumed the Indian name of *Nahui Olin* ("the Four Movements of the Sun").

The Indian masses of Mexico never lost their innate courtesy and their sense of beauty. Their folk art is one of the most exquisite things in the world. The woollen *Sarapes* of Mexico or small blankets with a slit in the middle (the garment which is called the *poncho* in Equador, Peru and Bolivia) which forms the characteristic coat of the Mexican peasantry, are woven by hand-looms in most marvellous designs and colour-schemes, and modern decorative art is learning something from these *sarape* designs. Decorated pottery is another old Mexican art which received a fresh impetus from the Spaniards, who taught the Indians a good many things from the coloured pottery art of Europe. The Indian sense of design and colour is wonderful. The leaders of the Indian renaissance have given a great impetus to Mexican folk art, and by holding exhibitions and festivals they are reviving the interest of the people in their national art, their old dances and civic ceremonies, and their regional costumes. The people of Mexico are quite content to follow the lead of the Education Department in this matter.

The power and prestige of the Roman Catholic priesthood began to wane as a result of this national and cultural revival. Education began to undermine the influence of the priests. Unfortunately for the Roman Church, its hand on the economic life was a heavy one, and the morals and piety of most of the priests were deplorable. The Roman Catholic Church owned a great deal of the land, and when the agrarian law of 1917 was promulgated, the Church joined hands with the big *haciendados—zamindars* as we would call them in Bengal—and with spiritual

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influence persuaded certain sections among the illiterate Indian masses to rebel against the law. The result was that counter-revolutions and small religious wars started and the Roman Catholic Church tried all its weapons of excommunication and cursing delinquents to eternal damnation, besides inciting its supporters to armed revolt. But the mass of Mexican peasantry remained sound and rallied round the regime which gave them land and liberty. The Mexican Republic finally in disgust and as a necessary self-protective measure banished all Roman Catholic priests who would not register themselves with the Government. After the long period of four hundred years, Mexico at least became free from the Roman Catholic imposition. This has been a great help to the Indian Renaissance.

It would of course be a great exaggeration to suggest that the worship of Quetzalcoatl and Tezcatlipoca, of Tlaloc and Xilonen could be revived once again, or that the better and bright side of Christianity would ever cease to influence the Mexican masses. The old traditions are gone: although here and there some fragments of it are peeping behind Roman Catholic ritual—there are always these heathen idols behind Christian altars—it would be too much to expect a wholesale revival. But the Mexicans will not regard, as they have always been taught to do so by the Christian *Padres*, that when their ancestors loved and worshipped was merely they did so at the instigation of Satan. It can be hoped that they will feel a proper glow of pride in the achievements of their ancestors, and they will accept thankfully from their national life and culture and from the religious heritage from their ancestors those elements which are noblest and which are most enduring and can help to build up a noble and beautiful character, and will consciously harmonize it with the moral training and discipline of Christianity. They will be able to beautify their lives much more with the aesthetic sense of old Mexico. And they will be established once again in self-respect and self-confidence through this revived self-knowledge.

After four long centuries, Mexico is becoming alive once more to her ancient natural culture. A similar thing has manifested itself among the Turks, and from time to time we get glimpses how it is reacting upon the Moslem side of the Turkish character: the Turk now wants to be great as a *Turk*, and he does not want to suppress the *Turk* by the Mussulman: the faith born in the desert of Arabia has not been congenial to the man from the steppes of Central Asia nurtured in the atmosphere of Byzantine Greece—that is the opinion of many a Turkish intellectual and thought-leader. The highly-cultured Aryan Persian was conquered by the Semitic Arab in the 7th century, and had to adopt the latter's creed. Persia has never been able to forget the sorrow and the shame of this foreign conquest, physical and cultural: and because deep down in the Persian mind there was this sense of resentment that Persia could express her most profound self in her Sufi poetry and philosophy, which, although opposed to the spirit of the Koran, is one of the greatest things in Islamic culture. Persia could not forget her glorious past even when under the tutelage of Islam; that is why she feels exalted at the mention of her pre-Islamic heroes, Rustam and Darab, Ardeshir Babagan and Shahpuhr, and Nushirvan. At the touch of the magic wand of European culture and European training, the sleeping consciousness of Persia is awake once more, and she is feeling a sort of repugnance for the Arab's language and mentality, and even for the religion that came to her from Arabia. This is clear on all sides. The movement to purify the Persian language by removing its Arabic element (which would appear to be an impossible task now), to substitute the Roman script, or even the Avestan, for the Arabic in which Persian began to be written from after the Arab conquest, the welcome accorded to the Parsis, banished Zoroastrians from Persia, and an increased interest in Zoroastrianism and in ancient Persian history—these are outward symptoms of an inward change. What all this will result in we can only wait and see.

Thus in most lands which have been under the shadow of an alien culture we see a movement for a revived nationalism. The people of Egypt have become Arabized in language and religion, but they are the true descendants of the pyramid builders of ancient Egypt. They have now grown self-conscious once more, as the sons of this oldest people, and are once more studying the history and literature, religion and art of their ancestors: and a modern school of painting and sculpture in Egypt is even seeking inspiration from the deathless creations in art which emanated from ancient Egypt and which form such a valuable heritage of man for his aesthetic, even spiritual exaltation.

The Indian Mussalman similarly is bound to look back sooner or later with pride and affection upon the achievements of his ancient Indian ancestors, upon the heritage which he will learn sooner or later to regard as the fountain-head of the highest mental and spiritual culture, howsoever much he might direct his attention to other lands now: his creed will continue to take a deeper and deeper colouring imaginable from his environment and from his fundamental race-consciousness. The mind of the cultured Indian Mussalman is slowly becoming responsive to all this: the call of Mother India will have its appeal to her Mussalman son, as much as the call of Quetzalcoatl is being listened to by the present-day Christian Mexican. On that auspicious day when the Indian Mussalman will whole-heartedly respond to this call all the miseries of India will end.

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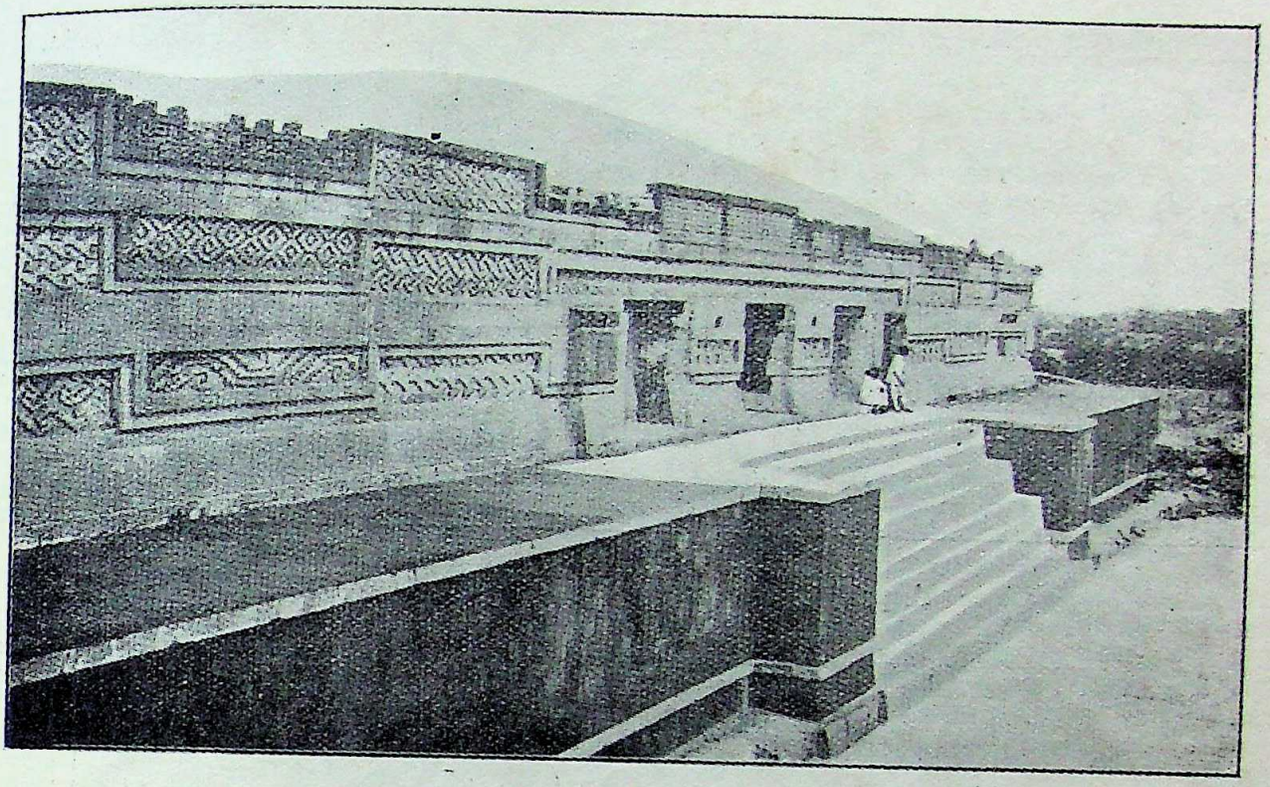
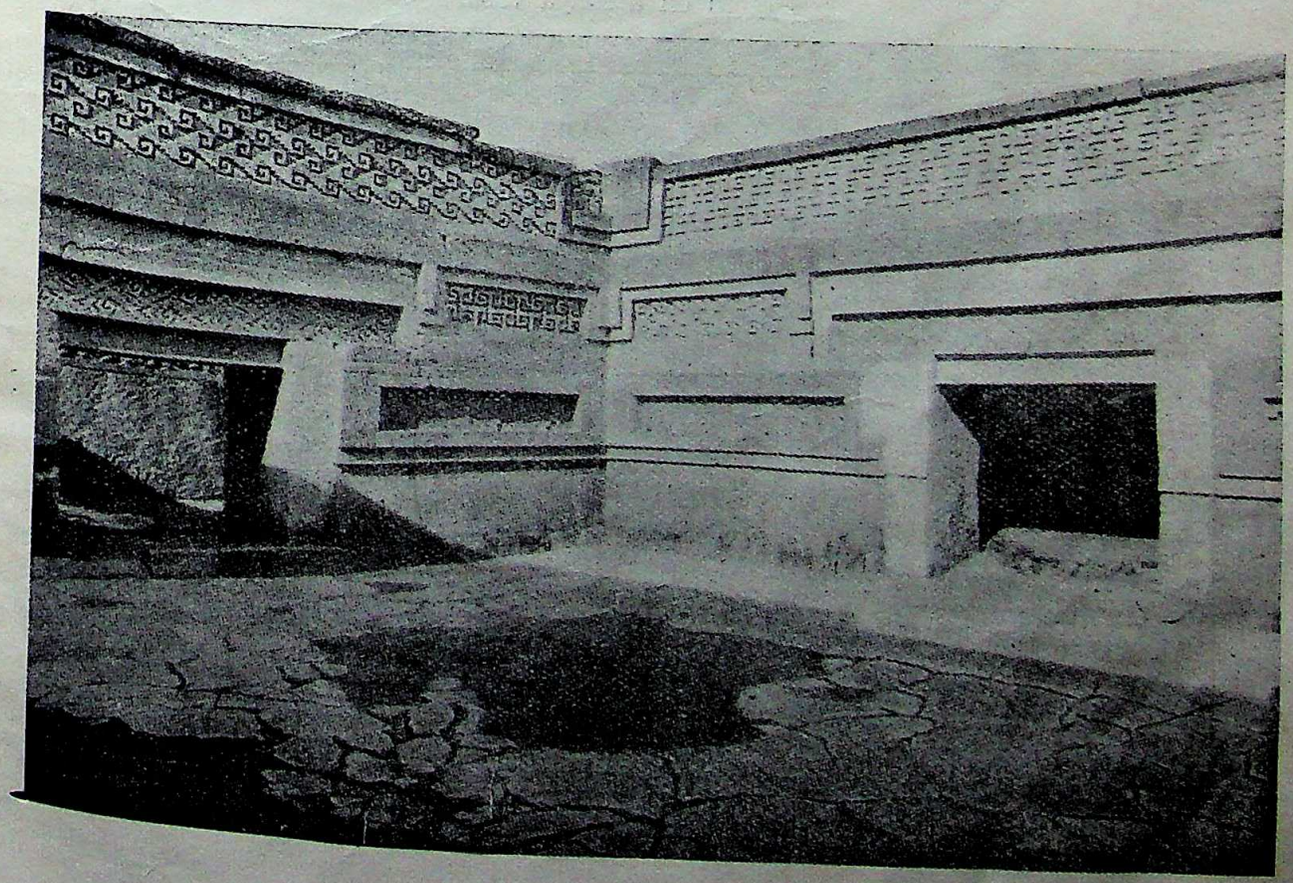


Zapotec Palace at Mitla



Interior of court of Zapotec Palace, Mitla

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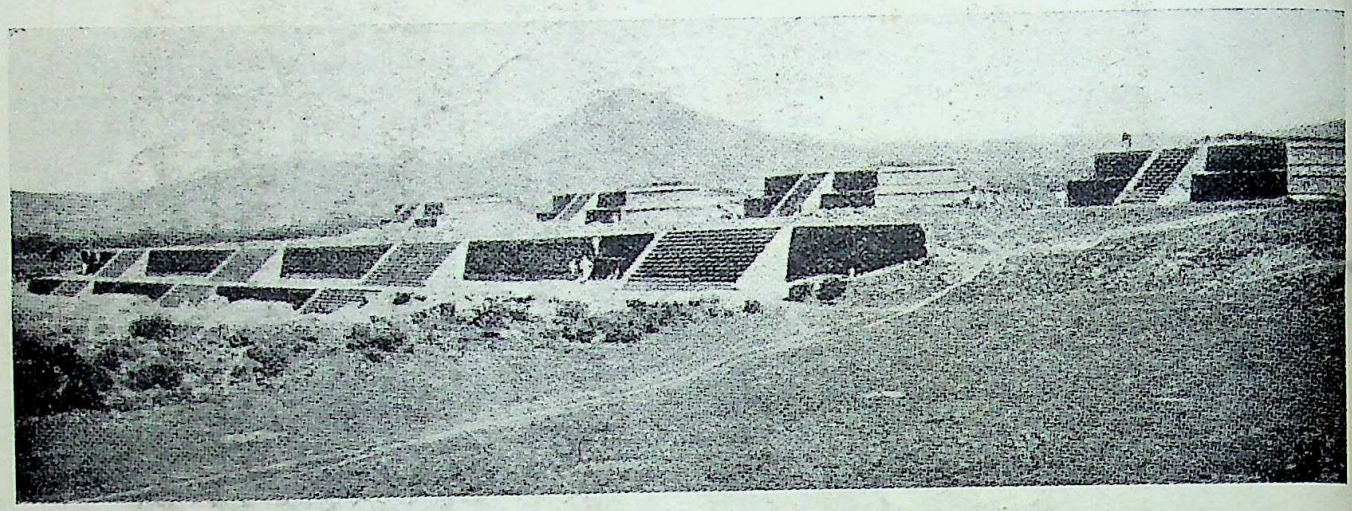
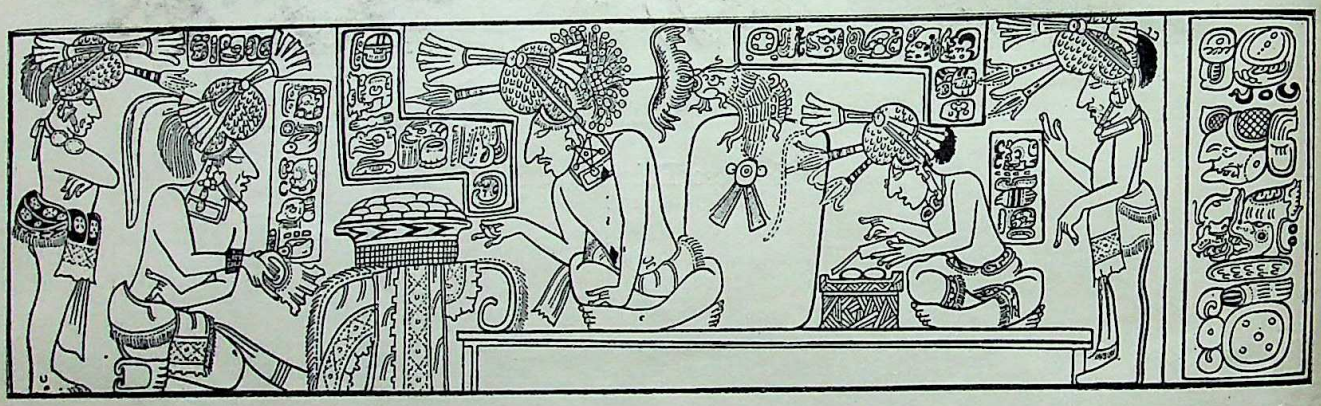
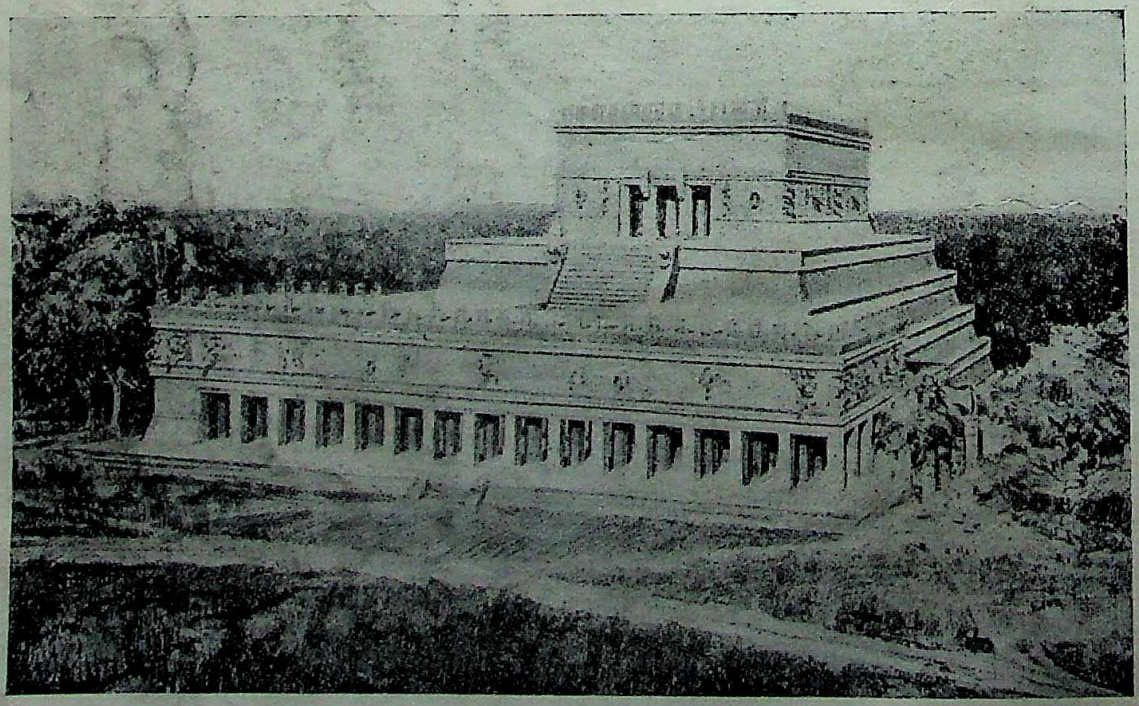


A part of the Aztec Temple of Quetzalcoatl



Design on a Maya vase



Restoration of the Temple of the Warriors at Chichen Itza

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A Mexican market (Zapotecs at Tehuantepec)

The Feast of Chalma (Painting by Fernando Leal)

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Dr. Atl

Drawing of man in ceremonial costume from a Maya bas-relief

Diego Rivera

Stone Figure of Quetzalcoatl

Stone Figure of Xochipilli, the Aztec God of Flowers, Song, Dance and Games

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NEED OUR SCHOOLS CONTINUE GODLESS ?

By J. M. KUMARAPPA, M. A., PH. D.

PARADOXICAL though it may seem, religion has been and is as much a divisive force as it is a binding factor in the evolution of society. In the name of religion man serves man and in the name of religion man persecutes man ; in the name of religion man loves man, and in the name of religion man hates man. And whenever religious differences happen to coincide, however slightly, with lines of political or racial cleavage, the opposition developed becomes hopelessly implacable and horribly destructive. Hence to avoid religious wars and inhuman persecutions, religion has been made the concern of the individual rather than that of the State. Political evolution therefore has tended naturally towards progressive separation of Church and State. Because of such divorce, the State, which once was supposed to depend on the Church as means of fullest service and control, and which, consequently, fostered religious education in a variety of ways, has gradually eschewed it from the curriculum of public schools in the interest of religious neutrality, and made it over to the tender mercies of religious organizations themselves.

In India also the plea of non-interference in matters of religion has been remarkably successful. In the interest of this principle of neutrality, our Government has so secularized the educational system as to exclude moral instruction completely from public schools. And unfortunately these godless schools have also served as models for numerous founders of private schools. Strange as it may appear, even Christian Mission institutions, which used to give compulsory religious instruction, have sold their religion for 'thirty pieces of silver,' and have accepted for the sake of Government's financial support a purely secular curriculum. Since man is 'incurably religious' in India at least, and since the goal of the entire educative process is moral, it is hard to understand how we have been so far satisfied to receive a purely secular education. Our leaders seem to have been unaware of the fact that at each step in the elimination of religious instruction from public schools, our society was assuming increased risks, since an education which is not religious is unsafe both for the individual and for the State. The business of education, it is maintained, is to develop the physique, train the mind and cultivate the soul. While our institutions have been trying to function, however imperfectly, in the first two directions, they have sadly, but deliberately, been neglecting the cultivation of the pupils' spiritual resources. And the result is that we find modern India in the grip of a frightful inertia, caused partly by political subjection and partly by the domination of irreligion. Our ideals have sunk low ; our character has become weak and our will feeble.

However, we must be thankful for the new national awakening which has made us conscious of our moral deterioration, and of the shortcomings of our present system of education. "The schools, it is felt, (and the criticism is extended to the colleges), fail" says the Calcutta University Commission's Report, "in the formation of character. Put more explicitly this criticism charges the schools with failure to convey to a boy's mind a clear apprehension of an ideal of duty. Pressed further home, the charge amounts to more even than this : it implies that the schools have no spiritual life which touches a boy's inner nature, no corporate unity which appeals to and can sustain his affectionate loyalty, no moral or intellectual flame which may kindle his emotions." Hence "it must be acknowledged," concludes the Report, "the work of the schools as a whole is bleak and barren." In view of this deplorable condition, our educational experts and political leaders now feel that something must be done to save our people from a moral collapse, but they fight shy of making religious instruction a part of the public school

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curriculum. They declare, and that not without reason, that our educational institutions should be kept free from sectarian dissension, difference and conflict. But then some solution must be found, and ways and means must be devised, for the building up of character in the future citizens of India.

There is a widespread recognition not only in India but in all progressive countries of the world, that an education which does not rest on a religious foundation is worse than ignorance. History shows that nations have made their education a means for the attainment of the things they value most. As power, learning, piety, skill, wealth and the like, became in turn the object of desire, so the means of securing them became the object of study. Athens, valuing beauty, symmetry and harmony, both physical and intellectual, sought through her great teachers to cultivate a love of the true, the beautiful and the good. Rome, exalting law, authority and conquest, instructed her youth in oratory and military tactics. So also if we really desire sterling character, it must be made an educational objective, and all our schools must be compelled to give moral training to their pupils. England requires moral instruction in her national and church schools on the plea that it is necessary to "maintain her commercial supremacy;" Germany wants it "for the sake of industrial efficiency." And we want it in order to provide our youth with the necessary moral stamina to bear the burdens and responsibilities of a free India.

We must not become discouraged because of the difficulties we are likely to encounter in enforcing religious instruction in public schools. Such difficulties, we must bear in mind, are not peculiar to ourselves. The recent conflict between the Pope and the Premier in Italy was at bottom a question of religious education of the young. Somewhat similar to our own situation is that which obtains in the United States of America. In India we have the Hindu, Muslim, Parsee and Christian communities; besides these there are ever so many smaller groups. Is it possible to satisfy the demands of so many communities? This problem is not dissimilar to that of America where one finds the Jewish, Catholic, Protestant and Mormon communities. Outside of these major communities, there are other sects and sub-sects. How is religious instruction to be given to the representatives of these diverse groups? This is, indeed, a very vexing problem,—a problem which the nation has been facing since its very birth. Nevertheless, some experiments are now being tried in the different parts of the United States. Believing that the morals of a community depend upon its religion, the Interfaith Committees and also other leaders of the different religious groups are making a united effort to surmount the difficulties and devise a satisfactory plan for religious education of the youth of the nation. Since any success attained in this direction cannot but be of value to others in the same position, it may not be out of place to see how America is meeting the situation.

In the United States all the early educational institutions were founded with a distinctly religious bias. This is true not only of such institutions as Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, Brown and Rutgers but also of most of the private colleges organized later. Many of them serve as organs of particular sects or denominations, and are, therefore, not only authorized but expected to teach the religious doctrine of their founders. They may be likened to our Hindu and Muslim universities in a general way. But when the Federal Government was organized nothing was said about religion in the Constitution itself, but the first amendment made the following provision: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Similar provisions are found in all the State Constitutions, and most of them prohibit sectarian teaching and influences. In six of the Constitutions the term "religion or religions" is used in addition to the prohibition of sectarianism. "No atheistic, infidel, sectarian, religious or denominational doctrine" reads the statute of the Mormon State of Utah, "shall be taught in any of the district schools of the State." In most cases laws are enacted to cover points not touched by the Constitutions themselves. These laws, like the Constitutions, usually prohibit sectarian influence and propaganda rather than the teaching of religion as such.

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Not being satisfied with the situation in public schools, religious America has been trying earnestly for the past few years to find a satisfactory solution to this problem. As a result of the agitation carried on by religious leaders, the Court of Appeal of the State of New York, rendered a decision in May, 1927, to the effect that for an hour a week children may be lawfully permitted, upon the request of their parents, to attend religious instruction in such centres outside of school as parents shall designate. Similarly some of the other States are trying to solve the problem of religious education by special provision. In Minneapolis, for instance, an experiment was started about eight years ago ; and this experiment, by keeping the traditional separation of the State and the Church complete and intact, has succeeded in avoiding the bitter controversies that usually arise when efforts are made to introduce religious instruction in public schools. According to the Minneapolis scheme, the classes of religious education for all Protestant denominations,—which are not a few,—are organized under the auspices of the Minneapolis Church Federation, a group combining most of the Protestant Churches of the city. In addition to this, the Catholics and the Christian Scientists have established their own classes, each being entirely separate from the Federation. So also the Jews conduct their classes independently of the Federation.

This scheme makes it quite evident that the real responsibility of religious education is borne by religious organizations, not by public schools. What then, one may ask, is the part of the public school in this plan of religious education ? Its part is only to release its pupils at the appointed time from other work so as to enable them to attend their classes of religious instruction. To this end the State law had to be amended, vesting such powers on the head master or the principal. Since the new law requires that the classes of religious education be maintained in some place outside the public school building, these classes are held in the church nearest to the school, and never more than two furlongs distant. Thus the children to whom religious instruction is imparted are at that time entirely outside the public school premises. And these special classes for moral training have come to be designated as the school of religious education. Further, the law requires the child's parent or guardian to send in an application requesting that the child be allowed to undergo religious training. Though the number of hours for which the child could be excused for such instruction is three a week, yet only one hour is being utilized at present.

In this experiment one finds four fundamental principles in operation. The first one is that classes in religious instruction should be held outside the public school building. No member of the school staff is allowed to have any connection whatever with it. The second principle is that the attendance of pupils should be optional and subject to the parents' approval. Incidentally it may be mentioned that there is also a rule that unless 50 per cent of the Protestant children in the district desire the school of religious education, it should not be established. The third principle, and an important one, is that such a school should be staffed with teachers highly qualified in religious education. From the beginning the advocates of schools for religious education realized that to make such schools effective, they must be supplied with teaching of a quality at least as high as that in public schools. A teacher, for instance, in the Minneapolis school of religious education is required to have, besides the normal school training, a minimum of three years' experience in public school teaching and a minimum of two years' Church school or Sunday school teaching. Moreover, he or she must also meet the scholastic requirements of having specialized in religious education, mental hygiene and supervision of education. Above all these, the teacher is required to pass stringent tests of character and personality, the latter including a knowledge of child nature, tact in handling children, appearance, health and so forth. The last principle is that the teaching content should be non-sectarian, but based on general spiritual needs.

The main aim of the school of religious education is to give religion its legitimate place in the life of the child, and to aid in developing in the pupil high ideals of character and citizenship. Classroom work consists in

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the salutation of the flag, (the love of the country is not overlooked while teaching the love of God), memorizing select passages from the Bible, discussions on the problems of morality, methods of worship and the development of personal habits. A large amount of the material for instruction is drawn from the Bible, while the life of Christ is made the supreme example in the adventure of living a full life. The Minneapolis experiment is considered a great success, and after eight years' trial, it has now become an established institution in the life of the community. The enrolment of pupils in this school of religious education has increased to such an extent that new plans are now under way for its extension. During this short period of its existence, the school has succeeded in a remarkable way not only in raising the moral tone of the districts but in promoting a feeling of co-operation and goodwill among the different communities. Would it not be possible for our political leaders and educational experts to work out a similar scheme for the religious education of our boys and girls? The children of today make the State of tomorrow. In view of all the changes that are taking place now in our political and social life, I believe this aspect of the education of Indian youth ought not to be neglected.

Some maintain that religious training is not the concern of the school. This, they say, is the business of the home. There is, of course, no question about the value of home training, provided the home is an ideal one and the parents are not only alive to their obligation to give such training but are capable of discharging such duties. Unfortunately, owing to a century or more of social, economic and cultural changes, there has come a moral deterioration in the home also, so much so, that parents themselves are now in need of such instruction. How then can we shift the entire responsibility of character training to the home? Further, it must be noted that there is a strong tendency on the part of our people to separate religion and morality. To many religion seems to mean only ritual; whereas in the point of view maintained in this article, religion and morality are inseparably connected. The function of the school of religious education then must be not to train the pupils in rituals and dogmas but to build character. It must seek not merely to supply the intellect with moral standards and ideals, but to train the will to choose aright. The education of the will is the supreme aim of moral instruction, and this type of training certainly cannot be undertaken by the average parent of today.

Unfortunately, even our present school life, as the child finds it, is too forced and artificial. It is not real and the child knows it. The material with which the school deals is far remote from the child's natural interests. He fails to see its connection with the hard facts of everyday living. Naturally therefore he does not take his school life as seriously as he does his life outside the school. To make matters worse, even the point of contact between teacher and pupil is intellectual and academic rather than personal and inspirational. Not only the environment of the school but even the content of his studies and the moral standards of the school appear to him as merely academic. This rather negative condition of our school life can be overcome; we need only to enrich the curriculum and vitalize the activities of the school by an infusion of the warm currents of the child's every-day interests and experiences outside the school. Unless we are able to do this, we must content ourselves with merely skimming the ground of moral training in the education of our youth.

Religious education is always a means not only of furthering each type of faith but even more of making its social application effective. Social stability, altruistic service and moral temperance must begin with the character training of children. It is true that the religious demands even now do give room to controversy, persecution and proselytization. But because of that, shall we ignore the most important phase of a child's education? What we must rather do is to break away from the obstructing traditions and try, as Prof. John Dewey says, to reach "that type of religion which will be the fine flower of the modern spirit's achievement. Perhaps a fully developed but non-sectarian programme of social education in our public schools may succeed in promoting widespread respect in youth for the social values of all religions.

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Perhaps the gradual acceptance of certain basic principles of social evolution will help our people to understand that the religious life,—beliefs, rituals, institutions and the like,—must perpetually change as knowledge expands and men's group relationship widens. The social education process of public schools need not necessarily include religious teaching, much less religious propaganda. They may well include and objective and dispassionate study of the social values of all religions, and the promotion and respect for all as among the achievements of human effort.

The problem of moral training is primarily a phase of the larger problem of social education. Apart from participation in social life, the principles and precepts of ethics have no significance. Formal instruction in morals is good, so far as it goes, but unfortunately it does not go far enough. Formal instruction often gives the pupil only an intellectual recognition of the principles of conduct, and that is why mere knowledge of what is right does not make a person do the right. Such education, therefore, must be supplemented by opportunities for practice. Hence social life of the school must be natural and as nearly as possible a reproduction of the healthiest social life of the community. The present artificiality of the school atmosphere is an outcome of the tendeney of the school, as an institution, to develop a life of its own which becomes more or less independent of the society it serves. This tendency of the school to become artificial and isolated from the life of the people must be checked. A more widespread conception of the school as a social institution, a medium of social conservation and regeneration, must displace the all too common and narrow idea of its function as that of merely imparting a little formal knowledge. To provide adequate and definite instruction in right living; to provide inspiration and the necessary stimulus to choose the right, and to perfect the will by giving opportunities for the execution of right desires: these are pre-eminently the functions of the school. To neglect the instruction and training of the child in right living is to deprive him of his best and highest birth-right.

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PSYCHOLOGY OF FEMININENESS IN RELATION TO THE GANDHI MOVEMENT

By SURENDRANATH BOSE.

Introduction

WAR, on the whole, is the destruction of the weaker by the stronger. Its abolition can be achieved by the exertions of an opposite power whose function is to protect the weaker against the stronger. There is such a power in Nature: it resides in the heart of woman. The woman secretes milk in her breast to save the more feeble than herself from death; this is a natural feminine function which points to the fact that she enshrines also a feeling in her breast which will save "man's feeble race" from the horrors of war if she could mother the race.

The present essay aims to suggest a method by which feminine power may develop into a Matriarchy which will ultimately lead to the abolition of war.

Femininеness

Femininеness does not mean the same thing as effeminacy. Effeminacy means the desire to be protected and supported by others. Such a state of mind may come to persons of both sexes, though it has become normal to women on account of circumstances imposed upon them by men. Among the lower animals, there is no effeminacy, but there is femininеness.

Femininеness belongs to the female only. It is in the womb of the female that the child is conceived and lives for a period of several months, and it is on her milk that it feeds and grows. In the matter of reproducing a new life clothed with her own flesh and blood and nourished with her own milk, the female acquires experiences and feelings of which her male companion can know nothing. This province of

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female mentality which is unknown to the male constitutes the femininenes of the female, and contains psychic forces of inestimable value to the race.

Femininenes and War

Femininenes contains an element of psychic force which can abolish war.

War is the destruction of the weaker by the stronger. Its abolition can be effected only by a power which is of an opposite nature, that is, by a power whose function is the protection of the weaker against the stronger. Such a power exists in the femininenes of the woman.

Woman secretes milk in her breast to preserve the life of the weaker than herself. This is a natural biological function in her. A natural function is, in all cases, accompanied by an instinctive genius which is appropriate to that function. Woman's natural function, just spoken of, shows that she possesses a genius which knows how to protect the weaker against the stronger.

The protection of the weaker against the stronger is called humanity. It is opposed to brutality, which is the instinct of the stronger to prey upon the weaker. It is humanity which has evolved the human society with its various civilizations and laws, which all aim at the protection of weakness agaist harms.

Civilization owes its origin to the humanity of the woman. The rise of civilization began in those days of the primitive times when women disengaged themselves from destructive kinds of work, such as hunting, fighting and plundering, and, leaving these to the men, settled down to the invention and performance of constructive kinds of work,—which were suggested to them by their humane feelings for the offspring,—such as spinning, weaving, basketry, pottery, cookery, midwifery, herbal-doctoring, dairy-keeping, child-nursing and the like. (Briffault: *The Mothers*).

War is an evolution of brutality and a reversion to barbarism. A few months of war may undo all that has been gained by centuries of humanism and civilization.

A certain amount of cruelty,—a capacity for resisting and killing an attacker,—must be natural to woman; for she has to save her offspring from enemies who surround it. The occasional cruelty of woman is not warlike; it is a protest against the warlike spirit. Wars and fights of woman mostly arise from motives of protecting the weaker or the peaceloving against the stronger or the warlike, as shown in the legends of mythology. Although she is naturally so weak and timid, yet to protect the weaker creature, woman can openly attack enemies a hundred times stronger than herself. In the majority of cases, women have participated in war, and shown heroism, to alleviate the sufferings of its victims. The unselfish character of woman's humanity is shown by the fact that a mother rebukes her own child when she finds it molesting some weaker creature, as for example, the young of a bird's nest. "Woman does not feel gratified for the honour done to her son for killing some other woman's babies." (Bernard Shaw: *The Intelligent Woman's Guide*).

While femininenes is characterized by cruelty to the attacker, the martial spirit is characterized by cruelty to the defender. In fact, the fury of an attack in warfare is proportioned to the obstinacy of the defence. It is the same thing as the ferocity of the beasts of prey, which is incensed tenfold at the victim's attempt to escape.

Femininenes, being opposed to war in so many respects, must have a power which can contribute to the abolition of war from human society.

Femininenes and Peace

Femininenes contains an element of psychic force which can organize peace.

To attain peace an economical organization of society is necessary, such as will make provision for the unprovided. Men go to enlist as soldiers because they cannot find provision for themselves in the economical organization of society.

The secretion of milk in woman is, as has been said before, a natural biological function in her. This enables her to make provision for the unprovided. Corresponding to this functional activity there exists in woman a genius for economy. It is a fact that the administration of most of the family income has belonged to the occupation of wife and mother, who has shown in it better economic capacity than men. The maternal instincts which created the Motherhood formed by the mother and her offspring, are the original forces which gave rise to the home and domestic economy, and thence organized the state with its political economy. (Cf. Bernard Shaw: *The Intelligent Woman's Guide*; Briffault: *The Mothers*).

The indifference of women to the problems of social economy is due partly to the present system of education which denies them all knowledge of economics but chiefly to the existing organization of the State, which does not make provisions for their children, so that every mother has to provide for her own child against the State. Yet it is a significant fact that women are more inclined to share their provisions among themselves than to snatch provisions from one another.

Social economy aims at the fitting of as many as possible to survive. War upsets the social economy and substitutes for it the opposite condition of struggle for existence and survival of the fittest.

Femininenes being thus the orginator of the peaceful condition of the home, must have a power which can contribute to the organization of peace in human society.

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Children snatched from their mothers' breasts and dashed to death by invading soldiers

Femininеness and Unity

Femininеness contains an element of psychic force which can establish unity

Speaking generally, differences among men arise from their want of mutual understanding, while their unity arises from mutual understanding. Thus greater unity is possible among men who speak or understand the same language than among those whose speeches are unintelligible to one another. But apart from spoken language there is an unspoken language by which mutual understanding is possible even among peoples of outlandish tongues, namely, sympathy, the language of the heart.

Sympathy is innate in the female mind; it is the feeling of the mother. Miss Florence Nightingale and her army have shown that even childless womanhood is clothed with all the sympathetic feelings of the mother. The existence of the same feelings in a baby girl is betrayed by her affection for her doll. Woman is a born mother.

Made by Nature to bear a stranger within her, woman is naturally more sympathetic to a stranger, and understands the needs of a stranger better, than man. The history of primitive societies shows that "it is the woman who faces the stranger"; that even where the status of women is one of subjection, "it is nevertheless the woman who naturally takes the lead in negotiations with strangers." In modern society, the General Federation of Women's Clubs includes among its aims and objects "a better understanding of international relations." (Briffault: *The Mothers*; Encyclopaedia Britannica: *Art., Woman.*)

International unity will come from women of the future society. Femininеness is the guardian of that wisdom which prevents fights among children and maintains unity among them. It will be the guardian of that wisdom which will prevent wars among nations and maintain unity among them when it will be in a position to mother the race in addition to mothering babies. Obviously, the capability of maintaining unity among children argues the possession of a faculty for maintaining unity among nations.

Femininеness, being thus gifted with sympathy for strangers, must have a power which can contribute to the establishment of unity among the nations of mankind, which are still strangers to one another.

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Feminine Division of Labour and The Rise of Matriarchy as The Power Antagonistic to War

The mere fact that femininess is opposed to war cannot abolish war. Femininess exists among the beasts also. With a view to abolish war, it is necessary to educate and employ the feminine genius in such a way that it may not only create a peace propaganda which may be more powerful than the military propaganda but also give the challenge to war. There must be a system of training the women for this great task.

Further, when women have been given the proper education and employment, they must be given also the proper opportunity to create international institutions by which the feeble and abortive efforts of individual mothers will be consolidated or replaced by powerful and co-ordinated social activities on the part of the community at large. Without such co-operating organizations, even the noblest efforts of the most devoted mother could not save her child from the ever-threatening storms of war.

The institution of co-operating international organizations of women will evolve Matriarchy or a body-politic of mothers, which will become an integral part of the state government. But this requires that women should first be made economically independent of men.

Hitherto women, being systematically kept under subjection to men, could not presume to think of their economic independence. The emancipation of women has now thrown open the paths of independence to their vision. It has created a sex rivalry in which women are competing with men in all the spheres of activity. In this way women might enter into military affairs and discover ways to bring all wars of bloodshed to an end. But it is to be feared that, apart from the as yet undecided question of impairment of women's femininess by their doing of masculine kinds of work, women will hardly be able to maintain their economic independence of men by sheer competition with them; for women suffer from natural impediments which will give the advantage to men. Hence a method must be devised by which women will get adequate opportunities to become economically independent of men without competing with them. It has already been found that the state can make it practicable for women to work without prohibiting or preventing maternity. (Havelock Ellis: *The Family*).

If legislation may take account of women's *physical* make-up and secure the social interest in a healthy womanhood by imposing, as it does, restrictions affecting industrial employment which apply to women only, then it may equally take account of women's *psychical* make-up and secure the wider interest in a powerful motherhood by making a division of labour for women with respect to certain spheres of activity provided with restrictions which apply to men only.

The possession by women of a special feminine province of mind unknowable to men has enabled them in the past to dissociate their activities from those of men and lay the foundation of peace in the home; the same qualification entitles them now to specialize in certain spheres of activity with a view to lay the foundation of peace in the world.

Without doubt, since men and women are different, there will be certain kinds of work for which men and women will respectively be better or less well-adapted. Division of labour is, in fact, of sexual origin; it originated in the family with the specialization of duties between man and woman. Undoubtedly, division of labour between the two natural divisions of mankind, namely, the two sexes, is more reasonable than the existing division of labour among several fictitious divisions of mankind such as the castes or orders of society. At all events, it is unfair to allot all remunerative labour to one sex and make the other sex dependent on the former's earnings. Civilization without a feminine division of labour is an organized insult to womankind. (Royden: *Women and the Sovereign State*; Dow: *Society and its Problems*; Samson: *The New Humanism*).

Division of labour does not much exist among the lower animals, and, without it, man also would have remained at the merely animal level. It was division of labour which made the barbarians civilized. The progress of culture is everywhere marked by growing refinements in division of labour. An improvement in division of labour, founded on biological facts of sex, will facilitate the attainment of a higher state of civilization and culture. (*Cf.* Adam Smith: *The Wealth of Nations*; Walker: *Political Economy*; Marshall: *Economics of Industry*; Ogburn: *The Social Sciences*; Mackenzie: *Introduction to Social Philosophy*; Samson: *The New Humanism*).

As to what are the feminine occupations which should be reserved for women, this is a question of detail; what is important is the principle. There are great statesmen and expert administrators, with strong common sense and deep insight into the feelings of others, to whom the work of determining the feminine division of labour might be safely entrusted. It may be remarked in this connection that although, in these modern times, spinsters cannot be expected to replace the spinning machines nor daughters to go back to their dairies, yet the value of old traditions in effecting a reformation peacefully should not be under-estimated. The International Matriarchy Act may be best begun by restoring to women the industries of which they were the originators. This may be the beginning of a League of Mothers to enforce peace among the nations.

Sex-Division of work and wages will bring to

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women their real economic independence of men. Out of the economic independence of women will arise those co-operating international organizations which will evolve Matriarchy, as said above. A fully developed, genuine Matriarchy, which is quite different from mere Matrilinealism or Gynæcocracy or Queendom, has not yet been established on earth. (*Cf.* Dow: *Society and its Problems*; Lowie: *Primitive Society*.) Once it has been established in these modern days, its progress will not take a long time to bring it into collision with Militarism and the propaganda of war.

Whether women's war against militarism will be one of bloodshed or not, is a question which remains unanswered. The Aryans propagated a symbol of worship in which Ten Hands from among the mothers are incorporated into a Matriarchal body called Durga or the inviolable) which has engaged the State-lion (that is, the Patriarchal Power) to assist in the bloody war of destroying the Devil of militarism and initiating a new era of peace in which Angels visit the earth.

Matriarchy and the Future of Society

It is evident that Matriarchy will seek to remove all causes of crimes and wars.

Crimes and wars can be abolished, but not the spirit which prompts men to them,—the daring and enterprising spirit. Peace is only a transformation of that spirit from the destructive to the constructive form.

While physical daring has been required in the exploits of war, moral courage will be required in the achievements of peace. The work of peace will be an unending increase of progressive reformation and culture. By reformation is meant the conquest of Nature by man; while culture means the acquisition of newer and newer mental powers which can more and more understand the laws and conquer the forces of Nature. The aid of Matriarchy will be particularly valuable in the work of peace. For women will strike out according to their natural peace-loving inclinations and,—with the practical sense, attention to minutæ and precision of work characteristic of the sex,—cultivate fields that men would never have cultivated. "They will thus add to the world's progress." (*Cf.* Ward: *Applied Sociology*). Hitherto, all attempts at reformation and culture have been systematically arrested by the opposition of the masses of uneducated, ignorant and superstitious women; Matriarchy will lift them from the quagmire of superstition, and then they will learn to pay more attention to the heaven and hell of this world than to those of the other world.

The individual has known peace and security in the lap of the mother; the race will find peace and security in the lap of Matriarchy.

Reformation

Without an efficient Matriarchy the emancipation of woman has meant the offering of females as sexual prey to males and of males as financial prey to females. It is a matter of necessity that in order to make men her financial prey without herself becoming their sexual prey, woman will be scheming and practising infinite deceit upon men. No question of feminine frailty or deceitfulness arises in connection with females who are economically independent of males, as among the primitive folks and lower animals.

Matriarchy will mean the suppression and reformation of those among men and women who would choose to be dissipators or temptresses; *it will mean the removal of all real or supposed objections to the emancipation of woman.* The criminal reformation of the future will proceed on a psychopathological basis.

Crimes and wars are due to the interaction of two things, namely, weakness and brutality. With the progress of Matriarchal legislation, weakness will be armed with strength while brutality will be suppressed; for humanity, or the protection of the weak against the strong, is the natural disposition and guiding principle of the motherkind, as has been said above. The crafts which profit by war and therefore promote the causes of war will lose their jobs and become extinct.

The expansive force of overpopulation carries with it a state of war. The regulation of population will be possible only through the co-operation of Matriarchy with the State. Restriction of the increase of population is not a greater evil than massacre of a surplus population. (Bernard Shaw: *Woman's Guide*).

But the chief thing which furnishes causes of crimes and wars is property. The State, at present, plays the game of throwing money before its subjects and making them fight or scramble among themselves for their portions as best they could. To this scramble for money is due the rise and growth of private property and, consequently, of crimes and wars. Generally speaking, crime of this character is a transfer of property from individual to individual, while war is a transfer of property from nation to nation.

It would not be unreasonable to expect that Matriarchy, with its motherly principles of the protection of the unprotected, provision for the unprovided, and unity among the un-united, will check all harmful systems which promote competition, exploitation and rivalry, and direct its attention to utilize each and all of the members of society for the benefit of the whole organization, and eventually make State-provisions take the place of private property, thus making the peoples co-operate with the State for the peace of society. It is possible to do this even now while retaining the monarchies and republics, and improving the machineries and factories (Cf.

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A. R. Wallace: *Studies*; Marvin: *Science and Civilization*; Bertrand Russell: *Social Reconstruction.*)

To abolish war internationalism is necessary. So long as nations remain strangers to one another, they will be enemies and wars will continue on account of their mutual distrust and fears. A great longing for a secure condition of international life based upon reciprocity is filling the world which is today seeking for an organizer. "There can be no question that men and women would prefer at present to get mates away from home, even if there were no traditional prejudice against the marriage of near kin." (Rousseau: *Perpetual Peace*; Ludwig: *War and Peace*; Fried: *German Emperor and the Peace of the World*; Thomas: *Sex and Society*).

It is evident that communities among which a perpetual marriage contract is established will tend to become one people and dwell together, The future progress of man may depend on the establishment of a type out of the fusion of existing types. "The source of every civilization has lain in race-mixture." Youthful nations are those which owe their origin to the intermixture of several old and effete nations. "Intermarriage produces a marked effect in the richness of brain power',' if biological laws are properly attended to. On the other hand, unmixed, aboriginal nations tend to remain in a state of arrested development. It is a fact that cross-breading between different species gives bad results but between varieties of the same species gives good results. (Briffault: *The Mothers*; Petric: *The Revolutions of Civilization*; Galton: *Essays in Eugenics*; Newman: *Evolution, Genetics and Eugenics*; Muller: *Sexual Biology*).

Women are eminently fitted for the work of establishing international reciprocity and unity, since their sense of economy and their sympathy for strangers are greater than man's, as has been said above. The evolution of a higher race from the amalgamation of nations will be accomplished when Matriarchy has been established and not before.

In the cult of Matriarchy there is a bond of unity between nations which are professedly opposed to each other. While the Moslem says, "Heaven lies beneath the feet of the mother," the Hindu responds, "The mother is higher than heaven."

With the progress of Matriarchy and humane civilization, science will be rescued from its barbaric misuses and will be "used to increase the sum of human happiness." A new moral order will arise which will stabilize "a marriage contract of far greater stringency than that recognized today." It was primitive Matriarchy which, even in its undeveloped state, evolved monogamy and "developed into the highest standards of marriage." (H. G. Wells: *Socialism and the Family*; Count Keyserling: *The Book of Marriage*).

Religion will derive a new source of inspiration from Matriarchy; for a subtle relation exists between the two. Devotees of religion show a tendency to hide themselves in small rooms or caves; some even assume the postures of the embryonic child. Psycho-analytically, this is a return to the security of the mother's womb in quest of peace. (Cf. Stoddart: *Mind and its Disorders*). And mothers are more inclined than fathers to support their religiously minded children.

The human endeavour to come in contact with the eternal world might achieve some practical results under the auspices of Matriarchy, which will be the glorious future of humanity. Asceticism and Astrology will be purified of their superstitious taints and placed on reformed and well-founded bases.

Culture

The underlying principle of all reforms is culture. By culture is meant the creation of a new mind by social operations.

It has been said of culturists that "they invent a social order without respect to the human heart, and then they invent a human heart to suit their social order." (Towler and Ray: *Socialism*). But it is the creation of a new mind to which the forces of biological evolution are always addressing themselves. Civilization, in some of its phases, is nothing but a continuous process of renovating the mind of man.

The modern social mind is a creation of Militarism. So long as it lasts the love of peace will be considered to be a sign of inferiority. Militarism will sink into odium when the arising of a new mind will take place which will regard the ideal of peace not only as higher than the ideal of war but as the proper object of man's desire. So long as the warlike mind does not give place to the peace-loving mind, mere disarmament of nations cannot abolish war; for men can fight with their fists and teeth.

This new mind will be a creation of Matriarchy;—it is contingent upon the education of the race at the hands of the cultured and independent mothers of the future. Only the dignified mothers of the future will be able to impart to their sons a burning hatred of the degradation of the soul which is forced upon mankind by war,—war with its horrible passion for violence and destruction, "with its devasted fields and ruined cities, with its millions of dead and more millions of maimed and wounded, its broken-hearted and defiled women and its starved children bereft of their natural protection, its hate and atmosphere of lies and intrigue, its outrage on all that is human, its mowed-down masses of men, including the aged and the infirm, women and children;—and to make their girls understand that they are the natural guardians of life and hearth, that they may arise and extinguish a fever-fit of humanity

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before it bursts into war, that "theirs are those weaponless hands which, since primaeval times, have been superior to hands bearing arms". (Cf. Kidd : *The Science of Power* : Ellen Key: *The Younger Generation* ; Ludwig ; *War and Peace* ; Harrison : *Natural and Social Problems ;* Sir S. Radhakrishnan : *Kalki, or the Future of Civilization*).

When peace will become the ideal of men, women will be given the palm of superiority to men. In fact, woman represents a superior type of mind—which the civilized man is only slowly approaching. The great uplifters of mankind possessed not only feminine type of mind but also feminine type of the countenance. Religion inculcates feminine virtues as higher than masculine ones. The militarist unconsciously admits the same fact in his conception of Angels as superior to Devils. (Cf. Bogardus: *Introduction to Social Sciences*).

Upon women falls the task not only of throwing off their own subjection, but of rescuing from the like thraldom the deepest realities of their femininenes upon which society was originally founded by them. To beat down Satan under foot and make the earth habitable for the saints is a work which God has reserved for Matriarchy and not for Militarism. "The beautiful legend will yet come true; Ormuzd will vanquish Ahriman; Satan will be overcome; Virtue will descend from heaven surrounded by her Angels and reign over the hearts of men. Women will become the companions of men, and the tutors of their children. Immortality will be invented." Men will conquer Time and Space; and they will migrate to the stars and inhabit them. (Winwood Reade: *The Martyrdom of Man*).

It is evident that when women will become educated and wealthy, they will turn their attention to the promotion of culture; and then will Learning be rescued from the curse of indigence which has so long attached to it. It has been truly said that "Matriarchy evolves the creative genius of man." (Count Keyserling *The Book of Marriage*).

Conclusion

Matriarchy seems to be imminent. A sex-war is manifesting its approach in the way that women are leaving housework to take up public services, and ceasing to care whether they lose man's respect or not. "Round the woman question in its largest sense one of the next great fights will centre." (Havelock Ellis: *Women and Socialism*).

The great sex-war of the future will be a contest between humanity and brutality as to which is the more powerful force of nature and which is to have the mastery of the world. The criterion of power is the ability to compel others against their will. Woman exercises compulsion not by violent physical force but by non-violent psychical influences. In the fight of the sexes, the total abolition of war would, of course, be the ideal, and weapons will be of little use. Women will carry their day by strikes, disobediences, and martyrdoms invented by themselves when Matriarchal unions have been formed by them. Mothers will not talk piously but will go "the whole hog against war;" they will refuse to bear sacrificial offsprings to the State. (Agnes Dollan; Bernard Shaw). Society being thus threatened with extinction, the State will be compelled to come to terms with the mothers and break with the past: the triumph of Matriarchy will then be an accomplished fact.

The triumph of women over men will be the triumph of humanity over brutality, of the forces of mind over the forces of matter. It will form a new chapter in the history of animal magnetism,—a chapter which was scarcely thought of before, namely, the conquest of Militarism by Femininenes. Upon that vast inquiry concerning the influence of mind over matter—an inquiry which the embodied mind of man will never be able to fathom completely—it will shed a new light. It will afford an additional proof of the strength of the unconquerable mind and the weakness of matter as compared with it;—another illustration of the words of the inspired Psalmist that we are "fearfully and wonderfully" made.

The power of femininenes is closely allied to the original Energy which has evolved the universe out of the womb of chaos and woven it into an orderly system;—the Shakti of ancient Aryan philosophy and religion.

The overcoming of brutal forces by psychical influences is the spirit of the recent Gandhi Movement in India. The feminine spirit of the movement is apparent in its advocacy of peaceful culture and feminine kinds of work, its success in bringing women to the front, its espousing the cause of the weak and depressed classes of society, its endeavours to overcome the war of violence by non-violent measures, its preference of martyrdom to persecution, and its inclination to international federation and peace.

To those who have gone through the preceding pages it will be apparent that the present movement in India is founded on principles which are likely to prevail in the near future. Matriarchy, although it may not be without its evil, is yet the true line of future advance and is destined to come with the progress of social evolution.

Buddha Gaya

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A PLANET AND A STAR

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

'THAT is true of this world also and it is undoubtedly a good sign. It is not possible for all men to renounce the world. Such a call comes to only a few of us and has to be obeyed, but for the great majority the ways of the world must be sufficient and they cannot turn away from it. But if men live better lives and pursue higher ideals than they did in former times it is a great gain. The ultimate goal, however, must always remain the same, and that is the emancipation of the spirit from the thrall of life and death. To compass this consummation no help can come from outside. It is by dint of our own individual efforts that we can win to final release when all our trammels are broken and we attain eternal peace. There is always the haunting sense that we are at one with the Infinite; this explains why we feel that we are really immortal, in spite of our all too mortal abode of flesh. There is neither heaven nor hell nor any law of reward or punishment. But we are born again and again and our happiness or our suffering is in our own hands.'

Maruchi said, 'The belief in heaven and hell is very ancient and almost all the ancient sacred books speak of them. But it is now generally understood that heaven and hell are creations of human imagination.'

'There can be no question about it. First, there is the firm belief that death does not mean the end of the soul which is imperishable. This is quite true. And then arises the confusion about the life hereafter. Our present life is supposed to be based upon a system of rewards and punishments and this theory is carried to the life beyond this life. The conception of heaven and hell is manifestly wrong because it is based upon the senses. Paradise is either a place of a continuous round of pleasures without surfeit or of enjoyment of some other kind. When a dear one dies the survivors say that they hope to meet him or her in heaven. The ties of relationship or love are carried to the next life. Heaven is thus nothing more than another world, much better than this life, where we are all happy and free from the little worries of this life. Hell, on the other hand, is the place where sinners and the wicked are sent and they are tortured and punished far more frightfully than in the land of the living. The foundations in both instances are the same. They are pleasure and punishment based upon the senses. These are physical organs and both pleasure and pain have to be sensed. At death the body which possesses the senses, quickened by the vitality within, perishes. Who then enjoys the pleasures of heaven or suffers the horrors of hell? Either the disembodied spirit or the spirit in another garb of flesh. The latter theory is not seriously maintained in any religion and it was never believed that men and women again became creatures of flesh and blood when they went to heaven or hell. As regards the soul, or the immortal part of man, it can know neither pain nor pleasure since it is no part of the physical organism of man. The conception of heaven and hell is based upon the idea that man retains his physical nature even after death and this is obviously wrong. Further, the notion of reward or punishment in an existence after death can be neither an encouragement nor a deterrent in this life. We may, therefore, dismiss the myth about a heaven and a hell as unreal and imagined from a fixed idea that our senses are part of our immortal self and our susceptibility to pain and pleasure pursues us even after the dissolution of our bodies. There are no angels to welcome us in heaven, nor any fiends to torture us in hell. What we do carry with us is the weight of our own actions, and the burden grows heavier or lighter in each successive life according as we add to it or shed it.'

'The belief in heaven and hell is a very old one, though it is now generally understood that there is no reality behind it. When people speak of God they point upward and imagine that He dwells in a kingdom of His own somewhere high up in the heavens just as we live on the earth and you on Heperon. Hell they locate downwards, either in the womb of the earth, or some other region still further below. But in reality there are no such directions as up or down, and these merely indicate the relative positions of our heads and feet. We came up from the Earth and down on this planet without any change in the direction of our movement.'

'Perfectly true, my children. And now the words of parting have to be spoken. We are so constituted that it must ever be a meeting and a parting. It is strange beyond words that we, the beings of two worlds, should meet, but it is not strange that we have to part, for the parting must come either in life or in death. Who can tell whether we shall meet in another life and whether the memory of this life will abide with us? You will return to your own land in perfect safety and you will be as gods among your own people. Besides, the memory of what you have seen you will carry with you a

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living evidence of your visit. I wish it were otherwise, but events will take their own course and no one has either the right or the power to interfere.'

These mysterious words made us look at one another in astonishment. What did the Master mean? What could be a living evidence of our visit? We had not thought of taking a bird or animal with us, being very uncertain whether it could live during the long voyage, and we certainly had no idea of asking any human being to accompany us since it meant exile for life.

Maruchi ventured to ask, 'What are we to understand my Master, by a living evidence?'

The Master looked very grave, 'My son, you will understand when the time comes. At present I can say no more.'

We wondered. I looked at the Master and I looked at Orlon and I again wondered.

The next morning we bade farewell to Ashan and his disciples. The Master gave us his blessing and we fell at his feet before parting. I can remember him now, a great and imposing figure, calm-eyed and tranquil of countenance, holding up his right hand in a final benediction as we left the ground and sailed out of sight.

XXXIX

The Return

For some time we spoke of Ashan the Master, his wisdom and the wonders we had seen. He had denied the possession of miraculous powers, but by what other name could we designate what we had witnessed with our own eyes and what we had felt ourselves when under the influence of his power? What we had seen him doing was accomplished without the slightest effort and we were convinced that he had no intention of impressing or bewildering us. He had given an explanation of the powers he possessed, but we could not understand it because we knew nothing of the subtler and deeper potentialities of the spiritual part of man. The miracles recorded in ancient times and attributed to great teachers and prophets were looked upon as inexplicable or evidence of human credulity. What we had seen was certainly beyond our understanding, but there was no question of an easy belief. We were under no delusion, nor did we suspect for a moment that any attempt had been made to impose upon our belief. A suggestion of this kind would have been an insult to our intelligence and a much deeper affront to a man the like of whom we had never seen and might never again meet. There was such distinction in his bearing, so clear was the stamp of truth on his face, so holy was his life that no one could look upon him without a feeling of profound reverence. Had we ever heard another man speak as he did? He was engaged on a quest that appears meaningless to most men, but we had ourselves felt how great and how noble the quest was.

That parting observation of the Master was still puzzling us. Maruchi knitted his eye-brows and put us the question, 'What did the Master mean by a living evidence of our visit? It can scarcely be a wild creature or a domesticated animal, and there is no likelihood of an inhabitant of Mars accompanying us to the planet whence we come.'

Ganimet scratched his head and remarked, 'It may be a Pompo or some one from the City of the Kings.'

Maruchi shook his head. 'That's absurd. We shall see nothing more of the City of the Kings nor are we likely to meet another Pompo. Nevertheless, I feel that what the Master has foreseen is certain to happen. If it is to be a man why did the Master not tell us who it would be?'

'It may be some one we have never met,' I suggested.

'That also is out of the question. Why should any one who has never met us accompany us on a voyage from which it is almost certain that he will never return?'

'What strikes me,' I said, 'is that the Master has given us part of some information, but has withheld part of it. It almost seems as if his object was to mystify us. But he is incapable of it. I have no doubt that he had in mind some one we know, but he did not mention any name because he thought we might be greatly shocked and astonished. At the same time, he wanted us to be prepared for the surprise in store for us.'

'It must be as you say,' remarked Maruchi, 'but what perplexes me is that we have no intention of visiting any place except Opi, and that is merely in fulfilment of a promise to bid good-bye to the monks who were so kind to us. Surely, we do not expect that any one from Opi will be our fellow-traveller to earth. Neither this world nor our own has any attraction for the holy men at Opi.'

Orlon had been listening to us in silence. His face was thoughtful but at times a sudden light came into his eyes and again passed like a flash of distant lightning on the horizon. He now joined the conversation, speaking in a slow, meditative voice, 'It may be that some one will volunteer to go with us, some one who may or may not be known to us.'

'But who can it be?'

'If we knew that all speculation would be at an end.'

The conversation then flagged and we watched the flight of our airship. Before leaving Ashan's hermitage we had consulted the maps in our possession. These did not indicate the site of the hermitage, but Raba was clearly shown and we had made a mark locating the cave retreat of the Master. As we did not intend to visit any

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other place on the way back it was not necessary to follow the circuitous passage round the various places we had seen on our way to Raba. We were now flying in a straight line towards Opi and much of the country over which we were passing was new to us and we noted numerous towns and large villages in the course of our swift flight. At certain places the country was mountainous and there were large regions of forest. We passed over beautiful lakes with their placid waters mirroring the trees and the hills surrounding them. There were landscapes of pastoral beauty which we passed much too quickly to be able to admire them fully. Moreover, our thoughts were occupied more with the future than with the present. Now that we had decided to bring our visit to Mars to an end we were thinking of the long voyage through space that lay before us and what awaited us at the other end. Would the return passage be safely accomplished ? We had the assurance of Ashan that we would return to our own planet in safety, and we had a firm intuition that his prediction would come true. His knowledge whether of the past or of the future was absolutely right. We thought of the welcome that awaited us when we would be back among our own people. We recalled with a thrill of pleasure the old familiar faces that would gaze at us with an expression of unbounded admiration. There was a mist before our eyes and a quickening of the heart as thoughts of this nature came crowding into the mind.

The voice of Maruchi broke upon our day-dreams. 'Perhaps we are all thinking of the time when we shall once more be back among our own people and all that we have seen here will be a mere memory. This is quite natural and as the day comes nearer when we shall make our final salutation to this land of our dreams, our impatience will also grow everyday. But we are carrying back with us more than a memory. It has been our high privilege to meet one who is greater than any man we have known and whom we left only a few hours ago. It will be our misfortune if he were to become only a memory and not a guide and a permanent influence in our lives. It will profit us even now to recall his discourses and observations. So long as we were with him he never assumed the role of a teacher, and we do not know how his disciples are taught. But he never speaks except to teach for all his thoughts convey instruction. He lives and thinks on a plane altogether beyond our reach, but he speaks with great simplicity, though with great eloquence and a rare strength of conviction. Sahir, you have thought deeper than any of us and the Master's discourses must have appealed to you strongly. Can you recall some of his sayings ?'

'Who can forget them ?' I asked in reply. 'Since listening to him every one of us has become more thoughtful and life a more serious thing. A butterfly is by no means an uncommon sight and a naturalist will discourse learnedly about its life-history when he sees one, but the Master spoke about it from a very different point of view. What he said was to us of the nature of a revelation. But the most far-reaching doctrine that he enunciated was about previous and after births.'

'That is not a new theory and some of our ancient teachers and philosophers had a firm belief in it. The notable feature about what the Master said was his vivid realization and the cogency of his reasoning. Apart altogether from the probabilities of it this doctrine of reincarnation is most satisfying. If this life has no past and no future everything connected with life would be transient and fleeting. And yet there can be no question that man is capable of things which are immortal. As the Master pointed out how can anything that is made be greater than the maker or endure longer ? We have books and teachings that seem to be everlasting. These are the expressions of the immortal part of man. It is this part of him that is born again and again, and the highest aim is to escape this ceaseless rotation of birth and death.'

'Does it not coincide with the doctrine of the Buddha ?'

'Yes,' said Maruchi, 'he also believed in the memory of previous births—a belief that he shared with others of his race. You know there is a word in the Sanskrit language referring to this particular phase of memory. What do you think would happen if such a memory were to become the common possession of humanity ?'

'A most interesting question,' I said. 'It would lead to unbelievable complications and possibly to a complete deadlock. People would live not in the present but in the past. They would hardly take any interest in the affairs of this life. The human race would become a race of reminiscents. Even in this life there is a marked tendency to harp on the past as we grow old. Old men and women recall the memory of their younger days with pleasure and are usually dissatisfied with the present, mainly because they linger superfluous on the stage of life. There is a period of anecdotage that precedes senile decay and dotage. If we had been contemporaries of Alexander or Caeser and were born again at present with a clear remembrance of those times do you think we would take the faintest interest in the happenings of these degenerate times as we would designate them ? We would wax as eloquent as Demosthenes or Cicero, and denounce the present effiminate generation in burning philippics. The past has always an irresistible fascination. If we remembered our past lives we would never be happy unless we met those we used to know in our previous incarnations. Our sole endeavour would be to roll back the tide of time. The march of events would

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come to a permanent halt. We would want the old occurrences to happen again and again. Our short memories are a safe-guard against such a disaster. Remember that the ultimate release from the treadmill of life and death is an individual problem and each one of us has to work out his own salvation. The human race does not move *en masse* even in the minor affairs of this life.'

'That is so. Then there is also the strange contradiction in our nature, the easy credulity in many matters and the confirmed scepticism in others. We easily accept many things on trust and refuse others even on good evidence.'

Orlon was rather preoccupied, but he had been listening to our conversation with attention. He now joined in it. 'What is called fatalism, or predestination, is an outcome of this belief in previous births. You may remember that in former times certain peoples, specially in Asia, believed that everything was pre-ordained and the book of fate was written on every man's forehead. The reason why such a belief was condemned was that it deprived man of the power of initiative and took away the driving force of stimulus from human effort. When a man failed in any enterprise, or any evil befell him he merely struck his forehead, which was in effect a confession of helpless impotence, and his spirit bowed to what he looked upon as the inevitable. But the doctrine of *karma*, for that is what the Master so elaborately expounded to us and what has been at the back of our own minds, is the very reverse of fatalism. More than any other theory it leaves man the maker and master of his own destiny. We are wayfarers threading our way through many countries, which are so many lives, and our going is good or we loiter as we will. We are tradesmen equipped with capital and we squander it or prosper according to our own capacity.

'Ah, Orlon,' remarked Maruchi, with a bright smile, 'if your silences are golden your speech is like a shower of jewels.'

'Have it your own way, you flatterer. You see how a large section of the human race put a wrong interpretation upon a simple but far-reaching doctrine. There is, however, a subtle distinction between the two phases of this doctrine. This was clearly indicated by the Master more than once, but the people who accepted fatalism as their creed could not make this distinction. The pivot of the whole doctrine is the law of cause and effect. No one can question or deny the existence of this law. The only difference has been in understanding its applicability. The fatalist believes that he is at the terminal end of the chain that runs from cause to effect. All that is happening, all that will happen is the effect of past causes. He leaves out of considera-tion the other fact that the process of causation does not cease any more than the happening of the effect. Life is partly what we made it in the past and partly what we make it in our present incarnation. You must have noted the reluctance of the Master to speak of the future in so far as it referred to an individual. He had in his mind the unpreventable effect from a cause that had already happened. He knows perfectly well what or who will be the living evidence of our visit to this planet; he prepared us for what will happen but he would not perturb us by disclosing the identity of our fellow-voyager. This particular incident need not be discussed further, but what we have to bear in mind is that the doctrine taught by the Master is nothing like fatalism.'

'That is perfectly clear,' I said; 'in fatalism there is no place for self-determination; one merely waits with folded hands for the pre-ordained inevitable. The Master, on the contrary, holds that the entire responsibility is our own. We cannot of course avoid or escape the effect, but the cause is in our own hands. The harvest that we reap is of our own sowing. Instead of being passive instruments in the hands of destiny we are the architects of our own future, and we make it or mar it according to our own inclination and our own efforts.'

Maruchi said, 'We are all agreed as to the tenets of the Master's doctrine and we also know that it has been taught and accepted by a very large section of our fellow human beings on earth. But I wonder whether there is any explanation within our understanding of the miraculous powers possessed by the Master. He himself has given a very lucid explanation, but is it comprehensible to our intelligence? You, Sahir, chaffed me about what you called my hunger for miracles, though I am sure all of you were as keen as myself. Well, that hunger has been satisfied, but what is the explanation?'

I said, 'We had it from the Master himself and how can we improve upon it? Men who have said that miracles do not happen, or have ridiculed them as the credulous belief of an ignorant superstition were themselves ignorant. Our minds move in certain well-marked circles and beyond these they cannot go. But as the circles widen our comprehension grows. The progress is step by step, and it is within our knowledge that what was impossible or miraculous in the past is easily accomplished in the present. There is only one fact which seems remarkable and that is that miracles were known when most of the inventions of science were unknown. The two are on two different planes and the searchings of the spirit began much earlier than the inventions of science. This was due to the preparation in previous incarnations. When we go back to the world people will say we have performed a marvellous feat but does it not seem quite insignificant compared to what we have seen the Master doing? You, Maruchi, and I have actually felt his power over our minds. How can we explain that power when the region of

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the spirit is an unknown country to us? Consider the progress of the human race. It is far more advanced than in ancient times, but have we produced another Buddha or Christ? These Masters did not possess the scientific knowledge that we have acquired in recent times, but their wisdom and their powers have never been equalled after them. How can we explain the greatness of these teachers except on the theory that they had concentrated all their powers in past incarnations on the advancement of the spiritual faculty? The possessions of the world and the cultivation of the intellect had no attraction for them. It cannot be doubted for a moment that they had intellectual gifts of a very high order, but these were subservient to the spirit which dominated all other faculties. The wonders of science are as nothing compared to the wonders of the spirit. We have sought to develop the forces that exist outside of ourselves; these Masters have cultivated powers innate in their own selves. To ignorant people the triumphs of science are like miracles; to us the things that we have seen done by Ashan are miracles, because they baffle us and we do not know how to account for them.'

The conversation then took a more practical turn. We spoke about Opi and the monks, but not much about Narga. Our intention was to make a very brief stay at Opi and to start on the homeward voyage as early as possible. Before leaving Ashan's hermitage Nabor had told us that he would overhaul the machine thoroughly before we commenced the long passage back to our own planet. This might take a week and we proposed leaving Opi as soon as Nabor finished his work.

The distance between Raba and Opi as the crow flies is not very great and we remembered that we had seen the vapour column of Raba the morning we landed at Opi. Swiftly and silently we flew towards our destination over new lands and new scenes, rugged hilly tracts alternating with pastoral landscapes. There were many townships and large and small villages but we did not pass over large cities. The soil in many parts of Mars must be very fertile for there were signs of a luxurious vegetation wherever we had gone and the rainfall appeared to be well distributed. The greenery was most grateful and restful to the eye, while the display of colour in woodlands in which flowers abounded was dazzling. Mars is undoubtedly the botanist's paradise. There were very few flowers which had no scent, and very often the aroma was as exquisite as it was varied. Nature had dowered the red planet with a prodigal hand.

It was an hour before sunset that we reached Opi. Nabor circled over the monastery twice and played a lively tune upon his instrument to give intimation of our arrival. We landed in front of the building we had formerly used as a hangar for our machine.

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Nabor's musical call had the desired effect. As we alighted on the ground we saw Karos and several other monks hurrying towards us. They greeted us with great warmth and informed us that our old rooms were ready for our use and they were very pleased to see us again. As we moved towards the building I noticed that Orlon's eyes were eagerly looking in that direction. I knew that he was looking for Narga, who of course could not come out like the monks to meet us outside the monastery. Such eagerness on her part would have compromised her dignity in the eyes of the monks. Still as we approached the building, Karos and the others keeping up an animated conversation with Maruchi, I had a glimpse of the flutter of a white hand for a moment and knew it was Narga's welcome to Orlon.

When we entered the passage that led to the various wings of the star-shaped building we saw Narga standing in the doorway of one of the rooms. It was impossible to look at that vision of beauty without a thrill. She stood radiant in the dazzling splendour of her beauty, her face aglow with pleasure and her eyes shining with a suspicion of moisture in them. She was the same and yet not the same. There was a new grace in the curves of her peerless form, there was a new languor in her limbs, a new timidity in her mien.

There was a hunger in her eyes that I had not seen before, and a slight heaving of the bosom. Probably Maruchi and the others noticed no change, and my eyes might have been somewhat influenced by my imagination. Narga's eyes met ours in smiling welcome, and they rested on Orlon's for the shadow of an instant longer, but they passed on to Nabor and Ganimet. Then the cadenced music of her voice was in our ears.

'Welcome, my friends from a world which to our eyes is only a luminary in the heavens, thrice welcome! You have seen all that you wanted to see of this world of ours, and I thank Raba that he has had you in his safe keeping.'

We bowed to her with profound respect and Maruchi thanked her on our behalf. 'Lady', said he, 'nothing can exceed the graciousness of your welcome. We are here not only in fulfilment of our promise, but because we have been eagerly looking forward to this day, to the honour of standing once more in your presence and the pleasure of meeting our friends here before our final departure from your wonderful world.'

Narga frowned archly in mock displeasure. 'What talk is this of departure at the moment of arrival? Nay, nay, it is not good to speak of parting at the instant of meeting. We shall hold you prisoners at our sovereign pleasure. We shall hold you to ransom which shall be the treasure of your wisdom, and you will not get your liberty until your coffers are empty. How say you, my good Karos?'

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'Well and wisely spoken, my lady, you have spoken our thought in language which we could never find.'

Maruchi bowed low again. 'We are overwhelmed by the exceeding great measure of your kindness and we yield ourselves ready prisoners to your sovereign will and we place our liberty and our lives unreservedly in your fair and all-conquering hands.'

And in the quick humour of the moment Maruchi stepped forward and knelt before the Lady Narga, and lifting her beautiful hands saluted it lightly with his lips, and then rose and stood back with his head bowed.

No knight of the ancient days of chivalry could have done what Maruchi did with a more courtly grace or with greater propriety. He saluted Narga as one bends before a great queen. We were not only amazed but felt dubious about the effect on Karos and the other monks. Would they approve of the high priestess being treated as a great court lady? I looked at Karos and saw at once that he had fixed his eyes upon Maruchi in a puzzled stare. He was not thinking of the knightliness of the homage, but the immunity of Maruchi from the consequences of his rashness in touching Narga. Was not she like a live electric wire, whose touch would have knocked down, if not killed, a man? And here was Maruchi perfectly unconcerned as if he had touched a mere woman.

Narga's eyes were beaming with pleasure and a bewitching roguery. 'Sir Knight', she said, 'I thank you for your knightly courtesy and your chivalrous surrender. Rest you now with your brother knights and give us an early opportunity of listening to your adventures and knightly deeds, and tell us of the damsels in distress whom you rescued?'

Narga inclined her head and passed inside the room, closing the door behind her.

In our own rooms Karos asked Maruchi excitedly, 'Did you feel nothing when you touched Narga?'

'No. Why should I?'

'Because she is much more magnetic than we are and no man may touch her with safety to himself.'

'Well, I did, and you saw that nothing happened.'

'Strange!' said Karos, and then he and his companions withdrew and we were left to ourselves.

'Maruchi,' I said, 'I am sure in a former incarnation you must have been of the knights of King Arthur's Round Table.'

'Sir Lancelot?' suggested Orlon, with sly malice. He was scarcely pleased that such honour should have befallen any man other than himself, for in his heart he knew that he was the chosen Knight of Narga.

'Not so,' I answered, 'that would be a calumny Maruchi must have been Sir Galahad himself.'

'I am glad,' said Maruchi, 'that I rendered her the homage due to a princess for though royalty has ceased to be the individual right of a man or woman to be royal will always remain. The mistake that they made in the old times was in thinking that there was heredity in royalty. Kingliness or queenliness is a personal distinction. Have you anywhere seen a more royal personage than Ashan, or a more queenly figure than Narga, and the one is a hermit and the other is a nun?'

'True,' murmured Orlon. 'You are right as usual, Maruchi.'

We had no thought of spending the afternoon and evening in our rooms. We had a wash, put on the robes that Karos had given us and strolled out in the open, Nabor and Ganimet were already at work on the machine which they had taken inside the improvised hangar. Although we did not openly speak about it all of us were more or less impatient to start on the homeward voyage, and the pilot and his mechanic knew that we would be ready as soon as they were ready.

On descending from the airship I had noticed a new face among the monks who welcomed us. We had not seen him during our first stay at Opi and he did not seem to belong to the order of monks. I did not take particular notice of him but as the three of us, Maruchi, Orlon and myself, came out, we saw this man loitering in front of the monastery evidently with the intention of accosting us. This might have been due to a perfectly natural curiosity, for the manner of our coming as well as the fact that we were visitors from another world were bound to make any one curious. But somehow I had taken an immediate dislike to the man. He was a sleek, undersized individual with shifty, ferrety eyes that never looked one squarely in the eyes. He cringed as he saluted us and his smirk was in keeping with his attitude.

'You seem to be a newcomer here, my friend,' I began without ceremony.

'Yes, master, I am a traveller like yourselves and the reverend fathers here have been very good to me.'

'Do you intend joining the order of the monks?'

'I am not worthy. I am only a poor sinner whose feet have fortunately strayed to this place.' He piously turned up his eyes as he said this.

Maruchi and Orlon had been also looking at the man and they must have taken his measure correctly. 'What's your name, friend?' asked Maruchi suddenly.

'Jomel,' said the man.

And what is your occupation?'

'I do odd jobs when I get them, but I have some means of my own and as my wants are few, I get along without much difficulty.'

'You are a lucky man. And your thoughts have now turned to religion?'

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'You may say so, but I am of no consequence.'

The humility of the man did not impress us at all.

As we walked towards the building where the machine was kept Karos and some others joined us and the man Jomel followed close at our heels. We found Nabor and Ganimet working inside the machine. They were carefully examining the machinery. As the light was partially failing they had turned on the electric lights and were going over every part of the machine.

'Well?' asked Maruchi, looking at Nabor, 'what is your report?'

'Everything is right, Sir, but we shall clean the whole machine thoroughly and perhaps substitute a few new parts. On the return flight we shall not be able to halt anywhere for repairs.'

'No,' said Maruchi with a broad smile, 'unless you look out for a half-way house in the moon.'

As Maruchi and Nabor were speaking in our own language no one else could understand a word of what was being said, but Jomel was looking at the machine very curiously, and while Maruchi was talking to Karos about Sipri the other man asked me slyly, 'How would you return to your world if anything went wrong with your machine?'

I was somewhat startled and looked keenly at this man of evil thoughts. Then I said grimly, 'We take good care that nothing should happen to our machine. You may just as well know that if any one else were to lay his hands upon the machine it would mean death to him.'

The man smiled slyly and actually winked at me. 'You are surely pulling my legs,' he said.

'Come and touch the machine,' I invited him.

He made a deprecatory gesture. 'I have no thought of touching your machine.'

It was nearly dark now. Maruchi and Karos were engaged in an animated conversation to which the other monks were listening intently. Orlon was standing silently apart and had moved to one side of the machine from which he could not be seen. Then he quietly slipped out of the building. I had all along fully expected him to do so.

A few moments passed and then Jomel made a movement to pass out of the building. I laid a detaining hand upon his shoulder, and as he tried to wriggle out of my hold I tightened my grasp and fairly laughed—silently—in his face. 'Whither away in such a hurry, my friend?'

Jomel scowled, 'I want to go out for a breath of air. I find it rather close here.'

I linked my arm into his. 'You are perfectly right, I feel suffocated. Where shall we go?'

I rather led or dragged him to the open entrance. The man was almost speechless with vexation but my attitude and my gestures were so friendly that he could not utter a word of remonstrance or protest, though he understood all the time that I had no mind to let him pas out of my sight. The shades of evening wer closing in and, as I had fully expected, Orlo was nowhere to be seen. Jomel glanced this wa and that and then said, 'Your friend who wen out a little while ago seems to have disappeared.'

'As he is not likely to be lost you need no have any anxiety on his account.'

'You are pleased to be merry. I was wonde ing where he could have gone all by himself.'

'It would be better for you to cease to wonde Curiosity is not always a healthy habit. M friend's temper is not of the best and I woul not answer for the consequences if he found ou you were following him or dogging his steps.'

Jomel tried a little bluff. 'I can go where like. I take orders from no one.'

'Softly, my friend. You are quite free t go where you like, but you must restrain yo curiosity a little and must not play the spy.'

Jomel muttered something and turned bac into the building. Nothing loath, I retraced m steps with him.

A little later, all of us came out and we sa Orlon sauntering towards us, his head held hig and his eyes shining. I knew he had been t the trysting place and had met Narga. To hi I spoke no word as Jomel was watching hi from the corner of his eyes, but I drew Nab aside and whispered to him, 'I think it will b safer if you and Ganimet sleep in the machin I don't like the looks of this new man here. H is very curious about the machine and wants t spy on every one of us. He may tamper with t machine in ignorance or out of sheer wickedne

Nabor expressed his willingness to sleep the machine.

'And you might turn on the current on t wires outside the machine.'

'We surely will. We shall take no chances

Immediately after dinner Nabor and Gani went away to pass the night in the machine. I h given a hint to Maruchi that it would be s if they remained in charge of the airship at ni and he approved of my suggestion. We h three rooms and I took Orlon into my own ro and asked him, lowering my voice, what thought of the man Jomel, who had b assigned a room beyond our own.

'He is a snake in the grass,' was Orl prompt reply.

'This evening when you went out of building where the machine is kept he tried follow you, evidently with the object of spy on your movements.'

Orlon became very pale. 'My God!' exclaimed, 'did he actually follow me?'

'No, I did not permit him to do so, another time he may elude my vigilance and follow you without my knowledge.

Orlon looked at me in silence and then as "Sahir, you know something?"

(To be continued)

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ELEVEN YEARS OF FASCISM

A Study

By P. N. ROY

TODAY, the 28th of October, 1933, Fascist Italy celebrates the eleventh year of its existence.

The wonderfully blue Italian sky has today a sombre and a rather solemn look on account of the grayish clouds that are moving about in a leisurely fashion, and underneath it are flying the flags of the country—national flags of green, white and red and black Party-flags with the symbol of the *fascio* in the middle, producing a contrast of colour with the sky overhead.

At the foot of the huge white monument bedecked with gold here and there, the national monument erected to symbolize the independence of Italy and the completion of its unity, in the large Piazza Venezia and in the streets that lead into it, have gathered people in their thousands—men, women, boys and girls—to celebrate the solemn occasion, the national festival of the march on Rome.

Above all this crowd three aeroplanes are moving about in the form of a triangle producing a noise that is the music of the occasion.

All have come today to join the solemn but joyous celebration, to reiterate their faith in the Duce and the new government. In the days of its birth many did not recognize the potentiality of the new force and predicted its death within a week. Weeks have passed, months have passed, years have passed and with the passing of every week, month and year the new force has moved forward with redoubled strength to inspire hope and confidence in its adherents and to urge them to further activity.

What is the magic that has performed all this change in Italy? What is the thing that the crowd of today has come to pay its homage to? What is the secret that has kept this government and the party, about which pessimistic opinions were held by many, in power? Is it merely coercion, is it merely the weeding of the country of all undesirable elements so that peace and party-interests may reign supreme, and keeping an efficient system of espionage so that every revolutionary effort might be immediately throttled to death? Or is there something in this party, this government,—some paternal love, some fraternal kindness which the mass-m ind instinctively and quickly perceives, that attracts the nation to its support? These are the thoughts that passed through my mind as I stood alone in the crowd watching the celebration.

Apart from the fact that there are no things in the world which might not be criticized in certain aspects, it must be admitted without reserve that the Fascist government has been a great success in Italy, a success which she has not known for many many centuries. And this success has not been the result of effective propaganda as is presumed by many. Effective propaganda may succeed for a moment but it can never add stamina to a man or to a party or to a government unless the stamina for growth is there. One cannot hoodwink the world for long with propaganda, because sooner or later the acts of a man as also those of a government are brought to light and the world sits in judgment upon it.

But to return to our question. What is the significance of today's celebration? Eleven years ago a group of men, destined to change the history of their country, made a march on Rome and took charge of the government. It was an epoch-making incident in the history of the country in so far as it meant the fall of a government and the advent of another, but it was something more, it was the fall of a mentality. Who marched on Rome and who abdicated the government? To Rome marched back the Romans and out of it went away the pseudo-Romans. When every year, at this date, the Italians gather to celebrate the occasion, they gather to hail the

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returned Romans, the returning spirit of Rome.

Let me be more explicit. The rise of Fascism is considered by many to be due to the particular historical circumstances of the country after the post-war period. In so far as the events of the world carry an element of fatality with them, it is quite true that Fascism could evolve itself only on the then politico-economic conditions of Italy. But the explanation does not explain everything. It does not explain those spiritual elements of Fascism which today we find throwing into the background the merely political and economic way of government. It does not explain how out of the baptismal bath of the war Italy, of all the countries, came out first to start a new career in the world. I consider Fascism to be a non-rational movement. However much the theorists of Fascism might speak and write about the "classe dirigente" and the Fascist aristocracy, to me Fascism seems to be the expression of the mass-mind of Italy, that mass-mind whose movements are always non-rational and which is the best custodian of the spiritual treasures of a nation's civilization. It is not for nothing that Mussolini, who by birth belongs to the humbler folk, sits at the head of the government. It is the non-rational mass-mind that, already stirred before but violently shaken by the shock of the war, took a fateful direction and Mussolini is the expression of that activity of the mass-mind. The particular politico-economic conditions were only contrivances of the destiny of the nation to help this re-flowering of the people. My explanation may seem to be mystical, but where personalities are concerned, where the question involved is that of unexpected and sometimes inexplicable aspects which an historical incident assumes, one cannot avoid being mystical. And in fact, is there not, notwithstanding all our rational explanation, a mystery shrouding the entire evolution of human history?

If we want to understand Fascism, we must go to the deepest depth of the science of sociology, we must dare to penetrate into race-metaphysics. Unless we do so, we cannot understand many of the acts of Mussolini, because Fascism—rather Italian Fascism, because the term is being adopted by other countries as well to express similar movements—is the expression of a national temper, of a special national outlook on life, an outlook that is determined by the entire tradition of the country. If it were a merely economico-political doctrine, it would have attained its goal and finished its mission by giving to the world its corporative system and the labour-charter. When it began its career, the economic question was the most pressing one, and its solution was the first vital necessity and so its attention was at first absorbed by it. And even today when it has to show before the world its record of achievement, it points to this because this is the thing that has the most universal appeal on account of its practical utility for all people that are suffering from the canker of modern economic evils. But it covers within its activity more subtle things, I should say also more important, inasmuch as the characteristic politico-economic structure of Fascism will succeed and endure to the extent it succeeds to give those subtler things a more concrete and durable shape.

These subtle things consist in moulding, slowly but surely, the character, rather re-awakening the slumbering qualities of the race—the qualities of the mighty Romans as tempered by the Catholic Church. I say the Catholic Church not as a rigid institution as we find it today. The original Catholic Church was the product of the union of Asiatic mysticism with the Roman instinct for universality and organization. This new catholicism, born out of this Asiatic and Roman union, flourished long in the original Catholic Church and kept it plastic but in course of time, with the development of formulas and dogmas, the Church lost the plastic character, but not the people in whom the new element continued to thrive. Hence it is that side by side with that strong admiration for the Roman qualities that build up social solidarity and conduces to a practical evaluation of life, we find in Fascism a strong fascination for that mellow idealism of which this Catholicism is the exponent and champion. Italian Fascism has this double characteristic of being intensely practical and at the same time intensely idealistic. In this it is a characteristic expression of the Italian mass-mind whose practicality is modified by its

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idealism and whose idealism is modified by its practical sense. We may look for political motives behind the Lateran treaty—but this is so far as the Pope as the head of a religious State is concerned. But what about the teaching of religion in the schools, what about the impetus that Fascism gives to the revival of many popular religious festivals, what about the constant reference which Fascism makes to the fundamental moral law of the world in its career of intense activity? What about the claim that is made of St. Francis of Assisi as the most Fascist of all saints? All these do not emanate at least directly, from political motives. On the contrary, in the heart of Fascism there is a mystic throb that is in excellent rhythm with its many political throbbings and the idealistic side of Fascism is the external manifestation of that throb.

I have said that Fascism is an expression of the Italian mass-mind. To understand this let us analyse the character of the Italian people, particularly of the Italian peasant-folk. I think that the Italian peasant-folk preserves as yet the traditions of the Italian pre-Renaissance era. The mentality and outlook of the Italian peasant makes him a different man from his brother, say in Germany or England. The effects of the modern civilization have touched the fringe of his life so far as the fundamental social institutions and human relations are concerned. That economic view of life which is now so blatantly prominent in the entire western world and even among the higher classes in Italy, has not that maddening fascination for him. Withal he understands very well the necessity of economic solidarity in life. This attitude makes him labour hard in order to render the economic position of his family sound, but does not induce him to sell anything but the surplus of his production in order only to buy the other necessaries of life. The family instinct is strong in him and induces him to take his midday meal at home surrounded by his wife and children, as also the meal at night. The proprietary instinct is also strong in him. He has to a large extent the spirit of obedience in him so long as no encroachment is made upon the sacred domain of his private life. He still maintains human relationship with his neighbours and the master. He has reverence for his Church and it is a very common sight in Italy to find peasant women kneeling down in the churches and with tears in their eyes making silent prayers to God. He celebrates religious festivals with the same sincerity as the Indian peasant does and names his children according to the names of different saints. But at the same time he is a tolerant man, preserving the Roman tradition of universality. It is difficult to detect any colour or race-prejudice in him. When he marrries he prefers to go to the church rather than get into the bond according to the civil laws. And when he looks round him at the monumental structures in ruins, of which his country is full, he has a dim vision of the distant past of his country and an uneasy feeling in his mind.

At the same time this people is to a certain extent conscious of the part it has played in history. It is conscious of the power it enjoyed during the republican days of Roman history. It is conscious of the part it played in the development of the communes and the entire idealism of the Renaissance period. The great thing in history is when history is made by the stirring of the soul of the entire people, when the process of historical evolution takes its birth in the inner workings of the mass-mind. This has been the case in India where the entire civilization of Brahmanical tradition has been so often modified and re-made by influences coming from the popular classes. This has also happened in Italy where the real history does not belong to the kings and the emperors but to the people.

With this flickering sense of its historical position in the past, this people had an awkward feeling of its present position in the world. Italy was so long walking along a by-path of modern civilization; because modern civilization is made of those very elements which Italy lacks physically and mentally. Physically, modern civilization is the product of coal and iron, the two things to the possession of which Italy can lay no claim and so with every scientific discovery that tended to industrial development and the production of wealth, she fell more and more into the background. The modern mentality is based on this industrial development and the

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production of wealth—a mentality whose chief concern is material comforts and individual aggrandizement. This is in discord with the formation of the Italian mind. In the Italian mind there is a strong combination of material and spiritual inclinations. The whole expression of the Italian mind in art, poetry and philosophy is a testimony to the incapability of the Italian mind to adopt an entirely materialistic outlook on life. In the Italian mind matter must be spiritualized and the spirit must be made sensuous. In the Italian mind the two things may be seen to balance each other. As Major Barnes in his book on Fascism says : "It constitutes a good example of the kind of mentality and of the kind of approach to the problems of life issuing from it. The view of life is eminently synthetic, arising from the habit of thinking intuitively."

With these physical and mental conditions Italy could not keep pace with the progress of modern civilization and she felt her situation more bitterly on account of the attitude towards her of the other progressive nations who considered her to be an exhausted nation incapable of making any new effort. The bitterness was further increased by the mentality of the upper classes of her society who were very much under the influence of the *oltre-alpe* (trans-Alpine) political and social thought.

The first expression of this awkward feeling in the mass-mind of Italy is to be found in the idealistic-religious aspect of the Risorgimento as developed by Mazzini and Gioberti. These two great thinkers perceived intuitively that if the Italian people were to rise again and play a new rôle in the world in competition with the other nations, they must develop along the line of their history, which line was in its turn traced by the moral outlook of the race. So these two writers emphasized the awakening of the moral qualities of the race and the development and preservation of those institutions in which those moral qualities were embodied. They recognized that for Italy the great problem was not merely liberty, but liberty with authority, and if this liberty with authority was to be obtained, the idea of liberty must be taken beyond the plane of politics and based upon the moral experience of the race, which experience revealed itself through the Church for Manzoni, through the State for Gioberti and through the conception of universalism for Mazzini. When liberty is thus based on the accumulated moral experience of the race, the individual loses that supremacy which he enjoys under the Jacobean conception of liberty and his rights are balanced by corresponding duties. So for these thinkers the conception of *diritti e doveri* (rights and duties), the element of religiousness in their outlook on life, the vision of the State as an ethical substance whose business is not merely to govern in a negative manner but to promote culture, morality and civilization in a positive way.

This is an attitude that is against the entire trend of the so-called modern civilization. This attitude has derived immense nutrition from the above-mentioned feeling of the Italian mass-mind, because Italy has been made to feel that if she is to regain her former position in the hierarchy of nations, she can do so by creating a new ideal of life out of the elements of the character of her people and by imposing that ideal upon the world. She must go out into the world with the message that modern civilization has revealed its merits and demerits ; the standard of value must now be changed and the civilization recast.

II

We are now in a position to understand how Fascism is a movement of the mass-mind of Italy, how its advent to power means not only the change of government but also the fall of a mentality. The neo-Europeans of Italy, who grew in number and were very influential and controlled the helm of affairs in the latter part of the nineteenth century and continued to control it till the end of the war, maintained an attitude that was thoroughly trans-Alpine. Their ideals were the ideals of 1789 and their consequent developments. In the field of thought they exalted and looked up for inspiration to the masters of positivism and materialism. In the field of politics they tried to experiment with the democratic-liberal form of government, believing in the fundamental rights of men. In the field of economics they tried to import the ideas of Marxian socialism and organize labour into trade unions and

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syndicates. It is unnecessary to go into the details of the chaos in Italian political life that existed during the entire period of the control of affairs by these neo-Europeans. Suffice it to say that as a result of their creating a State that was an instrument for personal egoism of individuals, the country headed towards a process of dissolution and anarchy, and the forces of the State were reduced to the minimum of strength.

Fascism is a reaction against this neo-European mentality and a vigorous reassertion of the spirit of the Italian people. So its chief significance is not so much political as moral, and that it is a movement of the people is evident from its determination to give prominence to the moral qualities of the Italian mass and to pursue a programme of reconstruction based on the characteristic qualities of the mind and character of the race. We have seen the moral qualities of the Italian people. Fascism eulogizes these and sets before it a definite standard of character, based on these qualities. Its very success and rapid growth indicates that it is a thing of the soil. Fascism intends to make the traditions and mentality of the Italian mass the basis of its programme for spiritual renovation of the country, because that is not only the line of least resistance but also the one that would give the best results. The corporative organization of society comes from its Roman sense of social solidarity ; the preservation of individual initiative and private ownership in the field of production comes from its proprietary instinct ; the rejection of material outlook on life by Fascism comes from the peculiar formation of the Italian mind ; Fascism's reverence for the institution of family comes from its deep family instinct ; and the programme of ruralization is adopted not only because the greater part of the Italian mass is agricultural but also because it is favourable to the development and preservation of the anti-materialistic qualities of the race.

We see how closely the two expressions of the Italian mass-mind, the Risorgimento of Manzoni, Mazzini and Gioberti and the Fascism of Mussolini, resemble in their general features, in their conception of liberty and duty, in their exaltation of the idea of Romanity or rather Italianity in their idealistic and religious approach to life, in their conception of the ordering of society under an ethical State, in their recognition of the necessity of establishing a moral standard of value. Fascism has returned to the spirit of the Risorgimento, or rather the spirit of the Risorgimento, which suffered a set-back from the acute political and economic problems of the country and the other handicaps from which a newly-born nation suffers and was overpowered by the fascinating ideologies of the nineteenth century, has reappeared in the garb of Fascism after the war had reduced to ashes the debris of these ideologies.

Fascism is thus a new *welt-anschauung*, rather an old *welt-anschauung* in a new form. It appeared first as a political and economic doctrine because it was primarily a reaction against modern civilization which is political and economic. But the quintessence of Fascism consists in a moral vision of life, in the perception of a moral law operating in the heart of the world and in tuning the rhythm of individual as well as social activity to the operation of this moral law. Hence in Fascism it is not the majority that counts but the minority that feels within it the operation of this moral law. This minority, when acting in accordance with this moral law, cannot but act in a manner that will lead to general welfare. It is in this sense and in this sense alone, that there is justification for "Fascist Aristocracy" in the art of government, which is not an aristocracy of birth or money but of moral perception. The glory of the Fascist State also consists in this that it centralizes and regulates the entire moral activity of the race. It is a State that is not a legal contract, it is not an artificial creation of the individual, but a natural and organic exigence, immanent in the spirit of the individual himself and a postulate to his morality. This is what is meant by the ethical State and explains the dictum of Mussolini : "Everything within the State, nothing outside the State, nothing against the State."

Fascism being essentially a moral vision of life, the chief task for Fascism is the education of the race and the proper formation of the character thereof. It may be said that if Fascism is a movement of the mass-mind, the

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character already exists. Yes, but it exists in an amorphous state. It is necessary to bring this character into relief by giving it a greater coherence and exhibiting all its brightness after removing the dirty crusts of four centuries of decadence. So if anybody asks me what are the most important institutions of Fascism, I shall not name its political or economic institutions, but those that are connected with the proper training of the race.

The first of these in importance is certainly the educational organization of Fascism. And this is recognized by Mussolini when he says that "the most fascist of all reforms is the reform of education." The aim of this educational reform is to produce that balanced life which Fascism considers as its ideal. Man is made up of the mind, the body and the spirit. Modern education is too intellectual, too much a matter of specialization, with the result that it leads to a one-sided development of human character. The aim of Fascism is to unify and integrate the different sides of human nature so that the character formed under education may have a harmony, which harmony in individual life will ultimately lead to the promotion of social harmony and the harmony of the activity of the State. The body must have its proper care and growth, just as the mind and the spirit. The mind should not grow at the expense of the body and the spirit and the spirit cannot be kept starved to feed the body and the mind. A sort of musical harmony between them must exist. So Fascism promotes sport and includes in its educational programme religion and the aesthetic subjects. And if this new educational reform is to produce its desired effect, the greatest care should be taken in the education that is imparted in the elementary and primary schools, because the nation lives in children. So the greatest reform has been made in the school-curriculum. The imparting of education in the schools has been brought directly under the control of the State. The State prepares the syllabus and text-books are written according to that syllabus. The examination is also controlled by the State. There is one prescribed book containing the entire course in religion, grammar, literature, arithmetic, history, geography, general culture, principal physical phenomena in relation to human life, calligraphy and drawing. The reform was at first promoted by Gentile and it was supplemented by the Royal Decree of November 5, 1930, which fixed the programme of examination in every subject. Before me now lies such a book written according to the syllabus fixed by the State. As I go through it I perceive how the whole thing has been designed not only to give an essential all-round knowledge to the pupil but also to develop the mental and moral qualities according to the Fascist ideal. The historical portion contains sketches of the men who have made the history of the country and nourishes the nationalistic spirit. The cultural portion gives an idea of the arts, professions and trades, of the family, the communes, the State and the regime and lays down the principal rights and duties of the citizen. It is significant that the duties are placed first and the rights after them. The chief duties of the citizen are : (1) obedience, (2) lending military service, (3) payment of taxes. The chief rights are : (1) equality of all citizens in the eye of law, (2) the right of ownership, (3) personal liberty, (4) liberty of thought and of the press and of forming associations so long as it does not involve the safety of the State and the tranquillity of the citizens, (5) the right to vote. Physical education begins with simple drill in the elemetary schools and ends with the training imparted by the Academy for Physical Education. There is also compulsory military training for eighteen months for all adults. The impetus given by Fascism to physical education is evident in the many championships established by the State and the Communes all over Italy.

Next to the educational organization come the Balilla, Avanguardisti and Giovani Fascisti (young fascists) organizations. It is through these organizations that Fascism is injecting its spirit into the race. The most important ideas of Fascism are the ancient Roman discipline and hierarchy. These two ideals are being realized through these organizations. There are three age divisions according to the three different organizations. The Balilla organization is for boys from 8 to 14 years of age, the Avanguardisti from 14 to 18, the Giovani Fascisti from 18 to 21, after which age

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the members become full-fledged fascists. The name Balilla has a history behind it. On the 6th of December, 1746, a heavy artillery waggon, which the Austrians were dragging along the streets of the city of Genoa, got stuck into the ground rendered soft by the rain. The officer who commanded the company ordered the Italian passers-by to help the soldiers to disengage the waggon, and seeing that the passers-by did not seem to hear him, he caught hold of some and whipped them, trying by this method to make them obey his orders. At this act, a boy of eleven, named Gian Battista Perasso, nicknamed Balilla, picked up a big piece of stone and hurled it at the officer who, struck violently on the forehead, fell to the ground. After this, in a few minutes, all the people came down to the street and there was a regular organized revolt and the Austrians were driven out of Genoa.

Side by side with these organizations, there is another organization known as "Fasci all 'Estero," which carries the spirit of Italianity and the ideal of Fascism to those who have been forced to leave the motherland and live under foreign skies. These organizations are the supreme examples of how Fascism is rearing up the new Italian race. This summer I had the privilege of seeing the members of these youth organizations assembled in Rome in two camps and from the talk that I had with many of them, I could feel how the entire nation was slowly but surely regaining its lost self through these young flowers of the race. There were about sixty thousand of them come from all parts of Italy and from over 120 foreign towns and countries. For two months they lived in camps like soldiers under the strict discipline of the camp life, with the routine of the daily life fixed beforehand and rigorously followed. Little boys and inexperienced youngsters how cheerfully they submitted themselves to this discipline, far away from their parents and affectionate relations! The camps, the uniforms, the expenses of travel and the daily expenses of each and every boy were supplied by the State. A huge expenditure it might be said, but it is the most judicious investment that the State is making because the hope of Italy, the triumph of Italianity lies in them; because it is on this new generation trained under the Fascist method that the continuation of the political and economic institutions of Fascism depends. The happiest sign in the movement is that it is supported by the people. Most of the members of the organizations come from the labouring classes. In my talks with them I found how the fire of patriotism was burning in the souls of these young creatures and how keenly they appreciated the many good things that the Fascist regime has been doing for the people. One boy told me: "Formerly in Italy everybody considered himself important and nobody wanted to follow. The misery of Italy was due to that. Now the things are changed. Now we follow Mussolini because Mussolini is always right."

The feeling that Mussolini is always right is very common among the popular classes. This is the greatest source of strength for Fascism. This source has been tapped not by coercion but by winning the sympathy of the people through many good deeds. It is wrong to consider Fascism as a capitalistic regime. In the beginning it had the sympathy of the capitalists. But it was a temporary phase of Fascism determined by the circumstances of the country. The capitalistic sympathy was utilized by Fascism in order to strengthen itself to fight against the Bolshevic forces that ruled Italian life at the time. But it did not mean any domination of Fascism by Capitalism. Fascism was anti-Bolshevic but it was not anti-Labour. In fact, the capitalistic influence lasted so long as Fascism remained a party movement, but as soon as it came to power and identified itself with the State and the nation, it got rid of the capitalistic influence by its own inner revolutionary force and took up the positive side of the socialistic programme. The socialists by emphasizing their negative programme of ruining capitalism by means of strikes and anti-Statal activities, paralysed industry and weakened the State, but they themselves had not the courage to take the entire responsibility of the State and industry on them. This disappointed a large part of the urban as well as rural proletariat of Italy and with the growing strength of Fascism many of the proletarian organizations in the country and the town came over to

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the side of Fascism. And Fascism has ever since been acting as a guardian angel of the Italian proletariat. If the conditions of any classes have been ameliorated under the Fascist regime, it is that of the popular classes. The Fascist government cares for them with paternal love. Conditions of labour have been remarkably improved and so also the housing conditions. The regime has built many quarters where the poor may have accommodation at a cheap rate. Lands have been reclaimed and colonies built for the popular classes. The celebrated Littoria is a colony built by the regime where quarters have been constructed for nearly fifty thousand families with all modern comforts. Of late another colony has been established at Sabaudia. What is admireble in Fascism is the frankness and honesty of intentions with which it approaches the people. There is a ring of sincerity in its appeal to the people which the masses immediately appreciate. There is one particular institution through which the regime is winning the affection of the people. It is the Opera Nazionale Dopo-Lavoro (After-Work Labour Association). This institution whose branches are spread over the whole of Italy inasmuch as every trade union has a *dopolavoro* organizatiou, looks after the development of the physical, intellectual and moral capacity of the people. It has established physical culture institutes, clubs, libraries for the working people. And during my brief stay in Italy, I have noticed how this institute provides for other amenities of life for the people. In the cinema, in the theatre, in every other kind of amusements there is a special *dopolavoro* ticket for the people. There are special trains at a nominal price for tickets to enable the popular classes to make holiday trips. Another concession which has a permanent character, is the reduction of railway fares amounting to 80% for newly-married couples. The joys of art, music, sport, and travel are thus brought to the doors of the people by the State.

Another institute which cares for the race and is at the same time an instrument for winning the sympathy of the people, is the *Opera Nazionale per la Protezione ed Assistenza della Maternita ed Infanzia* (Materntiy and Infant Welfare Society). I visited one such institute and saw parturient mothers lying in bed and newly-born babies left in care of the State while the mothers were away for the day's work. This particular institute has arrangements for three kinds of work :—(*i*) to assist in parturition, (*ii*) to care for babies who are deserted by their perents, (*iii*) to look after babies and children whose mothers are away for day's work. The mothers of these babies and children leave them in care of the institute in the morning and take them back in the evening when the day's work is done. In another part of this institute I came across a most remarkable thing. In this part the rooms were occupied by adults and children of both the sexes. When I entered there, the children were running about and making a noise. Some of the adults were chattering, increasing the noise that the children were making. Others were sitting silent. All of them were ill-clad and had the shadow of misfortune on their faces. I asked the director who they were and why they were here. The director told me that they were all families that could not pay their rent and were ejected by their land-lords. Poor creatures ! They were given shelter there by the State against the inclemence of fortune and provided with food. There is a constant influx of such families. They stay here for ten, fifteen or twenty days till a means of sustenance and housing accommodation is found for them. Here is a fact that speaks for itself.

I have mentioned only a few of the activities of Fascism. It is not possible to mention all the constructive and reconstructive activities of the regime within the brief space of an article. It may also appear that I have minimized the political and economic activities of Fascism. But the signal results achieved by Fascism in these two fields are well known. Fascism has established a sort of friendship between the political and economic activities of the State—a result which has not been achieved by any other nation and the lack of which is the cause of many maladjustments in life that we find today. During the eleven years of its existence it has placed Italy in a sound economic position. In these days of crisis the lira has maintained its sonnd position. While in other and richer countries it has

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been found necessary to abandon the gold standard, Italy has steadily declined to do so. This is because Italy has resolutely opposed loans to foreign countries and the scarcity of Italian money outside Italy safeguards it against foreign speculation. Italian exportation also shows a tendency to increase in these days of crisis and the gold-reserve of the Bank of Italy follows an ascending curve. During these eleven years Fascism has improved all the public services and has undertaken and completed public works and works of land reclamation on a vast scale, thus diminishing the number of the unemployed. The report published recently by the English Ministry of Commerce on the economic situation of Italy says in its conclusion that the general tendency of the country is towards optimism, that the courage and firmness which Italy is showing in developing a new form of economico-social national life is admirable, that the results obtained up till now and the ideals aimed at by this great experiment deserve the greatest attention on the part of the rest of the world.

I shall conclude this article by answering one question. What has been the effect of eleven years of Fascism upon the spirit of the race? In my book on Mussolini I wrote that it was as yet early for Fascism to produce any moulding effect upon the mentality of the race. But now a generation seems to have arisen with a distinct Fascist mould of the mind. Eleven years of ceaseless effort which Fascism has made to train the race has not gone in vain. Before me lies the special number of a journal, the *Saggiatore*, in which sixty young Italian writers have expressed their views about modern civilization. Remarkable is the similarity of their tone, which reveals a vigorous breaking away from the old mentality. All these young intellectuals are imbued with the Fascist spirit of idealistic realism. If I may so express it, with that mystic, intuitive conception of life of which I have spoken before. It is significant how these young writers consider reality. Reality for them is the obstacle for transforming the spirit into something better. Reality thus loses its charm in itself and gains its value only in relation to the spirit. The conception of life thus becomes dynamic and transcendental. The ideology of man the economic being, which is the fundamental conception of Capitalism and Bolshevism, is thrown overboard and in its place is installed the ideology of the integral man—man the political being, the economic being, the religious being; the saint, the warrior. This was emphasized by Mussolini in his latest and famous discourse on corporations and the new mentality is the expression of this integral man. Here lies the essential difference between Bolshevism and Fascism. Fascism can fearlessly go all the length with Bolshevism in its economic programme if that is necessary, but in one case the fundamental conception or mentality is the continuation of the liberal theory; in the other the conception is accepted and surpassed. The rise of Fascist mentality and its projection into the world therefore means the downfall of the capitalistic and socialistic mentality. In this mentality of the young Italian intellectuals return the activism of the Roman Italy, the mysticism of the mediaeval Italy, and the political and speculative philosophy of modern Italy as developed by Vico, Cuoco, Gioberti, Mazzini, Spaventa and others. The synthetic expression of this mentality is to be found in the character and personality of Mussolini and drawing inspiration from his example this great, intelligent and laborious people, through its new generations, is moving towards a complete realization of a new and better order of things and towards creating a new national patrimony of inestimable value.

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WANTED—AN INDEPENDENT INDIAN CURRENCY

By GILBERT SLATER

TWO great boons, a sound currency and liberation from external debt, are now possible for India if public opinion is alert, and the Government is wise. To establish the former is easy, if the attempt is made on right lines, and when that is done, a great step towards the latter end will have also been made.

But it must first be understood what constitutes a sound and honest currency. Just as a sound and honest measure of length, or of volume, or of mass must be one that does not vary from day to day, or from year to year, so an honest standard of value must be one that varies as little as possible from time to time, since to eliminate variations completely is not at present possible. The essential function of money is to be a standard of value. Rupees, dollars, francs, or pounds sterling, which jump up and down in purchasing power, so that the real value of a given sum borrowed may be doubled or halved between the time of borrowing and the time of repayment, are not sound and honest money.

There was a time when gold, and currencies based on gold, worked not very well, but also not very badly. The first decade of the present century was such a period. But that condition passed away for good with the outbreak of the Great War; and now the first essential for the solution of the currency problem for India is to recognize that a currency based on gold cannot be a sound currency, as it is already recognized outside India. Since the closing of the mints to the free coining of silver, Indian currency has been like a sick man suffering from some mysterious disease, round whose bed physicians from abroad have been gathered to consult and prescribe, and have damaged their own reputations in the process. Each Royal Commission and Select Committee has been unfortunate in finding its diagnosis contradicted by the event, and the wisest actions of the Government in relation to currency have been those taken in opposition to their advice. But the last, Hilton-Young Commission, ha been the most unfortunate of all.

This is not to say, however, that Indi should go back to the silver standard, an re-open the mints to the free coinage of silve Silver, indeed, would probably be a bett basis than gold, but it would not be a goo one, and India can do better.

The reformed Indian currency should b *in form*, what it is at present. It consists no of silver rupees and of Government note cashable in silver rupees—it should continu in the same form. It is a managed currenc now, it should still be a managed currenc But the management should be altere radically.

At present Indian currency is managed b the Secretary of State for India in Londo under advice which echoes the opinion of th financiers of the City of London, who are mor concerned with the interests of India's Londo creditors than with those of India, and most o all with the smooth operation of their ow money lending and money trading busines In so far as the Secretary of State proceed on any definite principle, it is that of linkin the rupee to the pound sterling. What ar pounds sterling? Merely slips of paper wi green and blue patterns printed on them, an the words "Bank of England Promise to p the Bearer on Demand the sum of On Pound"—*i.e.*, to give him back the same sl of paper, or another like it, if he presents it the Bank's counter. Subject to some measur of Treasury control, Mr. Montagu Norman an his subordinates can decrease or multiply th numbers of those "pounds" in circulatio increase or decrease their purchasing powe and consequently, that of the rupee.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Ind should be thoroughly discontented with th present system, and this discontent is th reason, I presume, why so much approval ha been given to the proposal that Indian currency should be controlled by a Reserv Bank. But this would be jumping out of th

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frying pan into the fire. The theory that national currencies should not be controlled by the nations, or by any persons responsible to them, but by irresponsible Directors of privately owned banks, operated for private profit, is an invention of the bankers themselves, which since the war they have foisted upon ignorant politicians; and their success in so doing has been one of the chief factors in bringing about the present disastrous state of the world. The ancient principle that the monarch should be responsible for the currency is the true one. Applied to India at the present time, it means that the management of the currency should be vested in public servants, acting under general instructions issued, after careful enquiry and full debate, by the Indian Legislature. The chief aims of the management should be—

(*i*) to increase the volume of currency in circulation sufficiently to neutralize the recent slump in prices, and to bring back the price level to that of the most prosperous of recent years.

(*ii*) Subsequently, from time to time to increase further the quantity of money in circulation in proportion to the increase of population and productive power.

(*iii*) To watch movements of prices, with a view to keeping as uniform as possible the average rupee prices of commodities dealt with in India, whether imported, exported, or produced and consumed within the country.

The true function of the Indian Reserve Bank, when established, will be to *control* neither currency nor credit, but to be the Bankers' Bank, and to *co-ordinate* credit, assisting all the existing and future banks to do their business of financing Indian trade and production with greater security, efficiency and economy. It should also act with the Currency Department of the Government in giving Indian currency the elasticity required to meet the variation of seasonal demand for ready money which takes place every year.

The direct benefit of the establishment of a sound and independent currency system on the above lines, by giving encouragement and greater security to all producers, is obvious. But the indirect benefits are also great.

Firstly, as stated above, it would assist greatly in freeing India from external debt, and giving her financial independence. Since the War, international debts have increased to such an extent as to become for some nations an intolerable burden, which they have endeavoured to shake off by pleading for cancellation, by moratoria, by disguised bankruptcy, by making token payments, and even by downright repudiation. It is more and more recognized that they are injurious to creditor as well as to debtor countries, and nobody has urged this with greater force than His Majesty's Government in its notes to America. I am not advocating the application of such drastic measures to the Indian public debt.

It is urged that part of India's sterling debt represents charges unjustly laid on Indian tax-payers for purposes in which India was not concerned. I am not competent to discuss how far that is true. But it will not be denied that a great part, perhaps the much greater part, represents loans prudently and economically raised in order to provide railways and irrigation works and other public assets, and that these assets remain and are worth more to India than the money spent on them. Such debt should be regarded as a debt of honour, as well as a legal debt. But it should not be allowed to continue indefinetely, but be repaid as quickly as possible.

As soon as India determines on having a sound currency, and abandons the idea of basing her currency on gold, the gold accumulated in order to put the rupee on a gold basis becomes available for more profitable use. It amounts, we are told, to over sixty million sovereigns; which at current prices would fetch over £90,000,000. This sum could and should be used to pay off sterling debt, and with able management could probably be made also to reduce the interest payable on the remainder of that debt.

This, however, is only the beginning. Though many individual Indians have wisely used the opportunity of the enhanced price of gold to sell what they had, no doubt there yet remain even larger amounts still in Indian possession. To continue to hold is a dangerous speculation. The craze for acquiring gold to bury it in underground vaults, where it is only an expense and a nuisance, and to hoard it in other ways, still persists in Europe and

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America, but the folly of that procedure may be realized at any moment, and when these hoards are disgorged, gold will slump. Many Indians who have gold to sell will probably wish to sell while the present fancy prices last. The Indian Government should help them, by buying at the highest price which will permit it to resell in the world market without loss ; issuing rupee loans, if necessary to cover the cost, and using the sterling realized to pay off more sterling debt. In that way a part of the external debt—how much cannot be estimated—would be converted into internal debt, and the interest accruing would pass into Indian instead of foreign pockets.

Again, in order to bring up the supply of money to the amount Indian trade and industry needs for smooth working, an enlarged issue of rupees is needed, which must not only be printed, and covered to the extent necessary with silver, but must also be put into circulation. It is agreed among economists that the best way of increasing the stock of money in active circulation is to spend it on creating new public assets. India is in great need of such beneficial and profitable expenditure. In view of the development of new means of locomotion, caution should be exercised in the further extension of railways, but there is still scope in that direction. Then, beside irrigation, there is need for much capital expenditure on supply and distribution of electrical power, in improvement of roads and bridges, schools and hospitals, and many other requisities for a higher standard of life. The currency reform here advocated would enable these things to be obtained as *debt free* assets. Further, the progress in this direction would be continuous. Every expansion of currency required in order to make the volume of money increase *pari passu* with the volume of production would provide a further increase in public assets.

Every decrease in Indian external debt, and every increase in India's debt free assets, would facilitate further reductions of Indian liabilities, and free India more and more from any need to court speculative money-lenders in foreign countries. This means a higher status among the nations, and greater independence.

Lastly, in all this India would be giving a lead to the rest of the world, and helping to establish the admitted desideratum, a sound world currency. The West is trying or talking about attaining this by the mistaken policy of linking one unsound currency to another; and it is already clear that all such efforts and talk are futile. But let each nation set to work to establish its own currency on a sound basis, and the question of international exchanges will solve itself.

DAVID HARE AS A PROMOTER OF EDUCATION IN INDIA

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

THE life and works of David Hare form an important chapter in the history of education in India. In a previous article in this *Review* (January, 1933), I attempted a resumé of Hare's contributions to the cause of English education in India in the early nineteenth century. His endeavours at the education of the masses also deserve elaborate notice. David Hare* started schools in Calcutta and maintained them mostly from his own purse. His connection with the Calcutta School Book Society and the Calcutta School Society dated from their very inception

* David Hare came to India as a watch-maker. He left this business for good in 1820 as the following extract from *The Government Gazette* (Supplement) of January 6, 1820 will show :

DAVID HARE
Watch Maker,
Begs to inform his friends and the public in general that he has this day retired from Business ; and requests they will accept his most sincere thanks for the very liberal support with which they have favoured him for the last eighteen years.

He also takes this opportunity of respectfully and earnestly soliciting a continuance of their Patronage to his Successor, Mr. Gray; who came from England on purpose, and has been his Assistant for five years ; which has afforded D. H. such a knowledge of his character and abilities, that he feels the greatest confidence in recommending him on their notice.
January 1, 1820.

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in 1817 and 1818 respectively. He became secretary of the Calcutta School Society in 1823 and served it for more than a decade. The following extracts from contemporary newspapers will throw light on his educational activities.

A statue of Sir Edward Hyde East, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, was erected by his Indian admirers in 1830. Sir Edward was described on the pedestal of the statue as the originator of the Hindu College, the first of its kind in India to impart education in European science and literature. This led to a controversy in the Press. It was contended by many that David Hare, and not Sir Edward Hyde East, was the real originator* of the college. *The India Gazette*, a prominent bi-weekly of the time, took exception to the words inscribed on the statue of Sir Edward and wrote :

(*The India Gazette*, June 14, 1830)

A statue, by Chantry, of Sir Edward Hyde East, is about to be placed in some part of the Court House, the sanction of the judges having been previously obtained. We are informed, that the inscription on the pedestal records the original establishment of the Hindoo College, as the work of Hyde East. Now, without questioning the interest he took in the cause of native education, we positively deny that he was the originator of the institution alluded to, although he was one of its earliest supporters. Doubtless, much credit is due to so much virtue, and the natives who voted for, and subscribed to, the erection of his statue deserve much praise for their just appreciation of so excellent a friend. But let not undue merit be ascribed to any man—let not one be robbed of his reputation to erect that of another. Let the Truth be told, and it will appear that Mr. Hare was the originator, and the most active individual in effecting the establishment of the Hindoo College. He it was who first performed and induced the worthy members of the native community to subscribe towards the establishment of a fund for such an institution ; he prevailed upon them to do so ; he exerted himself to secure friends who might be able and willing to second his efforts; he got things ready into a train of operation ; he subscribed (largely, we believe,) to the fund ; the ground upon which the college now stands was sold by him at a considerable sacrifice ; he witnessed the birth of the institution, watched it in its cradle, and now that it is prospering, his zeal for its success, and attention to its interests have not abated one jot, although the charm of novelty is gone……let not Sir Hyde East, or Mr. Wilson be put upon an equality with Mr. Hare, when the disinterestedness, assiduity, and regard of each for the mental improvement of the natives are discussed. Mr. Hare is also a secretary of an institution [The Calcutta School Society] for the propagation of useful knowledge among Hindoo youth. How much is he paid for his services ? Let this be the answer. The School Society's disbursements fell short of its receipts by 6000 rupees in the year 1828 : *the deficiency was supplied* by this gentleman, whose portrait has not been painted, whose statue has not been erected.

David Hare

"A Hindoo and no lover of Mushroom

* So far as the conception of the Hindu College was concerned, the credit is primarily due to Raja Ram Mohun Roy. It was Ram Mohun who proposed orally for the first time to Sir Edward Hyde East that a college should be established in Calcutta to satisfy the modern needs of his countrymen.

Vide "Ram Mohun Roy as an educational Pioneer" by Brajendra Nath Banerji. *The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, June 1930. Also my article in *The Modern Review*, January 1933.

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Aristocracy" further dilated on the activities of David Hare in the paper :

> There is another point, Mr. Editor, which I wish to bring to your notice. Who Mr. Hare is, what he does, and how he spends his time are questions that have not, I believe, been satisfactorily answered. You have said a great deal respecting these points, when you have mentioned that he is personally known to the three thousand boys that are attached to the School Society's Institutions, that he is also acquainted with the generality of the natives, and that there is no school in Calcutta which he does not visit. But you should have said more—from generals you should have descended to particulars. However, since you have not done so, permit me, Mr. Editor, to sketch an account of what Mr. Hare does in the course of the whole day. From ten O'clock in the morning, (the time in which the schools begin) to seven and sometimes even to eight in the evening, he visits all the native schools everyday. Enquire for Mr. Hare, during this time, and you are sure to find him in one or another school. But stop, Sir, this is but a part of what this worthy gentleman does for the good of the natives. If any of the pupils be sick, Mr. Hare prescribes Medicine, attends to him, and is not in ease, until he is quite recovered. All this I speak from my own experience. (*Ibid.*, June 18, 1830)

A rejoinder by "A Director of the institution from its very foundation" to the statements of the editor of *The India Gazette*, also reproduced in *The Hurkaru*, was published in *The Government Gazette* of June 24, 1830. It flatly denied that Hare was the originator of the Hindoo College, and that he subscribed to it. The Director wrote :

> On the [1]4th May, 1816, a very respectable Meeting of the Hindoos assembled, by the invitation, and at the House of the Honorable Sir Edward Hyde East, for the purpose of subscribing to, and forming an establishment for the liberal education of their children. Sir Edward alone addressed the meeting as to the object for which they were assembled, and as to the benefit that His Lordship considered would be derived by the country at large, from forming an establishment for the education of their youth. This proposal was explained by W. C. Blaquire, Esq. and received with the unanimous approbation of all the Natives present, including the most eminent pundits, who sanctioned it with their express support and recommendation, and a large sum of money was immediately subscribed. Under this circumstance, it clearly appears that Mr. Hare was not the originator of the Hindoo College ; nor did he subscribe to it···

He, however, added :

> In concluding this, I think it necessary to add, that it must not be supposed for one moment that I deny the merits of our much respected friend Mr. Hare, who is no doubt, a most disinterested promoter of the education of the Hindoo youths, and who devotes his whole time to further the objects of all useful Institutions established for the improvement of Natives ; and as such he is universally esteemed and admired among us, and has our warmest thanks and most sincere acknowledgements for his unwearied attentions.

The rejoinder gave occasion for the following retort from the edior of *The India Gazette* :

> Before "a very respectable meeting of the Hindoos assembled, by the invitation, and at the house of the Honorable Sir Edward Hyde East, for the purpose of subscribing to, and forming an establishment for the liberal Education of their children," had there been no such proposal in writing circulated among several native gentlemen ? Had it not been handed to Sir Hyde East by a native gentleman ? Did not that learned Judge make a few alterations in it, and approve of the proposal ? And was not the author and originator of that paper, Mr. David Hare ? Further, is it not a fact that on the occasion of an address being presented to Sir H. East by some members of the native community in which the same veracious compliment was paid to him which has since been engraved on marble, he disclaimed the honour? Let these questions be directly and explicitly answered. "A Director of the Hindoo College" may be able to favour us with something better than a *non-mi-ricordo* reply, "to remove doubts that might arise in the minds of the public." (*The India Gazette*, June 25, 1830).

In support of the editor's contention, "S" wrote a letter to *The India Gazette* on the 26th June. Part of the letter is given below :

(*Ibid.*, June 28, 1830)

> The just claim which Mr. Hare has upon the respect and admiration of those, whether European or Native, who take interest in the liberal education of the people of this country, is beyond all doubt. It may not have been so generally known that Mr. Hare is the gentleman with whom the Institution of the Hindoo College originated. This being the case, it must be universally acknowledged that public honours considered to be due, *on that*

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account, ought to have been testified, primarily and principally, towards Mr. Hare, and not towards Sir E. H. East; who, as it appears, only seconded and gave the weight of his influence and station as Chief Judge of the Supreme Court, to a project which had been first devised by another person, to whom therefore, the credit and merit of the plan belonged as matter of exclusive right.

Mr. Hare has his time entirely at this disposal, and he devotes the *whole* of it, in the most efficient manner, to further the objects of ALL useful institutions established for the improvement of the natives, nay, more; he advances those objects by munificent donations from his private purse. No praise can be too great, no honours too high, for the man who thus exerts himself to promote the best interests of humanity, in the most comprehensive sense of that word. These tributes are due to him from the *whole body* of native gentlemen, who feel concern in securing the advantages of liberal education for the rising and for future generations: they are not due to him from any one isolated institution.

RAMMOHUN ROY'S EMBASSY TO ENGLAND

By BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI

RAMMOHUN sailed for England on 15th November, 1830, and reached Liverpool in the April following. The foremost thought which occupied his mind there was the mission from the King of Delhi. He explained his object in visiting England in a long letter addressed on 25th June, 1831, to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the East India Company. He wrote:

"I have the honour to acquaint you that one of the principal objects of my visiting England is to lay before the British authorities, if found necessary, a representation with which I am charged from His Majesty the King of Delhi, and more especially a letter from His Majesty to the King of England,* which letter it will be my duty to take an early opportunity of presenting in the event of the appeal which I am induced in the first instance to make to the Hon'ble Court of Directors not being attended with success.

I would beg to state on the present occasion that I possess full and unlimited powers from His Majesty to negotiate and agree to a final settlement of what the King considers to be his fair and equitable claims on the Hon'ble East India Company. The circumstances connected with the appeal are stated in a pamphlet printed for greater facility of perusal and reference, a copy of which I now beg to submit herewith...."

It is our intention to reproduce here the pamphlet mentioned above which was hitherto unknown to the biographers of Rammohun. This document, it will be seen, exhibits Rammohun's great forensic ability and was printed in London in 1831 for private circulation. I have discovered a copy of it among the Home Miscellaneous Series Records of the India Office and this will also be included in the collected edition of Rammohun Roy's works shortly to be published by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta.

TREATY WITH THE KING OF DELHI DECISION THEREON

By the Governor-General of India With Remarks on the latter

Original Treaty with His Majesty the King of Delhi, entered into in 1805, by the Local Government of Bengal, consisting of the Marquis of Wellesley and the Members of the Supreme Council.

Decision passed by Lord Amherst, Governor-General in Council, on the Articles of the above Treaty in 1828, in consequence of frequent demands on the part of His Majesty for its fulfilment.

Treaty

1. "All the Mehals (districts) to the west of the Jumna, situated between the west and north of Mouza Kabilpoor, shall be considered the crown-lands of His Majesty."

Decision

1. As to the requests concerning the 1st and 8th articles of treaty, Government states, "that it was the original intention of Government to have assigned certain Mehals to the west of the Jumna, for the support of His Majesty and the Royal Family: but the plan was never, from unavoidable causes, carried completely into effect, and in 1809 the royal stipend was fixed at one lack per month."

Remarks on the Decision

By the use of the word "intention" in this paragraph, His Lordship conveys the idea that the assignment of these districts was a mere inclination or suggestion in the breast of the Local Government, which it was at liberty to act on or not. Now, when in consequence of an intention, a promise is made, if even verbally, on which other parties are

* For a copy of this letter see my monograph on *Rammohun Roy's Mission to England*, pp. 51-65.

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induced to rely, the party promising becomes bound to fulfil it. But when that intention and promise have assumed the solemn form of a written contract or treaty, on the faithful observance of which the honour and character of the contracting party depend, and such treaty has even been reduced to practice for years, is it possible to regard the conditions of such a treaty as a mere 'intention,' which the party stipulating it is at liberty either to fulfil or not as it may suit his interest or convenience? Not only was this engagement formally embodied in a treaty regularly executed and recognized in the regulations or statutes of the British Indian empire, which are printed and circulated all over the country as the laws by which it is governed; but it was acted upon for some period after it was made; and it was afterwards repeatedly recognized in subsequent enactments of the government, which spoke of it as a Treaty which had been entered into, and was still in full force. For the evidence of this, see Sections 1st and 3rd of Regulation VIII. of 1805, which states, "that the revenues of the territory on the right bank of the Jumna are assigned to His Majesty Shah Alum." At Sections 1st and 2nd of Regulation X. of 1807, and at Section 1st of Regulation XI. of the same year, the language is similar though more general; for in these "the territory assigned for the support of the Royal Family at Delhi," is mentioned without specifying its locality as in the former instances, the very absence of this specification marking its notoriety, and the distinctness of the purposes to which the revenues of that territory were exclusively applicable.*

As a further proof, if such were necessary, of the actual cession of the territory for that purpose in pursuance of the Treaty, the King of Delhi was allowed to appoint his own accountants in conformity with the 3rd article of it, to attend at the offices of the Collector of the revenue to keep an account of the amount received, and report the same to him, that the royal treasury might not be deprived of any part. This they did for some years; after which, when the revenue realized, began to exceed very considerably the minimum stipulated and paid to His Majesty, his accountants were dismissed as inconvenient. On being informed that the revenues of the crown-lands had increased greatly, His Majesty applied for an augmentation of stipend; and Lord Minto directed the sum of 13,000 rupees to be added to His Majesty's personal allowance in addition to 60,000 previously received, both together not amounting to more than 73,000 rupees, which is very far short of one lac or 100,000 rupees, the sum which would be supposed from the above statement. This augmentation was made, however, without the least reference to His Majesty, and with a total disregard to the provisions of the Treaty by which it ought to have been much greater: against which injustice His Majesty never ceased to complain to all the Residents at his court, and also personally to Lord Amherst when his Lordship visited Delhi in 1827.

Treaty

2. "The management of these Mehals (districts) shall be continued according to custom in the hands of the Resident."

Decision

2. "Requires no answer."

Remarks

Virtually admitting that the territory continued under the control of the Resident, who, as sole manager thereof alienated and exchanged various parts of it.

Treaty

3. "For His Majesty's satisfaction, the Royal Mootusuddies (accountants) shall attend at the Cutchery (collector's office) to keep accounts of the receipts and disbursements, and report the same to His Majesty."

Decision

3. "The Governor General is not aware of any advantage which could result from the enforcement of this article; as the maintenance of Mootusuddies (clerks) of the several Cutcherries (collector's offices) in the Delhi territory must obviously be an useless and unprofitable source of expense to His Majesty which it would be better to avoid."

Remarks

Were they dismissed, after several years attendance, from a kind regard to His Majesty, and to save him from the expense of them, as his Lordship here intimates? or with the view of concealing from His Majesty a knowledge of the amount of revenue justly due to him in terms of the treaty, but which it was now more convenient to withhold from him!

Treaty

4. "Two Adauluts (courts) one for Dewanee (civil) and the other for Fouidary (criminal) business shall be established, and all matters coming before them shall be decided according to the rules of Mahomedan law."

Decision

4, 5, and 6. "The British Government distinctly reserved to itself the right of introducing such modifications as it might deem expedient and necessary into the system originally established for the management of the assigned territory, and it has exercised that discretion in the instances here referred to."

Treaty

5. "Two learned and respectable inhabitants of Delhi shall be appointed to the offices of Cazee (judge) and Mooftee (lawyer) in the above courts."

6. "In every criminal case where the punishment of mutilation or death may be adjudged by the officers of the Foujdary (criminal court) the papers will be submitted by the Resident to the King for His Majesty's decision."

Remarks

The British Government might introduce modifications into the mode of regulating its Courts established by these articles; but a disregard of the provision in article 6, cannot be called a modification but a violation of the treaty.

Treaty

7. "The sums specified below shall be paid monthly by the Resident from the public treasury for the expenses of His Majesty and the Royal establishment, whether the whole of the amount or is not collected from the Khalsah (or crown lands.

* By a reference to the regulations, it will be found that the regulations above quoted, are still in force and not rescinded.

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DECISION

7. "No answer required."

REMARKS

There is in fact no complaint of any violation of this article (fixing at first the minimum allowance) but rather that the Government adhered to it, with too great a tenacity after its operation had been superseded by the increase of the revenue produced by the assigned territory.

TREATY.

8. "Should there be an increase in the collections from the above Mehals (districts), in consequence of extended cultivation and the improved condition of Ryots (cultivators) an augmentation to that amount will take place in the King's Peshcush (tribute)."

DECISION.

8 "Noticed above (par. 1)"

REMARKS.

No specific answer is given to this, because it is unanswerable, and proves, beyond all question, that the King's monthly tribute (then fixed at a minimum of 60,000 rupees) was to increase in proportion as the revenues of the crown-lands improved. Yet notwithstanding the vast increase that has taken place in the revenues, now more than trebled, the above tribute has only been increased 13,000 rupees.

TREATY.

9. "The Resident will present 10,000 rupees on the occasion of each of the seven festivals held annually, *viz.*, two Eeds, the anniversary of the Accession, the Now Roze (new year's day), the Holy Rumzan, the Hooly, and Bussunt."

DECISION.

9. "The presents here referred to, were commuted long since for a monthly payment of Rs. 6000 which amount was added to His Majesty's stipend."

REMARK.

Even this arrangement was made without the previous consent of His Majesty.

TREATY.

10. "The Jagheers (estates) of the heir apparent and Mirzah Aizedbukhsh, situated in the Doab, shall be made over to the officers of the Honourable Company."

DECISION.

10. "Requires no answer."

REMARK.

The fulfilment of this rested with the Resident and Aizedbukhsh, etc.

TREATY.

11. The expense of the Troops, Police Corps, etc. employed in the Khalsah (or crown-lands) shall be defrayed by the Honourable Company.

DECISION.

11. "The expenses here alluded to have been always defrayed by the British Government."

REMARKS.

The obvious meaning of this article is, to satisfy the King that this expense of troops, etc., was to be defrayed by the Honourable Company, and that they were not to be maintained at His Majesty's expense, or become a charge upon the produce of the crown-lands, so as to diminish in any degree the amount of their revenue which was stipulated and exclusively due to His Majesty.

In short, when by increased cultivation the revenues of the crown-lands augmented considerably above the fixed minimum, the Local Government began to regret that the treaty should operate more favourably for His Majesty than was at first expected, and felt less reluctance to violate a treaty with a fallen dynasty, than to part with a considerable sum of money.

In order to remove an objection which might have been made by some illiberal men, that allowing of an increase of revenue to the King would be contrary to sound policy, it may be added that His Majesty has agreed, in a letter to the British Sovereign, never to retain in his treasury more than twelve lacks of rupees (about £120 000 sterling) at one time, and to forfeit any sum beyond that which may be found in his possession; and that he will invest in the Honourable Company's funds any surplus beyond the twelve lacks, should such exist.

He has also given a solemn promise under his hand to one of his confidential servants, that if any surplus exists beyond what is absolutely required by the actual necessities of himself and family, he will employ it in establishing seminaries of education throughout his territories.

SUMS ALLUDED TO IN ARTICLE 7TH OF THE TREATY.

"Detail of the fixed Peshcush (tribute) and other allowances, per Mensem,"

"For His Majesty"	Rs. 60,000
"The Heir apparent, exclusive of the Jaghgeer (estate) of Kote Cassim"	Rs. 10,000
"Mirza Aizedbukhsh (*viz.* on account of Doab Jageer) 1000 Peshcush."	Rs. 2,000
"Princes and Princesses, each"	Rs. 200
"Salary of Shah Newaz Khan"	Rs. 2,500

As the Local Government of Bengal in their letter to the Honourable Court of Directors in 1828, ground the above decision on the Report of Sir Charles Metcalfe dated June or July, 1827, it is therefore necessary to subjoin this Report, in so far as it relates to the Treaty in question, with remarks on each paragraph, to enable the reader to form a judgement how far this report can afford any degree of support to such a decision, or justify the direct violation of the Treaty.

REPORT OF SIR CHARLES METCALFE.

Observations on the Report of the Hon. Sir Charles Metcalfe dated July 1827, then Resident at Delhi, and recorded by the Local Government of Fort William in July 1827, on which the resolutions of Government in 1827, refusing to adjust the claims of the King of Delhi are founded, as is evident from its despatches to the Court of Directors, of July 1828, and May, 1829.

1. **Report.**—The 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th paragraphs of Sir Charles Metcalfe's Report, containing no arguments, do not require comment.

2. Sir Charles Metcalfe states in the 5th paragraph of his Report, "that it seems impossible to ascertain to what district" (the Mehals assigned in the first article for the support of the royal family) "are applicable"; and again in the 6th paragraph of the same Report, that "respecting the document" (the written agreement entered into by Government

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with his Majesty in the year 1805), "it may be remarked that it is an intimation of the intentions of the British Government at that time, and not an engagement positively binding as to its future conduct."

3. **Remarks.**—With a view to asceratain how far these statements are correct, I may refer to the document alluded to—*viz.*, a Treaty permanently concluded with His Majesty in 1805, by the Marquis of Wellesley, as well as to the concurrent spirit and words of several regulations of the Supreme Government, passed in subsequent years. With regard to the district which it seems to Sir Charles Metcalfe impossible to ascertain from the terms of the Treaty, as assigned to His Majesty, the specification appears pretty distinctly stated in the words of the lst article of the Treaty alluded to, which are as follows:—

4. Article lst. "All the Mehals to the west of the river Jumna, lying between the west and the north of the Mouza of Kaboolpoor, *are fixed*, as the Khalsah Shureefah, or *Crown-lands* of His Presence or Majesty."

5. Again, that this article was conformable to the deliberate intentions of Government, appears clearly from the words of Section 4th, of Regulation XI of 1804, the year *previous* to the final conclusion of the Treaty, where it is most clearly expressed, "that the revenues of the territory on the right bank of the Jumna are assigned to His Majesty Shah Alum;" and we find precisely the same language used at Section 22nd of the same Regulation, wherein it is laid down that certain articles imported by sea are exempted from duty, on their exportation to the territory on the right bank of the Jumna, the revenues of which *are assigned to His Majesty, Shah Alum;*" at Section 35 of the same Regulation, it is also ordered that salt imported into the Zillahs, or "from the territory situated on the right bank of the Jumna, the revenues of which *are assigned* to His Majesty, Shah Alum, shall be subject to a duty." At Section 3rd of Regulation VI of the succeeding year, the same expression as to the assignment of the revenues on the right bank of the Jumna to His Majesty Shah Alum is used; and at Sections 2nd and 4th of Regulation VIII. of the same year, it is enacted that the "laws or regulations of the British Government, printed and published in the manner prescribed in Regulation I. of the year 1803, are not to extend to the territory on the right bank of the Jumna, the revenues of which are *assigned* to His Majesty Shah Alum." That the British Government continued in the *intention* of acting in the spirit of the Treaty of 1805 is equally manifest from the fact that, in 1807, the fourth year after the first announcement of the aforesaid territories being assigned to His Majesty, Shah Alum, and the third year of the Treaty of 1805, the same language is used, though in a more extended sense. It is enacted in Sections the lst and 2nd of Regulation X of 1807, "that territory assigned for the *support* of the *Royal Family* at Delhi," shall be excepted from the superintendence of a commissioner appointed by the Supreme Government to superintend the settlement of the revenues, and for the general control of the collectors. And again, in Section lst of Regulation IX. of the same year, it is ordained that "the territory *assigned* for the *support* of the *Royal Family at Delhi*" shall be exempted from the ordinances framed in this Regulation.

6. After these incontestible proofs that the boundaries of the Crown-lands in question are most distinctly laid down and the appropriation of the revenues thereof to the support of the Royal Family deliberately, fully and unequivocally set forth, during a period of four years—*viz.* 1804, 1805, 1806 and 1807, and so late as the latter year, 1807, these territories were entitled," the lands assigned for the support of the Royal Family at Delhi," it is rather unaccountable that Sir Charles Metcalfe should think it "impossible to ascertain to what district the territory was applicable," or to believe that the Treaty itself, and the provisions cited from the Government Regulations for a period of several years are to be construed as "merely intimations of the intention of the British Government."

7. It may not be considered superfluous if I quote, in this place, the language of the 10th paragraph of Sir Charles Metcalfe's Report, as indicative of the inconsistency of the honourable gentleman; for he there admits the identity of the district which he sets out with declaring the impossibility of ascertaining. He says, "these instructions declare that the territory to be assigned for the support of His Majesty is to comprise all the territory on the right bank of the Jumna, to the northward of Kaboolpoor, *ceded* to us, by the Treaty of Surjee Angengaum."

8. **Report.**—In the first part of the 7th paragraph of the same Report, Sir Charles Metcalfe states, that "it will be easy to shew that this Treaty was not deemed binding for any, the shortest period, that it was scarcely written before it was virtually annulled, and that the British Government never did intend to enter into any compact with His Majesty."

9. **Remarks.**—This assertion is equally unaccountable as the former one, and it is quite sufficient to refer to the quotations alreay offered from Regulation XI. of 1804. Regulation VI. and VIII. of 1805, and Regulation X. and XI. of 1807, for the most undeniable proof that the assignment of the territory in question, was not only held valid, "for any, the shortest period," but publicly announced, and officially recognised, for several years, as the Khalsah lands, the revenues of which belonged to the Royal Family of Delhi.

10. **Report.**—In justification of the delusion which according to Sir Charles Metcalfe, the British Government put on the world, as well as on the King of Delhi, by the apparent liberality of the Treaty of 1805, he alleges, at the conclusion of the 7th paragraph of his Report, that "the British Government never did intend to enter into any compact with His Majesty, who, having in fact come into the hands of the British Government, without power or possessions, had nothing to confer in return for the benefits which he received and was not master of the materials for mutual negotiation, or treaty."

11. **Remarks.**—My remark on this paragraph is, that the only reciprocal advantage which could be derived from a cession to His Majesty, at the period of the first British conquest of the western provinces, consisted in the greater stability to the power of the British Government, attained by securing the grateful friendship of a monarch, who, though without territorial possession, was still regarded by the nations of Hindoostan as the only legitimate fountain of either honour or dominion. The assignment, even of a small slip of territory, to the acknowledged Emperor of India, was, in the circumstances of the times, eminently calculated to ensure the popularity of the English nation, and, in common with several other acts, was strongly illustrative of

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the wisdom and foresight that characterised the policy of the administration of the Marquis of Wellesley. I may, moreover, observe, that to this Royal Family the British nation stood indebted for their original legal settlement on the banks of the Ganges, and consequently, for their subsequent gradual territorial acquirement of almost the whole of Hindoostan. And further, His Majesty, Shah Alum, in the year 1765, then an independent sovereign and the universally acknowledged monarch of the whole of Hindoostan, readily granted to the Hon. East India Company, at the solicitation of their representative, Lord Clive, with other privileges and immunities, the Dewanship, in perpetuity, of such fertile territories as Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. It cannot, I presume be considered an over-excess of liberality, or favour, that the representative of his Britannic Majesty should in the full plenitude of power, and after the conquest of a most extensive country, have granted a comparatively minute portion on the bank of the river adjoining the royal city of Delhi, for the maintenance of that personage and his family, who was, from their first landing in India, the firmest friend and ally of the English nation.

12. And with reference to that part of Sir Charles Metcalfe's statement, that "the British Government never did intend to enter into any compact with His Majesty," who, in fact, according to the honourable gentleman, fell into their power, I may refer to a part of the Marquis of Wellesley's letter to His Majesty at Delhi, dated the 27th July, 1803, and subsequently communicated to the Secret Committee of the Hon. East India Company, under date 12th April, 1804, which clearly shews that His Majesty was induced to place himself under the protection of the English nation, by reason of the earnest solicitation of the British Government itself, and on account of the repeated promises made to His Majesty by the representative of that government, as to "permanent arrangement, calculated to provide durable security for the happiness, dignity, and tranquillity of His Majesty and the Royal Family."

13. The language of the Supreme Government of India, in their letter to His Majesty, as above referred to, dated 27th July, 1803, is as follows :—

"Your Majesty is fully appraised of the sentiments of respect and attachment which the British Government has invariably entertained towards your Royal person and family."

"In the present crisis of affairs, it is probable that your Majesty may have the opportunity of again placing yourself under the protection of the British Government, and I shall avail myself with cordial satisfaction of any event which may enable me to obey the dictates of my sincere respect and attachment to your royal house."

"If your Majesty should be disposed to accept the asylum which, in the contemplation of such an event, I have directed His Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces in Oude to offer to your Majesty, *in the name of the British Government*, your Majesty may be assured, that every demonstration of respect, and every degree of attention which can contribute to the ease and comfort of your Majesty and the Royal Family, will be manifested on the part of the British Government, and that adequate provision will be made for the support of your Majesty, and of your family and household."

"At a proper season, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief will have the honour of communicating to your Majesty my further sentiments on the subject of the proposed arrangement."

(Sd.) J. MONCTON,
Asst. Pers. Sec. to Government.

14. Notwithstanding these solemn promises made to his Majesty, "*in the name of the British Government*," by the Marquis of Wellesley, the King boldly and candidly expressed his doubts as to the sincerity of the professions of the Governor General in Council in the following terms :—

"The English have for some years past, been unmindful of me ; conceiving therefore, lest when the English gain possession of the country, they may prove forgetful of me, it becomes necessary for the General to settle this point with the Governor General, that *hereafter* there be no want of obedience, or cause of dissatisfaction to me."

(Sd.) J. GERARD.
Aug. 29, 1803

15. With the intention of still further refuting the statement of Sir Charles Metcalfe, that "the British Government *never did* intend to enter into any compact with his Majesty," I may here quote an extract from a letter addressed by His Majesty, Shah Alum, to the Marquis of Wellesley, dated 5th October, 1803, and which His Excellency, General Lake, "did not hesitate entirely to approve."

"Be this great victory and splendid success happy and prosperous to us, and to all the servants of our illustrious court, especially to your Lordship."

"As the designs of our faithful servants have now happily succeeded, the time is now arrived for your Lordship, in *conformity* to the *distinct* and *obligatory engagement described to us by your Lordship*, in the letter which you lately transmitted, to secure to yourself happiness, temporal and eternal, and permanent reputation, by *fulfilling that engagement*, and *to carry into effect* that which may provide for the interest and welfare of the servants of this Imperial Court (meaning His Majesty and family), and for the happiness of the people of God, through the aid and services of the officers of the Company's Government."

"For the rest, consider our boundless favour to be extended towards your Lordship, in a daily increasing degree."

(A True Translation.)
(Sd.) W. B. BAYLEY,
Asst. Pers. Sec.

16. **Report.**—In the 8th paragraph of the honourable gentleman's report he states, that, in November, 1804, the following declaration was made by the Governor General :

....."the Governor General does not deem it advisable to enter into any *written* engagement whatever with his Majesty, nor is it His Excellency's intention to solicit any concession, etc."

17. **Remarks.**—As to this expression of the sentiments of the Governor General, I can only say, that it is obviously inconsistent with subsequent public acts, and with the previous declaration of the Governor General in Council, in a letter to His Majesty, Shah Alum, dated 8th October 1803, as follows :—

"My attention is now directed with great solicitude to the formation of a permanent arrangement calculated to *provide durable security for the happiness, dignity*, and *tranquillity* of your Majesty

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and Royal Family, *conformable to the intimation* contained in my former address to your Majesty."

"I trust that the testimony of my early attention to your Majesty's service may be acceptable to your Majesty, until His Excellency, General Lake, under my orders, can be enabled to *offer* to your Majesty's *consideration*, the plan of a *permanent settlement of your affairs*, secured by the *power* of the *British Government*."

"I request your Majesty to consider His Excellency, General Lake, to be fully authorized by me to conduct all affairs in Hindoostan, and to possess my entire confidence and highest resp ct."

"Your Majesty will, therefore, be pleased to signify your commands on all occasions, to General Lake with the same confidence by which you have honoured me; and your Majesty will also be pleased to accept all communications from General Lake, as proceeding immediately from my authority."

(A true copy).

(Sd.) W. B. BAYLEY,
Asst. Pers. Translator.

18. As I have no means of ascertaining the peculiar circumstances out of which the declaration quoted by Sir Charles Metcalfe may have arisen,—Whether it was the act of the Governor General in *Council* (which is not stated), or the personal suggestion of the Governor General,--it is inconceivable to me that any stress whatever should be laid upon it by Sir Charles Metcalfe. If admissible to prove anything, it can only be to shew that the policy of entering into a written treaty with the King, which appeared at one time expedient, was afterwards, on more mature deliberation, embraced and acted upon, and held forth to the world as a matter that reflected honour on the British name.

19. **Report.**—The only part of the 9th paragraph of the report requiring observation, is the assertion, "that a fixed stipend should be assigned to His Majesty, payable in ready money, out of the revenues of our territory on the west of the Jumna."

20. **Remarks.**—In commenting on this, I have only to refer to the 8th article of the Treaty alluded to where, as plainly as words can declare anything, it is affirmed, that "should there be an increase in the collections from these Crown-lands, in consequence of extended cultivation, and the improved condition of the Ryots, in *augmentation* to that amount will also take place in the King's stipend." By these words it is most obviously indicated, and without a shadow of doubt expressed, that the stipend for the support of the Royal Family at Delhi, was not to have a perpetual limitation, but was to be increased in proportion to the augmented revenue of the Crown lands, and that the fixed stipend allotted to His Majesty in 1805, was merely a temporary arrangement, in consequence of the unsettled state of the country, as is evident from the words of the 7th article of the Treaty, as follows:—"Whether the amount be or be not collected from the Khalsah Mehals (or Crown-lands), the Resident will pay in monthly, in ready money, to the royal treasury, the sums fixed and particularized below, that the servants of the Sacred Presence may suffer no inconvenience for expenses."

21. **Report.**—The 10th paragraph of Sir Charles Metcalfe's report states: "These instructions declare that the territory to be assigned for the support of His Majesty is to comprise all the territory on the right bank of the Jumna to the northwest of Kaboolpoor, ceded to us by the treaty of Surjee Angengaum."

22. **Remarks.**—Requires no comment, as I have adverted to it in my remarks on the 5th and 6th paragraphs. This acknowledgment by Sir Charles Metcalfe is in confirmation of the justice of His Majesty's claims upon the revenues derivable from the said lands.

23. **Report.**—Paragraphs 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15, of the same Report state that "a large portion of those territories" (*i. e.* the Crown-lands assigned to His Majesty), were alienated to various individuals by the R sident in the latter end of the year 1805, and beginning of the year 1806; that, that alienation was in a great measure executed, and took place without reference to the previous assignment of those lands to the King, from which premises Sir Charles Metcalfe infers, that "it is quite clear that no such treaty was *supposed* to exist between the British Government and the King of Delhi."

24. **Remarks.**—Supposing the alienations alluded to had taken place, and that His Majesty had made no attempt to oppose them, it should be remembered, that by the 2nd article of the Treaty, it was provided that "the management of the Crown-lands was to be continued, according to custom, in the hands of the Resident," by which very proviso, His Majesty was precluded from interfering in any of the arrangements which the British Resident might deem fit to adopt, and the alienation of portions of those lands to any individuals by the Resident, or the annexation of others was equally beyond the control of His Majesty. In fact, from the whole tenor of the Treaty, the King considered himself as merely entitled to the revenues of his Crown-lands, without any right to interfere in their settlement, or to take an active part in their collection. The British Government could not surely evade its obligation to the King, by the expedient of alienating, *i. e.*, diverting the collection of the revenue into another channel.

25. **Report.**—The 16th and first part of the 17th paragraphs of the Report state, that the Crown-lands assigned to the King are now included in the central and northern divisions of the Delhi territory, and that the whole revenue, after paying the civil establishments only, is about 9,25,000 rupees.

26. **Remarks.**—It is clear from this statement that a sum of not less than 9,25,000 rupees, is at present the public revenue arising from such part of the Crown-lands as still *remain* under the immediate management of the Resident, after the extensive alienations to other individuals by the Resident since the Treaty of 1805. Those alienations having taken place without consent of His Majesty, he cannot reasonably be required to suffer by the acts of another person, who was, by virtue of the Treaty, entrusted with the sole management of the whole of the Crown-lands; His Majesty is therefore, consistently with the pure spirit of justice, entitled to the whole of the income, derivable from the territory assigned for his support, by the engagement of the British Government in 1805.

27. **Report.**—Sir Charles Metcalfe thus concludes his 17th paragraph, "these divisions contain *considerably more territory* than were in the possession of the British Government at the settlement of affairs in 1806."

28. **Remarks.**—His Majesty, as I have observed in the preceding remark, was and still remains

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incapacitated by the Treaty, from interfering in the administration of the Crown-lands, and consequently is ignorant of the manner in which *considerable acquisitions* have been made by the Resident in the Delhi territory since the final settlement with His Majesty in 1805 ; and I have only to observe, that although some portions of land may have been alienated by the Resident on one side of the Delhi territory, without the consent of His Majesty, yet it is admitted that much larger acquisitions have been made by the same gentleman on another, though unknown to His Majesty.

29. **Report.**—The 18th paragraph of the Report states, that enough has been said to shew the meaning of which the first article of the Treaty is susceptible, that "it was never acted on by the British Government ; that the article from the commencement has, in fact, been null and void for every purpose, but that of providing His Majesty with a liberal stipend, without reference to the revenue of the territory once designated, assigned, but which designation has long since ceased and become *obsolete*."

30. **Remarks.**—The singleness of meaning of which the 1st article of the Treaty is alone susceptible, can by no means be perverted by any subsequent interpretations ; and from my quotations from the Government Regulations, it is obvious that no attempt ever was made to represent the Treaty of 1805 as "null and void, or set aside" until the year 1809, when it appears that the British power being so firmly established in India, as to enable it to disregard popularity in the western and other provinces, and to encounter with impunity public odium—the necessary consequence of a manifest breach of faith—the public officers endeavoured to render a Treaty (which had been solemnly and voluntarily entered into) "*obsolete*."

31. **Report.**—Paragraphs 19th, 20th, and 21st, after repeating that "the 1st article of the Treaty of the 23rd May 1805, merely indicated an intention of the British Government, which was never fulfilled," proceed to state, that "a part of the instructions" to the Resident from the Supreme Government (which was withheld from the knowledge of His Majesty), "produces the impression that the intention ascribed to the article in question was not even at that time (1805) entertained ; for it is stated that if the revenues of the assigned territory shall hereafter admit of it, the monthly sum to be advanced to His Majesty, may be increased to one lack of rupees ;" which limitation Sir Charles Metcalfe observes "is inconsistent with any intention that the whole of the net revenue of the territory" (after the improved cultivation), "should go to His Majesty ;" and that, although this paragraph was never communicated to His Majesty by the Resident, yet it may *now* with propriety be cited, as a means of ascertaining the real intentions of the Government with regard to the Treaty of the 23rd May 1805, although they even (the intentions of the instructions) "were *not* carried into effect," and the honourable gentleman is further of opinion, that the *intentions* of the Supreme Government, although they were overlooked in the Treaty with His Majesty, may *now* be brought forward for consideration, because the treatment of the King of Delhi by the English nation was "gratuitous."

32. **Remarks.**—In the first place, it is evident from Sir Charles Metcalfe's own statement, that a part of the instructions from the Supreme Government to the Resident, concerning the Treaty of 1805 which states, that "should the revenue of the assigned territory hereafter admit of it, the monthly sum to be advanced to His Majesty might be increased to one lack of rupees," was never communicated to the King, and consequently it cannot *now* be urged as a reason for violating the Treaty of 1805, which was solemnly contracted, and publicly announced, and recognized in the regulations of Government. Had that part of the instructions concerning the Treaty been communicated to His Majesty, and notwithstanding he had agreed to the articles of the Treaty, this circumstance might probably by some persons be evasively adduced, for the purpose of weakening the claims of His Majesty. I say *evasively* ; because even that part of the instructions which was withheld from His Majesty by the Resident, (and which declares, that in the event of an increased augmentation in the revenue of the Crown-lands, the personal royal stipend should be increased to one lack of rupees monthly,) does not affirm, that in the event of the progressive improvement of the Crown-lands beyond one lack monthly, nevertheless, the stipend should remain fixed at that sum. I might also, by a parity of reasoning, according to the arguments used by Sir Charles Metcalfe, assert that the intentions entertained privately by the Government in 1805, had in fact "become null and void from having never been carried into effect, or having been shortly set aside" by the public execution of the Treaty of 1805 ; but I refrain from resorting to such a mode of argument, and I feel myself not transgressing the bounds of decorum and respect when I assert, that by representing the Supreme Government as capable of wilfully withholding from His Majesty, a portion of the public instructions concerning the Treaty of 1805, a gross deception is, in addition to a breach of promise, imputed unintentionally to the British Government by the honourable gentleman. And if anything could possibly render the Treaty more binding, it would be, its having been (as Sir Charles Metcalfe states), "*voluntarily* and *gratuitously* entered into," and solemnly ratified by the representative of His Britannic Majesty. I have considerable pleasure in being enabled to corroborate this opinion by the disinterested testimony of one of the ablest and most honourable of the Bengal civil servants. Mr. Alexander Ross, who was, for some years, the representative of the British Government with the King of Delhi, and who has candidly observed in an official communication to his Government, that "as this statement" (now brought forward by Sir Charles Metcalfe), "was never communicated to His Majesty Shah Alum, it cannot with propriety be *now* cited," as indicative of any intentions entertained by the Government in 1805, against the claims of His Majesty.

33. **Report.**—The 22nd paragraph of the Report, in giving the view most favourable for Government, admits, that "an increase of 40,000 rupees per month was contemplated beyond the amount of stipend then granted (*i.e.*, in the year 1805), and that the increase which has since taken place is not fully to that extent."

34. **Remarks.**—This admission, partial as it is, evinces the justness of at least, a portion of His Majesty's demands for the arrear of the stipend due to him for his support, and proves the violation both of the Treaty of 1805, and the intentions of the Government, upon which Sir Charles Metcalfe principally dwells.

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35. **Report.**—The 23rd paragraph of the Report states, that "the obligation which the British Government had imposed on itself, was that of providing adequate means for the support of the King and his household, in a manner suitable to the condition in which he was placed; while in policy it was inexpedient that the provision granted should exceed an amount sufficient for that purpose."

36. **Remarks.**—The obligation which the British Government imposed on itself, was fully set forth in the Treaty of 1805; and had they deemed the appropriation to His Majesty of the total amount of the revenue, arising from the improved state of the Crown-lands, as being at all impolitic or likely to give rise to alarms (however ill-founded), prejudicial to the Supreme Government, the latter had it completely in their power to demand or enact any honourable and suitable stipulations they deemed requisite; such, for instance, as His Majesty has now voluntarily proffered of not keeping in his own possession more than a certain sum of money at a time, and investing, in the East India Company's treasury, the remainder of his revenue (which might occasion the entertaining of fears unworthy of his fidelity).

37. **Report.**—In the 24th paragraph Sir Charles Metcalfe states that "it has been contended" (by Mr. Ross the late representative at the Court of Delhi), "that these are not reasons which can be urged for not fulfilling the promises supposed to be contained in the Treaty of 1805." But the honourable gentleman nevertheless is of opinion, that the reasons he has already adduced have shewn that the said Treaty "was virtually annulled almost as soon as it was formed; that it was not at any time a stipulation; that the territory to which it related was for the most part alienated within a few months from its date; and that the whole revenue of what was reserved would not nearly pay the present allowance to the Royal Family."

38. **Remarks.**—As I have clearly demonstrated in the preceding remarks, that the Treaty was not, as Sir Charles Metcalfe states "virtually annulled almost as soon as it was framed;" that the Treaty of 1805 was a stipulation voluntarily and deliberately entered into with His Majesty by the British Government; that the alienation of a part of the territory assigned as the Crown-lands of His Majesty, was an act with which the King had no power to interfere, the administration and management of the said lands being entirely in the hands of the British Resident, according to the 2nd article of the same Treaty; and that, consequently, the amount of revenue arising from the lands which the Resident retained or gave away to others, is still due to His Majesty, the opinion expressed by Mr. Ross stands valid and unimpeached.

39. **Report.**—The 25th paragraph of the Report states, that "it appears that it was the intention of our Government at that early period (*viz.* in 1805), to assign a territory for the support of the Royal Family; and fixing the stipend at a certain amount to pay the deficiency of the revenue from the Company's treasury. It is not *quite clear*, because different parts of the Resolution are not consistent with each other, whether it was intended that the King should enjoy any amount of revenue that might accrue from the territory to be assigned, or that his stipend should be limited to the *maximum* mentioned as what might be given, if the territory should ever yield so much. The settlement of this point is of the less consequence, as the territory mentioned in the Resolution was for the most part alienated, and not assigned."

40. **Remarks.**—The admissions in this paragraph, though mingled with doubt by Sir Charles Metcalfe, are not a little remarkable, after the train of reasoning previously adduced by the honourable gentleman, with a view to shew that such an intention could not have been contemplated by the British Government; for, observes the honourable gentleman in the 15th paragraph of his Report, "it is quite clear that no such engagement (as the Treaty of 1805), "was supposed to exist, and the only notion entertained at that time was, that the King was to be pensioner of the British Government, who were to take care of him by a handsome provision, and that all the territory in our possession was at our own disposal." However, the doubt expressed by Sir Charles Metcalfe might perhaps have been suggested by the articles of the instructions to the Resident in 1805, which, in the honourable gentleman's opinion are "inconsistent with each other." To an impartial judge, no inconsistency or want of explicitness will, I think, be observable in the articles of the Treaty which were presented to the Emperor Shah Alum in 1805, so the instructions of Government to the Resident appear quite consistent with each other, though the last article was not explicitly expressed by Government; as is fully explained in my observation (Par. 32) on the 19th, 20th, and 21st paragraphs of the Report. The alienations to other individuals by the Resident, of a portion of territory assigned to His Majesty, which may have been caused by some unforeseen circumstances, and which took place without the consent of the King, cannot be adduced as weakening the claims of His Majesty to the whole of the revenues of the territories assigned to him, or justify the charge which the honourable gentleman has brought against the Supreme Government, of *inconsistency* in its resolutions.

41. **Report.**—The 26th paragraph of the Report states, "that the only principles acted upon by the British Government with relation to the stipend of the King of Delhi" were, "that the stipend of His Majesty should be liberal and suitable to his condition; but that it should be fixed and limited according to the exigencies of the Royal Family, and the available resources of the British Government," and Sir Charles Metcalfe states, that he "does not see why it should depart from those principles, with reference to a doubtful construction of an intention which, whatever it may have been, was laid aside almost at the moment when it was conceived."

42. **Remarks.**—My observation upon this paragraph is, that the principles which actuated the Supreme Government could only be divined from their solemn engagement and public announcement of them, and these are entirely in favour of the right which Sir Charles Metcalfe is pleased to term "a doubtful construction."

43. **Report.**—The 27th paragraph asserts that "there is no want of reason for believing that the real intention of the resolution of May 1805, was that the King's stipend should be fixed, it evidently not being at that time supposed possible that the revenue of the Delhi territory could increase to so great a degree as to admit of a payment greater than the limited allowance *ultimately* contemplated."

44. **Remarks.**—By a reference to the 7th and 8th articles of the Treaty entered into with the King of Delhi by the British Government in 1805, it

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evident (and so far I agree with the honourable gentleman), that the stipend of His Majesty should be limited to a certain amount, only so long as the revenue arising from the Crown-lands assigned for the support of the Royal Family, did not exceed the sum then allowed; but that, as soon as the revenues should exceed that stipend in any degree, a proportionate increase should take place in the Royal stipend. This positive declaration or fact, cannot be altered by the supposition of Sir Charles Metcalfe, that the promise made by Government to augment the Royal stipend, in proportion to the increase of the territorial revenue, was founded upon an erroneous calculation, that the revenue of the Delhi territory could not possibly "increase to so great a degree as to admit of a payment greater than the limited allowance *ultimately* contemplated." I have admitted this supposition of the honourable gentleman for a moment, although it is unsupported by any official document that I am aware of; but I may be permitted to inquire, Does not national honour bind the Government to the fulfilment of a solemn compact, deliberately entered into, even if a part of its engagement rested on a calculation which might hereafter be supposed not to come up entirely to the expectations of one of the contracting parties? Were a contrary mode of reasoning to be adopted in any, the most trifling domestic or social agreement, the confidence between man and his fellows would be irretrievably destroyed. Indeed, I can scarcely persuade myself, that the honourable gentleman could have reflected, when he adverted to this supposition, which if admitted as a just rule in one instance, would be a fair precedent for the supreme Government to lay aside the obligation into which they entered with the Zumeendars of Bengal and Behar, in 1793; on the plea, that their lands, the assignment of which was rendered permanent in 1793, now yield a greater revenue than was contemplated at that time.

45. **Report.**—In the 28th paragraph Sir Charles Metcalfe states, that he "cannot concur in the opinion which has been expressed" (by Mr. Ross, the Government Agent at Delhi, in 1823), "that the Resolution of 1809 is to be considered invalid, because it does not agree with the seeming intention of a prior period," which the honourable gentleman again states, "was never carried into effect."

46. **Remarks.**—As the honourable gentleman has not brought forward any argument in support of this difference of opinion with Mr. Ross, except such as have been noticed by me, in the preceding passages, I am unavoidably necessitated to refer to my remarks upon the same assertions in the 6th paragraph. (*Vid.* par. 3-6, page 8-10, supra.)

47. **Report.**—In the 29th paragraph it is stated that, "although the King has often applied for an increase of stipend there is nothing on record," within the knowledge of the honourable gentleman, "heretofore indicative of His Majesty's desire to have his stipend regulated by the amount of revenue produced by the Delhi territory."

48. **Remarks.**—Sir Charles Metcalfe here admits His Majesty's having often applied for an increase of stipend, but asserts that he had no knowledge of any document being on record, indicative of the desire of the King to have his stipend regulated by the amount of revenue derivable from the Crown-lands. It must be sufficiently obvious, that the applications made by His Majesty for an increase of stipend, could be alone founded on the 8th article of the Treaty of 1805, which provides for the regulated extension of His Majesty's stipend, by "the amount of revenue" accruing from the anticipated extended cultivation of the Crown-lands, and the improved condition of the cultivators.

49. Sir Charles Metcalfe frequently adverts in the foregoing paragraphs of his Report, to the remarks made by Mr. Ross, in his communication to Government, dated the 13th of June, 1823, wherein Mr. Ross expresses His Majesty's desire to have his stipend regulated by the amount of revenue produced in the Delhi territory. This circumstance of Sir Charles Metcalfe's adverting to the communication in question, shews that the honourable gentleman must have read this official document, communicating the desire of the King to have his stipend increased, in proportion to the augmentation of the revenues of his Crown-lands. I have, therefore, to regret, that this fact should have escaped his advertence, when the honourable gentleman stated that there was nothing hitherto on record to that effect. Indeed, for the first two or three years succeeding the Treaty of 1805, His Majesty made no application to Government for an increase of stipend, in consequence of the unsettled state of the country; but at the time of the administration of Lord Minto, in 1809, His Majesty renewed his application for an increase of stipend, and incurred considerable expense in deputing an Envoy to Calcutta, to represent his claims; as is evident from the minute entered by that nobleman in the same year. But to the great surprise of His Majesty, he was informed, that the Governor General in Council had made a partial augmentation to his stipend, without reference to the enhanced revenue derivable from the Crown-lands assigned for the support of the Royal Family; though his Lordship, being aware of the unjustness of the measure, expressed in his minute, that the arrangement of the Government would prove dissatisfactory to the King. His Majesty finding he could not procure an adjustment of his claims from Lord Minto, waited the arrival of his successor, the Marquis of Hastings; and being unable to afford the expence of another Envoy to Calcutta, awaited the expected visit of the Marquis to His Majesty at Delhi. This interview was, however, prevented by an unforeseen and unfortunate obstacle, and the preferring of His Majesty's demands to the Governor General himself, was necessarily postponed until Lord Amherst assumed the reins of Government, when, on his visit to Delhi, the King again advanced his claims, and his Lordship referred them to Sir Charles Metcalfe, for his opinion on their validity. From this brief recital, to say nothing of the perpetual complaints made to the Resident, it is clear, that although considerable delay has been unavoidably incurred in bringing forward His Majesty's appeal against the wrongs which His Majesty suffered from Lord Minto, yet the insinuation that His Majesty has only lately preferred a new demand against the British Government, will be perceived to be perfectly unfounded.

50. **Report.**—The 30th paragraph of the Report states, that "it was the expressed intention of the Marquis of Wellesley's Government, in May, 1805, to increase the *personal stipend* of His Majesty, to 100,000 rupees per month, whenever the territory assigned for the payment of the royal stipends should yield a net revenue adequate to the supply of the proposed increase." But the honourable gentleman offers his opinion that, "that intention was superseded by the arrangement concluded in the Earl of Minto's administration, in 1809." It is moreover stated, "that the King's *personal allowance* at present, is 82,200

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rupees per mensem, exclusive of lands which Sir Charles Metcalfe imagines "yield more than 5000 rupees per mensem, and 2000 rupees which the King appropriates from the allowance assigned for the Heir-apparent." Sir Charles Metcalfe, therefore, conceives, "the difference to be less than 10,800 rupees," while the honourable gentleman admits that, "by another calculation, it may be 16,800 rupees per mensem." In support of Sir Charles Metcalfe's conception—*viz.*, that it is 10,800 rupees a month, which fall short of the promised personal stipend, and not 16,800 rupees a month, the Report states that "*it is not clear*, that the personal stipend of 100,000 rupees per mensem, was to have been exclusive of allowance for festivals, commuted afterwards to 6000 rupees per mensem, and if not, the difference will be only as first stated—*viz.* '10,800 rupees ;' the Nuzzurs presented to His Majesty by the British Government, exceeding, it is supposed, 1000 rupees per mensem, are not included in the statement, nor those which His Majesty receives from the natives of all ranks."

51. **Remarks.**—It cannot escape the notice of every reader of this Report, that Sir Charles Metcalfe has unequivocally admitted, that it was "*the expressed intention*" of the Marquis of Wellesley's Government in 1805, to increase His Majesty's personal stipend to 100,000 rupees per mensem, whenever the territory should yield a "net revenue adequate to the supply of the proposed increase." But the opinion offered by the honourable gentleman, that "this arrangement was superseded by an act of Lord Minto's administration, in 1809," is unsupported by argument, and inequitable in its effect ; since the obligatory and voluntary arrangement made during the administration of the illustrious Marquis of Wellesley approved of by the Court of Directors, and the British Parliament by which the British faith was irrevocably pledged to the Royal house of Timour, could not be "superseded," or "set aside," by the act of any ulterior administration, or Government, without a direct and public violation of national faith, and a sacrifice of the unstained honour of the British name. This obligatory arrangement with the Royal house of Timour was so far considered binding, that although Lord Minto practically infringed thereon, yet having no power "to supersede" or set aside a solemn compact made by his predecessor, and guaranteed by the British Government, he gave such a colouring to his resolutions on the subject, as should make it appear that he was intent on fulfilling the engagement entered into by the Marquis of Wellesley, in 1805 ; for his Lordship, in a minute, dated 17th June, 1809, in stating his reasons for augmenting the Royal stipend, observes that this measure "is expedient, with reference to a conditional promise to that effect, made with Shah Alum, in 1805, and to fulfil the obligation of the public faith."

52. These expressions of Lord Minto appear to have made the intended impression on the Court of Directors ; so that, in their letter dated 4th September, 1811, they did not scruple to admit, that "the period had arrived at which it became incumbent on the British Government, to fulfil the promise made by Lord Wellesley, on the part of the British Government to the King of Delhi, and Royal house of Timour."

53. I may also be permitted to point out the inconsistency which is displayed in the 30th paragraph of the Report ; for, after stating, that the *personal stipend* of His Majesty was intended to be increased to 100,000 rupees monthly, the honourable gentleman states, that "it is not *quite clear*" that this sum was exclusive of the allowance for festivals, afterwards commuted to 6000 rupees per mensem. I am at a loss to comprehend, how Sir Charles Metcalfe, who is distinguished for his accurate knowledge of diplomacy and Court affairs, should for an instant imagine that *allowances* for *festivals* and Court ceremonies, were meant to be included in a "personal stipend."

In every document relating to the public affairs of His Majesty, the amount of money assigned for public festivals, is separately set forth, and in no instance does it appear, that an idea was ever entertained by the Government, of consolidating this most indispensable branch of Court expenditure, with the *personal stipend* of His Majesty : nor can I perceive the object which Sir Charles Metcalfe had in view, when introducing the subject of the Nazzurs given to His Majesty by the Resident, and "by the natives of all ranks :" I trust the honourable gentleman did not also mean to include those sums in the personal allowance for the King.

In justice to His Majesty's claims, it may be now fairly advanced, that the arrears due to His Majesty for his personal support alone, are 40,32,000 rupees even according to the admission of Sir Charles Metcalfe, calculating at 16,800 rupees a month, from the year 1809 to the present period.

54. **Report.**—The 31st paragraph adverts to the state of the Hon. East India Company's treasury and observes, that "if it were overflowing with surplus revenue, the increase of the comforts of the Royal family might be a fair object for liberal consideration." But even then, observes Sir Charles Metcalfe, "the pinched situation of many of the Sulateen (relatives of the King), *much more urgently* requires relief."

55. **Remarks.**—The plenitude, or otherwise, of the treasury of the Hon. East India Company, does not in the most remote degree affect the lawful claims of His Majesty, who seeks no favour, but justice. And here Sir Charles indirectly admits the justice of His Majesty's claims ; but pleads the inability of the Company to meet them. The remark on "the pinched situation" of some of the Royal family, which Sir Charles Metcalfe here acknowledges is most probably founded on his personal experience and, I doubt not His Majesty will be highly pleased to see the British Government manifesting its compassion towards them, and alleviating their distress. All that His Majesty wishes is, that relief should be rendered them, but not at his expense.

56. **Report.**—The 32nd, 33rd, and 34th paragraphs of the Report, remark on the net revenue of the Delhi territory (under the present boundary after the several alienations), which Sir Charles Matcalfe is of opinion, would scarcely pay the monthly stipend of 100,000 rupees, if the expenses of the maintenance of the troops and Government were to be included, and the honourable gentleman asserts that the maintenance of the troops was plainly indicated, if ever the revenue should be adequate to it, by the following extract from the notes of instructions to the Resident in 1804 (the year previous to the Treaty which was signed by Lord Wellesley) "the total designated amount of the provisions for the King, (is) to include the estimated expense of a force to be permanently stationed at Delhi, for the protection of that city, and of His Majesty's person ; but the amount to be assigned for the actual maintenance of His Majesty and the Royal Family, is not to be *affected* by the *fluctuation* in the charge of the force."

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57. "The only meaning" says Sir Charles Metcalfe, "to be attached to this passage, seems to be, that the expense of the troops is to be paid from the territory assigned, but that the King's stipend is to be fixed, and not to be diminished, if the expense of the troops exceed the estimate, nor to be *increased*, if the expense fall short of the estimate."

58. **Remarks.**—In remarking on these paragraphs, I must first observe, that even if the private instructions to the Resident in 1804, were to be considered as valid, yet I do not think that the interpretations given by Sir Charles Metcalfe are conclusive. By the words said to have been contained in the instructions to the Resident in 1804 (His Majesty's stipend shall not be affected by the fluctuation in the charge of the force), Government meant to secure the certainty, for the time being, of the stipend assigned to His Majesty, that it might not be affected by the number of troops quartered in the Delhi territory. But I can by no means acquiesce in the conclusion drawn therefrom, that, by preventing the fluctuation arising from rapid and uncertain charges, the personal allowances of His Majesty were intended to be permanently limited; since by the 11th article of the Treaty of 1805, it is stipulated, "that the expense of the troops, police corps, etc. in the Delhi territory, shall be defrayed by the Hon. Company."

59. **Report.**—The 35th paragraph states, that "it may be said that the *intentions* of 1804 were superseded by *those* of 1805, and were not acted on; so also the intentions of 1805 were not acted on, but were *immediately* set aside, and were finally superseded and abrogated by the arrangement of 1809."

60. **Remarks.**—Whatever were the *intentions* of the Governor General in 1804, which Sir Charles Metcalfe adverts to, they are to me unknown, and being, as the honourable gentleman observes, merely *intentions*, and not acts, cannot, of course, be adduced in support of the honourable gentleman's opinions; besides, these alleged "intentions," are directly at variance with the correspondence (and obligatory promises therein contained), between His Majesty, and the Marquis of Wellesley, and Lord Lake, in 1803, quoted in my remarks on the 7th and 8th paragraphs, (*vide* par. 13, page 12, supra) and also negatived by the regulations of the Supreme Government, in the year 1804, and several succeeding years, and by the Treaty of 1805.

61. In pursuance of the *intentions* of Government in 1805, there was an actual written engagement, confirmatory of these intentions, ratified by the representative of the British nation, and personally presented to His Majesty by the English Resident at the Court of Delhi: an engagement, be it remembered, which was executed by the local Government of India, confirmed by the Court of Directors of the Hon. East India Company, and approved of by the British Parliament; as well as publicly announced and promulgated in the regulations of the Supreme Government, for several succeeding years. Therefore, the Local Government had not in 1809, or at any period, in its power "to supersede and abrogate" an engagement thus solemnly and deliberately sanctioned by the highest authorities in Great Britain, without violating every principle of justice, and dissevering every tie by which national faith and honour are secured.

62. Sir Charles Matcalfe, in the 36th, 37th, and 38th paragraphs of his Report, thus proceeds to sum up his previous arguments against the validity of His Majesty's claims to an increase of the Royal stipend. 1st "It is not certain what the intention of 1805 was; whether to limit the King's stipend to a fixed amount, or to give him the net revenue of a territory." In reply to which I have only to observe, that the honourable gentleman must have overlooked the 1st, 7th, and 8th articles of the Treaty, while making the above assertion; for, in the aforesaid articles, it is, as I have previously stated, most fully and clearly expressed, that a certain territory "is fixed as the Crown-lands of His Majesty;" that the Royal stipend should be paid, whether the full amount of that stipend was or was not collected by the British Resident, from the said Crown-lands; and that when the revenues of them increased, His Majesty would receive a proportionate augmentation in his stipend.

63. It is, moreover, unaccountable how Sir Charles Metcalfe could have expressed this doubt, after having previously affirmed, in the 27th paragraph of his Report, that "there is no want of reason for believing that the real intention of the Resolution of May, 1805, was, that the King's stipend should be fixed."

This, as well as many other similar inconsistencies of opinion, exhibited in the honourable gentleman's Report, is strongly indicative of the insurmountable obstacle which the justice of a cause, based on facts, opposes to all the attempts at perversion that the best talents are capable of suggesting.

64. The second clause in Sir Charles Metcalfe's summary, is "There is strong reason to believe, that the utmost contemplated, in any event, was the maximum of fixed stipend, mentioned at that time." It is evident by the 7th article of the Treaty, that, owing to the fluctuating state of the revenue in the Crown-lands, during and for some time succeeding the war, a *minimum* allowance was assigned to the Royal Family, payable out of the Government treasury; and it is equally certain, by the plain language of the 8th article of the Treaty, that the stipend of the King was not to be limited to any maximum, but to be increased in proportion to the "extended cultivation and improved condition of the Ryots," in the Crown-lands of His Majesty.

65. The third clause of the summing up of the Report, is as follows:—"Supposing the net revenue of the territory to have been meant, without limitation as the amount of the stipend, it is not clear that it was settled what really constituted net revenue, and what expenses were to be included or excluded, with reference to the charges to be borne by the territory; although it is manifest, that in 1804, the expense of the troops was considered as a charge to be borne by the territory."

66. It is not a matter of supposition, but a substantiated fact, that the *entire* revenue of the Crown-lands of His Majesty, were appropriated by the Treaty of 1805, to the use of the Royal Family, and whatever might have been the intention of the British Government in 1804, as to the charges to be borne by the Crown-lands, it is fully stated in the 11th article of the Treaty of 1805, that "the expense of the troops, police corps, etc., employed in the Crown-lands, shall be defrayed by the Hon. East India Company."

67. The fourth clause of the summary observes, that "whatever was the intention of May, 1805, it was never acted on." Having in the preceding passages commented fully on this assertion, I shall merely state, that the substance of the Treaty of 1805, was *acted on*, as is evident from the Regulations of Government, quoted in my remarks on the 6th paragraph (*vide* par. 5, page 9, supra), by which

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"the territory on the banks of the Jumna, the revenues whereof are assigned to His Majesty," were exempted from the imposition of certain customs and laws, &c. Moreover, the language of the 43rd, 44th, and 49th paragraphs of Sir Charles Metcalfe's Report, are most palpably at variance with the unqualified statement in the summary, and my quoting them here will leave me quite free from the necessity of further demonstrating the incorrectness of the honourable gentleman's assertion.

68. In the 43rd paragraph of Sir Charles Metcalfe's Report, it is affirmed, that the 5th article of the Treaty of May, 1805, "May be said to be in force;"—again, in the 44th paragraph of the same Report, that "the operation of the 6th article has been long discontinued;" and again, in the 49th paragraph of his Report, the honourable gentleman asserts that "the 11th article" of the Treaty "has been fulfilled by us."

69. The 5th clause of the summary states, that "the territory specified as to be assigned to the King, was given away to other Chiefs, and what was reserved of it, was beyond measure inadequate to defray the expense of his stipend." In reply to which, I have already observed in my remarks on the 11th and 17th paragraphs, that according to the 2nd article of the Treaty of 1805, the management of the Crown-lands continued to be vested in the British Resident at Delhi, solely, and any alienations or acquisitions made by that officer, were according to his discretion, and cannot, therefore, for a moment, be supposed to invalidate the lawful claims of His Majesty, who, according to the terms of the Treaty, is entitled to the revenues arising from the Crown-lands, and not to the possession of them.

70. The 6th clause of the summary states, that "the Royal stipends continued to be paid, without reference to the amount of revenue."

I am at a loss to conceive what inference Sir Charles Metcalfe intends to be deduced from this statement; for surely the honourable gentleman does not mean to inculcate the principle, that an infraction of an engagement, solemnly, deliberately, and publicly contracted, can justify in the most remote degree, its continued violation.

71. The 7th clause of the summary observes, "a final arrangement was made in 1809, by which an increase was allowed, and by which the *assurances* before held out to the King, were considered both by the Government in India, and by the Hon. the Court of Directors to be sufficiently fulfilled."

On this repeated assertion of Sir Charles Metcalfe's, I have only to observe, that the arrangement of 1809, was directly at variance with the unequivocally expressed articles of the Treaty of 1805, executed by the Local Government of India, confirmed by the Hon. Court of Directors, and approved of by the British Parliament, as well as directly opposed to "the expressed intention of the Marquis of Wellesley's Government in 1805" according even to the honourable gentleman's own statement.

If the arrangement of 1809, ever met with the sanction of the Hon. Court of Directors, it must have been caused by the misrepresentation of the Local Government; as is evident from the language used by the Hon. Court, in their letter, dated 4th September, 1811, in which they state that "the period had arrived at which it became incumbent on the British Government to fulfil the promise made by Lord Wellesley, on the part of the British Government, to the King of Delhi, and the Royal Family of the house of Timour." I may also here safely assert, that it was not in the power of the Hon. Court of Directors, much less of the Local Government, to preserve good faith, and yet to annul a solemn engagement, entered into on the part of the British nation, unless they would be justified in publicly avowing their contempt of all engagements and their disregard of the sanctions of Parliament, and that nothing can bind them to the fulfilment of a sacred promise, but their own temporary interest or the expediency of the moment.

72. The 8th clause observes, "If in consequence of the apparent increase of revenue in the Delhi territory, it be proposed to revert to such parts of the intention of 1805 as related to the assignment of territory, it must be recollected that the present southern division of the Delhi territory was not included in the assignment then contemplated, and that other districts which were then included, do not now form a part of the Delhi territory."

With reference to this statement I can merely reiterate as before, that the acquisition or alienation of territory to or from the Crown-lands by the Resident, was perfectly independent of His Majesty's the management of the said Crown-lands, according to the 2nd article of the Treaty, being placed at the entire disposal of that gentleman.

73. The 9th clause states, "It is remarkable that the present revenue of the Delhi territory, after defraying the charges of local civil administration amounts nearly to the sum proposed in the liberal arrangement contemplated in 1804, *i. e.*, 30 lacks, out of which the military establishment also was to have been paid; and if the same plan were now adopted it would not produce any increase to the King's stipend."

Sir Charles Metcalfe has here apparently overlooked the 11th article of the Treaty of 1805, by which "the expense of the troops, police corps, &c. employed in the Crown-lands" was stipulated "to be defrayed by the Honourable Company"; otherwise the honourable gentleman would not have supposed, that out of 30 lacks (the revenue of the Delhi territory, after defraying the local civil administration) "the military establishment also was to have been paid."

74. In the 37th paragraph, Sir Charles Metcalfe thus concludes his summary. "On the whole there does not seem to be sufficient reason to deviate from the plan that has been really acted on by the British Government." I should not be surprised if the Local Government were to persist in pursuing the plan they have hitherto adopted, though manifestly in violation of their sacred and obligatory promise; but it does not appear to me at all probable, that the British Government will for an instant sanction so direct a breach of faith as the violation of an engagement which was guaranteed to the Royal house of Timour by the moral and political integrity of the English nation.

75. In the 38th paragraph, Sir Charles Metcalfe offers the following concluding observations: "It would be very *inconvenient* at present to have to increase the stipend, and I do not conceive that such great an exigency exists as to render it necessary." The honourable gentleman also observes, that "the *greatest exigency*, as before remarked, is with reference to the scanty allowances of some of the Sulateen."*

76. I cannot help here admiring Sir Charles Metcalfe's candour in assigning *inconveniency*, as the real reason for the infraction of the Treaty of 1805

* Relations of the King.

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thereby tacitly admitting the justice of His Majesty's claims, but making the restitution of his rights a question of expediency. It was certainly found *convenient* or politically necessary by the British Government in 1805, to assign the revenues of a certain portion of land for the support of the King of Delhi and the Royal Family of Timour; but the honourable gentleman is of opinion, that it is now "very *inconvenient*" to adhere to the engagement thus solemnly promised and ratified; I am, therefore, anxious to know whether in his estimation, justice and conscience ought to be made subservient to *convenience?*

77. Sir Charles Metcalfe does not deny the distressed situation of His Majesty, but supposes that "the *greatest exigency*, as before remarked (in his 31st paragraph), is with reference to the scanty allowances of some of the Sulateen."* Notwithstanding the repeated professions of attachment and respect of the British nation towards the Royal house of Delhi and the promises made to His Majesty "in the name of the British Government" (as quoted in my remarks on his 7th paragraph), wherein it is stated, that "every demonstration of respect, and every degree of attention which can contribute to the ease and comfort of His Majesty and the Royal Family, will be manifested on the part of the British Government, and that adequate provision will be made for the support of His Majesty, his Family and Household" (*Vide*, par. 12, page 12, supra), I deeply regret that the Local Government should have so entirely overlooked these national and solemn obligations; and that, although the "pinched situation of many of the Sulateen" has been brought to their notice by the British Resident at Delhi, so long ago as June 1827, that, nevertheless, no measures have been taken for the alleviation of their distress; and an appeal to their humanity has met with the same reception as an application to their justice.

The wrong done to His Majesty, the King of Delhi, by the continued violation of the Treaty, became at last so glaring, that in 1823, Alexander Ross, Esq., the Agent of the Governor General at Delhi, felt bound in conscience, to state his view of it (however disagreeable this might be to his superiors) in the form of a letter to the Governor General in Council, through the Persian Secretary's Office, which I here subjoin :*

* Relations of the King.

* For considerations of space this report cannot be printed here. It will, however, be reproduced in full in the Sahitya Parishad Edition of the Works of Rammohun.

THE TEMPLES AT NEMAWAR

A. C. BANERJI

NEMAWAR or Nemawoor is a small village in the dominions of His Highness the Holkar of Indore. Lying between 22°30′ N., and 77°3′ E. the hamlet is picturesquely situated on the north bank of the river Narmada, and is mentioned by the celebrated Muslim traveller Al-Biruni as an important ford of the river.* *The Indore State Gazetteer* mentions the existence of a Jain temple at this place. But the temple is a Hindu shrine, and there are also remains of another Hindu temple. A description of these two temples appeared in *Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of India*, Western Circle, for the year ending 31st March, 1921. The late Mr. R. D. Banerji also published an account of the temples in Bengali.†

The bigger temple at Nemawar is complete, and with the exception of some slight modern additions on the roof of the *mandapa* it has not suffered any damage or undergone any alteration during the eight hundred years of its existence. The temple is dedicated to Siva, and is called by the local people as Siddhanatha or Siddhesvara temple. The materials with which the temple was built are sandstone of different colours. The *garbhagriha* and the *sikhara* of the temple were built of yellowish sandstone. The plinth of the *mandapa* to the height of 1′3″ was built of the same material, but the upper part was built of bluish sandstone. The late Mr. R. D. Banerji was of opinion that the *mandapa* and *arddha-mandapas* were probably later additions. The building materials were probably obtained locally; the sandstone quarries of Ghatia, Katkut, and on the banks of the Kanar river are even now used by the

* Sachau—*Al-Biruni's India*. Vol. I., p. 203.

† *Masik Basumati*, 1331 B. S., pp. 722-33. The present contribution is based on both these publications.

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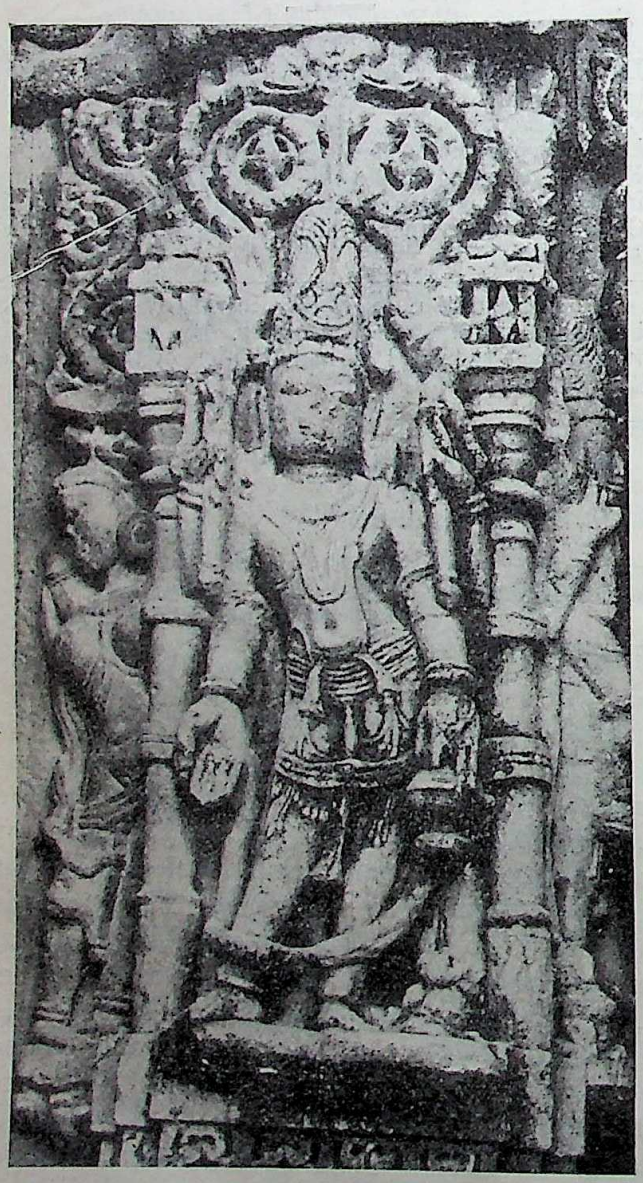
State authorities. The temple of Siddhanatha-Mahadeva consists of a *sabha-mandapa*, and the *garbhagriha* surmounted by curvilinear *sikhara*. The temple was built on the river bank over a massive stone platform, and was surrounded by a rampart with bastions at regular intervals. The paved courtyard is irregular in shape. Thanks to the munificience of Maharani Ahalya Bai the deity is still worshipped daily.



Sculptures on the wall of the *garbhagriha*

Mandapa

In plar the *mandapa* is a square with porches projecting on three sides. Each of these porches rests on four small pillars. The dome of the *mandapa* is supported by ten small pillars, four on sides and two in front. The pillars bear high niches containing semi-divine figures. The intermediate space between the smaller pillars of the *mandapa* is filled with fine stone *jali* work. On each side of the projecting porches are stone benches without back rests. Below the level of these benches the external surface of the walls of the *mandapa* bears elaborate sculptural and other decorations, the principal feature of which is a beautiful dado consisting of two horizontal bands of carvings. The lower band only 8″ in height consists of a row of niches alternating with sunken panels. They contain seated male or female figures. Above this is the bigger row of about 2′2″ in height with alternating niches and sunken panels as the lower one. The panels contain female figures, while the niches bear divine or semi-divine figures. Below the pillars on each side of the porches there are large niches containing divine figures. The two pillars of the porch facing south have the following figures grouped below them :— (1) Brahmani, (2) Kali, (3) Karttikeyani, (4) Vaishnavi. On the south-eastern corner of the *mandapa* we find an image of Brahma, while in the south-western corner there is an image of Mahadevi. In a niche by its side we find a male figure whose indentity is problematical. The figure is seen standing near a man lying on his stomach, and has a seven-headed serpent above his head. It holds a dagger and a thunderbolt in its left hands, and a shield with its upper right hand, while the lower right hand is broken. In the absence of the plough and the drinking bowl it cannot be regarded as an image of Balarama. Below the pillars of the western porch we find the following images :—(1) dancing Ganesa with six hands, (2) a male figure with eight hands and the lion as his *vahana*, (3) Varuna. The images below the pillars of the eastern porch are all new, and need not be taken into our consideration. The pillars of the porch on the northern side have the following figures :—(1) Indrani, (2) Chamunda, (3) Parvati.

Dome

No account of the *sabha-mandapa* would be complete without a description of the

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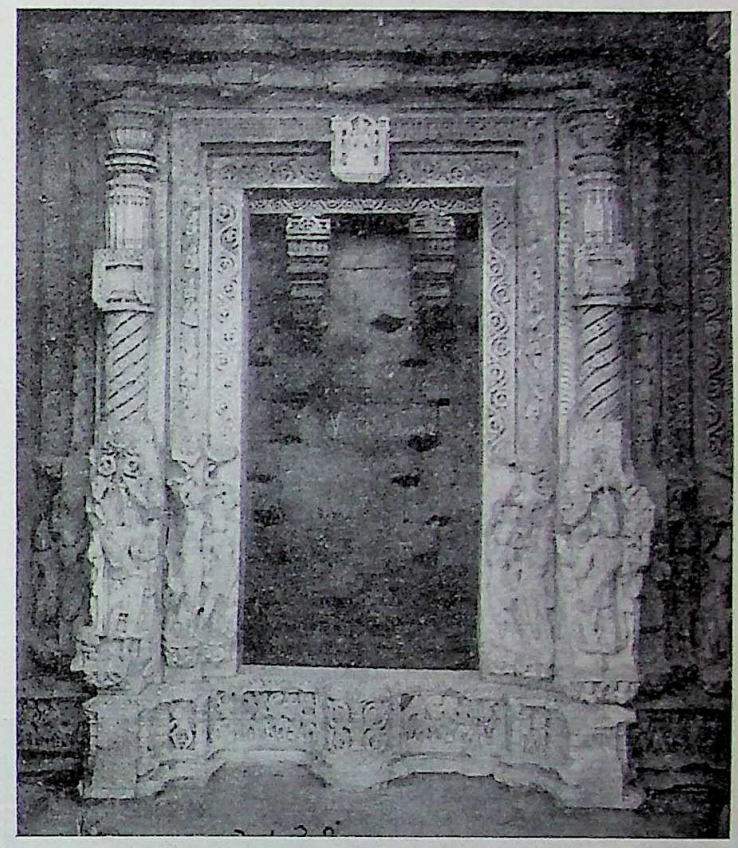
magnificent dome that adorns it. Twelve pillars (two large and ten small) of the *mandapa* support the main frame of the dome. The first frame is a square made by four huge horizontal beams. Eight niches containing divine figures are found on these beams. The square frame in its turn supports an octagonal frame formed by cutting of the corners of the square frame by stones laid across. On the surface of these stones were carved huge *kirttimukhas*. Over this was placed a sixteen-sided frame, supported by sixteen brackets with female figures (*apsaras*) in relief. From this frame the concentric circles of the trabeate dome begin. The dome is elaborately carved with pleasing designs, and there is a long delicately carved pendentive hanging from the centre of the dome. Domes such as this one were once a common feature of ancient Jaina and Hindu temples of northern and western India. The dome of the Delvada temple at Mt. Abu was built on the same principle as this one, and the dome of the Siddhanatha temple may be compared with those of Vastupala temple at Girnar, and Vimala and Tejahpalas temples at Mt. Abu.*

Antarala and the Door

Antarala is the passage which connects the *sabha-mandapa* and the *garbhagriha*. The ceiling of the *antarala* of the Siddhanatha temple bears five inverted, fully blossomed lotuses. The door frame which is remarkable for its beauty, consists of eight bands of vertical carvings, and three horizontal bands. The first one is a meandering creeper design with a female figure below. The second is a row of flying figures, and the third a single row of lotus petals. The next is a fine pillaster in high relief at the middle of which we find a pot with foliage hanging down its two exposed sides. The portion above the pot is fluted, while the lower part of the shaft bears a screw and spot design. This type of pillasters are generally found in temples built during later mediæval period, but so far as I know, this is the first time that it is found in a temple of 11th century A. D. It stands on an hexagonal base below which



Door frame of the unfinished temple of Vishnu

we find a male figure, probably a *Sivagana*. The next band consists of a row of human figures with clasped hands. The next one is a meandering creeper, and then double rows of lotus petals. Three of the bands are carried overhead horizontally, at the centre of which is a small niche containing an image of Ganesa. Above the third band is a projecting cornice, over which is a big horizontal beam devided into nine compartments. The central compartment bears an image of Siva with four hands, two of which hold a *vina*, and the remaining left and right hands hold a *damaru*, and skull cap. The Bull which is the *vahana* of Siva is also depicted. The other eight niches contain the images of Brahmani, Mahesvari, Karttikeyani, Vaishnavi, Varahi, Indrani, Chamunda and Mahadevi.

Garbhagriha

Internally the cella is a plain square, but on the outside the walls have four projections on four sides, and between each projection there are projected angles and recessed corners. The sunlight falling on these radially arranged projections introduce not only

* Fergusson—*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*. Vol. II, pl. XX, and fig. 286.

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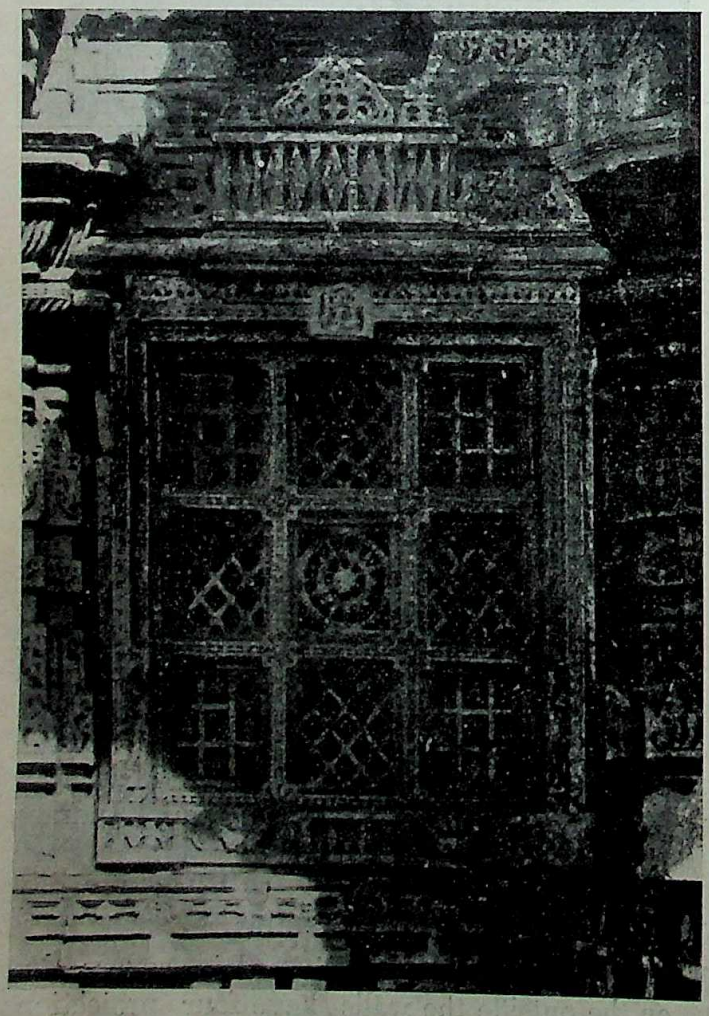
graduated tints of shadows, but also produce a violent but infinitely varied display of light and shade, enhancing thereby the exquisite beauty of the temple. The *garbhagriha* faces west on which side the *mandapa* has been built. Over the plinth of the temple, on the line of the string courses there is a row of *kirtti-mukhas*. At a slightly higher level we find a series of niches containing anthropomorphic figures. Over this is a row of ninety-five divine or semi-divine figures. This endless procession of horizontal rows of sculptures that decorate the walls of the mediæval temples is not a meaningless barbarity. The vast fabric is bound together by a system of thought. By studying them alone an observer can easily guess to which deity the temple was dedicated (this is specially



Stone *jali* work : Siddhanatha temple

useful when the cult image is missing, as is the case with the unfinished Vishnu temple to be discussed in a subsequent section). In t particular case the rows of tall, divine semi-divine figures depict the companions Siva, technically called the *Sivaganas*. T carvings on the *garbhagriha* of the Siddhanat temple may be compared with those Kandaria-Mahadeva temple at Khajurah but unlike the Khajuraho temple this shri is free from all erotic scenes.

Sikhara

The *Sikhara* is the spire which invariab surmounts the roof of the *garbhagriha* of t mediæval temples of northern India. The towers, though square in plan, usually have curvilinear outline in elevation. In the prese case the *sikhara* consists of five compone parts ; first the tower gradually decreasing circumference with the increase of heig Above it is a circular band, over it anoth circular band with human faces carved on over this is the *amalaka*, and above all t *kalasa*. The *sikhara* under consideration in a class by itself. While describing t *garbhagriha* we mentioned four projections four sides with angular projections a recessed corners between them. Each of the angular projections bears five vertical rows miniature temple spires above them, wh the bigger projections bear four slight inclined ridges. At the junction of the ridg and the roof of the sanctum, we find lar *chaitya* windows in high relief, while t surface of the ridges is covered with *chait* window patterns.

The Unfinished Temple

On the northern side of the Siddhanat temple there is a high mound called *Tek* At the top of this we found the *garbhagri* of an unfinished temple. The shrine fac east. The string courses of the plinth consi of three bands of lotus petals, two rows *kirttimukhas*, a row of elephants facing, a a row of dancing human figures. The princip decoration on the wall of the *garbhagri* consists of a horizontal row of divine figur 3′6″ in height, mostly those of *Vishnuganas* companions of Vishnu. As the cult image missing the figures of *Vishnugana* indic that the builders intended to dedicate t temple to Vishnu. The door frame is simi

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Siddhanatha-Mahadeva Temple, Nemawar, Indore State ; 11th Century A. D.

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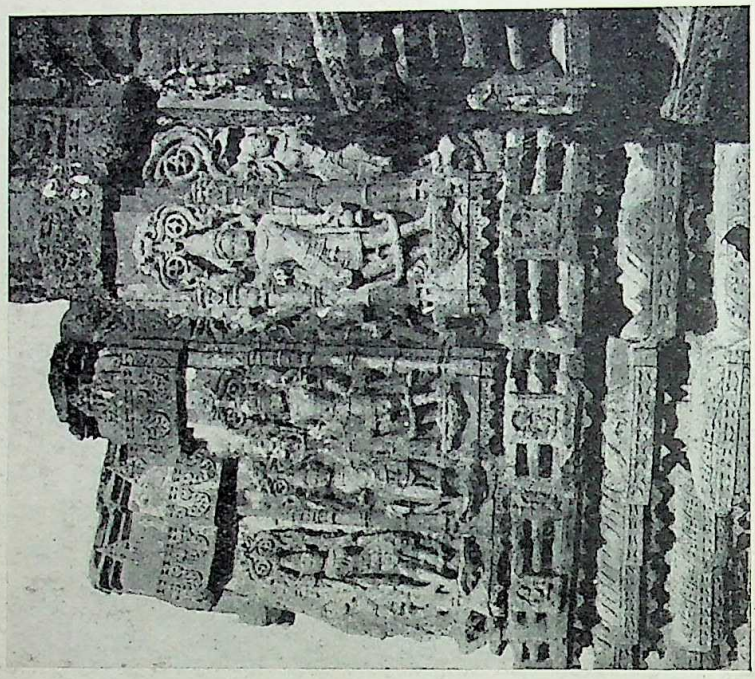
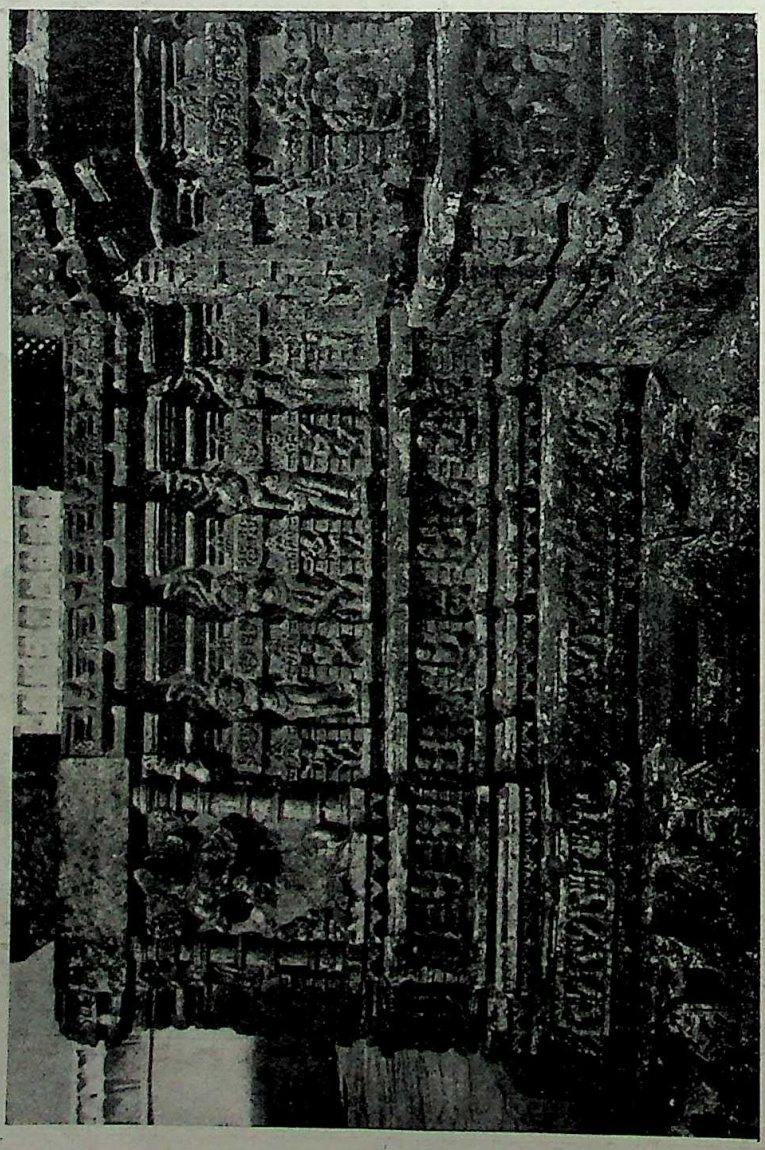


Sculptures on the *Garbhagriha* of Vishnu Tempel.



Sculptures on the walls of the *Sabha-mandapa*, Siddhanatha Temple.

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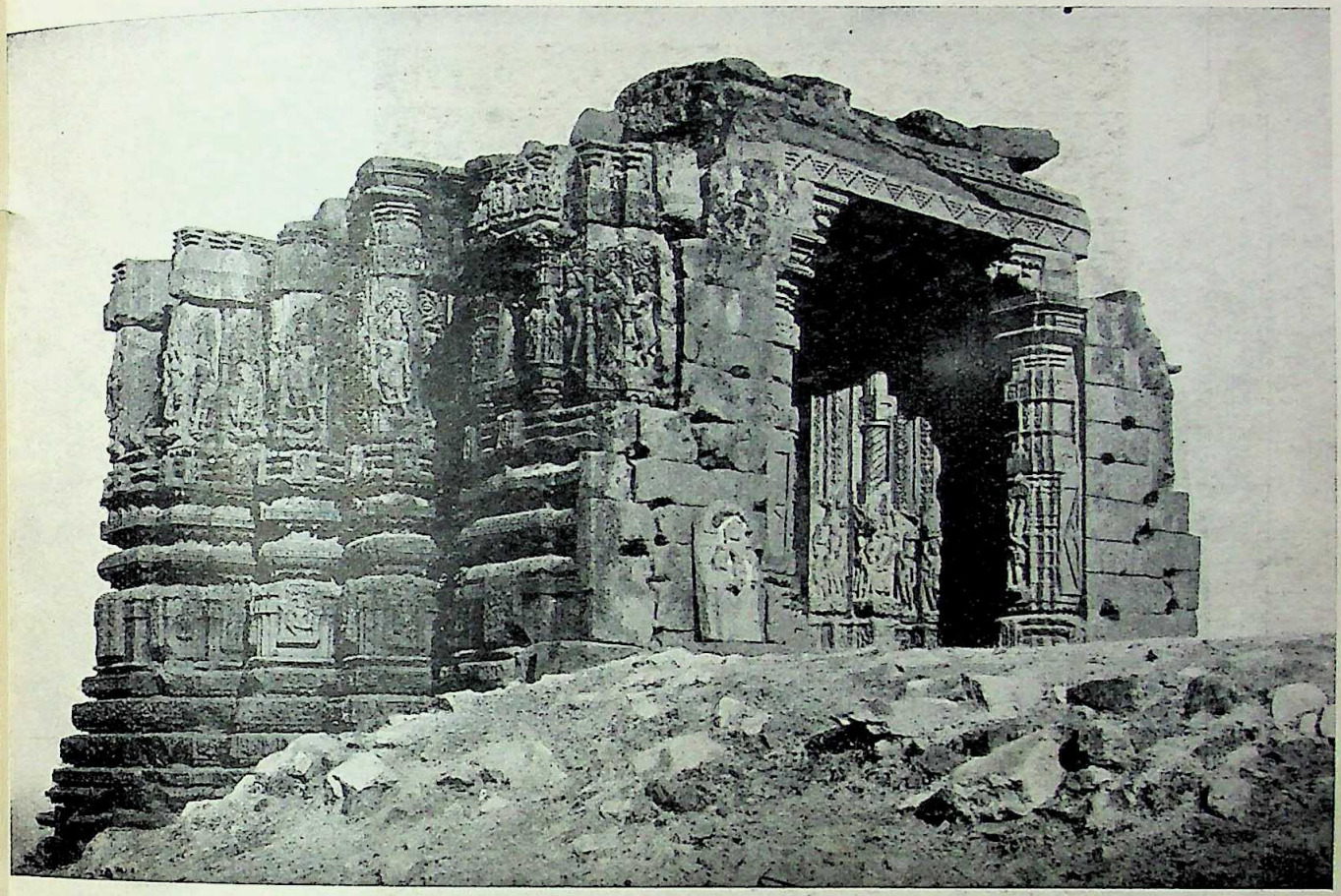

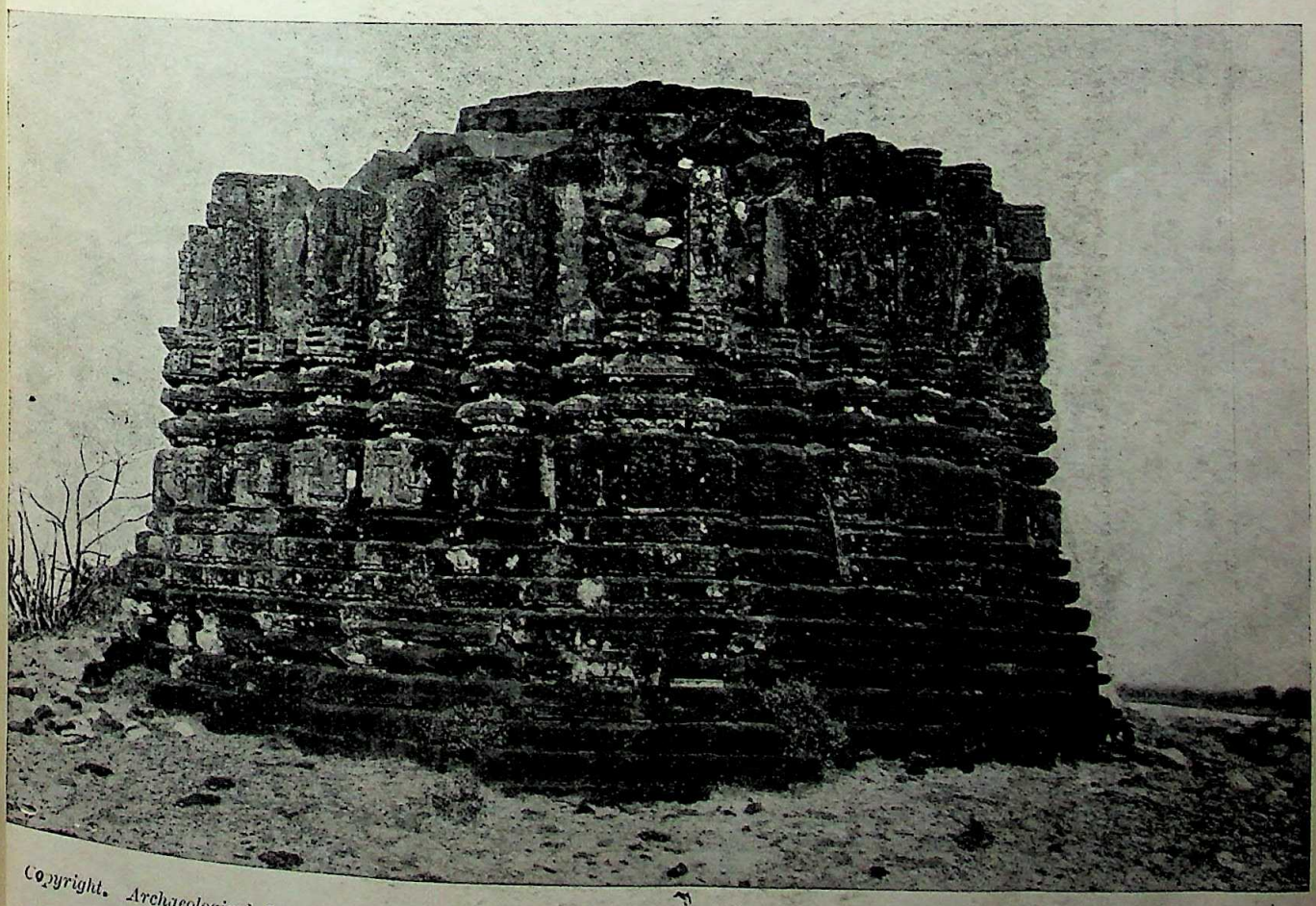

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(*a*) *Garbhagriha* of the unfurnished temple of Vishnu, Nemawar, Indore State.

(*b*) Back view of the same.

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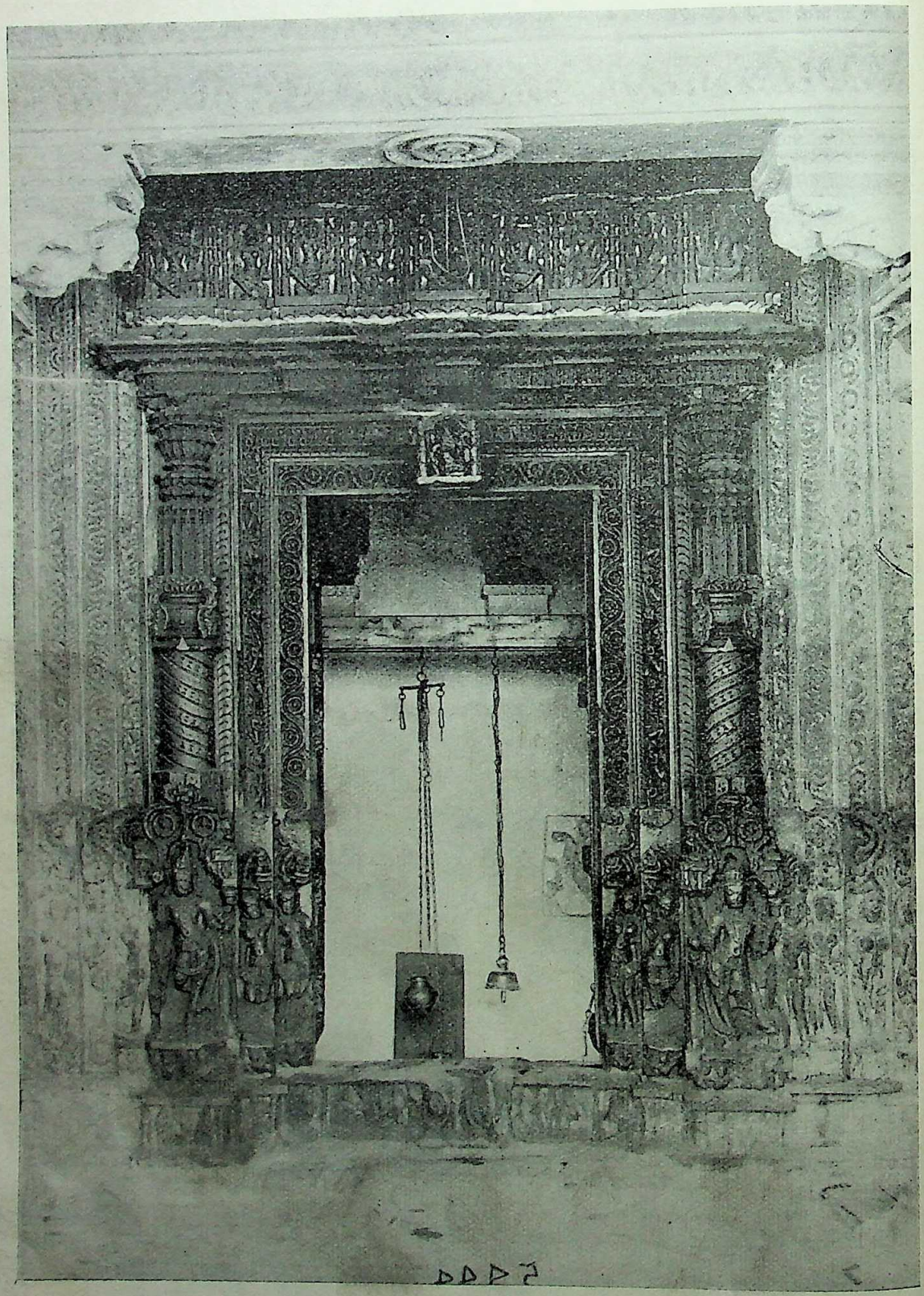

Door-frame of the Siddhanatha Temple.

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to that of Siddhanatha temple. At the centre of the horizontal lintels of the doorway we find an image of *Badri-Narayana* in a niche. The deity has four hands two of which are lying on his lap in *dhyanamudra*. The left hand holds a conch (*sankha*), while the right hand holds a wheel. Above these, is the projecting cornice, over which we find a big slab containing images of Siva, and the divine mothers in low relief. Unlike the Siddhanatha temple this has one or two amorous scenes. The cella is a plain square. It has four brackets at the corners and two on each of the three walls. These brackets support a square frame, over this is the octagonal frame on which horizontal slabs of the roof rests.

Plastic Art

For the history of Indian art importance of these two temples cannot be exaggerated. The dissolution of the Gupta Empire disturbed the uniformity of plastic tradition that ruled over the greater part of India. Hence the different provinces evolved local styles under varying circumstances. Thus we find the school of Bihar and Bengal in eastern India, Pallava and the Rashtrakuta styles in the distant south. In Central India we already know of two distinct styles, one that flourished under the patronage of the Haihayas of Tripuri, and the art of the Chandellas of Mahoba. These two temples introduce us to yet another school of art and architecture. Almost all the members of the Paramaras of Malwa were builders, but greatest of them was Bhoja. But most of their work are now gone. Ujain, a famous city of ancient India, hallowed with the name of Kalidasa and other great figures of Indian history, stands now shorn of all its ancient grandeur. At Dhara the few buildings that still survive are all Muslim in character. The iconoclastic zeal of the conquerors has denuded the whole country of almost all its ancient Hindu monuments.

The local people told us that in many inaccessible parts of Malwa temples built by Bhoja still exist. But local traditions are unreliable, and the whole of Malwa, now being included in the territories of various Native States, is *terra incognita* to non-official British Indian archæologists. Therefore, these temples introduce us for the first time to the new type of temple architecture which Bhoja is reported to have introduced in his realm. Apart from architecture the temples under discussion supply us with valuable information about the condition of plastic art under the Paramaras of Malwa.

The modelling of the figures on the *garbhagrihas* is vigorous, soft and graceful. While the figures of the Siddhanatha temple have a tendency towards volume, those on the unfinished Vishnu temple are remarkable for their youthful charm. Most of the reliefs being high, and placed in niches and sunken panels, there is considerable field for light and shade. The jewelleries and other ornaments are laid in a detached manner. The supple and rounded bodies are pleasing to look at, and a faint softness is traceable in expressionless faces. The figures are absolutely without any motion, and the legs are rigid and awkward.

Inscriptions

There are many pilgrims' records in the Siddhanatha temple two of which are important and dated.

(1) The first one records the visit of a man named Thakura Vijadhara (Vidyadhara) who was a *Gauda-kayastha*, on the 13th day of dark half of Asvina in V. S. 1253 (September-October 1196-7 A. D.)

(2) The second inscription states that on Friday the second day of dark half of the month of *Bhadrapada* 1281 V. S. (August-September 1224-25 A. D.) a *Gauda-kayastha* of the name of Raja, son of Sihada visited the temple.

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THE RACIAL FACTOR IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

By SASADHAR SINHA, B. A. (Cal.), B. SC. (Econ.), PH.D. (Econ.) (Lond.)

EXCESSIVE preoccupation with the political history of the world during the last few centuries is apt to obscure one's true historical perspective with regard to the destiny of mankind. Looking at the gradual proliferation of European domination over the entire globe, particularly during the nineteenth century, it is natural to arrive at the conclusion that this is the final verdict of history; that this must always be so. The facile division of the human race into "white" and "coloured" with the tacit assumption that the "white" race must always be in the ascendant clearly demonstrates that this danger is not a pure fiction of fancy. If one casts one's mind back sufficiently far and looks at the kaleidoscopic changes in history, one is struck by the fact that practically all races of the world, irrespective of colour, have dominated other races and have been dominated by them in their turn. The true view of European domination over non-European races would thus be to look upon it as a temporary historical phase, as temporary as the Roman empire, the Moorish conquest of Spain, Mongol invasions of the Western world or the vanished glories of the Spanish empire. Aryans, Mongols, Semites, all have had their day. Indeed, we see before our very eyes vast changes taking place all over the world. The "menace of colour" is not so much a menace as a challenge of the bulk of humanity against the political and economic hegemony of a minority of the European races.

Faced with these developments, imperialism is no longer content with direct exploitation of the politically weaker races of the world. It seeks to build its edifice on the solid foundations of science. Anthropology, psychology and latterly, eugenics, have all been laid under contribution. Clearly in so far as they affect public policy, the pursuit of science is quite secondary to their purpose. Thus, although it is usual to set up a cleavage between the "white" and the "coloured" races, it is found that there is as little in common between the "white" races themselves as between those who are classed under the latter omnibus designation. It is well known that the immigration policy of the U.S.A. and Australia is only a shade less discriminating against the Southern or Eastern Europeans than against the Orientals. Professor Griffith Taylor has gone so far as to assert that the Mediterranean races are definitely inferior to the Mongols. In practice, therefore, the scientific generalizations on the superiority of the "white" races are nothing more nor less than an elaborate apologia for the Anglo-Saxons—namely, that the present supremacy they have over non-European races is both justified in fact and in theory.

Briefly speaking, the race theory has taken as many forms as there are races in the world. Thus, at the one end where the European races have been thrown together, as in the United States and Africa, with the Negroes, it has undergone its most monstrous evolution. Miscegenation, which is well-nigh inevitable where two races co-exist, is worse than a crime in these countries, although in both it is the dominant races who were initially at fault. Nevertheless, the process continues. In America, according to some authorities, the racial dilution is taking place on such a vast scale through marriages of "whites" and "near whites" that any prediction with regard to the racial future of the country is premature. Nor is the verdict of science on mixed marriages between the "blacks" and the "whites" unequivocal. Some of the outstanding Negroes of America, like Booker T. Washington and Dubois, are of mixed origin. Indeed, there is a large volume of opinion to show that in most cases the unfortunate results of such marriages are due more to social disadvantages than to differences of race. Nurture rather than nature is at the root of the evil. In Australia, for instance, it is said that marriages between Chinese and Australians have been happy and

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successful, and children of such marriages are "healthier and better cared for than the white children in the same environment with similar white mothers." Professor J. W. Gregory has joined issue with this statement, but his objection may not be primarily eugenic, because almost immediately he adds that "the admission of Asiatics to Australia is unnecessary for the development of tropical regions, for . . . there is nothing in climate to prevent the development of tropical lands by white labour." It is not improbable that a similar motive underlies the following remark. Professor Gregory writes: "Until my first walk through one of the crowded streets in the poorer districts of Calcutta, I had not realized the truth of the classification of the Bengali as Mongolo-Dravidian. I then noted with surprise the strength of the Mongolian element, which explains why the people, whom Sir Frank Younghusband aptly describes as 'the supple, quick, affectionate Bengalis,' although of remarkable intellectual capacity are of unusual mental variability and instability."* It is curious that he should on the same page classify the Eurasians as Aryans. "The objection to inter-racial intermarriage . . . does not apply to that of many people of different cultures, and even colour . . . The Eurasian is the offspring of members of the same race." To assert that the Eurasian, whose parent on the Indian side may belong to any one of the ethnic groups composing India, which are themselves mixed, is racially pure, obviously belongs to the same order of scientific value as to call a particular race mentally variable and unstable and to account for it by its racial make-up. When, however, one turns to regions where the possibility of mass admixture with Europeans is non-existent, the argument takes its stand on grounds which are either fictitious or intangible. One of the popular misconceptions is that Asia is breeding faster than Europe; that the human reservoir called Asia will presently burst and submerge Europe in a devastating flood of colour. But, as Mr. H. G. Wells says: "India and China are no doubt going forward in the population race, but the European and American communities are still going forward much faster."

The propagandist now shifts his ground and takes refuge behind such qualities as individual enterprise and initiative, which he claims as pre-eminently European, but the emergence of Japan as a successful military and industrial nation within the short space of fifty years has clearly demonstrated that such virtues are by no means a European monopoly. Professor Gregory is probably not aware of the contradiction when he concedes that "in ability the European is not probably superior to members of other races who have had an equal training and opportunity." Be that as it may, there is little doubt that no finality can be claimed for the eugenic argument. Apart altogether from its recent origin, the study of racial biology has hardly been carried out under conditions which make for complete objectivity.

Lothropp Stoddard writes: "We whites will have to abandon our tacit assumption of permanent domination over Asia, while Asiatics will have to forgo their dream of migration to white lands and penetration of Africa or Latin America."

This puts in a nutshell the prime motive behind racial antagonism, which in the last analysis is not really a conflict between white and coloured races, but between all races whenever and wherever they compete for their livelihood, for according to the same author, "even within the white world, migration of lower human types, like those which have worked such havoc in the United States must be curtailed." The political motive, the eugenic motive, are both subordinate to the economic motive. The exclusion of Asiatics from North America, Australia, and South Africa, the disfranchisement of the Negroes in the Southern States of U. S. A., the political domination of Europe over Asia are all links in the same chain of argument. "In South Africa the black is so far from being inferior to the white that the Kaffir is debarred from education, skilled trades and various professions, to protect the white from his competition." The lesson of Indian emigration to South Africa is similar. How apparent friendliness can be turned into bitter enmity

* I remember once having a discussion with a distinguished Professor of a well known British University, who similarly characterized the Irish.

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from economic motive is shown nowhere better than in the Northern States of U. S. A. since the Negroes began to drift from the South to the industrial North on account of labour shortage during the War. "The entry of so many Negroes into the Northern labour market aroused jealousy and alarm among the white workers." The history of the anti-Chinese, anti-Japanese and anti-Indian feeling on the Western coast of America is the same. They were welcome as long as they were needed for the opening up of the Pacific region and dispensed with as soon as they were found superfluous or too dangerous as rivals. The quota system applied to European immigrants points in the same direction. "The result is," says M. André Siegfried, "that according to the 1924 law the anuual contingent can consist of only 13.3 per cent. Latins and Slavs as against 86.6 per cent Nordics. Out of 165,000 allowed each year, the Anglo-Irish can send 62,000, the Germans 51,000, but the Italians only 3,845, and the Russians only 2,248." Despite the outstanding contributions of the Jews to European culture, anti-Semitism is more or less latent throughout Europe, and has lately burst into savage flames in Hitlerite Germany. It is well known that it derives its main strength from economic jealousy. Nor is this entirely a European or American phenomenon. The economic motive which brought Japan to the mainland of Asia has led, as sure as night follows day, to the civilizing pretensions of Japan and its corollary, the race cult. The Asiatic "Monroe Doctrine" desired by Japan may never be realized, but it indicates which way the wind blows.

Obviously, then, the so-called race theory has grown out of economic and consequently political necessities. Science is being prostituted for shaping public opinion at home as well as for forging fresh chains for those who are the victims of this insidious propaganda. The psychological weapon becomes indispensable to the economic and politica armoury. It can be used both as a metho of offence and of defence. The quit temporary ascendency, historically speaking of Europe over the rest of the world is raise to the status of a biological theory, whic while speaking for the white race only register a subtle claim for the Nordics. It is a theor which is inwardly inconsistent, for while i speaks of racial superiority of the Norther races, it degenerates into staking economi claims for them over certain regions of th earth. It is inwardly uncertain, for its basi motive is fear, fear of those races who ma yet play the historical rôles that they playe in the past. Mr. Wells says : "They had n sense of the transferability of science and i fruits. They did not realize that Chinam and Indians could carry on the work research as ably as Frenchmen an Englishmen." The biological argument thu raises issues which are as shallow as they ar pernicious, because they not only divid humanity into warring camps, but side-trac the one and the only relevant issue namel the economic motive which lies behind all ra conflicts, between one white race and anothe between one yellow race and another an between all races. The pursuit of false goa only postpones the day when humanity wi live at peace.

NOTE :—The following are works of th authors referred to in the article :

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THE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY AND DISARMAMENT. WILL THE LABOUR PARTY TAKE THE LEAD?

By WILFRED WELLOCK

Labour Outlaws War

AT last there is a glimmer of light upon the international horizon. Into the gloom caused by the failure of the World Disarmament Conference, the triumph of Hitlerism in Germany and the growth of Fascism on a fairly wide front, the British Trade Union Congress and the British Labour Party have thrown a challenge to militarism which is fraught with profound possibilities, and may be the beginning of a policy which will not only save the world from the horrors of another war but strike a mortal blow at the menacing spectre of Fascism.

At Hastings the Labour Party at its recent annual Conference passed a resolution which instructs the National Executive Committee, in conjunction with the Trade Unions Congress and the Co-operative Movement:

> "to pledge itself to take no part in war and to resist it with the whole force of the Labour Movement and to seek consultation forthwith with the Trades Union and Co-operative Movements with a view to deciding and announcing to the country what steps, including a general strike, are to be taken to organize the opposition of the organized working-class movement in the event of war or threat of war, and urges the National Joint bodies to make immediate approaches to endeavour to secure international action by the workers on the same lines."

Similar action was foreshadowed in the discussion on Disarmament at the Trade Union Congress in September, when it was decided that a special Congress should be called to consider the Executive's proposals on the issue, while a resolution passed at the International Trade Union Congress demanded boycott action at a stage in the development of a war crisis earlier than the actual outbreak of hostilities. It is, moreover, significant that the proposed action was not to be dependent upon a League of Nations decision, but might follow the decision of a Joint Committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labour and Socialist International specially called "to give a lead to the working class when a state of crisis exists."

This resolution means that British Labour has definitely outlawed war. This view is confirmed by the title "Labour Outlaws War," which Mr. Henderson gave to the speech in which he supported the resolution at the Hastings Conference, and by the assertion in that speech, that the step which had been taken represents

> "a formal break with the old traditions, with the blind loyalties which have made the workers the victims of war. This new spirit, this willingness to dare and risk all things in the cause of peace is, I am profoundly convinced, the beginning of wisdom and the best guarantee of victory in the battle for a secure peace.

Mr. Henderson further reinforced this view by saying that another great War would destroy Socialism itself.

It is quite clear, therefore, that so far as the Labour Movement is concerned, there is to be no more war.

Disarmament Must Follow

Now what is the logical consequence of that decision? It is surely that disarmament must become the definite policy of the Labour Party.

Obviously it is futile to spend some £105,000,000 a year on maintaining a military system which is never to be used, at any rate by a Labour Government. Yet that is what will happen unless the Labour party changes its policy.

And no one would argue that a Labour Government should maintain fighting services which it did not intend to use in order that its political opponents, if they so desire, may plunge the country into war or attempt to impose a Fascist regime on this country!

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Disarmament and the League of Nations

This raises the question of the extent to which a Labour Government ought to be tied to the League of Nations.

It is admitted that a League of Nations is indispensable to the ordered Government of the world, and thus that it ought to be kept intact and made as effective an instrument as circumstances permit. Even if the League is unable to give effect to disarmament, the adoption of its procedure in a time of crisis may cause sufficient delay to prevent the outbreak of hostilities. At the same time it cannot be denied that at present the League, being composed of Capitalist States, ought not to receive the blind support of a Socialist Government.

As time goes on, and the contradictions within the capitalist system sharpen, powerful clashes between capitalist and non-capitalist members of the League are bound to arise. Hence it may well be that decisions will be reached which no Socialist Government could accept. The Imperialist bias within the League was clearly demonstrated by its action over the Japanese invasion of Manchuria. That bias has also been recognized in numerous Labour Party Conference resolutions, as in regard to possible concerted action by capitalist Powers within the League of Nations against Russia.

Moreover the Hastings resolution quoted above authorizes strike action, etc., without reference to any decisions of the League of Nations, while, as already pointed out, the resolution of the I. T. U. Congress reserves to the Joint Committee of the I. F. T. U. and the L. and S. I. the right to determine who is the aggressor against whom boycott action is to be taken.

It is abundantly clear, therefore, that no Socialist Government ought slavishly to accept all the decisions of a League of Nations which is mainly composed of Capitalist and Imperialist States, and thus be tied to the Juggernaut of Militarism which the League of Nations at present maintains. It must surely claim the right to follow a more enlightened policy if it so desires, especially since, as must be frankly admitted, the League of Nations is not as yet a practicable alternative to war.

Capitalism Cannot Disarm

This raises the profoundly important question of whether Capitalism can disarm. I hold that it cannot, and for the primary reason that its policies produce the very fears and antagonisms which make huge and ever-growing armaments necessary. At this very moment the principle of exploitation which is inherent in Capitalism is throwing the world entire into chaos and turmoil. It is responsible for the dictatorships in Russia, Italy, and Germany, as well as in many other countries. It is sharpening the clash between the classes in every European State, in the United States no less than in the South American Republics, and at last throughout the Far East. Its Imperialist manifestations are fomenting revolt in India, in Africa, in the South American Republics, etc. Moreover, as the capitalist system approaches collapse and so-called over-production stultifies and destroys capital on the one hand and intensifies poverty on the other, class antagonisms will multiply and become more acute, whence fear will grow and prevent any real disarmament.

I will reinforce this argument by the following facts:

(1) Armaments are increasing. The oft-repeated statement that this country has disarmed enough already is untrue. No nation has so far disarmed in the least degree. We are spending as much on armaments today as we did ten years ago, but that sum, owing to the fall in prices, buys 50% more armaments. I estimate that during the past twelve years, owing to increased mechanization, concentration upon powerful arms like armoured cars and tanks, the air force and the seaplane, the fighting and killing power of the armaments of all armed nations has at least been trebled.

(2) It is incontrovertible that the prospects of disarmament are worse today, after two years of discussion by the Disarmament Conference, than they were at the beginning.

(3) The rapid rate at which national and international crises are occurring makes it impossible for those who support policies which produce these crises to disarm. The recent action of Germany in withdrawing from the League of Nations and from the Disarmament Conference is but one of these crises.

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should not be regarded as a bolt from the blue, therefore but as an inevitable product of Capitalism, resulting from commercial rivalry, a World War, an iniquitous Peace Treaty, broken disarmament pledges, and class war within Germany itself. If proof be needed that such crises prevent Capitalism from disarming, I will cite the following evidence :

(a) On Oct. 9, 1933, Mr. Henderson, reporting to the Bureau of the Disarmament Conference, admitted that "on the more important questions the approach was manifestly influenced by the present unsettled state of Europe and the resultant distrust and fears."

(b) On Oct. 13, 1933 Sir John Simon stated that the proposed Disarmament Convention would have to be re-cast as "the present unsettled state of Europe is a fact, and statesmen, in drawing up their plans have to face facts."

Hence, with sublime irony, Sir John pleaded for a modification of the proposed Convention, which he described by the word *evolution.*

(4) Owing to the present break-up of capitalist civilization, Treaties and Conventions are being broken wholesale and thus becoming increasingly valueless. Note the following instances :

(a) Japan, for Imperialist reasons has broken away from the League altogether, thus showing the lengths to which the big Powers will go in order to get their way.

(b) Germany, having despaired of the League and of the Disarmament Conference has left both.

(c) The Allied Powers have signally failed to honour their undertaking to disarm, and have thus broken the Peace Treaty of Versailles.

(d) Germany, revolting against what she believes to be humiliating and indefensible clauses in the Peace Treaty, has to some extent rearmed in defiance of that Treaty.

(e) The League of Nations Gas Protocol of 1925, which prohibits the use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases, is a dead letter, since the poison gas departments of all the armed nations are working at full strength. The total number of staff on the approved establishment of the British Chemical Warfare Research Department on April 1, 1930, was 553, or 73 more than in 1925, the year in which the Gas Protocol was adopted.

(5) The fact—and none will deny that it is a fact—that the Allied Powers will not disarm sufficiently to prevent Germany from rearming, means that when the latter takes place fear will grow, and will lead to an increase of armaments all round, which in turn will lead to war unless the control of the situation passes into other hands than those of capitalist governments.

(6) The last piece of evidence I will give here is a quotation from the Constitution of the International Labour Office, *viz.*,

> "The League of Nations has for its object the establishment of universal peace, and such a peace can be established only if it is based on social justice."

Thus the present capitalist League of Nations as an instrument for establishing peace is condemned by its own offspring, the I. L. O. The simple fact is that in the cauldron of world Capitalism more powerful fears are seething and are being created than have ever been known. Those fears will not only prevent disarmament but will give rise to demands for increased armaments.

Labour and Disarmament

If Capitalism cannot disarm, can Labour? To say the least, it will be extremely humiliating if the supporters of the next Labour Government in the House of Commons are to be asked to march into the Lobby to vote year after year some £105,000,000 for military purposes. It is either madness or cowardice to say we have definitely outlawed war and to go on spending these huge sums on arms. If we do not mean to use them we must not allow others to do so.

The Manchester Guardian in a leading article on Oct. 11, 1933, said :

> "Read literally, the Hastings resolution is a pledge 'to take no part in war' and to resist any war or threat of war, an extreme pacifist declaration which is, as its Tory critics point out, equivalent to support of unilateral disarmament."

That is perfectly true, and to be logical the next Labour Government must embark on a policy of disarmament no matter what other

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governments may do. And that, I contend, is a practicable policy.

In the first place let us keep in mind the fact, upon which all are agreed, that the next war will destroy civilization, and that there will be little to choose between victors and the vanquished. Thus the one hope of escaping extermination is in being disarmed.

Naturally a nation which disarmed would thereby declare that it would be prepared to take all its disputes before a recognized international tribunal for arbitration. No one could say that such a nation was the aggressor in any circumstances. Hence no one would think of attaching it, and if any Government tried to, it would find that world opinion, and its own working class population were opposed to it, and thus that the risk of going to war was too great.

A World Conscious Working Class

That issue brings us to the heart of the problem. If war is to be eliminated it must be by the creation of a world opinion which stands out from and above that which is marshalled behind Capitalism. That public opinion must consist mainly of working class elements, although other elements will come into it. The workers of the world, now fairly enlightened, are capable of being reached through numerous working class organizations, national and international, and a growing labour press. Working class leaders in every country preach the unity of the world's workers, and dream of realizing that unity. The sole reason that dream is not realized is that those same leaders have so far been afraid to trust their faith. Unity in any sphere can only be achieved by action, acts of courage and faith. There is no issue upon which it would be more possible to weld the workers of the world into a solid unity than that of disarmament; and the one body which has it in its power to achieve that unity on the issue of disarmament is the British Labour Party. I am convinced that a policy of unilateral disarmament carried out by a British Labour Government would have an electric effect upon world opinion, and particularly working class opinion, and would galvanize it into a solid unity. In other words I believe that one of the greatest ideals of modern times has come within the bounds of realization.

I would here like to give two quotations from Mr. Henderson's Hastings speech:

> "If we abandon our international faith, we shall be powerless to save the world from another war, and from the dictatorships and awful tyrannies which are the consequences of war."
>
> "We are the only force in the world strong enough and determined enough to win through to peace."

Precisely. But how can that faith be created if we go on building up military power at the behest of capitalist states? Labour should seek to isolate rather than co-operate with Capitalism; it should expose its evils, not emulate them. Labour denies its own ideals and defeats its most cherished ends, when it adopts the ideology and methods of Capitalism, for have not that ideology and those methods brought civilization to its present *impasse*? Thus a Labour Government must act on Socialist and not on Capitalist lines. Otherwise how will it ever be possible to galvanize world working class opinion into a controlling and challenging unity?

As has often been said, the acid test of peace intentions is the willingness to disarm; and that is as true of a Labour Government as of a Capitalist Government. Likewise the acid test of our faith in working class solidarity is our readiness to trust it, to give it something to live on.

There is nothing to fear. The gains from disarming would far outweigh the losses. As for risks, the risks of disarmament are far less than the risks of armaments. To the argument that by disarming, a Labour Government would forfeit a valuable bargaining power I would reply that it would secure instead such enthusiastic support from the workers and many others, throughout the world as would make the heart of Capitalism quake. The acclamation of the world's workers would be worth more to a Labour Government which had the courage to disarm than any slavish adherence to a Capitalist armaments policy.

Again, to the contention that in case of a war between France and Germany it might be necessary for Britain to assist France,

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would say that a Labour Government in Britain ought to make it quite clear that under no circumstances would it feel justified in once again attempting to clear up the mess which Capitalism has made in Europe by means of bloodshed. If the loss of 10,000,000 men was not able to put matters right between these two countries fifteen years ago, the loss of 100,000,000 men, women and children (for that is what it would mean) is not likely to do it now.

Moreover, a Labour Government which acknowledged in deed India's absolute right to determine her own Constitution, and which stood firmly against every form of exploitation of the natives in Africa and for their development through the fullest use of their right of self-determination, would have no need of extensive armies or of bombing machines in "those outlying regions" which are doing so much to prevent disarmament today.

At the Hastings Conference someone asked how a policy of disarmament would square with a bellicose Japan which sought, say, to take possession of some portion of Australia. The reply is that the whole question of emigration and the distribution of the world's population will sooner or later have to be thoroughly explored. If Australia, or any other country should be unwilling to do that, (and no one is entitled to assume that she would), I do not think we or anyone else ought to be called upon to support that unwillingness by going to war. The simple fact is that the world has got to be trained to apply reason and conscience to the problems of life, and an essential condition of that training is the abolition of armaments. The nation which has the courage to blow up its own arms will do more in one hour to secure the sovereignty of reason and morality than has been accomplished by a thousand years of warfare.

Towards New Horizons

The Labour Party is thus presented with a magnificent opportunity of leading the nations towards new horizons. Everywhere the people are ready for a strong lead on the issue of disarmament. Individual resistance to war is taking root in the Universities and in the Churches in this and other lands, as well as in the ranks of Labour. Certain polls which have recently been taken in this country and also in America show a powerful vote in favour of disarmament by example. In Europe, again, young men are in prison for resisting conscription in no fewer than six countries, while very active anti-conscription movements are in being in Belgium and France. So alarmed have the authorities become in France and Belgium at the growth of such movements that special measures are being taken to combat them.

Therefore, let the Labour Party, in the words of Mr. Henderson, "make a living reality of the international solidarity of the workers" by leading the world to peace through disarmament. It will never lead the world to peace by playing the armaments game of the capitalist Powers. The opportunity may come sooner than we expect. Let us be ready to seize it when it does. Having outlawed war, let the Labour Party face the logic of its decision, complete the work it has so well begun, and courageously decide to embark upon a policy of total disarmament. Along no other road can mankind free itself from its nearest menace. The League of Nations has given us words. The Disarmament Conference has given us words. It is by deeds that the world will be saved: and these must not long be delayed.

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HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

By SUDHIR KUMAR LAHIRI and BENOYENDRANATH BANERJEA

I

SINCE Indians began to demand the right of popular self-government, an oft-repeated objection raised against this claim has been that India does not possess any tradition or history showing her fitness for such government. India, it is said, has from time immemorial been used to unmixed autocracy and it is, therefore, in the fitness of things, that she should for all time to come be governed according to autocratic methods and standards. Self-government, it is urged, is achieved by practising it. Indians had no experience of popular self-government. Indians could not, therefore, be expected to work properly and efficiently institutions based on popular principles.

The argument underlying this objection to the introduction of any measure of popular self-government in India has been met as often as it has been raised. But like Banquo's ghost it appears and reappears over and over again. An organized campaign of publicity is being conducted against India among vast masses of ignorant and unsuspecting peoples in both hemispheres at the present moment. This virulent propaganda is being engineered by wealthy and powerful groups of persons and interests having unbounded resources at their back, with the support and help of a government, perhaps, the most reactionary of modern times. It may not be inappropriate, at such a time, to take a retrospect of the historical and political background of the Indian constitution.

II

India possesses a very ancient historical past. Owing, however, to lack of proper materials, based on reliable evidence, it had not, so far, been possible to prepare any continuous record of the public events of the country up to the seventh century B. C. But with such records as were available, India's history could be traced so far back as to 3000 B. C. The archaeological discoveries recently made at Harappa in the Punjab and at Mahenjo Daro in Sind bear evidence of a civilization which appears to have flourished in a still remoter antiquity.

There is ample evidence that in the early periods of history, there existed in India states with oligarchic or republican forms of government. Vedic literature contains references to non-monarchical forms of government and to a system of conducting publ administration by means of an assembly of t people. In the *Mahabharata* also menti is made of similar states without kings.*

The popular assembly was also a famil institution in the early years of the Buddhistic age The earliest Buddhist records reveal, says Pr Rhys Davids, the survival side by side wi different grades of monarchies, of republics wi either complete or modified independence. Ev as late as the time of Alexander's invasi (327-325 B. C.) popular institutions flourished the numourous principalities of the Punjab From references made in various works it m be assumed that such forms of governme existed in this country even after the six country A. D.

The history of the Hindu Power in Ind may, for all practical purposes, be said to ha come to an end at the close of the twelfth centu A. D. A succession of brilliant rulers—Chandr gupta Maurya; his illustrious grandson, Asok the Great; Samudragupta, who died towards t end of the fourth century A. D.; his famo son Chandragupta Vikramaditya; Harsavardha who ruled till the middle of the seventh centu A. D.—have left marks of their uncomm powers of administration. The achievements these rulers and of many others in every bran of civic and political life and in the spheres literature, art, and science have extorted univers admiration. An eminent English writer descri Asoka's reign as "one of the brightest interlu in the troubled history of mankind." Al among the conquerors he was so disgusted

* *Vide* K. P. Jayaswal—*Hindu Polity.*

† Referring to the system of governm prevailing among the Sakyas, Prof. Rhys Dav says: "The administrative and judicial busin of the clan was carried out in the public assem at which young and old were alike present their common Mote Hall at Kapilavastu. single chief—how and for what period cho we do not know—was elected an office-ho presiding over the sessions, and, if no sessions sitting, over the State. He bore the title of R which must have meant something like Roman Consul or the Greek Archon"—*Budd India.*

§ *Public Administration in Ancient Ind* P. N. Banerjea

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the cruelty and horror of war that he renounced it.*

Some of the edicts of King Asoka emphasize the duties of the monarch and assure the people of his accessibility to them at all times of the day.

The elaborate organization of the vast empire of the Mauryas, specially its army, the division of various activities of government into groups, under different councils, and such progressive aspects of administration as the elaborate municipal administration of their capital Pataliputra; the maintenance of a regular census; the institution of a jail code; and the establishment of a foreign department, for instance, excited the wonder of even such a widely-travelled person as Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador.

During all this period India was not ruled as a single country. It was, in fact, divided into numerous kingdoms and principalities. In some cases, however, very large tracts came under the sway of a single overlord. Whatever the forms of government existing in those times, a very vigorus system of local government formed the basis of the political structure in India†

"The freedom and general happiness attained by the people of Great Britain with the help of Parliamentary institutions and the richest revenues of the world can hardly be compared with that which Indians within the Aryan pale enjoyed both before and after he fifth century A. D.—the time which we regard as our Dark Ages, and theirs. The Indo-Aryan constitution, built up by the highest intelligence of the people upon the basis of the village communities, and not wrung from unwilling war-lords and landlords by century-long struggles and civil wars secured to the Indian peasant-proprietor not only the ownership of the land, but very considerable powers of self-government. The powers of the Central Government, though they might often be abused were at least delegated to it by the people themselves and limited by unwritten laws which by common consent were given a religious character.—E. B. Havell—*Aryan Rule in India.*

It is significant that some writers in ancient India regarded the science of politics as the central science from which all other sciences originated. Kautilya's *Arthashastra* refers to thirteen authors and five schools of political thought. These speculative theories exercised a considerable influence in regulating the course of public affairs. The monarch according to one school of thought was bound by contract to his people under which in return for the latter's obedience and payment of state-dues the former was to secure the life and property of the people and ensure a regime of justice. The monarch's authority was also upheld by another school by attributing divinity to the king. In actual practice, the monarch was guided by the trend of popular opinion to a greater or less degree, as the situation demanded.

Instances of elected kings are not rare,* and women were not absolutely excluded from succession. The system of government was organized on very scientific principles. The administrative system was composed of four distinct elements, *viz.*, the king, the ministers, the council and a highly organized class of officials.†

In Bengal, according to a Sanskrit work called *Manjusri Mulakalpa*, after king Sasanka a republican government existed for some time. The famous Bengali king Gopala was an elected monarch and even before him a popular Sudra leader was elected king and ruled for 17 years. It shows that "Bengal in the eighth century had freed herself from the law of caste and the Vedic theory of birth superiority and that Bengal had anticipated in 700 A. D. Govinda Singh

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* "He organized a great digging of wells in India and the planting of trees for shade. He founded hospitals and public gardens and gardens for the growing of medicinal herbs. He created a ministry for the care of the aborigines and subject races of India. He made provision for the education of women. He made vast benefactions to the Buddhist teaching orders, and tried to stimulate them to a better and more energetic criticism of their own accumulated literature, for corruptions and superstitious accretions had accumulated very speedily upon the pure and simple teaching of the great Indian Master (Buddha). Missionaries went from Asoka to Kashmir, to Persia, to Ceylon and Alexandria." *A Short History of the World*—H. G. Wells.

† "It is interesting in reviewing the past history of India to trace a remarkable continuity of policy on the part of the rulers of whatever nationality who have succeeded in welding together the great congeries of widely differing races and tongues. The main principles of government have remained unchanged throughout the ages. Such as they were under the Maurya empire, so they were inherited by the Muhammadan rulers and by their successors, the British. These principles are based on the recognition of a social system which depends ultimately on a self-organized village community. Local government thus forms the basis of all political systems in India."—E. J. Rapson—*Ancient India.*

* At least in two cases kings were deposed by the people. King Brihadratha, the last Maurya emperor, according to Bana, the famous author of "Harsa-charita," was deposed for 'being weak in keeping his coronation oath." For the offence of parricide King Nagadasako made room for the first king of the Sisunaga dynasty.

† R. C. Majumdar—*Ancient Indian History and Civilization.*

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and Rammohun Roy, Dayananda Saraswati and Gandhi".*

Possibly the most vigorous development of community life was attained in Southern India. The administrative system of the Cholas, for instance, accepted the village community, composed often of a single village or oftener of a group of villages, as the unit of government. The assemblies of these village communities, subject to some supervision by divisional officers were practically sovereign in all the departments of rural administration. Several of these village unions (*Kurram*) formed a district, and a number of the divisions formed by such districts constituted a province (*Mandalam*) under a viceroy selected from the royal family. The Chola empire was divided into six such provinces.

The village communities of southern India, of which minute details are now available, in some cases possessed extensive powers and exercised many beneficent functions, some of them yet to be emulated by modern municipalities.†

III

It was in 711 A. D. that Muhammad ibn Kasim set foot on the soil of Sind and conquered that part of Indian territory. This was, however, more or less, a temporary occupation and was followed by the raids of Subaktagin, Sultan of Ghazni, and his son Muhammad Ghazni. The country, however, gradually came under Muhammadan supremacy from the date of the decisive defeat of Prithwiraj and his Hindu confederates by Sahabuddin Ghori at the second battle of Tarain (1192).

After incessant struggle between contesting Muhammadan dynasties, Hindu rulers joining one party or other or fighting with both, large tracts of the country came under the sway of the Mughal house of Timur. During these years at least two rulers, Alauddin Khilji (1296-1316) and Sher Shah (d. 1545) showed consummate administrative skill. But it was under the Mughals, especially under Akbar the Great, (1556-1605), that the country reached the summit of glory during Muhammadan rule.§

Decay and disruption may be said to have set in at the close of the rule of Aurangzib (1658-1707). The rise of the Mahratta Power (1718-1818) under the genius of Sivaji, and of the Sikh Power (1803-1849) under the military prowess of Ranjit Singh, furnished short interludes in Indian history, contributiug new experiments in government.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar in his *Mughal Administration* says: "The Mughal system at one time spread over practically all the civilized and organized parts of India. Nor is it altogether dead in our own times. Traces of it still survive, and an observant student of history can detect the Mughal substructure under the modern British-Indian administrative edifice."

In spite of the democratic character of their religion, Muslims in India introduced a system of government based on military models and needs. The Mughal rule was a centralized autocracy. Yet, as has been pointed out, the people endured Mughal rule in so far it came to be based on religious toleration, social freedom and respect for village autonomy. This implied on the one hand a comparatively narrow scope of state-activity, and on the other, the enjoyment by the rural communities of a limited form of self-government in their spheres.

The emperor used to have a council for purposes of consultation, consisting of the *Vakil* or chancellor and a number of departmental heads. The central government exercised control over provincial administrations by devising a series of checks on the governor's powers. Such powers were applied through limitation of tenure, transfer of officers and the appointment of some of the subordinate responsible provincial officers from the headquarters. Moreover, the emperor by means of imperial tours, personal dispensation of justice at the centre, public appearance on specified occasions, etc., attempted to co-ordinate the administrative machinery, so far as circumstances permitted..*

This centralized administration lasted for a little over two centuries. The adoption, by Muslim rulers, of the country as their own, led to the evolution of a common language (Urdu) and a composite civilization, arising out of the contact of Hindu culture with that of the Muslim immigrants.

In the Deccan, the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar (1336-1646) embodied the political and social aspects of Hinduism as practised in the South. Among its rulers was Krishna Raya (1509-29) described as the 'greatest of the South Indian monarchs

* K. P. Jayaswal in *The Modern Review*, August, 1933.

† S. K. Aiyangar—*Ancient India*, and *Hindu Administrative Institutions*.

§ In his brilliant monograph on *Akbar*, (1932), Laurence Binyon, after describing how the great Mughal Emperor consolidated his conquests, writes :—"His greater achievement as a ruler was to weld this collection of different states, different races, different religions, into a whole. It was accomplished by elaborate organization—Akbar had an extraordinary genius for detail—still more by the settled policy which persuaded his subjects of the justice of their ruler. Akbar's conceptions were something new in the history of Asiatic conquerors. Though a foreigner, he identified himself with the India he had conquered. And much of his system was to be permanent. The principles and practices worked out by Akbar and his ministers were largely adopted into the English system of government."

* Beni Prasad—*History of Jahanghir*, Chap. 4.

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He was a contemporary of King Henry VIII of England. Paes, a Portugese traveller has left for us an 'obviously truthful' account of Krishna Raya's rule.* After describing the magnificence of the court and the capital, and the permanent army of a million troops, Paes notes that the empire was divided into 200 districts, each under a feudal noble. The government was strong and well-organized, and art and architecture flourished as never before.† The King was assisted by a Council composed of ministers, provincial governors, military commanders, eminent theologians and literateurs. The village moots managed local affairs through hereditary officers, maintained either by royal grants or contributions from the cultivators.§ The Hindu tradition of government thus continued to exist in southern India.

At a later period, Sivaji, after consolidating his position, designed his administrative departments on early Hindu models. The government of his kingdom was conducted by the Raja, aided by a council of eight ministers, *the Ashta Pradhan*, of whom the chief was the Peshawa or prime minister. This arrangement was reproduced in the district administration also.** The Mahratta army and navy, the civil administration and the revenue system of Sivaji, considering the unsettled conditions of his territories, have been regarded as remarkably efficient by competent observers.

IV

England gained her first foothold in India at the dawn of the seventeenth century A. D. when the East India Company, a commercial and trading concern began its operations in this country. The company received a Royal Charter which gave it very large powers including a monopoly of trade,†† and the right to acquire territory and to make regulations for the government of such areas.

In 1693 Parliament passed the famous resolution declaring that all British subjects had an equal right to trade in the East Indies. The Company, however, continued to keep the eastern trade closed to outsiders. Gradually, Parliament, in renewing the charters granted to the Company, limited its trading rights and imposed duties necessitated by the increasing administrative responsibilities on the Company.

Although several other European Powers entered into competition with the British in the struggle for supremacy in India, after protracted warfare extending over a lengthy period, the British ultimately came out victorious.

The grant of the *Dewani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the Company by Emperor Shah Alam in 1765 was a landmark in the consolidation of British power in India. This practically marked the beginning of British territorial sovereignty.* The double government under Clive, the chaos and corruption† in administrative and trading methods gave rise to criticisms. Further, the fabulous wealth acquired by British traders in India along with the vulgar display that they made of their riches aroused jealousy in many quarters in England. At last the British Parliament was induced to take measures for regulating the administration of the territories by the company. The secret enquiry into its affairs by a Parliamentary Committee (1772) and the request of the Company for pecuniary assistance (1773) resulted in two Acts, one granting a loan of £1.4 millions with safeguards, and the other the famous Regulating Act. Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773 was enacted with a view to introducing a system of effective control and supervision over the Company's policy and administration. This was the first of a series of Parliamentary enactments regarding India.

Hitherto the three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay had been independent of one another. With the passing of the Regulating Act, Bengal was given supreme power over the entire country with a Governor-General and four nominated councillors, who also administered the Presidency of Fort William (Bengal). A Supreme Court was also set up in Calcutta to administer law. The machinery in England for the administration of the affairs of the Company

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* V. A. Smith—*Oxford History of India*, Bk. V, Ch. 3.

† Sewell—*A Forgotten Empire*; and H. Krishna Shastri in *Annual Rep. A. S. India* (1907-9 and 1911-12).

§ Ishwari Prasad—*History of Medieval India*, Ch. 15.

** S. N. Sen—*Administrative System of the Mahrattas.*

†† Whether this monopoly, granted without the consent of Parliament, was legal was decided in favour of the Company in 1685 in the case of the E. I. Coy. *v.* Sandys.

* The Company, of course, did not want to assume the sovereignty directly. "Clive seems, in 1756, to have desired the *Duwani* of Bengal rather than any territorial cession, which could have been obtained just as readily. It placed the Company in a strong tactical position alike as regards foreign powers and as regards the government at home" (Dodwell on "The Development of Sovereignty in India" in the *Cambridge History af India*, Vol. V, Ch. XXXII).

† Reports of Parliamentary Committees appointed after 1769 made the calculation that between 1757-66 the Company's servants received as presents from Bengal a sum of £2,169,665. This was apart from such acquisitions as Clive's *Jagir* valued at £600,000, the gains made from private trade by the Company's servants by abusing privileges granted to the Company and £3 3/4 millions paid as "compensation for losses incurred" to the officers of the Company.

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was, however, allowed to continue without any important change.

The arrangement introduced by the Regulating Act, which was halting in its principles and ambigous and indistinct in specifying the jurisdictions of the Supreme Court, the Council of the Governor-General and the Govornor-General, proved unworkable. It was mainly through the instrumentality of Sir Philip Francis, a powerful antagonist of Warren Hastings in the Governor-General's Council, that the unfairness of the Company's administration was brought to the fore.* After some controversy the measure known as Pitt's India Act was passed in 1784. Under the provision of this Act a Board of Control,† under the official style 'The Commissioners for the Affairs of India,' consisting of the Chancellor of Exchequer, a Secretary of State and four Privy Councillors was established in England.§ The President of this body gradually centralized vast powers in his hands and became the forerunner of the office of the Secretary of State for India. The President was almost always a member of the Cabinet and changed with the party in power. This brought all the operations of the East India Company under the complete control of the Board. The indirect influence exercised by the presence of two Cabinet ministers at least, eventually led to the establishment of the supremacy of the British Parliament over India. The Board could disapprove or modify the despatches of the Directors of the Company and even secret orders had to be communicated to t Board.

The administration of each of the thr presidencies was vested in a Governor and thr Councillors including the Commander-in-Ch of each Presidency.

With the passing of the Charter Act of 18 the East India Company was compelled to clo its commercial business and became a pure political and administrative body, holding territories, which had enormously expanded, trust for the Crown.

According to the provisions of the Act t direction of the entire civil and milita adminstration and the sole power of legislati were vested in the Governor-General in Coun of India. This was the first time when t Governor-General in Council was styled " India." Only one member of the Board Control, *viz.*, the President, was required to nominated and it became, therefore, a one-m Board from 1841.

In 1853, when the Charter Act was renewe not for 20 years, as on previous occasions, b significantly enough, "until Parliament sh otherwise provide," it was specified that a thi of the membership even of the Court Directors of the Company was to be nomina by the Crown. Bengal was made a separ province under a Lieutenant-Governor and t Government of India assumed the character a general controlling authority. The Act al gave India her first Legislative Council 12 members, which was, however, a pure official body. Its meetings were open to t public and the proceedings were to be offici published. The system of nomination to t Indian Civil Service which had so far be followed was replaced by a system of op competitive examination held in London, t first regulations of which were drawn up by committee presided over by Macaulay in 1854.

During the discussion of the Charter Act 1853 in the House of Commons, John Bri advocated the assumption of the government India directly by the British Crown. characterized the past history of India as history of revenue wasted and dome improvements obstructed by war." The syst of double government, in his opinion, "introduced an incredible amount of diso and corruption into the State and poverty wretchedness among the people." It according to him, "a system of hocus-pocus wh deluded public opinion, obscured responsibil and evaded Parliamentary control."

V

The Indian Mutiny (1857-58) eventu brought about the transfer of the government India from the East India Company to the Bri Crown.

* A Parliamentary Committee, presided over by Edmund Burke, considered the administration of justice in India, and changes were accordingly introduced in conformity with the report of this Committee, submitted from time to time from 1781 onwards.

A secret committee under the chairmanship of Dundas, also considered the state of British government on the Carnatic coast. The reports of the two committees were far from complimentary to the administration by the Company (Ilbert, *Government of India*, pp. 60-61) Charles James Fox in 1783 presented a drastic bill proposing the suspension of the Company's charter for four years and providing for the management of the affairs of the Company by seven commissioners nominated by Parliament. The bill though passed by the House of Commons was thrown out by the House of Lords at the King's behest

† The function of the body was "to superintend, direct and control all acts, regarding the civil and military government of Indian territories." C.P. Section 2(2) of the *Government of India Act* 1919.

§ The Commissioners did not receive any pay till 1793, when the payment of the members and staff of the Board was made a charge on Indian revenues.

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In December, 1857, Lord Palmerston, as Prime Minister, announced that a bill embodying the principle of direct control would soon be placed before Parliament. This evoked a spirited protest from the Court of Directors of the East India Company whose memorandum was drafted by John Stuart Mill, an employee of the Company. It characterized the proposed transfer of a "semi-barbarous dependency" to the Crown, as "a folly and a mischief." After acrimonious debates and replacements of draft Bills, consequent upon change of Governments, the bill drafted by Lord Stanley was finally passed as the Government of India Act, 1858.

The Queen's proclamation, said to have been drafted by John Bright, was read by Lord Canning on the 1st November, 1858, at Allahabad, which he regarded as more centrally situated than Calcutta. The proclamation among other things announced to the princes of India, that "all treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the East India Company are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained" and that no extension of the "present" terrritorial possessions was desired." It continued;

> "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligation of duty which bind us to all our other subjects·····And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to office in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity duly to discharge.···
>
> "When, by the blessing of Providence, internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement and to administer the government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward."

The Proclamation was described by some as the Magna Carta of the people of India* and by others as unnecessary and inexpedient as "no change whatever of principle was required."† The Governor-General's short Proclamation accompanying the Queen's was also described by a contemporay writer as dissonant with the latter as it summoned the faithful to co-operation, and was calculated to "exact a loyal obedience" from India's millions; and he protested against the Queen's name being forged to promises made only to be broken later by the authorities in India.* The Queen's Proclamation announcing the resolve "for diverse weighty reasons" to take up the Goverment of "the territories of India, heretofore administered in trust for us by the Honourable East India Company." introduced a new order, if not in fact, at least in law.

* *The Company and the Crown*—Thurlow, Private Secretary to Lord Elgin, p. 245.

† *India under Dalhousie and Canning*—Duke of Argyll.

VI

Our survey of the past political history of India, though brief, gives unmistakable evidence of brilliant and original achievements in almost every department of public activity along with the growth of institutions of a popular character indigenous to this country. It was the advent of foreign elements in the government of this country that served as a blight to all constitutional progress. This checked and hindered any normal and regular development in the political and constitutional sphere.

During the hundred years that have elapsed since the passing of the Charter Act of 1833, efforts have been made from to time to introduce popular institutions, so that it cannot now be said that the people have not been used to these. But such efforts have always been of an utterly inadequate and haphazard nature and the working of the political institutions of the country have been on entirely wrong lines.

A special feature of British rule in India is that the destinies of the country are controlled and guided from a distance of thousands of miles. The British in India, unlike the Muhammadan rulers, have neither made the country their adopted home nor has any serious attempt been made to model the constitutional and administrative structure on indigenous lines. A study of the evolution of parliamentary control over Indian administration, shows that not only are all the powers and privileges of the Government of India derived from the British Parliament, but that the closest supervision is exercised from Whitehall over the entire area of the Government of India. Popular institutions cannot be expected to flourish in such singularly adverse circumstances.

The year 1832, which saw the passing of the famous Reform Act is considered as an important landmark in the constitutional history of England. The century that has elapsed since then has given birth to notable reforms in various spheres of national life in England. Both England and India have been under the same government all this time. Exigencies of Government have necessitated the adoption by the British authorities from time to time of such policies as the consulting of Indian opinion, the 'increasing association of Indians' in administration, and of holding out the promise of 'responsible self-

* *Thoughts on the Policy of the Crown*—J. M. Ludlow.

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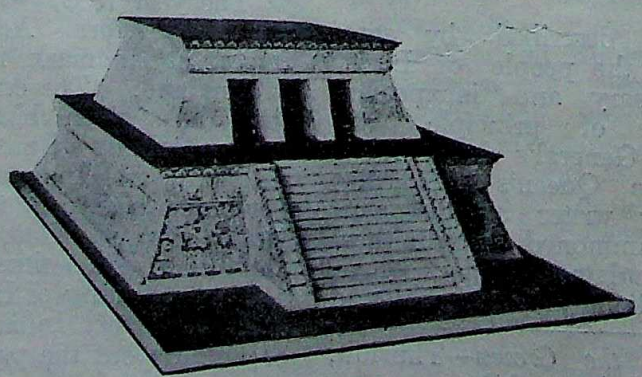
government.' The Montagu reforms arising out of the pronouncement of 1917 have proved to be ineffective and unsatisfactory; and the British Government have so far failed to take adequate and proper measures to appease Indian opinion. An examination of the proposals embodied in the White Paper (1933) leaves no room for doubt of their utterly undemocratic and retrograde character. Not only are the proposals in direct contravention of the policy of responsible self-government to which the British Parliament and responsible British statesmen are committed, but they are designed to introduce conditions and safe-guards which would render the constitution a most ineffective instrument for progress.

The Passing of the Charter Act in 1833 which brought about a welcome change in the British administration of India is considered as the first mile-stone on the road of political progress. After a lapse of one hundred years, the British Government find it difficult to gather courage to fulfil even their promise 1917, as the White Paper reveals. In a coun where the community spirit and local s government continued to flourish throu the vicissitudes of history even up to the d of early British rule, the British government h not only not appreciated and fostered the habit self-rule but have allowed it to languish a decay. We are confirmed in this view when compare the progress achieved during the sa period by such countries as Canada, a Brit colony, and Japan, regarded as merely an 'east country' with the progress made by Ind In the course of a century, Canada, from t days of the Durham Report (1838), has reach the stage of virile manhood, under the regi legalized by the Statute of Westminster (193 Japan, in the meantime, has also become o of the Powers of the world and has found possible to divest herself of the feudal a autocratic bases of her government.

An Aztec mother and child

Aztec woman preparing *tortillas* or maize *chapa*



Restoration of the Aztec Temple at Xochicalco

See Article on page 10 of this issue.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

THE JAPAJI AND DISCOURSES ON THE BHAGWADGITA. *By Mehta Udhodas, B.A., LL.B., F.T.S. 1932. Price Rs. 2, cloth Rs. 2-8.*

The Japaji is a religious book which deserves perusal, the Sikhs like any other nation clinging to their scriptures with reverence. The text and the translation are admirably printed side by side, covering about 64 pages, and the commentary is the author's own contribution to the understanding of the holy book. The Gita discourses deal with topics of current interest like *Ahimsa*, the *Varna-system*, *the Yajnas*, *knowledge versus action*, man's final goal and the function of the true *guru*. Udhodasji is a *Bhakta* and he has a soft corner for *Bhakti-yoga*, though he recognizes its harmonizing influence, and emphasizes now knowledge, now devotion shown in the *slokas* contained in the book. Written with zest and on a subject with which the writer is in constant touch, the book deserves a wide publicity which, we hope, it will receive.

SPIRITUAL TEACHINGS OF SWAMI BRAHMANANDA. *Sri Ramkrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras. 1932.*

This is a selection of spiritual instructions given from time to time by Swami Brahmananda either through informal conversation or in personal letters to his disciples when, as Devmata informs us in the foreword, in a later period of his administration as the head of the Ramkrishna Mission, he issued from his accustomed retirement and became an active visitor at the various centres. These instructions, already published in the *Vedanta Keshari*, have now been given a more permanent form in the present volume: some of them are in the form of questions and answers, while others are in the way of general discourses.

The teachings embody useful suggestions to those who seek to attain a spiritual life; written in a style which breathes peace and love, they aim at being practical and definite. Details about diet, etc. are given, and though sometimes there is a repetition, it has a saving grace of warning and caution. The words of admonition are instinct with a passion for the realization of God, and inculcate energy without end. "Shake off despair, shake off disappointment, shake off doubt, make no compromise. Have infinite tenacity, and infinite energy." Again, "God you must realize; now in this very life you must see him."

The book is sure to win appreciation from those who are seekers after God.

BHAGAVAD GITA: *Translated into English verse with introduction and notes. N. V. Thadani. Bharat Publishing House, Karachi. 1933. Six annas.*

This is a happy rendering of the "celestial song" which deserves to be popular. The writer, Mr. Thadani, introduces his subject with his idea of the Essence of the Mahabharata, going through the *parvas* one by one, and then follows the Essence of the Bhagavad Gita, which the writer seeks to unravel chapter by chapter. He holds that the Gita is a logical step, showing how a progression of ideas from Sankhya to Vedanta, through Nyaya, Vaisheshika and Yoga: his interpretation is thus a fair attempt to correlate the different systems of Hindu philosophy and place them in a logical order, in which a distinct position belongs to the Bhagavad Gita.

The notes at the end will be helpful to the reader who will try to understand this invaluable book through the medium of English. The translation is a lucid version, and the writer's rendering has the additional merit of being in verse. It is sure to be received with grateful appreciation by all lovers of the Gita.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

MARTYRED IN MEXICO: *By R. J. Masters, S. J., Light of the East Office, 30 Park Street, Calcutta.*

This is a brief life-sketch of a Roman Catholic priest who suffered imprisonment and was finally shot dead under orders of President Calles of

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Mexico. As might be expected, the author claims that Father Pro, the martyr, was only ministering to the souls of Catholic believers and was wrongly suspected of complicity in an attempted political murder and was killed without even a semblance of a trial. This, however, is a matter on which it is difficult to express an opinion without a knowledge of details of recent Mexican history. So far the author judges and vindicates the Father's character on secular grounds. But at the end of the book (p. 82 *et seq.*) he cites evidence of another kind to prove his martyrdom, *viz.*, cases of those (mostly of women) who were healed of blindness and other ills by praying to the departed soul of the Father. We are told of a woman, for example, who had a malignant tumour in the breast and whose disease was so far advanced that doctors advised immediate operation. And this was the opinion not of one doctor but of several. But even this fell disease was cured, without operation, by prayer to the departed Father Pro. The prayer which produced such marvellous results is also given at the end of the book. On the efficacy of prayer in general and of prayers of this kind specially, diverse views have been held even by the most thoughtful among men and men of lesser faith should not venture an opinion.

U. C. Bhattacharjee

SHARADASHRAM VARSHIK, OR THE FIRST ANNUAL OF THE HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY OF YAOTMAL: *(Berar) Containing 6 English and 10 Marathi articles, issued under the editorship of the Secretary Yashvant Khushal Deshpande, M. A., L. L. B, pages D. O. 51 English and 116 Marathi with 8 illustrations. Price Re. 1-8-0.*

The indefatigable secretary Mr. Deshpande is doing great service to Indian history by organizing a body of expert workers for historical research in his province of Berar, which, it may not be generally known, is rich in historical antiquities and yet comparatively unexplored. The Ashram has undertaken at Yaotmal a task of threefold research in archæology, history ancient and modern, and literature, including varied subjects such as coins, alphabets, religious practices and similar topics of antiquarian interest. Berar boasts of many places of ancient fame, now buried under mounds of earth, which, if properly excavated, are likely to yield grand results. The articles printed in the annual are from the pen of many reputed scholars and deal with varied subjects of historical import. They are mainly remarkable not so much for the actual output of new discoveries, as for the directions they point out in which further research is urgently demanded. The elaborate introduction by the secretary is eloquent and instructive. We hope that the appeal made by Mr. Deshpande for workers and funds will meet with a ready response.

G. S. Sardesai

RECONSTRUCTION AND EDUCATION IN RURAL INDIA. *By Premchand Lal, Ph. D. Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Price 10s. net.*

The book under review has been written in the light of the programme of work carried on at Sriniketan, the Institute of Rural Reconstruction founded by the great poet, Rabindranath Tagore. The author is well qualified to describe that work as he was for some time intimately connected with the Visvabharati Institute of Rural Reconstruction as its Director. The author first deals with the problem of rural reconstruction and the intensity of the problem at the present moment and then gives a history of the Visvabharati and the Sriniketan which was established as a supplement to the work of Santiniketan, under the directorship and guidance of Mr. L. K. Elmhirst who brought with him all the necessary technical experience obtained in England and America.

Though the author gives his opinions on the various aspects of rural reconstruction and education in India, he mainly deals with the aims and objects of the Sriniketan Institute which are quoted in this book. He first discusses at length the main activities of the Institute for agricultural and industrial improvement of the village and then gives a detailed account of its educational activities and the *Brati Balak* or scout organization which is the most important adjunct of the Institute in spreading the ideals of service, self-reliance and discipline. The author next narrates the efforts of the Institute in connection with the Rural Experimental School. The author then deals with a number of topics, not related to the actual work done at Sriniketan but as ideals to be set forth before the public, and states his opinions on (1) the Rural Elementary School, (2) the Scout Movement, (3) the Education of Adults, (4) the Education of Women and Girls, (5) Vocational Training, and the Training of Teachers and Community Leaders.

"Reconstruct the villages" has been the cry for some time past and it is really gratifying to find much good literature published on the subject of rural reconstruction in India. Though the work of Dr. Premchand Lal has not been exhaustive in more respects than one and though it does not give any comparative and critical account of the various rural reconstruction schemes adopted in different parts of India, yet it may be said that this book contains much interesting and useful information for all those who are interested in rural reconstruction and can thus be said to be a timely and welcome publication at the present moment when the attention of the country has been drawn to the importance of rural welfare work.

Sukumar Ranjan Das

WOMEN IN ISLAM. *By M. Fathulla Khan with a Foreword by Baron Omar Rolf Emenfels (of Austria). Published by Moses and Co., 4120 Moosakhan Bazar, Secunderabad, Deccan.*

A small pamphlet of 12 pages, in which the author tries but fails to justify polygamy etc. in the eyes of non-Moslems. It is the priest praising his own scriptures, and prevents rational discussion of any topic connected with religion.

J. M. Datta

SANSKRIT

THE GHERANDA SAMHITA. A treatise on Hatha Yoga. Translated by Sris Chandra Vasu, B. A., F. T. S. (T. P. H. Oriental Series). Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. 1933 Price: Indian Edition Rs. 2. Foreign Edition Rs. 2-8. Size—Crown Octavo i-xviii+1-132.

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The work under review gives the text as also the translation of the *Gheranda Samkita*, one of the most important text-books of the Hatha Yoga system. There are incidental references to the description of some of the Yogic processes as found in the *Hathayoga-pradipika* in cases where they differ from those of the present work. In the foreword an attempt has been made to demonstrate the practicability and utility of Yoga practices in general. The learned translator has not, of course, enquired into the question of the date and authorship of the work but the fact that some of the couplets of this book are found not only in the *Hathayoga-pradipika* but also in several other Yoga text-books would indicate as much their popularity as their antiquity. On the basis of the directions regarding the food for one who practises Yoga Mr. Vasu concludes that the author was a 'Vaisnava of Bengal' (Foreword. p. xv). This seems to be going too far, at least in the absence of more direct evidence, in the case of a work which may not unlikely have been merely a compilation or have been subjected to occasional interpolations. The scholarly world as well as the reading public will however be thankful to the enterprising publishing house for reprinting this work (first published in 1895) which goes a great way in helping one to make acquaintance with an original Yoga text ; for though various attempts are being made through the publications of Kaivalyadham and Yoga Institute of Bombay and of other individual scholars to popularize the teachings of Yoga, little has been done in the direction of directly popularizing the original Yoga texts.

MAHABHARATAM WITH BHARATABHAWA-DEEPA : *By Nilakantha. Edited by Pandit Ramchandra Shastri Kinjawadekar. Printed and published by Shankar Narahar Joshi. Chitrashala Press, 1626 Sadashiva Peth, Poona City.*

Here we have a decent popular edition of the Mahabharata along with one of its most popular and learned commentaries *e. g.* of Nilakantha. In portions however, where Nilakantha had no commentary as on the major portion of the Dronaparvan, the commentary of Arjuna Misra has been incorporated. The eighteen books of the work are here completed in six handy volumes. Two companion volumes—one containing the *Harivamsa* and the other comprising introductory materials—will, it is announced, be published in a short time. A good number of modern pictures depicting different incidents in the work are inserted in each of the volumes. The edition is stated to be primarily based on the edition of Ganapat Krishnaji which is no longer available. Several other editions and some manuscripts are also declared to have been consulted but extremely few are the variants that are found to have been noted. Not a single variant reading of the commentary is noticed though the text of it does not always agree with that of even some of the printed editions like the Vangavasi edition published from Calcutta.

The scholar as well as the general public will, on the whole, be thankful to the enterprising publishers as well as the editor for unostentatiously bringing this valuable work with its reputed commentary—long out of print—within easy reach.

In the short prefaces in Sanskrit prefixed to the different parts of the work topics like the authorship and extent of the Mahabharata have been briefly touched upon. In the Preface to volume IV the editor has given his interpretation of the term *jaya* in the line *tato jayam udirayet*. According to him it refers to the Mahabharata. as it indicates in letter numerals the number 18 which is not only the number of chapters of the Mahabharata and the Bhagavadgita but also the number of days occupied by the Kurupandava war and the number of *aksauhinis* constituting the army. The interpretation is, of course, ingenious and seems to be original as no authority is quoted. But it disregards the fact that the line is uttered not only before the recitation of the Mahabharata but of all the Puranas as well.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

BANGALA PRACHIN PUTHIR BIBARAN (*Descriptive Catalogue of Early Bengali Manuscripts*) *Vol. III, Part 3. MSS Nos. 201-400. By Pandit Taraprasanna Bhattacharya, with an Introduction by Professor Chintaharan Chakravarty. M. A. Pp. 178: Bangiya Sahitya Parishat Publication No. 43 (84): To be had from the Parishat Office, 243-1 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta: Price 10 as. (8 as. for members of the Parishat).*

The Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, which is a national institution for the Bengali speaking people for the study of Bengali literature and culture, has been making for the last 40 years of its existence a systematic collection of early Bengali MSS. and other objects relating to the past and present culture of Bengal. The MSS. Library of the Parishat boasts of the richest collection of early Bengali MSS. as can naturally be expected in an institution of the position and prestige of the Parishat. The MSS. which are typical Indian *pothis* with loose leaves often arrive in a deplorable condition and sometimes huge bundles of MS. leaves from different works all mixed up and in a frightful mess are dumped into the Parishat premises as gifts. The sorting of these and their arrangement into books is often a heart-rending task, but the MS. department has been doing this work for a long number of years. After the books have been laboriously sorted and properly secured within card-board covers and cloth bags their cataloguing with notes of contents can be taken in hand. So far over 3000 MSS. have been sorted and hundreds are waiting to be picked, sorted, and classified and more are always coming in. The work of writing a descriptive catalogue is also being carried on in the intervals of other work and the publication is proceeding as the meagre funds of the Parishat permit. This is a matter which merits fully the sympathetic consideration of the Government of Bengal, the Corporation of Calcutta and other public bodies. The necessity of such collection of MSS. for the literary history of a people can be imagined ; and without a catalogue a collection of this type becomes almost useless for those who are not professionally employed in MS. libraries.

The present volume does great credit to the learning and the patient industry of Pandit Taraprasanna Bhattacharya on whose worthy shoulders has fallen the mantle of Pandit Vasanta Ranjan Ray Vidvatballav, honoured name in Bengali scholarship. The books are properly described with suitable extracts and colophons. The introduction from the able pen of Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarty takes note of the most interesting and important works, and forms a good review of the present batch of 200 MSS. described within. A work like this is an

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ample justification of a learned body like the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat and considering that out of 3000 MSS. now ready only 400 have been so far described. The necessity for adequate financial support from those who control public funds becomes painfully clear. An alphabetical index of authors and titles forms a very useful feature of this catalogue.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

HARAPRASADA GRANTHAVALI: (*Collected Bengali works of the late Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri*). *Published by Sj. Satish Chandra Mukherji from the Basumati Sahitya Mandir, 166, Bowbazar Street, Calcuta. Price Re. 1-8. Pp. Royal 1-342.*

Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri, well-known outside Bengal as only a great Indologist, was also a forceful writer of Bengali. His writings in Bengali were huge in amount and covered different fields—Indology (his favourite subject), historical novels, literary criticism, Bengali philology and social as well as educational problems of the country. A portion of these writings scattered in different places has been brought together and published in the present volume. There is no prefatory note appended to the volume and there is no indication as to the principle on which the selection and arrangement of the different pieces included in the volume have been based. There is no clear reference in the case of a good many of the pieces as to the year and place of their first publication. In spite of these defects, which are almost characteristic of the otherwise valuable *Granthavali* publications of the Basumati Sahitya Mandir, the present volume will be welcome to the admirers of the writings of the late Shastri, inasmuch as it serves to bring into easy reach many of his works that were becoming almost inaccessible. It is refreshing that his fascinating historical novel the *Bener Meye* (the Daughter of the Merchant) which gives a vivid picture of old society and his illuminating appreciation of the *Meghaduta* (the Cloud Messenger) of Kalidas have been included here. But it is extremely unfortunate that some of his best and pleasant reading productions on literary criticism and historical investigation have been left out from the respective sections in this volume reserved for them. It may be expected that these will be published along with the remaining works of the Shastri in a subsequent volume.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

ASSAMESE

RUKMINIHARAN NAT: *By Mahapurush Sankardev. Edited by Ambikanath Borah, M.A., Lecturer, Calcutta University. Published by the University of Calcutta.*

We welcome this edition of a small one act drama in Assamese which is representative of a class of similar dramas called *Ankiya*. These dramas are stated to have been highly popular in Assam. But it is to be noted that the language of the masses has not been used here. In the words of the editor, 'the language is medieval Assamese mixed with the dialect which is known as Brajabuli.' What is really curious is the frequent use of Sanskrit verses by the *sutra-dhara* for explaining all incidents to the audience It is a relief, however, that on each occasion the *sutradhara* gives free Assamese renderings as well of these verses. The *sutradhara*, here, unlike his prototype in the Sanskrit dramas, does not remain satisfied only by introducing the drama but stays all along on the stage to act the part of an interpreter to the audience. These interesting provincial peculiarities as well as the reference, in the introduction, to the use of scenes on the Assamese stage as early as the 16th century, will attract the attention of students of Indian drama. Elaborate and authenticated descriptions of the Assamese stage and theatrical houses (*Bharanaghara*) would have been all the more welcome. In the edition of a vernacular work like this belonging to the 16th century and possessing immense linguistic interest one would naturally expect variants to be noted. But strangely no variants have been noticed as is done in all critical editions of old texts. Neither has any description been given of the MSS. on which the edition has been based.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI.

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEWS

1. WIFE: By R. V. Shah. Publishers: Ramallal Vadilal Shah, Seth Mansukh bhai's Pole. Kabipur, Ahmedabad.
2. BUSINESS ENTERPRISE: By B. Sanyasi. Published By the Author.
3. ESSAYS FOR COMPETITIVE EXAMINATIONS. By H., University Medalist, Publisher: Allahabad, Ram Narain Lal.
4. HISTORY OF INDIA: (Islamic Period) By the Late Ghulam Mohammad H. Shaikh. Published by G. A. Shaikh.
5. THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION. By Pratapagir Ramamurty, M. A. The Bombay Book Depot.
6. RAYS OF LIGHT: By Nath Newel. Kishore Press, Lucknow.
7. ALL INDIA SWADESHI DIRECTORY—1933. Publisher: Allahabad Law Journal Press.
8. INDIAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE REPORT, 1933. Calcutta, Published by M. P. Gandhi.

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LONDON LETTER

PARLIAMENT'S PRESENT SESSION

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

India's new Constitution

THE chief Bill promised in the present session of Parliament is the new Constitution of India Bill, which will affect no less than three hundred and fifty odd millions of people—one-fifth of the total population of the world. That Bill, framed by the present Tory Government, is not likely to meet either the wishes or the hopes which have been aroused, especially since the Montagu Declaration of 1917, in the minds of the Indian people—by the King Emperor, by Viceroys and by responsible British Ministers. Pledges to India have gone by the board. Leading Tory members of the House of Lords refuse to be bound by them. And Sir John Simon, while admitting "that this country is pledged as clearly as we can be pledged in honour and in policy" declared in the House of Commons that we are bound by that pledge "within our discretion and judgment." It sounds like a new conundrum: When is a pledge not a pledge? The answer, according to Sir John Simon, would be: When according to your discretion and judgment you do not wish to implement it. In other words the Tory Government can treat pledges as scraps of paper, if in their discretion and judgment it suits them better so to do.

Unemployment Insurance Bill

In domestic affairs in Great Britain the most important legislation promised us is in the sphere of unemployment insurance. The Bill they have introduced, amended, and re-introduced, is not a Bill, be it noted, to deal with unemployment, but merely a Bill to deal with the unemployed.

The great battle over the future of unemployment insurance and administration opened last week in the House of Commons. It will be followed with the closest attention and sympathy not only in our own but in all countries. In the first place because the great depression has revealed unemployment as a sickness which has spread to every people alike. And in the second place because in England we have a system of insurance which, with all its anomalies and imperfections, is still the most comprehensive and courageous yet devised.

The new Bill has, in the words of the Minister of Labour, sixty clauses and seven or eight schedules. In commending it to the House of Commons he claimed that it was "the greatest measure of social progress which has been presented to this country by any Government for many generations." This is a very great claim to make. And any measure which aspired to such a description must surely, one would imagine, be the outcome of long and considered judgment. But the first thing which strikes the man in the street about this Bill is the fumbling and tentative manner in which it has been brought to birth.

A fortnight ago, at the end of the last session, the Bill was ostensibly introduced. But on the verge of its discussion in Parliament it was re-issued in a new form, "longer by several clauses" as Mr. Greenwood complained! Again this measure is of the greatest importance to many Local Authorities, upon whom has fallen most of the burden of providing relief for unemployed men and women who had exhausted their right to insurance benefit. But the National Government are introducing this Bill—and its provisions as to the percentage of the burden which the Exchequer will take over—while negotiations are still going on with these Authorities, while they are still at loggerheads with the Association of Municipal Corporations in fact.

The Principles of the Bill

So much for the background; and now for the principles upon which this Bill is said to be founded. The Minister claims they are two—(1) that there should be a contributory insurance scheme covering as much of the field as possible; (2) that outside insurance the State should assume a general responsibility for the relief of the able-bodied industrial unemployed.

Formulas and principles should always give one pause. They are never the worse for being greeted with the words of the poet Robert Browning, "Stop, let me have the truth of that: Is that all true?" And I think if these two principles are reflected upon it will be seen that in the first one the whole question is begged by the words "as possible." While as for the second principle, the word "industrial" is the sting in the tail. There is not going to be any general assumption on the part of the State of responsibility for the unemployed, but only for the *industrial* unemployed.

In considering the first principle it would be tempting to stray into its by-paths. Many people for instance, and including Mr. Arthur Greenwood, the former Minister of Health, believe that unemployment insurance in a capitalist world is a mirage. To give an insurance basis

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to the relief of unemployment is, in his view, an impossibility. "There never has been an insurance basis to the scheme, and there never can be during the years ahead."

Children Brought in

Whether this is the case or not, the present measure might go a long way towards giving unemployment relief an insurance basis if in fact, as in theory, it covered as much of the field as possible. As every one knows who has had anything to do with insurance schemes, their essence is to rope in everybody and especially the "good lives." In the world of employment, of course, the "good lives" are mostly to be found in the better salaried position and in the professions.

After all this it is pitiful to have to record that the new lives brought into the Insurance Scheme are—children! It is true that the new Unemployment Insurance Statutory Committee (of which more later) is to consider the possibilities of bringing agricultural workers into the scheme. But for the moment the children are the newcomers.

Professional People Left out

What can be the reason for neglecting the opportunity to widen the basis of insurance? As Mr. Greenwood pointed out, at least another 4,000,000 or 5,000,000 ought to be brought in. Many "professional people, black-coated people, superior people" would be glad to feel that if they lost their jobs, and came to the end of their savings, they had something in prospect beside charity or the Poor Law.

One cannot help feeling that the only reason for excluding black-coated workers is the old English little weakness—snobbishness. We dearly love to separate people into those who pay income tax and those who do not, those who earn "wages" and those who have gone one better and attained to "salaries." Respectability in this country (and escape from the irksome duty of licking stamps and sticking them on cards) can be attained if you have climbed to the dizzy height of £250 a year!

No "Doles" For Children

But a word about these children who are coming into insurance. At present although the school-leaving age is fourteen, they are not eligible for unemployment insurance until they are sixteen. Under the new provisions they will be included in the scheme at the age of fourteen whether they go into employment or voluntarily continue at school—in which case they will be credited with contributions. Contributions will be at the rate of 2*d.* a week from the child, 2*d.* from its employer, and 2*d.* from the State.

Having conceded this much to the children, however, the Minister went on to express his horror of "anything which could be described as doles for children." He seemed to feel as bad about it as do the old gentlemen who write to *The Times* decrying those London children who twice a year beg us for pennies—for Guy Fawkes or for carol singing. But the Minister of course is mistaken in talking about giving doles to children. The children would never expect to receive them any more than they receive their wages when they are in employment. Their wages, as any working class child could have told him, are as a matter of course handed over to their parents who have to keep them and who, when they can, allow the children pocket money merely.

So the children will not receive doles. What that will happen is that "where a child between the ages of 14 and 16 is unemployed, and is the child of an unemployed insured person, the parent may get a dependant's allowance." And *how much is this allowance*? Two shillings a week! And it must be remembered that even this meagre allowance will only be paid if the household is already stricken by unemployment. If the father is in work, the child will get nothing for his contributions.

Malnutrition Stabilized

It is very unfortunate for the National Government—but please Heaven it may improve the lot of the unemployed—that at the very moment when they are launching their unemployment proposals, the British Medical Association have issued a report on "the minimum weekly expenditure on foodstuffs which must be incurred by families .... if health and working capacity are to be maintained." In that Report it is stated that "a youth between the age of 14 and 18 requires an expenditure on food alone of 5*s.* 11*d.* a week." More than double the pitiful 2*s.* allowed by the National Government.

The Minister made great play in his speech of the wonderful schemes which the Government had on foot for the benefit of the children. The Bill, he said, provides a very considerable benefit in the form of increased instruction for children. Local Education Authorities are to set up instructional centres, twenty-five per cent of the cost being borne by them and the rest divided equally between the Insurance Fund and the State. At these centres the little innocents, it is hoped, "will gain mentally, physically, vocationally, and industrially!"

No one of course could quarrel with that. But the idealism of the National Government in this connection is, alas, very open to question. The *very next day* after its Minister of Labour had been voicing these admirable sentiments the National Government voted down a Bill to raise the school-leaving age. If the Government really had the interests of all children at heart it would blend proposals for industrial instruction centres with a general scheme for continuing their education. I am bound to say that

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in the present proposals a shabby attempt on the part of the National Government to stop the clamour for raising the school-leaving age by offering the workers' children something "just as good." Because, of course, a general scheme of education would be paid for by the State and the Local Authorities. But these centres, tacked on to unemployed children, can get paid for partly at any rate out of the Insurance Fund.

Children in Industry

It is worth while considering what raising the school-leaving age might do for the children and employment. In the first place it is absurd to say, as the Government said on Friday, that raising the age would put a heavy financial burden on the State. Children are cutting out their elder brothers and fathers, whose support is far more costly than the 5*s.* a week which is the average cost of educating a child. As Lady Astor pointed out in the debate at Plymouth, where a higher school-leaving age is in operation, 1,000 children are kept off the labour market each year.

But there is more in raising the school-leaving age than its immediate financial implications. It is a long-range economy. In a world of contracting opportunities, people must stay at school long enough to discover what they are most fitted to do. In any event, suppose we accept the Government's estimate of the cost which appears to be "£3,000,000 per annum by the year 1936"), how does that figure compare with our our expenditure on armaments—not to mention new cruisers and a possible expansion of the Air Force to a one-power standard ?

"Crisis" Rates Made Permanent

But to get back to the Insurance Bill, it is of course on its financial provisions that it will meet with the most serious opposition. Almost its worst feature is that it stabilizes the rates of unemployment benefit imposed in the 1931 crisis. The "cuts" are to remain, even though the National Government is always assuring us that prosperity is returning. In opposing this meanness to the worst off members of the community, the Labour Party will be supported by the Liberals.

It is to be hoped that not only Labour and Liberals in Parliament will fight for a restoration of the "cuts," but that they will have the backing of a strong public opinion up and down the country.

The Irreducible Minimum

The Report of the British Medical Association, to which reference has already been made, makes it abundantly clear that the amounts of benefit now in force are quite inadequate to maintain health and fitness. This Report sets out various diets designed to meet the minimum needs of varying families. The diet described for an average family, consisting of husband and wife and three children, is given a total cost of 22/6½*d.* But the maximum unemployment benefit which such a family could draw is 29/3*d.* a week. The balance, 6/8½*d*, could not meet the cost of rent in the vast majority of unemployed households—and yet out of that 6/8½*d.* they must meet rent, fuel, clothing, cleaning materials, insurance and so on. What happens, of course, is that the family goes short on food.

No wonder a leading Liberal newspaper, the *Star*, lets itself go on this head :

> "To the test of human needs and the country's duty to the victims of the Great War, the new Bill will not stand up. It is because they and their brothers and fathers and sons fought for us that the working-classes are in their present plight. *Would any Government in 1919 have dared to propose to treat them as this Bill proposes ?*
>
> "That is the main charge against it, that it proposes to stabilize not the ideals of the war, but the meanness of the slump, not the courage of generosity but the niggling of fear.
>
> "It will try to stamp on the future of England the spirit of fear, retrenchment, cheese-paring and inhumanity which has followed the establishment of the National Government."

Before leaving this question of the "cuts" in unemployment benefit, and the deadly light thrown on them by the publication of the British Medical Association's Report, one other feature should be kept in mind. The Committee emphasized the necessity of giving to children first-class proteins. First-class proteins are meat, flour, bacon, milk, butter, cheese and eggs. And, as the *Economist* points out, "It is therefore altogether deplorable that *precisely those sources of first-class protein and fat should have been selected by our protectionist legislators for regulation and control.*" So the unemployed and the poor are being bled both ways. Their benefit has been cut and their food has been restricted and taxed by the National Government.

Onus on Unemployed

If the worst feature of the new Bill is that it perpetuates the "cuts" in benefit, scarcely less unhappy is the fact that it reinstates the "Not genuinely seeking work" clause, which was abolished by the Labour Government. That clause, as anyone who has had anything to do with the working of the Act well knows, has been responsible for more injustices and bitterness than anything else in the history of unemployment insurance. The Labour Government threw on the authorities the onus of proof—but now it is back on the shoulders of the unfortunate worker.

As the Labour Opposition pointed out in the debate, the Government are trying to rake a little

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kudos to themselves because, in the case of a man who falls out of work after a period of five years' continuous employment, they are proposing to allow an extension of benefit. (To many of us this sounds like the old injustice, "to him that hath, shall be given.") Such an extension would, of course, mean that the numbers on the register were to that extent swelled. But the National Government need not worry. This screw of the "Not genuinely seeking work" clause will remove far more men than the other condition is likely to add.

The Debt on the Fund

Another injustice perpetuated in the Bill, and one which again the Liberals are expected to join Labour in resisting, is that the debt on the fund, accumulated during the abnormal years of the slump, is to remain a charge on the Fund. Here, one would have thought, is a debt which should be treated like a war debt and carried by all of us. But the Insurance Fund is to bear the burden alone. It owes £115,000,000 and for forty years generations of workers "yet unborn and unbegot" will see their Fund drained to the tune of £5,500,000 a year!

I have dealt at length with these criticisms of the Bill because they are the most important. They almost all, it may be observed, apply to Part I of the Bill—the Part which deals with the *insured* worker. Before passing on to Part II, which deals with the uninsured industrial worker and the worker who was insured but has fallen out of benefit, a hasty word must be said as to the administrative changes which are proposed.

No Parliamentary Control

These changes reflect the spirit of the age in that they are a move towards centralization and bureaucracy—and away from Parliamentary control. An Unemployment Insurance Statutory Committee is to be set up. It is to have three duties, to report to the Government on the finances of the Fund; to consider how to bring agricultural workers into the scheme; and, most important of all, to "advise on draft regulations." The Committee will consist of five, and three of them at any rate will be as follows:—a representative of the workers, one of the employers, and one of Northern Ireland.

But the innovation is the power to "advise on draft regulations." The Committee is to make recommendations which will be embodied in Orders. The *Minister*, apparently, may amend these Orders, and *Parliament* may adopt them by an Affirmative Resolution. But it cannot legislate upon them.

Is this a new tyranny? There may be a lot to be said for taking the administration of unemployment insurance away from politics as such. But there is nothing to be said for handing it over to a bureaucracy. It could only with justice be handed over to a democratically elected industrial body.

Poor Law—Under a new Name

This bureaucratic principle is common also to Part II of the Bill—to the Part which deals with workers outside insurance. By the way, the wildest misconceptions are in the air following on the Minister's statement that the State is going to assume a general responsibility for all the able-bodied industrial unemployed. Yesterday I heard someone declare that "everyone will be going to get the dole in future." Of course the dole is just what they are not going to get. The change is solely one in status. They will go to the employment exchanges for the payment of assistance instead of to the Public Assistance Committees. And even this meagre concession applies to industrial workers only!

An Unemployment Assistance Board is to be set up and will consist of six members. As in the case of the Unemployment Insurance Statutory Committee, it also will submit recommendations to the Minister—and Parliament again will give Affirmative Approval only.

This Board is to be actuated by two considerations. The first is the Means Test and the second is, in the words of the Minister, that "the worker who has been long unemployed may require assistance other than and in addition to cash payments." In plain words this second consideration means that the worker who has fallen out of insurance can be dragooned in industrial centres, if considered necessary, and if that does happen one is inclined to think it will oftener be "other than" cash payments rather than "in addition to!"

One fears for the administration of this section because it is so impersonal and bureaucratic. It is the old Poor Law system shorn of the advantage that it was administered by a representative body of people. The new body will take away from Local Authorities the duty of assessing need. It will administer the Means Test. It will be removed from the criticism of anyone, even of the House of Commons. The Minister will be responsible for general policy only.

Much was made in Parliament about the more or less ethical basis of a Means Test. Roughly this runs as follows. People who are out of benefit become a charge on society. If society has to keep them, then it has the right to enquire into their circumstances. So far, so good—perhaps. But personally I would say that if society has to keep them, then they ought to be given work to do for society, and I would have no inquisitions out of the matter. But the argument continues, "a man should turn to his own family for help in need, before he calls upon the community." And here I disagree altogether.

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The Means Test

I have always believed that every man is his brother's keeper, *every* man. By the same token everyone should contribute according to his ability to the support of his neighbour. Rather than a Means Test I would like to see everyone paying income tax, even if it began at a penny a month from those in receipt of unemployment benefit. In this way we would all contribute according to our ability to the upkeep of the State. There would be no selfish chatter from the better-off classes about "it all comes out of the taxpayer's pocket."

But I condemn the Means Test most of all because it is uneconomic, a great waster of human opportunities and abilities. Making the poor keep the poor means it is impossible for thousands of talented and enterprising people to go out into the world and seek their fortunes. It roots them where they are, in often deadening jobs, in dull depressed towns which they loathe. Better-off people, or the few lucky ones who have escaped, may argue glibly that nothing can keep a genius down and "Where there's a will there's a way" and so on. But the fact remains that only the selfish will slip out from their responsibilities. The rest will plod on, till the vision has faded and they are too tired to care. They will stick in their dull jobs and society, which instituted the Means Test, will be the poorer for the waste of their talents.

London, 4th December, 1933.

PRICES, WAGES AND PROFITS IN THE KHADI INDUSTRY

By MELLY ZOLLINGER and W. LAKSHMANA RAO, M.A., D.SC.

THE research side of any industry has for its goal the rapid and increased production of the finished article; the commercial side has for its object the cutting down of production and distribution costs and the increase of sales. Rationalization, scientific research, "konjunktur-forschung," sales-propaganda—all these demand the co-ordination of the engineer, the scientist and the economist, serving on the general staff of the industry. Khadi industry has yet to learn many lessons which the other organized industries of the world have already learnt. It has already had a foretaste of the cycle of boom and depression and it can certainly profit by the bitter experiences of the highly mechanized industries of this country, without the risk of losing its soul.

The diminished purchasing power of the masses of the world has called forth a new orientation of the principles of production and distribution, and the resuscitation of khadi is in itself an expression of this orientation. And yet the khadi industry seems to have paid as little attention to organize its economic side as to its technological side. Ramshackle *charkhas*, all too wooden gins, combined with old-world methods on the one hand, the futile attempts of a few individual producers to reduce prices to meet the lowered consumption on the other—these represent the industry's efforts to stem the tide of economic deluge. Reports of the various provincial khadi organizations breath more of the musty atmosphere of the counting-house than of the refreshing spirit of economic enquiry. In this article an attempt will be made at outlining the scope of economic research in the khadi industry and at showing how such research will help the producer, the worker and the consumer at arriving at a correct and just estimate of profits, prices and wages.

Production Costs and Wages

A correct system of costing accounts forms the basis of all rational production. It helps the producer in estimating the future demand and the price at which he must sell his article; hence it gives him an idea of the profits he might be able to realize in his forward dealings. On the basis of this, he has to decide the wages to be paid to the different classes of work and whether it would be profitable to increase or restrict his production. In determining the cost of production of khadi cloth, the wages of the spinners and of the weavers form the important factors. The real wages paid to the workers engaged in an industry and its relation to the standard of living can be taken to be a fair index of the prosperity and efficiency of the industry and of its place in the national and social economy. Therefore the determination of the actual and the real wages paid to the spinner and the weaver, occupies an all-important place in khadi economics.

Considerable difference of opinion prevails among Indian economists—who with rare exceptions are orthodox and hostile to the khadi movement—as to the amount of actual wages earned, or capable of being earned by khadi spinners. A section of the critics consider the wages earned by the spinners to be lower than the sustenance wage, and in fact they have no

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hesitation in stigmatizing hand-spinning as a sweated industry (*vide* Puntumbekar and Varadachari: *Hand-spinning and Hand-Weaving* for criticism of this view). Another school of critics are of opinion that spinners are able to earn high wages owing to the sentimental value attached to khadi (and they cite this as a reason of the high prices of khadi) and characterize khadi as a sheltered industry (see Amalsad: *Hand-Loom Weaving*. Government Press, Madras, 1930. pp. 16, 150). In view of these differences of opinion, we have attempted to arrive at as correct an estimate as possible of the daily wages *actually* earned by the spinners in the Velama and Pattusali section of the Andhra khadi industry.

It would, of course, be necessary to arrive at the real wages earned by the different classes of spinners, as different from the actual wages paid to them. Fine yarn spinners, as a rule, buy cotton on their own account, gin and card it themselves, and sell their yarn at the weekly markets. The coarse and medium count spinners often get the ginned cotten from the weavers or the yarn merchants, who supply them with the ginned cotton. Thus, from the prices they realize, they have to pay the price of cotton, and the carding wages. The remaining amount would then represent the net wages earned by them.

The following wage-sheet (designed in collaboration with Sit. M. K. R. Swamy, Manager, Fine Yarn Centres, A.I.S.A., Chicacole) represents the method adopted in gathering the necessary data and the method of arriving at the net daily wages earned by the Velama and Pattusali spinners:

WAGE-SHEET

Name of Spinner: Tagiti Bhulokamma
Village: Tamada (Ganjam Dist.)
Class of Yarn: Pattusali, Grade 45 count.
Price of Yarn Rs 0-2-6 per tola.
Weight of Seed-cotton given: 6 tolas.
Time taken for:—

(1) Sorting and Cleaning kapas with Fish-jaw	1	hour	13 min.
(2) Ginning	0	„	18 „
(3) Cleaning and Paralleling	1	„	4 „
(4) Carding and Slivering	0	„	8 „
(5) Spinning	1	„	55 „
(6) Winding	0	„	21 „

DEATAILS OF SPINNING

Weight of yarn spun 7/12 tola.
No. of Yards Spun 565.
Calculated count 45.
Price of Yarn spun Rs. 0-1-3.
Spinning-Speed 250 yds. per hour.

YARN TEST:

Average Count (Quadrant)	44
Evenness of Count	39.6 p. c.
Tensility	49.0 p. c.
Uniformity of Strength	nil.

CALCULATION OF NET DAILY WAGES:

		Weight (tolas)	Pr (pi
(1)	Yarn from the given amount of cotton Proceeds of sale)……	0.58	15
(2)	Seeds from Ginning (Proceeds of Sale)	3.00	0
(3)	Waste Cotton (Proceeds of sale)	0.52	0
	Total Sale Proceeds ..		16
	minus		
(4)	Purchase of Cotton	6.00	3
	Net Wages earned		13

TIME REQUIRED IF ALL THE GIVEN AMOUNT OF COTTON IS TO BE SPUN INTO YARN:—

For Preparatory Processes	3 Hrs. 3 mi
For Spinning and Winding	2 Hrs. 23 m
For total working Time	5 Hrs. 26 m
Net Wage per Day of 8-Hours:	19.3 pi
or approximately:	Rs 0-1-7

The data gathered by us according to t above method for the different grades of spinni and in the different locatities, is summarized the tabular statement given below:

TABLE I

Class of Yarn	Count of Yarn	Net Wa per Day 8 Hour
1. Velama (Singipuram)	20-25's	Rs. 0-0-1
2. „ „	25-30's	0-0-1
3. Velama (Devadi)	30's	0-1-0
4. „ „	35's	0-1-2
5. „ „	40's	0-1-7
6. Pattusali (Bonthalakoduru)	35's	0-0-1
7. „ (Tamada)	40's	0-1-7
8. „ (Bonthalakoduru)	45's	0-1-7
9. „ „	50's	0-1-7
10. „ „	55's	0-1-6
11. „ „	60's	0-1-5
12. „ „	60's	0-1-6
13. „ „	80's	0-1-1

From the above table, we gather that net wage earned by the fine yarn spinners ran between a minimum of 10 pies and a maxim of 20 pies per day of 8 hours. Exact data lacking about the wages earned in the coarse medium-coarse sections of the industry. But would not be far wrong in estimating the wages in these sections between a minimum 6 pies and a maximum of 10 pies per day.

One thing, however, stands out clearly. such low wages prevailing in the industry, neither equitable nor prudent to reduce wages below this level and that the way cheapen khadi does not certainly lie in direction of wage reductions.

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There are also other items of expenditure that must be taken into account, before we can arrive at the actual earnings. For instance, allowance must be made for the following items :—

1. Cost of yarn for preparing 'malas' ;
2. Replacement of worn-out spindles ;
3. Expenses for going to market and production centre ;
4. Cost of new fish-jaws for combing cotton ;
5. Lubricating oil for charkha ;
6. Repairs to charkha ;
7. Depreciation of charkha ; and
8. Interest charges on money invested in the purchase and storage of cotton.

Unfortunately it was not possible for us to get reliable data covering the above items. However, as none of these items are very large—except the last—the daily earnings would not be diminished to any material extent.

Wages and Skill in Spinning

In any industry a well-planned wage system should guarantee a minimum wage to the unskilled worker and a progressively higher wage to the skilled worker, in direct proportion to the skill and intelligence required. In the khadi industry, which is entirely based on human labour and is independent of machinery, the planning of an equitable wage system ought to be a comparatively simple affair. Whether the wages in actual practice are so graduated or not, forms the next subject of our enquiry. The following table gives the wages earned in the fine yarn section of the industry, together with details about the present spinning speeds and the time taken for the preparatory processes for the different grades of yarns :

Class and Count of Yarn	Price of Yarn per tola	Spinning Speed Yds. per hour	Percentage of Time required for Preparatory Processes in Total Time : at present speed	at speed of 250 Yds.	Net wage per 8-Hr. Day in pies 1/12 anna at present speed	at speed of 250 Yds.	Percentage of the cost of cotton in the total cost of yarn
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Velama Count 20	Rs. 0 1 1	162	47·0 p. c.	55·5 p. c.	11·6 pies	13·7 pies	25·9 p.c.
„ 25	„ 0 1 5	139	47·4 „	60·7 „	10·5 „	13·5 „	23·0 „
„ 30	„ 0 1 5	170	46·4 „	56·3 „	12·3 „	14·8 „	15·1 „
„ 35	„ 0 1 11	132	39·4 „	55·7 „	14·0 „	22·7 „	11·0 „
„ 40	„ 0 3 9	130	33·7 „	49·0 „	19·0 „	25·2 „	7·8 „
Pattusali Count 35	„ 0 2 2	131	46·4 „	62·7 „	11·3 „	15·1 „	22·5 „
„ 40	„ 0 2 4	265	50·3 „	49·0 „	19·5 „	19·0 „	18·9 „
„ 45	„ 0 2 6	280	56·1 „	53·3 „	19·3 „	18·2 „	19·1 „
„ 50	„ 0 2 8	211	45·8 „	50·0 „	19·9 „	21·8 „	14·5 „
„ 55	„ 0 3 0	217	52·2 „	55·7 „	18·7 „	20·1 „	14·9 „
„ 60	„ 0 3 4	225	45·0 „	48·0 „	17·9 „	19·2 „	15·0 „
„ 60	„ 0 3 6	170	32·7 „	41·7 „	18·3 „	23·4 „	12·6 „
„ 80	„ 0 4 0	156	46·2 „	58·0 „	13·1 „	16·1 „	10·9 „

In judging whether the wages are properly regulated or not, attention has to be paid to two important factors. The output of a higher count spinner is lower than that of a lower count spinner ; for instance, in the Pattusali section, the spinning speed of an 80 count spinner is 165 yds. per hour, whereas that of a 40's spinner is 265 yards. (The difference is not noticeable in the Velama section, where the speeds for all grades of spinning are about equal, and much lower than what they ought to be). Again, a high-count spinner, if her yarn is to be of a good quality, must devote a proportionally longer time for the preparatory processes, than the spinner of the lower count. This necessarily shortens the time available for spinning in the case of the high count spinner. In order to make due allowances for these two factors, so that a direct comparison might be made of the wages that are earned by spinners of the different grades, the wages earned have been calculated at a basis speed of 250 yards per hour for all grades. This removes one inequality ; the other, that of the time necessary for the preparatory processes remaining as a determining factor in the estimation of the wages.

We have now to consider how the prices paid by the producer per tola of yarn compares with wages actually received by the spinner. It is evident from the table that the wages received by the Pattusalis compare unfavourably with those received by the Velama spinners. This is due to the higher prices paid by the purchasers of Velama yarn. This does not appear to be fair to the Pattusalis who are the more skilled spinners, as evidenced by their higher spinning-speed and the greater strength of their yarns in general. In this respect a re-adjustment of the prices offered by the purchasers of Pattusali yarns appears to be necessary. The comparative prices for the different grades of yarns in this section also require a better adjustment. For example, the spinner of the medium counts, *viz.*, 40's-60's, are better off than the spinners of 80's. In fact, the wages received by the spinners of 80's and 35's are about equal, in spite of the comparatively

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higher speed (count for count) of the 80's spinners (see Table 2).

A great danger threatens an industry when the wages are not regulated in proportion to the skill required of the workers. If the 80's spinner, in spite of the skill and care (witness the high speed achieved by her and the longer time taken for the preparatory processes), and in spite of the high price of 4 annas (the highest in fact offered by the purchaser), is earning much lower than those spinning lower counts, she would give up spinning 80's and resort to spinning only medium counts. This would, in a very short time, lead to the disappearance of high-count spinning. The Pattusali area, which from centuries has been the home of high-count spinning, and which within living memory was producing yarns of 120's and 150's—today usually produces only 60's, and spinners of 80's can be counted literally on one's fingers. It is to be earnestly hoped that purchasers of fine yarn would recognize this danger of the disappearance of high-count spinning and would see that the wages actually earned by the spinners are sufficiently attractive to induce them to continue spinning the highest counts.

Analysis of Production Costs

In order to regulate purchase of raw material, the wages bill and production, it would be necessary to have a knowledge of the factors that go to make up production costs. This knowledge would also provide the consumer with a correct picture of the state of the industry and help to create a healthy interest among the public in its activities and usefulness. The necessity and importance of such an analysis of production costs applies with greater force to khadi, which is to be regarded as a key industry engaging as it does many thousands of the poorest class of workers and which is dependent on the patronage of all the classes of the nation. In the absence of any such analysis of production costs of the different qualities of cloth in the reports of the provincial A. I. S. A. organizations, we have attempted below an analysis for the three different qualities of khadhi produced by the Andhra Branch. (The page numbers refer to the "Report of the A.I.S.A., Andhra Branch, 1929-30," and to the 'Price List' of the same organization, dated 1st October 1931).

Pattusali Section

We have taken as an example the production costs of the quality of cloth having 26 *Punjams* and 54 inches width. The selling price of this cloth is Rs. 2-3-6 per yard (Price List, p. 2.)

In finding out the actual cost of production, we have to deduct the overhead charges from the selling price. As figures for overhead charges have not been mentioned in the report, these have been calculated by us from the yearly balance-sheets of the various production and sales centres appended to the report.

Sale Price: Quality P-26: Width 54 inches per yard (List, p. 2) Rs. 2 3

minus

Overhead Charges :—

1. Yarn-Purchasers' Commission @ 8 pies per Rupee	0	1	3	
2. Establishment & interest charges of production Centres @ 1 anna per Rupee	0	1	10	
3. Head-office Rebate, @ 9 ps. per Rupee	0	0	11	
4. Establishment & Interest charges of Sale Centres @ 15 ps. per Rupee	0	2	4	
	0	6		
Production Cost per yard of cloth	Rs.	1	13	

Items in Production per yard of cloth :—

				Percentage *in total Cost*
1. Weavers' Wages for P/26 ; W/54" (Report, p. 25)	Rs.	0	6	22.4
2. Spinners' Wages for 6 tolas of 40-45 counts of yarn used per yard of the above cloth	1	2	4	62.9
3. Cost of Raw-Cotton (See Table 2, col. 8	0	4	4	14.2
	Rs.	1	13	2

Velama Section

Cloth of *"Punjam* 24" and width 50 inches was taken as an example, and using the same method the following percentages have been obtained :

	% *of total cost*
1. Weavers' Wages	28.4 %
2. Spinners' Wages	61.0 %
3. Cost of Raw-Cotton	10.6 %

Production Costs in Coarse Cloth Section

As examples for this section, two qualities of cloth from two centres were taken, *viz.*, Quality *Punjam* 14, width 54 inches, produced at the Kailaspatam Centre (10 count); selling price Rs. 0-6 per yard; and Quality *Punjam* 18, width inches, produced at the Kanupur Centre (20 count) selling price Rs. 0-10-6 (Price List, pp. 8, Prices of Cotton and wages have been calculated according to those given in Table 3. The different items in the analysis are given below :

	Percentage of net cost Kailaspatam Centre	Kanu Centre
1. Spinners' Wages	20.5 %	50.2
2. Carders' Wages	10.3 %	3.8
3. Ginners' Wages	1.7 %	0.6
4. Weavers' Wages	35.1 %	33.6
5. Cost of Raw Cotton	32.4 %	11.8

Increased Output of Yarn and Cheaper Price

The above analysis of production costs throws light on the possibility of cheapening khadi.

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question of achieving this by a reduction in the scale of spinning wages has been considered in a previous paragraph. A better method is to concert measures to increase the output of yarn per spindle. Spinning-speed among the fine-yarn spinners (see Table 2) is abnormally low, the highest speed being only 280 yards per hour. Speeds in the low-count section are still worse, a speed of 250 yards being very rare indeed. Low speeds and the consequent small output of yarn, is the reason for the meagre wages earned by the spinners. If it is possible to double the speed of the spinner, and thereby double her output, the producers of cloth can then buy their yarn at lower rates and still the spinners would be able to earn an increased wage and the cloth itself could be sold at lower prices.

In the fine-yarn section, spinners' wages account for 63-66 per cent of the net cost of production. A reduction in the prices of yarn, following an increased output can bring about an immediate and proportionate reduction in the prices of cloth. The extent to which cloth could be cheapened depends on the possible ncrease in the spinning-speed higher than that now obtaining. The greatest reduction in the prices for the given small increase in speed, is possible in the Velama section. Here the speeds are abnormally low. In the Pattusali section, where a speed of 200 yards is common, the reduction that would be possible is not very great, though here too an appreciable reduction can be achieved.

In the coarse-yarn section the spinners' wages account for only 50 per cent in the medium section, and to 33 per cent in the coarse section. As the present speeds in Andhra are much lower than those that could easily be possible, the maximum possible amount of reduction in prices of cloth for a given small increase in the spinning-speed is substantial.

There is a possibility for an enormous amount of improvement in the spinning-speeds of the Andhra spinners. Andhra fine-yarn spinners are foremost in the whole country in the spinning of high counts. Yet in the matter of coarse yarn, they lag far behind the spinners of other provinces. In Sabarmati the average speed for 17 counts (medium count) is not less than 400 yards. At the Bangalore Exhibition, Sjt. Keshav Gandhi spun 11 count at a speed of 650 yards per hour. At the Madras Exhibition, he spun 21 count at a speed of 400 yards. Sjt. Devadhar at the Lahore Exhibition spun 14's at a speed of 717 yards. At Bangalore, Srimati Veeramma (Andhra) spun Pattusali yarn of 40's with a speed of 400 yards, and 60's with a speed of 257 yards per hour. In the same competition, Sjt. Keshavbhai spun 50's with a speed of 350 yards.

These records in spinning-speeds demonstrate clearly the great increase in output per spindle that is possible by bringing into use a better type of charkha and by educating the spinners to follow a better spinning technique. In this respect it is to be regretted that the Andhra A.I.S.A. has not taken any adequate steps. The technical department at Sabarmati has proved beyond doubt the enormous possibilities of an improved charkha. Sjts. Puntumbekar and Varadachari, in their prize essay, have also dealt about the possible increase of output that would result from the adoption of better appliances. They give figures of the increase that would result from the use of a better type of spindle. Due to the initiative of the officials of the A.I.S.A. Fine Yarn Centre at Chicacole (Andhra), steel spindles of Sabarmati and Bardoli types were introduced as an experimental measure, (in response to a suggestion from us) among the Velama spinners in their Narasannapeta area. Nine months later (in June 1932), the official in charge of this village, in discussing the results of this experiment, assured us that as a result of the use of the new spindle, the yarn produced at his centre had shown a great improvement in quality, twist and fineness and that the weavers were experiencing less trouble with the yarn than formerly. It was still more gratifying to learn from him that as a result of the introduction of these spindles, the spinners were now able to earn an increase in wages of not less than 3 pies a day. This is a clear proof of how even small improvements in the charkha and spinning technique can bring increased wages to the spinners, accompanied with an improvement in the quantity and quality of the yarn. It would be interesting to know what encouragement and facilities the Andhra Provincial Head-quarters propose to give to their officials on the spot to extend this experiment throughout the fine-yarn area.

Cotton Prices and Cheaper Khadi

From the analysis of production costs we find that the cost of raw material *i. e.*, cotton—amounts to 11 p.c. of the cost of production in Velama cloth (20-40's), 14 p.c. in Pattusali cloth (30-80's), 12 p.c. in the medium coarse cloth (20's) and to as high as 33 p.c. in the coarse cloth (10's). Any fall in the price of cotton, would therefore benefit the consumer, by bringing about an immediate reduction in the selling price of cloth.

Prices in Andhra During 1921-1931

We have already remarked that a perfect system of cost accounts would help the producer in determining his production costs and in fixing his selling prices. We give below a tabular statement of the cotton prices. Wages paid (based on our analyses), yarn prices and the selling prices of Andhra cloth (Kailasapatam A.I.S.A. Centre), together with the actual selling prices and the selling prices calculated by us according to the data in the table, for the period 1921-1931. (The prices of raw-cotton are those

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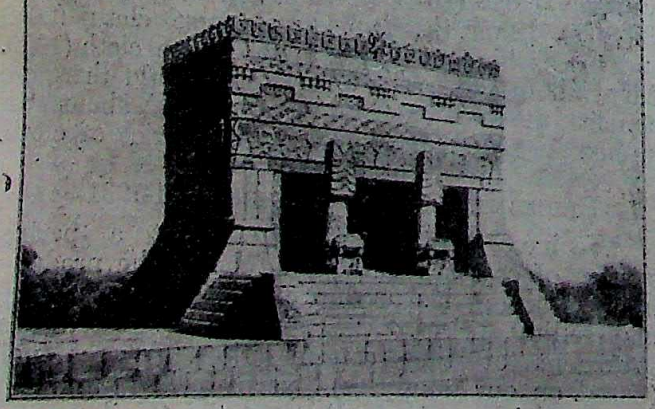
ruling at the Tuni market. The information about the wages in the different branches of the industry during these eleven years has been gathered by us from market reports and from reports of producers (private and A.I.S.A.). The overhead charges have been calculated by us at Rs. 0-2-8 per rupee. Cloth of *Punjam* 14 and width of 54 inches produced at the Kailasapatam centre has been taken as the standard for the purpose of calculation.

With regard to the actual and the calculated selling prices, it is seen that the prices at which cloth was sold was much lower than that calculated by us; and that during the last three years the actuals have approximated more closely to calculated prices than during the years befo The lower prices at which the Andhra A.I.S. has sold their production, accounts for the lo sustained by them during these years. T fluctuations in the cotton prices during 1921-2 the subsequent heavy fall, the loss sustained b the depreciation of the cotton bought by the during the period of falling prices, are respo sible for this loss (see Report, p. 35). It is al possible that the Andhra A.I.S.A. has sold i cloth at sacrifice prices in order to popular khadi and to create employment for the gre mass of the proverty stricken population f whom no other is available.

CHICACOLE. November 1932.

TABLE 3

	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	193
1. Price of Raw Cotton per Candy	Rs. 45	60	55	52	52	52	57	55	32	25	30
2. Ginning Wages for 1 maund	0-6-0	0-6-0	0-6-0	0-5-6	0-5-0	0-5-0	0-5-0	0-4-0	0-4-0	0-4-0	0-4
3. Carding Wages for 1 maund	2-0-0	2-0-0	2-0-0	1-14-0	1-12-0	1-8-0	1-8-0	1-8-0	1-8-0	1-8-0	1-8
4. Spinning Wages for 1 maund of yarn	8-0-0	8-0-0	8-0-0	7-0-0	7-0-0	6-0-0	6-8-0	6-8-0	6-8-0	6-8-0	6-8
5. Weaver's Wages P/14, W/54" per Yard	0-4-6	0-4-6	0-4-6	0-4-0	0-3-6	0-3-0	0-3-0	0-3-0	0-3-0	0-3-0	0-3
6. Actual Selling Price of Cloth per Yard	0-11-0	0-11-0	0-11-0	0-11-0	0-10-6	0-10-0	0-10-0	0-10-0	0-9-0	0-9-0	0-8
7. Calculated Selling Price of Cloth per Yard	0-12-1	0-13-5	0-13-0	0-11-10	0-11-4	0-10-5	0-11-0	0-10-10	0-8-8	0-8-0	0-8



Maya Temple at Chichen Itza (Restored)

Typical Aztec Peasants—the Committee for the rural school at San Jorge Tezoquipan

See article on p. 10

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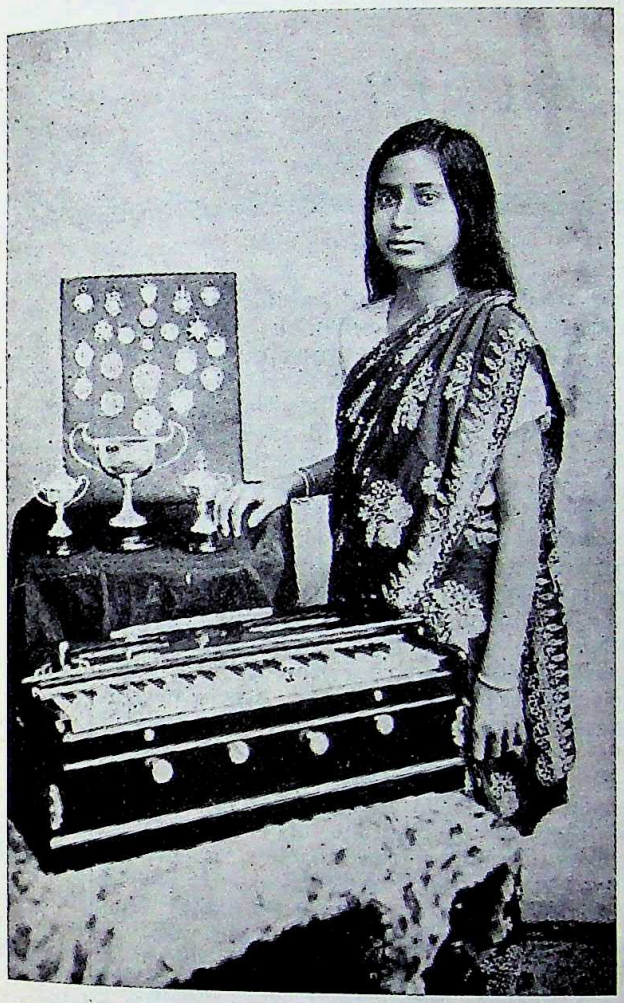

Miss Binapani Mukherjee

Miss Binapani Mukherjee, the grand-daughter of Mr. Sital Mukherjee, charmed the audience with her extraordinary musical feats in the last Allahabad Music Conference. She is a girl of ten only.

Mrs. Saralabai Naik, M. A., Honorary Lady Superintendent of the Seva Sadan, Poona, and Fellow of the University of Bombay, presided at the fourth Ujjain Session of the Gwalior State Women's Conference on November 7 and 8 last.

Mrs. Kamalabai N. Vijaykar has been appointed Honorary Magistrate at Andhori, Bombay. She is the first among ladies to hold such a post over there.

Miss Subarna Ghosh was a student of outstanding merit in the Medical College, Calcutta. She obtained the Gold Medal in Pathology and Calvert's Medal in Medicine, the Goodeve Scholarship in midwifery, F. C. Chatterji's Scholarship in normal and morbid Histology and several College Scholarships. She also received the First Certificate of Honours in Medicine and the Certificate of Honours in Medical Jurisprudence. She has passed the Final M. B. Examination with honours obtaining the 2nd. place in Medicine and 3rd. place in Surgery.

Mrs. Saralabai Naik, M. A.

Mrs. Kamalabai N. Vijaykar

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Two Poems by Tagore

In *Visva-Bharati News* appear the following poems by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore :

Freedom

Freedom from fear is the freedom I claim for you,
My Motherland !

Fear, the phantom demon,
shaped by your own distorted dreams,
Freedom from the burden of ages,
bending your head, breaking your back,
blinding your eyes to the beckoning call of future ;
Freedom from shackles of slumber
with which you fasten yourself to night's stillness,
mistrusting the star that speaks
of truth's adventurous path :
Freedom from the anarchy of a destiny
whose sails are weakly yielded to blind
uncertain winds,
and the helm to a hand ever rigid and cold
as Death ;
Freedom from the insult of dwelling in a doll's world
where movements are started through brainless wires,
repeated through mindless habits,
where figures wait with patient obedience for a master
of show
to be stirred into a moment's mimicry of life.

Greetings

Though I know, my friend, that we are different
my mind refuses to own it.
For we two woke up in the same sleepless night
while the birds sang,
and the same spell of the spring
entered our hearts.

Though your face is towards the light
and mine in the shade
the delight of our meeting is sweet and secret,
for the flood of youth in its eddying dance
has drawn us close.

With your glory and grace you conquer the world
my face is pale
But a magnanimous breath of life
has carried me to your side
and the dark line of our difference
is aglow with the radiance of a dawn.

—

How to Teach 'New Words' in English

Mr. Bidhu Ranjan Das, M.A., B.T. contributes an interesting paper to *The Teachers' Journal* on the above subject. We quote the following passages from it :

No doubt I have made a favourable reference some of the existing text books on English but to sure, most of them have been prepared with no rega being paid to the psychological stages of the develo ment of the language-ability of the child. Let elaborate the point. A child normally learns a langua relating it to his own experience of life and envir ment. Along with the sucking of his mother's bre he learns to utter '*mamma*' next he utters '*papa*' he sees his father fondle him and so on. As experience grows wider with his growth, his vocabul also increases in size and this process goes on ind nitely for a long period. Therefore the words to used in the texts must suit the mental age experience of the learner for whom it is intend The authors in most cases overlook this princi Instead of drawing on scientifically standardised li such as Dr. Thorndike's list of 1000 common wor in English, they rely upon their own judgment introduce words haphazardly. This makes the teachi and learning of English all the more difficult arduous, because, the teacher gets no opportun of working on the bonds of association possessed the learner with a view to making him lera thing. As for instance, if the word "cruiser" introduced in a text book for class III in country, how can the teacher bring home to learner the idea conveyed by the word and how the learner grasp it at this stage? Is not the thi beyond his experience? Thus some authors thinkingly introduce words of the later stages in lessons of the earlier stages and *vice versa*. T acts as a setback to normal progress. "An Engli Primer" by W. C. Wordsworth (for class III) is to my hand. In this book, I find, such difficult uncommon words as "muddy and fertile" introduc in Lesson 25, p. 30 but simple and familiar wor such as "breakfast, kite, lesson" have been reser for Lesson 40. p. 55. Is it not indiscriminate ? this respect, Dr. West's graded series of the method Readers are by far the best in the mark The 'new words" are there printed in bold types the lessons and on their margin. Moreover, scien fically standardised words have been introduced by step in order of difficulty. These words have b repeatedly used to leave permanent impressions the learners. Mr. Guha's Simple Readers and Chatterjee's Readers are the next best.

Now. let us enlarge on the method of teachi 'New. Words' to be ascertained in the manner sketched above. The teacher should take up each the words at a time. He should first of all explain it. as usual, with reference to the context dealt with all its denotations and connotations. He should also try to link it with the apperceptive mass of the learner. He should at the same time bring as many of the derivatives as possible to the notice of the learner. Then he should give the learner a sufficient drilling in the practical use of the "New Words". Herein lies the most important part of the teache

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work. He cannot neglect it without detriment to the cause of learning or for the matter of fact, the teaching of the language. While doing so, the teacher should invariably detach the 'New word' from the given context. For, the learner of a language should be enabled to use the newly acquired 'word' quite independently in a setting different from that of the text or otherwise the value of this new acquisition will be as good as nil. An example will clear up the issue. Take a short sentence :—"Prem's *parents* love him." Let us suppose that 'Parents' is the 'New word' here. It will not do for the teacher if he merely explains the meaning of the word. He should make the learners drill the word independently. He should ask them to frame with the word such simple sentences as the following :— "My parents love me," "His parents are dead," "You have got your parents," "My father and mother are my parents" and so on. This process is called "*Depolarization*" according to the terminology of modern science. Here it means "detaching a word from its given text and using it independently." Unless the learners become skilled in "depolarizing" a "new word" it is idle to expect that he would acquire a "feeling" of the language within a reasonable time even though he might not spare pains.

—

Indigenous Insurance

Insurance is generally regarded as an importation from the West. It was in vogue in some form or other in India also till recent times. Mr. J. M. Datta has given a very interesting account of some forms of indigenous insurance in *Insurance World*. We make these extracts from it :

On the borders of Barkarganj boats plying on certain rivers sometimes got drowned with all hands on board. The boatmen, mostly Muhammadans, before starting on a voyage sought the blessings and protection of a certain local *Pir* or saint, offered *sirni* and paid 5 pice per head on board to the man in charge of the shrine and thus pledged their lives to the *Pir*. If they returned alive, they would pay 5 pice more, offer another *sirni* as thanksgiving and thus redeem themselves. They believed that the *Pir* took special care in protecting his servants or slaves during the voyage. If they were drowned, the man in charge of the shrine is to provide their widows with food and raiment for a year and a day, so that they may light the lamp according to Muhammadan custom and practice, to illuminate their journey heavenwards, free from all cares.

This practice was in vogue until some 40 years ago when a dispute between two rival claimants to the shrine put a stop to it. One reason for discontinuing the practice may have been the rise in the price of food stuffs and the consequent increased cost of providing for the widows for the specific period, while the amount of traditional charges of 5 pice remained the same. The proportion of persons pledging their lives at the shrine to the number drowned in a year must have been less than the proportion of 10 pice to the cost of providing the widows for a year and a day. That is why the system worked so long as it lasted.

The *Pir's* shrine was unconsciously carrying on the business of accident insurance, and life insurance for a specific voyage combined.

In the days before the advent of steamers and railways, old people, especially old widows, who went on pilgrimage to Benares or to Brindaban or to other distant shrines with a view to spending the rest of their days there, often deposited a lump sum with some honest firm of traders on the understanding that the sum so deposited would be treated as the capital of the firm, and out of it and the trading profits thereon, the person so depositing would get a small monthly allowance sufficient to cover his ordinary expenses so long as the depositor lived. If the depositor lived long, the resulting loss may fall on the firm ; but if he died soon, the consequent gain would be firm's. An ordinary firm would not accept the risks for more than three or four lives at a time ; so it could not be safely asserted that such payments of annuities were made on actuarial principles. But some rough and ready actuarial principles must have been known to them to determine the rates of the monthly allowance depending upon the age and sex and caste of the depositor, for we hear of such principles as that a widow would live longer than a male ; that a Brahmin would live *twice* as long as a Nabasakh, and so forth.

We are told that in former times in such places of pilgrimage as Nabadwip, an aged pilgrim would deposit a fixed sum, say Rs. 500 with the Gossain of a shrine or an *akhra*, and in return he would get board and lodging free for the rest of his life. As a large number of devotees, 20 or 30, would generally stop at a particular shrine or *akhra*, the system had some sort of rough and ready actuarial basis for its success. Any loss that would otherwise fall on the shrine or *akhra*, was generally made good by other occasional pilgrims and devotees. The annuitants, if we may so term the depositors, also helped the institution by doing such odd light manual work as they could easily perform, such as sweeping the gardens, beating cymbals, sewing garlands &c.

—

University Education

Dr. W. S. Urquhart delivered an address at a meeting of the Rotary Club, Calcuta, on "University Education." It has been reproduced in *The Calcutta Review*. The following passage from it should set the advocates of technical education to think about the fate of the unemployed expert :

When we turn to the positive side of the matter we find that the remedy suggested by the critics is that education should be of a less literary character and that it should be more vocational and technical. The knowledge of higher mathematics and philosophy and Sanskrit, does not, it is said, fill the family coffers. Let the training be directly related to the work that is available. Give them the education that will be useful, and stop this waste. Waste, yes, from the point of view of quick returns, but perhaps not waste in the long run. At least do not let us decide the question out of hand. And here again it seems that you are trying to solve an essentially economic problem by a change in educational method. By all means improve your technical education and it will do something. But do not expect it to do everything. It will not make a piece of land which even on the most modern methods can produce only enough food for fifty people, capable of supporting double that number. Your change over to technical

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education would be an excellent panacea if it were a case of posts waiting until men are trained to fill them. But that is not so. Those turned out of technical training schools find the greatest difficulty in securiug employment, and there are many trained to the utmost pitch of efficiency in the West who can find nothing to do on their return to this country. Now to my mind there is no sadder spectacle than that of the unemployed expert. He has been made ready for only one line and that line is closed to him. He has not the general education which enables him to turn to anything else. He cannot dig, or perhaps, if he is a mining engineer, he can do nothing else; and to beg he is ashamed. He is down and out now because he has been tied down at too early a stage in his educational career. And personally if I had to be unemployed I had rather be unemployed with a full mind than an empty one and a university education does at least profess to fill the mind. I should at least have something to think about while I sat about waiting. When the stomach is empty there is no particular advantage in having the mind empty also.

—

The Child's Education

In a paper in *Prabuddha Bharata* Dr. Maria Montessori writes :

When the independent life of the child is not recognized with its own characteristics and its own ends, when the adult man interprets these characteristics and ends—which are different from his—as being errors in the child which he must make speed to correct, there arises between the strong and the weak a struggle which is fatal to mankind. For it is verily upon the perfect and tranquil spiritual life of the child that depend the health or sickness of the soul, the strength or weakness of the character, the clearness or obscurity of the intellect. And if, during the delicate and precious period of childhood, a sacrilegious form of servitude has been inflicted upon the children it would no longer be possible for men successfully to accomplish great deeds—and we have there the symbolical sense of the Bible story of the Tower of Babel.

Now, the struggle between the adult and the child finds its expression—both within the family circle and at school—in what is till called by the old name of "education." But when the intrinsic value of the child's personality has been recognized and he has been given room to expand, as is the case in our schools (where the child creates for himself an an environment suited to his spiritual growth), we have had the revelation of an entirely new child, whose astonishing charateristics are the opposite of those that had hitherto been observed.

We may therefore assert that it would be possible by the renewing of education, to produce a better type of man, a man endued with superior characteristics as if belonging to a new race : the superman of which Nitzsche caught glimpses. Herein lies the part that education has to play in the struggle between war and peace, and not in its cultural content. Above all it is to be noted that the child, a passionate lover of order and work, possesses intellectual qualities superior by far to what might have been expected. It is very evident that, subjected to the usual education, the child has had not only to withdraw within himself, but to dissimulate his powers, in order to adapt himself to the judgment of the adult who lorded it over him. And so the child performed the cruel task first of hiding his real self, then of forgetting it, of burying in his sub-consciousness a wealth of expanding life whose aspirations were frustrated. Then, bearing this hidden burden, he encountered the errors current in the world.

Thus does the problem of education present itself when we envisage it from the point of view of war and peace, not as a matter of what ought, or ought not, to be taught. Whether we speak or do not speak of war to the children, wheather we adapt history for their use in this way or in that way, does not change the destiny of mankind. But an education that is merely a blind stuggle between the strong and the week can only produce an inefficient man, weakened and enslaved, a man whose growth has been stunted.

—

A School for Defective Children

In *Teaching*, a scientific journal on education appears the following :

The estimated number of mentally weak children [in Bengal, Behar and Assam is over 50,000. How to deal with the mentally deficient or feeble-minded persons, especially growing children, is a problem of first-rate importance.

Public recognition of the claims of such children begin in Europe with Dr. Itard of the Paris School for the Deaf in 1800. In the course of the nineteenth century, Europe and America came to realize that in the interests of both humanity and society such children should be gathered together in special institutions for proper and appropriate training. On humanitarian grounds we should seriously consider and bear in mind that (1) the feebleminded are our children, and we can cannot afford to neglect them without denying our obligations as parents ; (2) that when we have institutions for the blind, schools for the deaf and dumb, asylums for lepers, societies for the prevention of cruelty towards children, why should we not have societies or institutions for the development of those who whave 'less brains' than ourselves ?

On social grounds also, we should remember that (1) A mentally defective child occupies most of the time, attention and energy of the parents, with the result that the other *normal* children tend to be neglected. (2) That defective children as they grow embarrass their parents ; and the general public, not knowing or fully realizing the significance of their real weakness, often unconsciously persecute them by staring at them or calling them by names such as *haba* (idiotic) or *boka* (foolish). The result is that they not only lose what little self-confidence they have, but become positively unsocial, irrational and mischievous little units of society. (3) That just as we protect the general public from infectious diseases by special laws, so we must protect society by having such children specially dealt with so as to keep it safe from any mischief at their hands and by trying to develop them into usefull members of society, if possible.

These considerations lead us to the question—How should we deal with them ? The only answer is— Place them, not only for their greatest well-being but also for the protection of society, in an environment of genteless and understanding and love ; in a place free for the complications that confuse their little

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brains: guard them from problems and playmates that discourage them and give them a sense of inferiority. All this is possible only in an institution specially established for them. In such an institution a mentally defective child can live in an atmosphere every part of which is planned with forethought and care to recognize his shortcomings and to meet his special needs; where every soul attending him is pledged to the creed of fertilizing his barren life; and where an education is imparted which being specially adapted to him aims to make him economically independent, and to develop the fullest life of which he is capable.

Such an institution has recently been established in Bengal, under the auspices of the Bodhana Samiti, an association for the care and control of the feeble-minded. It is registered under Act XXI of 1860, with a strong committee under the presidency of Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee of *the Modern Review*. The founder-secretary of the Samiti is Babu Girija Bhusan Mukherjee, M.A., B.L., Assistant Public Prosecutor, 24-Parganas. The Rajah of Jhargram made a free gift of 250 *bighas* (more than 80 acres) of land at Jhargram, some 96 miles west of Calcutta. The place is absolutely free from malaria and very healthy; the drinking water is supplied from a natural spring which never dries up.

The whole atmosphere is calm and quiet. Bodhana the name of the institution, was specially coined by the poet Rabindra Nath Tagore. It has already started work with a few children, and Lt.-Col. Owen Berkeley Hill of the Ranchi Mental Hospital has kindly promised to supervise the work of the institution. As it is the first institution of its kind in India, its progress and development will be watched with the keenest interest. In course of time, we hope many such institutions will be established to deal with the large number of mentally defective children.

Those who desire further information may refer to the secretary, 6-5 Bejoy Mukherjea Lane, Bhowanipore, Calcutta.

—

Healthy Feet

To have healthy feet, the following rules should be implicitly observed. These appear in *The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health*:

The following exercises will strengthen both feet and ankles, and many of them can be performed during the day at odd times.

1. Stand erect. Rise on the toes as high as possible, keeping the feet parallel. Then slowly sink back to first position.

2. Repeat as above, with the feet turned in, and placed wide apart. This is more difficult than the first.

3. Sit on a chair, place one foot on the other knee, and grasp the foot with both hands. Rotate the foot, pushing it as far round as possible very slowly. Repeat with the other foot.

4. Repeat the above exercise with the feet held out in front. Rotate each foot separately, describing a circle in the air. An amusing variation of this exercise is to write one's name in the air. This strengthens the instep and ankles, as well as the muscles of the foot.

5. Walk around the room on the outside edge of the feet.

6. Sit again, holding the feet in. Now stretch the feet gradually downwards as far as possible. Hold the position, then begin to stretch again in an upward direction. This can be done in bed before rising.

7. Walk on tip-toes around the room. Practise this whilst dressing in the morning.

—

Study of Medicinal Plants

These extracts are made from an interesting article in *The Indian Medical Journal*:

Comparative study helps to bring into prominence properties of plants which would otherwise be overlooked. *Cyperus rotundus* forms an important constituent of the Chinese drug "*Hsingfutzu*" and of the Japanese drug "*Kobishi*," used as emmenagogues in that country, a property that is not so prominently mentioned in India. The essential oil of *Cyperus rotundus* deserves to be studied pharmacologically for its action on the generative organs. *Corudalis govantana* ought on comparative evidence to possess the properties of morphia and be useful in Parkinsonian disease.

Comparative study also helps to draw our attention to those indigenous plants which have not been used medicinally by the natives of our country. The study of the Indian *Ephedras* was stimulated by the studies in China. We also now know that not all *Ephedras* possess the charaeteristic properties and some any be entirely devoid of them because of the absense in them of ephedrin and pseudoephedrin. *Ephedraatata* of Morocco is on the other hand a valuable source of ephedrin on account of its very high alkaloidal content whether the high alkaloidal content is due to soil and atmospheric conditions of Morocco, or is due to a characteristic inherent in the plant itself can only be revealed when plantations of the same are made in other countries. Every one knows that plants owe their virtues as medicinal agents to certain characteristic alkaioids, glucosides and other principles present in them. It is being gradually realised however that it is not always be alkaloid that epitomizes in itself the characteristic properties of the plant and deserves to be designated as the active principle. Conessin, the alkaloid of the *Holarrhena antidysentorica* is a good illustration of a fallacious belief. In whatever constituents of the plant the active property may lie, the study of alkaloids serves however a very useful purpose of providing us with an easy and accurate means for standardization of drugs.

Comparative study as in the case of the *Ephedras* or of *Artemisia* would help us to reduce the work of drug cultivation to an exact science, and to determine the commercial possibilities of the most promising plants in the same manner as has been done in agricultural and other economic farms.

Indian medicinal plants ought to be widely studied and largely used by medical practitioners in this country, and should not be contemptuously referred to as "Native Remedies". With proper advocacy it will not be long before the pharmacology and chemistry of the best of them is properly investigated. Such a study even though it be not immediately productive of useful results, might give a new impetus to chemotherapy. If it be remembered that 3 p. c. of the drugs used in the British Pharmacopœia of 1914 were in use among the Egyptians, and 50 p. c. were in use among the Indian and Arab Physicians, there are grounds for the hope that many more gems may be garnered from the rich flora of India, by the application of recent methods of research in chemistry and pharmacology.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Free Press in Russia

The Living Age has the following note on the development of the newspaper press in Soviet Russia :

Whatever else Communism may have done for Russia, it has increased the number of newspapers from 467 to 5,400 and their total circulation from about two million to thirty-eight million. Of these papers 1,760 are district organs and 1,560 factory organs, but their enormous following and the fact that there are ten million readers of newspapers published in non-Russian languages would seem to substantiate the claim of the Soviet authorities that illiteracy has been reduced from 60 to 10 per cent.

Only lack of paper keeps down the circulation and size of Russian publications. New subscriptions are sometimes not even filled—a contrast with the American practice of continuing old ones long after the date of expiration—yet *Izvestia* and *Pravada* both have 1,600,000 readers and *Krestianskaia Gazeta* (*The Peasants' Gazette*) has over two millions, in other words, more than all the newspapers in present Soviet territory had before the Revolution. The daily papers are restricted to four pages and print no scandal. household hints, fashion notes, crossword puzzles, sporting news, or stock-market quotations. Special publications deal with literature and art, and the regular dailies concentrate on foreign news, government decrees, decisions of the Communist Party, and domestic industrial developments. Personality is played down. Except for Karl Radek's political articles, Mikhail Koltzov's humorous essays, and the cartoons of Deni and Efimov the Soviet press, especially in the provinces, tends to a dead level of standardized uniformity.

Functional differences do, however, exist between the various publications. *Izvestia* specializes in general news; *Pravda*, in news of the Communist Party. And the people respond with enthusiasm; newspaper lines in Moscow are as long as bread lines. Printed matter in Russia maintains a much higher level than printed matter in corresponding American publications. Although there are no 'quality magazines' and nothing like the *New York Times*, the masses, for whom all the writing is done, not only get better fare than the American tabloids furnish; they are also fired with the desire to improve their newly acquired skill at reading.

—

King Faisal

Dr. Wolfgang von Weisl gives an estimate of the career of King Faisal in the *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna :

A clever Orientalist once said : 'The Orientals are happy because they have *The Arabian Nights*. The Europeans are unhappy because they have not.' The Oriental always lives in the belief that Allah metes out compensatory justice. The beggar of today may through luck, cleverness, the intrigues of a beautiful woman, or even through personal merit become a minister, and a minister may suddenly find himself a pauper. Because the Asiatic proletarian believes in this possibility of happiness, he remains socially satisfied. Because the European proletarian does not believe in it, he works for social revolution.

There are still men in the Orient who have had careers typical of *The Arabian Nights*, but even in the Orient a certain change seems to have occurred. No longer does the good will of a eunuch, the pleasure of a pasha, or the love of a princess bring advancement but, remarkable as it may seem, courage, courage, courage—with luck and diplomacy added.

Mustapha Kemal Pasha had such a career, rising from the position of commander of a Turkish army corps on the Palestine front to ruler of modern Turkey. Riza Shah had such a career, rising from non-commissioned Cossack officer to Cossack colonel, then from colonel to Prime Minister and then to Emperor of Persia. King Ibn Saud had such a career. He was born a son of an exiled Arabian monarch and set out at the age of eighteen to win back his father's kingdom, just as the Prince in *The Arabian Nights* goes to do battle against the evil jinnee.

And between these three soldiers ruled a fourth king from *The Arabian Nights*, living in Bagdad, the city of Harun al-Rashid. He too was a new man on the throne, who had also commenced his career on the field of battle. He too was a figure out of *The Arabian Nights*, but King Faisal of Irak was a very different kind of man from his three neighbours. The delicate descendant of a line of aristocratic priests, he adapted himself to the more robust methods of the new politics of the Orient. King Ibn Saud, his southern neighbour, is physically the strongest man in his kingdom, a man of unlimited vital energy who has been married a hundred and fifty times, although he never has more than four wives at once. His western neighbour, Riza Shah, is at least as big a man as Ibn Saud, and, whereas the King of Arabia is a comparatively slender man, the Shah of Persia looks like a Pomeranian *Junker*, bony, muscular, with a square head and powerful jaw. The dictator of Turkey is built in the same way. He is an old soldier who can always summon up his ultimate physical reserves for battle or pleasure.

Faisal of Irak was, as I have said, a different type of man. Medium-sized, thin, and with melancholy eyes, he was always slightly ill, and the climate of his capital did not agree with him. He fled to Europe as often as he could and brought back a love of European customs, fashions, and reforms to his own country, which is half desert, a quarter mountains, and a quarter marsh land. He returned to Bagdad as a foreigner and remained a foreigner there. He was the man whom England

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protected and wanted. During the World War Faisal served with the 'army' of the famous Colonel Lawrence, who led four thousand Bedouins against the Turks. And by his presence Faisal forced the Mohammedan subjects of the Allied Powers to realize that the war against Turkey and against the Central Powers was pleasing to Allah, for this man who was descended from Mohammed held it his religious duty to break his word to the Caliph and to battle against him.

Courage, as I have said, is well rewarded in the Orient. Because Faisal had been in the field he entered Damascus in triumph after the Allied Powers had defeated the Turks. Because he marched into Damascus, the English made him King of Syria. And when the French, who opposed him, drove him out in the summer of 1920, England had to find another throne for its protégé and made him King of Irak. But this crown did not yield him unmixed pleasure. In spite of the huge sums of money that England poured into this land of petroleum, whose roads and airways lead to India, it remained poor. Less than two-thirds of the population are Arabs. Half a million are Kurds and Turks, who are much more warlike than the Arabs, whom they hold in tremendous contempt. A quarter of a million are Persians, who have recently been casting their eyes across the border, while the million and a half Arabs are at odds with each other. The Bedouins are inclined to sympathize with the Bedouin leader, Ibn Saud, and they show supreme contempt for the Arabian city dwellers and peasants, who in turn are divided into religious sects of their own.

—

Fascism in Japan

An enterprising French journalist obtained an interview with General Araki, the Japanese Minister of War, and obtained the following information from him about the progress of Fascism in Japan. The interview appeared in the *Journal des Debats*, and is translated in the *Living Age*.

I then asked the General a question that had been on the tip of my tongue for a long time: 'What do you think of Fascism in Japan?'

One must distrust certain foreign words,' General Araki declared. 'The Japanese people, use them without understanding their exact meaning. Thus they call the mountain chain that runs the length of Japan "the Alps." While speaking, General Araki was beating the palm of his hand. 'The Japanese people,' he continued 'have a very vague idea of Fascism. Some consider it the negation of all representative government. Others believe it is a movement opposed to Communism. Still others regard it as a force that is hostile to democracy.'

'That is a negative programme,' I interrupted, 'and it might be said that there are all those things in Fascism, but what is the positive programme of Fascism in Japan?'

'I shall not comment on it,' said General Araki, for Fascism in Japan is simply a movement to bring the national spirit to life again, the Japanese spirit that has been transmitted by the laws of the "eternal Emperors."'

For some minutes General Araki had been showing a certain nervousness. The visit of some important personage had been announced and the interview had lasted over half an hour. The clock that I had admired now seemed intolerable, for without any consideration it was continuing to mark the passage of the hour.

'What is the attitude of the Japanese army towards Fascism?' I asked.

'The Japanese army has no occasion to occupy itself with political movements,' the General said. 'Being a soldier means serving the Emperor and his country. But the spirit that animates Fascist organizations, which want closer contact between the Emperor and the people, is the same spirit that inspires the army, a living force and an idea that gives life to the nation. Furthermore, it is the duty of the military leaders to form young soldiers and officers in this spirit, which they should constantly endeavour to raise to an ever higheur level.'

—

The Fruits of Zionism

The *Month* writes about the experiment of creating a national home for the Jews in Palestine:

At the end of October strikes and riots broke out amongst the Arabs in Palestine as a protest against the greatly increased immigration of Jews caused by German anti-Semitism. Arab resentment is quite intelligible: they are the victims of that ill-considered policy called Zionism. No one can be unsympathetic with the desire of the landless Jews to found a National Home, and if the 15 million Hebrews scattered all over the world could be organized as a nation once again in some one region, many inconveniences would be avoided. But, unhappily, there is no unoccupied country large enough and otherwise suitable to house that homeless race, and the original sin of the Balfour Declaration was, without consultation with the inhabitants and against their wishes, to encourage the settlement of large numbers of foreign Jews in Palestine. There was a lamentable loss of life in the late riots, for although the High Commissioner endeavours to combine the policies of favouring a home for the Jewish race in Palestine, and at the same time "of safeguarding the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities," it is not generally recognized that the two programmes are irreconcilable. No doubt, a wealthy Jewish settler may stimulate the development of the country, but the Jewish process of buying large parcels of land cannot but ultimately dispossess the original owners. The ignorant and indigent Arab should be protected against himself and should not be allowed by the Mandatory to alienate the soil of his country for a little ready cash. The Jews in Palestine, now about one-tenth of the population, are only waiting for a higher proportion of numbers to set up a Jewish State, and reduce the owners of the land to the condition of foreigners.

—

Chinese Ponies and Chinamen

It appears from a note in *The Peoples Tribune* that in the foreign concessions in China racial discrimination has disappeared as regards Chinese ponies but not against Chinese men:

It must be set down to the credit of the foreign sportsmen of Shanghai that there is no racial

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distinction observed in regard to the admission to the racecourse of ponies born in China. Possibly this is not altogether an unselfish and generous gesture. Perhaps there are reasons for this tolerance which are connected with the difficulty and expense of importing animals from Europe and America for racing purposes. We have never owned a horse, nor even part of a horse —other than a very juicy but tough steak off which we once dined in Paris. We know nothing about racing, and have never sought to conceal our complete ignorance of the subject, nor have we ever professed possession of that invaluable "inside information"— straight from the horse's mouth—which enables followers of the sport of kings to derive much pecuniary benefit from their sportsmanship. But we do know that while a China pony is welcomed to the Shanghai Racecourse a China *man*—or woman—is not. They may, if they so desire, gain admission to the public enclosures on race-days on equal terms with foreigners by buying tickets, but for the three hundred-odd other days in the year when there is no racing they are denied the right of entry and opportunity of exercise which is enjoyed even by dogs. And until last year those Chinese citizens of Shanghai who were not afflicted with myopia enjoyed the inestimable privilege of being able to see a number of more fortunate fellow-citizens disporting themselves on the green sward, defending and attacking wickets and goals and what-not. Now, however, the bamboo-railings which formerly surrounded the Racecourse have disappeared, and in their stead there stands a high brick wall which serves the double purpose of preventing "foreign" fresh air from blowing on Chinese faces and prevents Chinese eyes from seeing things which might possibly lead to the development of what the Japanese call "dangerous thoughts."

—

Religious Census in the United States

Unity writes about the inaccuracy of the religious census in the United States. The observations also apply partly to the religious census in India:

For years—yea, for more than a decade—*Unity* has been laughing at the so-called religious census in this country. We have been deliberately derisive, irreverent, even denunciatory. We have declared that this census, for all the authority of the United States Government, is absolutely untrustworthy, and in its optimistic showing of large increases in church membership, plain downright silly, if not actually dishonest. We have found little support for our skepticism. Religious magazines have gone on publishing the figures as though they meant something; and denominational headquarters, struggling with problems of dying churches and depleted funds, have seized upon these census totals and held to them like a drowning man to a piece of driftwood. Only when the figures did not look so cheerful, when even the census could not turn losses into gains, as in the case of the Unitarians and Universalists, did the editors and secretaries set up a howl. Because of course, no matter what the facts, religion must gain! But now at last *Unity* has a companion in doubt and denial—no less than the Rev. J. Elliott Ross, scholar and teacher, an influential Roman Catholic. In a recent article in the *Christian Century*, Dr. Ross shows what a farce the so-called federal census is. "As a matter of fact," he says, "this so-called 'Census of Religions' is not federal and is not a census." It is simply a compilation of "figures supplied to it (the federal government) by the different religious bodies" themselves. But these figures are utterly unreliable. A recent critic in the Roman Catholic *Commonweal*, quoted by Dr. Ross, spoke of the "unbelievable untrustworthiness" of the Catholic statistics of church membership. The Protestant statistics are probably worse, though Dr. Ross uses language no stronger than "undoubtedly equal valid suspicions" as directed against them. What is needed, says this outspoken *Christian Century* contributor, is a real census—figures gathered by the U. S. Census Bureau in the same way and at the same time that other figures are gathered. He states the difficulties of getting accurate statistics in this field even by this method. But that is not the reason why it will not be done! The real reason is that the churches do not propose to tolerate, much less further, even a partial disclosure of their dreadful plight.

—

British Labour Wins Municipal Elections

America writes about the success of British Labour in the recently held local elections:

Members of the British Labour party were elated at their success in the local elections which were held on October 31. The system governing the municipal elections requires one-third of the members of each Borough Council in England and Wales outside London to be retired annually. By this method one-third political units were affected. The total number of candidates in the field were 857 Labourites, 490 Conservatives, 440 Independents and 113 Liberals. While the returns of seventy-four of the largest towns were tabulated on October 31, the result showed 111 Labourite gains with only two Labourite losses, while the Conservatives suffered a loss of 66 seats. The Liberals of 16 and the Independents of 29. Later figures from 105 towns showed the Labourites had elected 444 candidates, Conservatives 234 candidates, the Liberals had elected 93 candidates, and of the Independents 148 were named. Much attention was centered on the returns from the large towns, as indicating the true barometer of public opinion. The election was fought on the issues of war and peace, the Conservative orators advocating a large navy, army and air force, while the Labour leaders continually stressed pacifism. In a by-election at Fulham the speeches of George Lansbury, leader of the Labour party, elected his candidate in Parliament as the first Labour member ever to represent that district.

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INDIANS ABROAD

By BENARSI DAS CHATURVEDI

Foreign Mission of the Arya Samaj

We must heartily congratulate the Sarvadeshika Arya Pratinidhi Sabha of Delhi for bringing out a Hindi pamphlet विदेशोंमें आर्यसमाज containing a brief account of the work of the Arya Samaj in foreign countries—specially in the colonies. The pamphlet contains more than a hundred pages and is well illustrated. One may or may not agree with the religious dogmas of the Aryasamaj or their methods of interpretation or preaching but one will have to admit that the Aryasamaj and the Ramkrishna mission are the two progressive bodies of Hinduism that have done something for our people abroad. Both of them have vast potentialities as foreign missions and can be of immense use to our countrymen overseas in their programme of educational and social uplift.

If the Aryasamajist preachers could get rid of a certain narrowness in their outlook and could adapt themselves to the new conditions in the colonies they can prove more useful even than the Ramkrishna mission whose work on the social side deserves every praise at our hands. Fortunately the present secretary of the Arya Sarvadeshika Sabha happens to be a learned man of wide culture and refinement and can be expected to guide the foreign mission on right lines. Mr. Sudhakar, M. A., is a wellknown Hindi author, a winner of the Mangla Prasad Prize, and he created a very favourable impression as a lecturer in Gurukula Kangri. It is a happy news for the Hindus in the colonies that Sudhakarji has decided to take up this work in right earnest. May we request our colonial friends to supply Mr. Sudhakar regularly with reference books, etc., and to keep him informed of the social and educational work in their respective colonies? His addres is 17, Barahkhamba Road, New Delhi.

We intend to write an article on this subject in these columns in February if possible. In the meanwhile we congratulate once again the Sarvadeshika Sabha and the president Sjt. Narayan Swami for their determination to organise the Foreign mission of the Arya-Samaj. They have already shown commendable courage in condemning those of the Aryasamajists preachers, who have made it their business to frequent the colonies periodically with the single purpose of collecting funds for their private ends. Let them go a step further. Let them condemn without any reservation those preachers also who hold and propagate narrow communalistic views in the colonies. Will they do so?

The booklet *Videshon men Aryasamaj* is priced eight annas and can be had of Sarvadeshika Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Delhi.

Indians in Fiji

Events are moving fast in Fiji and if they are allowed to take their course we shall soon have a repetition of the tactics of Kenya Europeans in those islands of the Pacific. Horrified at the prospect of Indian voters being given common roll in the municipalities of Suva and Levuka an European gentleman named Mr. H. S. Faddy has ventilated his grievances in the following manner through the columns of the *Fiji Times* and *Herald* of 25th Oct. 1933.

"We all, of course, know of the immense British capital invested in India, and the pressure that it beings to bear upon our politicians, is so much that they would sacrifice Fiji and the Fijians upon its golden altar without the slightest qualm if they can get away with it, but we in Fiji must see that that Trust is not abused.

It is unthinkable that for the sake of political India, or any other cause, the impertinent clamour of a small portion of the Indian immigrants should be listened to, and their claim to political equality in our institu-

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tions, that directly and indirectly concern the Fijians and Europeans be conceded. It is but the thin end of the wedge, and, will be eagerly fastened upon by the fanatical cranks, whom a foolish democracy has temporarily placed in power in the Home Government, and other concessions will follow closely upon heels until full political equality in the affairs of the colony be given to them and the solemn obligations of the Fijians be wholly abrogated.

His Excellency the Governor of Fiji says that there are only two alternatives in regard to the Municipal governance of Suva and Levuka. Either they shall be run on the lines of the Legislative Council, or we must concede the common roll, which he admits the literarcy test amounts to. We cannot under the latter alternatives exclude even Chinese and Solomon Island or other races.

His Excellency admits that the lack of racial homogeneity and the fact that the preponderant immigrant voter would not surrender his independence of outlook (in plain words would seek to impose their culture upon the European minority) would militate against the success of such an experiment, and so give his weight to the other alternative. But why knowing their unfittedness, and the absurdity of their claims should the thought be entertained at all of sacrificing the European and Fijian to them.

It is your task, gentlemen, to organise your constituencies to fight this pernicious doctrine, and see that the prostitution of our Municipalities does not take place. It should be made plain to these agitators that if they do not wish to live peacefully under the laws and institutions of the land of their adoption they can return to their home land, where they would at least have some justification for their political aspirations. Let us make an end of this policy of hush-hush and this docility when seeing our rights invaded, as authority spinelessly given to every bluff that these people put up."

It is the same old history repeated again. We shall request Mr. Faddy to read the following passage from *Fiji of To-day* by Rev. J. W. Burton who worked in those islands for about ten years and who is now the General Secretary of the Australasian Methodist Mission of Sydney. Mr. Burton wrote twenty-three years ago:

"The Indian is wanted in Fiji. He has come at our solicitation, and we are under some sort of compliment to him for coming to us in our extremity—though we would rather die than admit it to him. He is here because capital must have labour to carry out its plans and the native labour is out question. Even though the Fijian does, as t result of a proper training, cast off his slo and become a worker, he would not be t type required. He is a landowner in a count where land is valuable and is more like to become the small farmer or planter independent means than the serf of commerc Though he rises as an artisan, he will seek t higher rather than the lower tasks. He w not be likely to spend his life cutting sugarca or weeding ditches. Thus the Pharaohs capital cannot hope to press him to bondag He will not make their bricks. Experimen have been tried with native races from oth parts of the Pacific, but they have prove themselves either too expensive for t economical spirit of commerce or else hav been too shiftless and unreliable for t methodical needs of industry. The Indi coolie was given a trial. Though he has body to speak of and seemingly still less so he has shown himself to be so satisfactory th for thirty years now he has supplied the labo for the principal projects of Fiji."

India supplied cheap labour to the F Islands for more than thirty-five years a now that Fiji has been made prosperous t Europeans have begun to agitate against the being given proper position in the colon Lord Salisbury assured the Indians in 1875:

"Above all things we must confident expect as an indispensable condition of t proposed arrangements, that the colonial law and their administration will be such th Indian settlers, who have completed the ter of service to which they agreed as the retur for the expense of bringing them to t colonies, will be free men in all respects, wi privileges no whit inferior to those of a other class of Her Majesty's subjects reside in the colonies."

This promise given by a responsib statesman of the British Government was treate as a mere scrap of paper in So Africa and other colonies after they h benefitted to their utmost from cheap Indi labour. So there is nothing strange in t attitude of the Europeans of Fiji.

May we hope the Indian public will bene by these unhappy experiences and refuse t be duped again by such promises?

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NOTES

Who in Whose Pocket

We read in *The Bombay Sentinel :*

> Sir Leslie Hudson hotly denied in the Assembly that the European group was in the "pockets of the Government." We too deny it flatly. It is the Government who are in the "pockets of the European group."

Since administration and exploitation are opposite sides of the same medal, it does not make any essential difference whether the administrators or the exploiters are in the pockets of the other party.

The writer proceeds :

> Since the British Empire is dependent on trade, it is only natural that everything should be subordinated to the interests of Sir Leslie and his friends. No "Lèse majesté" to Schuster there, for facts are facts.
>
> Sir Leslie made his position clear, when he said that the European group stood for "security and stability"—of their own interests ! Sure !
>
> He said his group would support anything to make for a stable government, which benefits India as a whole. What benefits the Europeans, who have the Government in their pockets, must benefit the people. Since the people are in Government's pockets. Very simple logic, all this.

Prevention of Increase of the Unfit in Germany

Berlin, Dec. 21.

Drastic measures will be applied throughout Germany when the law aimed at stamping out hereditary disease comes into force on the 1st of January, 1934.

Four hundred thousand persons suffering from them, of whom the majority are weak-minded, will be subject to sterilization.

Seventeen hundred courts will be established to deal with such cases. The necessary expenditure entailed in enforcing this law is estimated at 14 million marks.—Reuter.

Whether children inherit the qualities or defects of their parents alone or of their grandparents or remoter ancestors also, is a question for biology to answer. Some mentally defective persons have had remarkably intelligent children.

Crimes Against Women

In reply to a question in the House of Commons whether crimes against women were on the increase in Bengal Mr. Butler, Under-Secretary of State for India, said that "the figures did not justify the definite conclusion that this class of crime was increasing." He must have given this answer after consulting the Bengal Government directly or through the Government of India. But many weeks before this reply was given, the police administration report of Bengal for 1932 had been read and commented upon by the Bengal Government on the 17th of October, 1933. The resolution of that Government on the report contains the following passage :

> "His Excellency in Council notes that cases of offence committed against women under sections 366 and 354, Indian Penal Code, showed an increase of 94 over the previous year."

So it was known to the Government, long before Mr. Butler's reply in the House of Commons, that "this class of crime was increasing." Yet some Goverment officer was instrumental in giving Mr. Butler the misleading information that no definite conclusion could be arrived at ! Was this wrong

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information given because of the ignorance of the officer, or his failure to consult the latest report, or was it a case of deliberate misstatement of facts ?

The Bengal police administration report for 1932 states :

> "Altogether, 234 and 459 cases under sections 366 and 354 respectively, against 212 and 387 in 1931, were disposed of as true during the year, of which 78 cases under section 366 ended in the conviction of 174 persons and 173 cases under section 354 in the conviction of 226 persons."

So in Bengal, in 1932, there were altogether 693 cases of crime against women. The numbers of such crimes in the Panjab and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh in the same year, according to the police administration reports of those provinces, are given in the subjoined table.

Province	Population	Crimes against women in 1932
Panjab	23,580,852	504
U. P.	48,408,763	711
Bengal	50,114,002	693

The figures for other provinces for the year 1932 are not before us. But there is an impression in the public mind that crimes against women prevail to a great extent in Sind and the N. W. F. province also.

It is necessary to fight this evil. So far as punishment is concerned, it should be deterrent. In Bengal, a reference has been made officially to the bar in all districts enquiring whether in the case of such crimes whipping may be inflicted in addition to imprisonment. The consensus of opinion seems to be in favour of the suggestion that whipping should be inflicted in addition to imprisonment in flagrant cases.

In cases in which the girl or the woman kidnapped or abducted cannot be found, the property of the scoundrels found guilty should be confiscated. It is frequently found in Bengal that girls or women abducted by miscreants are taken from village to village and kept concealed in the homes of friends or relatives (containing their female relatives also) and there repeatedly ravished by the rogues. Those who in this way help the scoundrels to keep the girls or women concealed should also be punished severely.

Castration for Ravishers

It has been suggested in addition that persons guilty of rape should be castrated. Those who are guilty of gang rape should certainly be castrated. As to other ravishers this surgical treatment may be administered in heinous cases.

Viceroy Going Home on "Private Affairs"

The Viceroy and Governor-General being then in Calcutta, the following *communiqué* was issued on the 21st December last from "Belvedere," His Excellency's "camp" :

> The Secretary of State for India in Council has granted short leave not exceeding four months on private affairs to His Excellency the Viceroy who will proceed to England in May next.
>
> His Majesty the King-Emperor has been pleased to approve the appointment of Sir George Stanley, Governor of Madras to act as Viceroy and Governor-General during the Earl of Willingdon's absence on leave.—(*A.P.I.*)

We have neither the right nor the desire to pry into His Excellency's "private affairs." But sometimes affairs of State *are* private. In any case, nothing would stand in the way of the British cabinet consulting Lord Willingdon on the political situation in India and the "reforms" to be "granted" to India.

Suggested Terms of Agreement with Japan and Lancashire

Regarding the negotiations of the Government of India and non-official Indians concerned in the production of raw cotton and cotton textiles in India on the one side and Japan and Lancashire on the other, the December number of *The Insurance and Finance Review* has made a practical suggestion which is worthy of serious consideration. It writes :

> India has got a rare opportunity in this great fight between Osaka and Lancashire. India must import a heavy quantity of textiles every year. She can import it from her best customer. Both England and Japan import all their raw cotton requirements from foreign countries. India can sell at least 30 lac bales of cotton against 1500 million yards of piece-goods import or one lac bale per 50 million yards. The Government of India

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inform both the importing centres that restricted imports @50 million yards will be allowed from any country purchasing one lac bale of cotton. Will the Government seize this opportunity and help the Indian trade?

The paragraph quoted above is preceded by the following:

England dares not engage herself in an economic fight with Japan. The latter country can hit England on every neutral soil and British business men are aware of this unpleasant fact. For this reason the Indian Government has successively revised the terms offered to Jap delegates in Simla. Anyhow the Government must make a settlement with Japan.

India Government first proposed 250 million yards of Jap textile imports; later on the offer was increased to 400 million yards. To save Japanese competition on neutral soil, the Government will offer many more concessions. We are not aware of the secret negotiations behind the screen. But we can imagine the trend.

"Modern Domestic Economy"

The same journal contains an article on modern domestic economy by Mrs. F. Sylvia Gupta which ought to be read by middle-class housewives in our country. The extract given below is a fair sample of what she, a European lady who has married an Indian gentleman, has got to say.

> Let me give you an insight of the average middle class home, taken at random from some of my numerous friends. This will be on par with the "bhadralok-class" here, and the girls and boys will be of equal social status, intellect, and shall we say, worldly wealth!
>
> First of all, I would like to point out that much money is wasted and mis-spent daily in the upper middle-class Indian household. Too much is thrown away upon style, stylish upkeep, and servants. Fancy foods and luxuries are not at all necessary, and in the middle-class Indian home there are too many servants. Of course, where there are large families and plenty of small children, some domestic assistance is necessary, but where there are several big girls and young women this ought not to be necessary. In the West, however, servants are a luxury. Very rarely does one see more than one maid-servant in a home. Sometimes there may be two—a cook-house-keeper and a general servant—but in such cases either the mother is dead, or unable to cope with the domestic duties due to illness. Also where the house is larger and the family needs greater; a charwoman comes in once or twice a week, for to help with the heavier work, such as scrubbing and washing. Most of the cloths, personal and domestic, such as bed linen, towels and table linen are washed at home. It is considered rather an accomplishment for a young married woman to be able to hang up for drying a well-washed line of linen and shirts, etc., and the young gentlewoman does not feel it beneath her dignity to do so.

Premature Hanging in Lahore

In Lahore, in the case of a man sentenced to death who was in the Central Jail, orders had been sent from the Secretariat to the Superintendent of the jail for postponing the prisoner's execution. But the letter containing the order was not opened and read in time and so he was hanged!

A question having been asked in the House of Commons about this shameful tragedy, a statement was made by the Secretary of State in reply, about which *The Tribune*, knowing fully the facts of the case and the distance between the Central Jail and the Secretariat, observes:

> Unlike the Panjab Government's *communique*, the Secretary of State's reply does not say that the orders despatched by a special messenger on November 20 directing the postponement of the execution were duly received in the jail office. Indeed, the way in which it refers to this part of the regrettable affair is somewhat misleading. "The Superintendent," it says, "did not receive the order till after the execution when he proceeded to his office to open the letters." These words give one no idea either of the shortness of the distance between the Jail office and the Secretariat or of the long interval between the time when the special messenger arrived with the orders and the time when, after the execution, the Superintendent proceeded to open the letters. As a matter of fact the letter remained unopened for a whole day. The most amazing part of the thing is that three weeks after the tragedy the inquiry into the circumstances under which it occurred is still proceeding. How slowly do the wheels of the bureaucratic machine move when our officials are not engaged in the congenial task of political repression!

This appeared in the Lahore paper of the 15th December. It wrote again on the same subject in its issue of the 21st instant, after the Panjab Government had concluded its enquiry:

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The Panjab Government has come to the conclusion, as the result of "an inquiry held by a responsible officer," that "the primary cause" of the premature execution of a condemned prisoner in the Lahore Central Jail on the 21st November, was "the fact that the envelope containing the orders for the postponement of the execution did not bear any indication of its urgent nature." The *communique* adds that "disciplinary action is being taken against two Secretariat officials responsible for the grave omission and stringent orders are being issued to prevent its recurrence so far as this is possible." We can only characterize this decision as astounding. Does the Panjab Government mean to say that it was not the duty of any higher official in the Secretariat to assure himself that the letter had reached the Superintendent, that it was not the duty of any one in the Superintendent's office to open a letter received from the Secretariat through a special messenger for one whole day, even though it was not marked urgent, and that it was not the duty of the Superintendent himself before he permitted the man to be hanged, to find out by a direct personal inquiry whether orders directing the postponement of the execution had been issued by competent authority. If all these questions are to be answered in the negative, all we can say, as we have said already, is that there is something essentially rotten in the State of Denmark. Most people, who have followed the controversy connected with this most deplorable occurrence will think that the two Secretariat officials are being punished for a criminal blunder, the responsibility for which must be fully shared with them by others much higher up in the official ladder.

And these persons should receive condign punishment. This tragedy has naturally led many advocates of the abolition of capital punishment to restate their arguments.

What is a Terrorist Crime?

The following message has been cabled by *Reuter's* agency :

> London, Dec 21.—The Duchess of Atholl pointed out that the Moral and Material Report gave terrorist crimes in Bengal in 1932 as 97 whereas Sir Samuel Hoare on November 13 gave the figure as 75 and asked for an explanation.
>
> Sir Samuel Hoare replied that he was making enquiries from the Goverment of India. The discrepancy was doubtless owing to the difference in definition. He pointed out that it was difficult in some cases to say whether a crime should be classed as terrorist.

But though "it was difficult in some cases to say whether a crime should be classed as terrorist," it is *absolutely* certain that the hundreds of Bengali young men confined in Deoli, far away from Bengal, *without any sort of trial*, are terrorists ! For are they not guilty of the crime of being Bengalis and young, too ?

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Rejoinder

We are glad to find that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has, in his rejoinder, made an *amende honorable* both to the Arya Kumar Sabha and the Hindu Mahasabha in the following terms :

> I must begin with expression of regret and apology. It is clear that some of us were the victims of a hoax in regard to the alleged resolution of the Arya Kumar Sabha which was sent to us and in which it was stated that there could be no peace in India so long as there were any Muslims or Christians in the country. It has been demonstrated that no such resolution was passed by the Arya Kumar Sahha at Ajmer or elsewhere. Indeed no resolution of a political nature was passed by that body at all. I am exceedingly sorry for having permitted myself to fall into a trap of some one's devising, and I desire to express my deep regret to the Arya Kumar Sabha.
>
> I must also express my regret both to the Arya Kumar Sabha and the Hindu Mahasabha for having presumed that they were associated with each other in regard to my main contention.

This is quite worthy of him.

He adds :

> However, I confess that I am unrepentant and I hold still that the activities of Hindu communal organizations including the Mahasabha, have been communal, anti-national and reactionary. Of course this cannot apply to all but can only apply to the majority of members of these organizations. It can only apply to the majority group in them or the group that controls them. Organizations also change their policies from time to time and what may be true today may not have been wholly true yesterday.
>
> So far as I have been able to gather Hindu communal organizations, especially in the Panjab and Sind, have been progressively becoming more narrowly communal and anti-national and politically reactionary.
>
> It is for the Panjab and Sind Hindu communal organizations to answer the charge levelled at them, if they can.

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Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru states in effect why he is "unrepentant," and he does so mainly by criticizing two speeches of Bhai Parmanand and Dr. Moonje. As our position is not the same as that of these two leaders, as we have ourselves commented previously on the former's presidential address at the Ajmer session of the Hindu Mahasabha, and as our comments remain unnoticed and unanswered, we shall not say anything on this part of the Pandit's rejoinder. But it is necessary to make a few remarks on the sentences which we have italicized below.

It is perfectly true that the Hindu Mahasabha has stood for joint electorates right through its career and this is obviously the only national solution of the problem. It is also true that the Communal Award is an utter negation of nationalism and is meant to separate India into communal compartments and give strength to disruptive tendencies and thus to strengthen the hold of British imperialism, *but it must be borne in mind that nationalism cannot be accepted only when it profits the majority community. The test comes in the provinces where there is a Muslim majority and in that test the Hindu Mahasabha has failed.*

We perfectly agree that "nationalism annot be accepted only when it profits the ajority community. The test comes in the rovinces where there is a Muslim majority." ut we do not agree that the Hindus have een anti-national in all the Muslim majority rovinces. There are only two major provinces, he Panjab and Bengal, in which the Muslims re in a majority. As regards the Panjab, *he Tribune* of Lahore, which knows the anjab Hindus at least as well as Mr. Nehru, rites :

We do not exactly see in what way the Hindu Mahasabha has failed to satisfy this test in the Panjab. If it has stood for general non-communal representation in the majority Provinces it has, as far as we are aware, stood for no other form of representation in the Panjab itself. As regards reservation of seats, weightage etc., the attitude of the Panjab Hindus, backed by the Hindu Mahasabha, as far as we have been able to understand it, has always been this. Let the same principles be applied to all cases. The best thing, it has consistently declared, would be to have joint electorates pure and simple, without any reservation of seats and without any weightage. But if that is not accepted and if there is to be a reservation of seats with or without weightage, then the Hindus of the Panjab should be treated exactly as Muslim minorities in other provinces are treated. Is there anything in this position which in Pandit Jawaharlal's opinion is a departure from the principle of nationalism ?

As regards the Hindus in Bengal, they were and still are in favour of joint electorates pure and simple without any reservation of seats and without any weightage. But if electorates and elections are not to be joint but separate and if Muslims are to have the number of seats reserved for them in the White Paper scheme, even then Bengal Hindus do not want any weightage—they want simply the number of seats to which they would be entitled on the basis of their numerical strength. Far from having any weightage, which Muslims have got in all Muslim minority provinces, they have been given less seats than even their numerical strength would warrant. They want seats in proportion to their population, *not by reducing the number of seats assigned to the Muslims*, but by reduction of the very excessive number given to the Europeans. Bengal Hindus asked their Muslim fellow-citizens to join them in the endeavour to reduce the seats given to the Europeans. But the Muslims did not agree. If under these circumstances, any section of Bengal Hindus have demanded weightage (of which we are not aware), neither that section nor the entire Hindu community of Bengal should be stigmatized as anti-national. It is not our conviction that Nationalism consists in absolute acquiescence in Muslim claims and utter passivity in the face of grave menace to nationalism from these claims.

We have stated the Hindus' position in Bengal. If the Hindu Mahasabha has ever claimed for Bengal Hindus anything different from what we have stated—of this we are not aware, the Mahasabha alone is responsible for it, not the Bengal Hindus.

Cities—Organic Expressions of Culture

To the ninth anniversary number of *The Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, which is as fine a publication as its previous anniversary number, Rabindranath Tagore has contributed the following message :

Cities are organic expressions of culture. Up till today our cities have grown up, as much

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of our exterior life has, chaotically. They have been imitations of Europe and their lives have flowed in channels which have been sometimes at tangent, sometimes parallel to our own. Now that India is slowly coming into her own, our towns should mirror our national culture and artistic sensibility. I look forward to a Calcutta which will reflect this ideal.

May it be hoped that this message will receive the serious attention, not only of the municipal authorities of Calcutta, but of its citizens also ?

To the same number of the same journal Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee has contributed a short article on "Cosmopolitan Calcutta" in the course of which he says :

> Human civilization is manysided, and every country, province and region can contribute something to make the ideal of human civilization comprehensive. Hence, the more cosmopolitan a city is, the larger its practical idealism may become, if only all its permanent, semi-permanent and floating population think of it as their home for the time being to which they owe a duty, instead of thinking of it only as a place to make money in or as a pleasure-resort. But it does not strike most of those who make most money in Calcutta that they owe a duty to this city. Had they thought of their duty to it and done that duty, this city would have been a far better place for juveniles to grow up in and adults to live in as civilized and cultured human beings than it is.

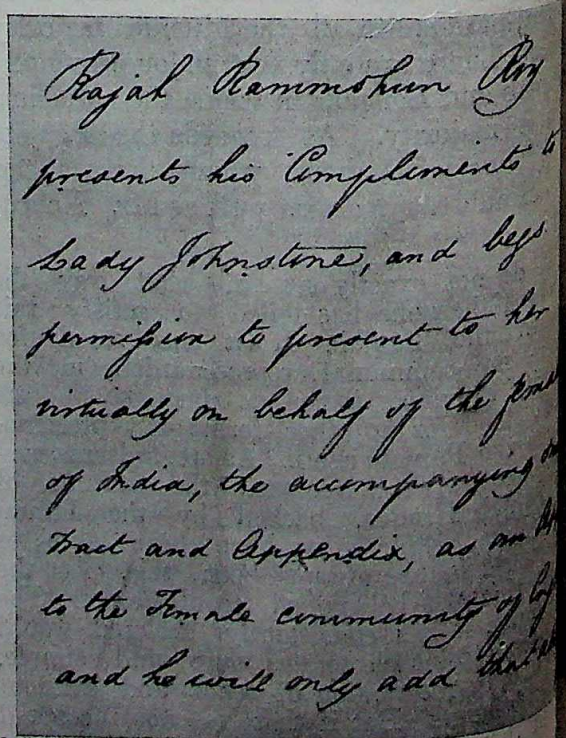
"Abolition of the 'Suttee'," an unknown Tract of Rammohun Roy

The tract to be reproduced in our next issue, written by Raja Rammohun Roy and published by him in England, has not so far been found in any edition of his collected works and has, therefore, remained practically unknown.

It was found, along with some other pamphlets, bound in a volume containing the Raja's (1) *Translation of several principal passages and Texts of the Veds* etc. Allen & Purbury, (2) *Essay on the Rights of Hindoos* etc. Smith, Elder & Co., (3) *Exposition of the Practical Operations of Judicial and Revenue Systems* etc. Smith, Elder & Co., and (4) *Translation of the Creed maintained by the Ancient Brahmins* etc. Nichols & Sons. It appears from an inscription on the title-page of one of these books that they were presented by the Raja himself to Sir Alexander Johnstone, who was a V... President of the Royal Asiatic Society. T... volume was in the possession of Sir Valen... Chirol, who bequeathed his library ... Mr. Lionel Curtis, from whom Dr. S. K. D... Principal of the Forman Christian Coll... Lahore, procured the books on Indian subj... for his college library. And among th... was the volume of Rammohun's works. ... are very thankful to Prof. U. N. Ball of ... Singh College, Lahore, and Mr. Satish Cha... Chakravarti, Joint Secretary, Rammohun ... Centenary Committee, through whose cour... it has been possible to secure this pamp... for inclusion in the collected works ... Rammohun Roy, shortly to be published ... the *Bangiya Sahitya Parishat* (Academy ... Bengali Literature), of which the prospe... will be found among the advertisements ... this issue of *The Modern Review*.

The tract bears the title of "Some Rem... in vindication of the Resolution passed by ... Government of Bengal in 1829 abolishing ... Practice of Female Sacrifices in India." (D... octavo 8 pages with an "Appendix conta... the names of the supporters and opponen... the measure." (Demy octavo, 4 pages.)

The tract bears on its cover an inscrip... in Rammohun's hand-writing, presenting i... Lady Johnstone. The inscription is as follo...


Rajah Rammohun Roy
presents his Compliments to
Lady Johnstone, and begs
permission to present to her
virtually on behalf of the fem...
of India, the accompanying ...
Tract and Appendix, as an ...
to the Female community of ...
and he will only add ...

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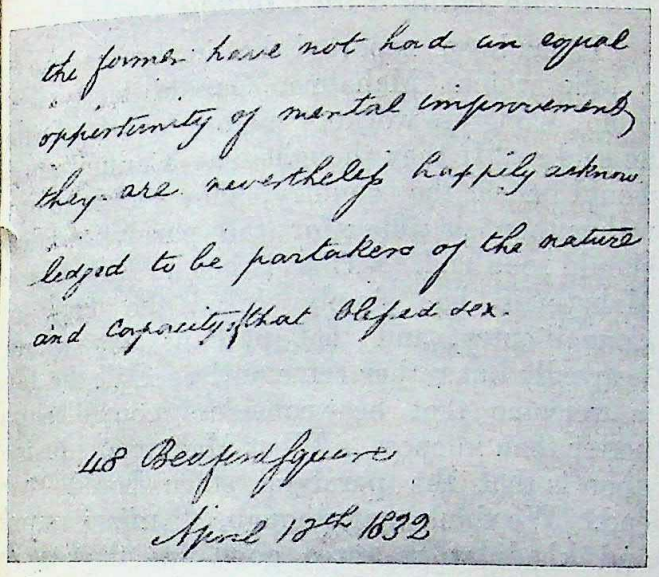
the former have not had an equal opportunity of mental improvement, they are nevertheless happily acknowledged to be partakers of the nature and capacity of that blessed sex.

48 Bedford Square
April 13th 1832

Rajah Rammohun Roy presents his compliments to Lady Johnstone, and begs permission to present to her, virtually on behalf of the females of India, the accompanying small Tract and appendix, as an appeal to the female community of England, and he will only add that, although the former have not had an equal opportunity of mental improvement, they are nevertheless happily acknowledged to be partakers of the nature and capacity of that blessed sex.

48, Bedford Square,
April 13th, 1832.

There is another pamphlet in the volume, which also should be mentioned. It is entitled "Appeal to the British Nation against a violation of common justice and a breach of public Faith by the Supreme Government of India with the Native inhabitants." This has been republished in India, in the English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy, under the title of "Petition to Government against Regulation III of 1828 for the Resumption of *Lakheraj* Lands." But the London pamphlet is prefaced by a summary which has not been collected in any edition of the Raja's Works published here. It also publishes some correspondence between the writer of the petition and the Government of Bengal and the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the East India Company, which has so far not been included in any edition of the Raja's Works. All these will now be included in the edition to be published by the *Bangiya Sahitya Parishat.*

Sir Malcolm Hailey, Doctor of Laws

The Allahabad University has conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws on Sir Malcolm Hailey, Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

But of what kind of laws ?

Sir M. Hailey's "Services to Education"

The Vice-chancellor of the Allahabad University in conferring this degree on Sir Malcolm Hailey referred to the services rendered by the Governor-Chancellor to the cause of education. These services must be both direct and indirect. The indirect services were perhaps unconsciously and unintentionally rendered through the efforts made to uphold the majesty of law and order. As for the direct services, would it be fair to measure them by the extent of literacy in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh which include the region known in ancient times as Aryavarta, *the* home of Aryan culture ?

The following table taken from the Census of India, 1931, vol. I, part I, page 339, tells its own tale :

Province	Number per mille who are literate
Ajmer-Merwara	125
Andamans & Nicobars	170
Assam	93
Bengal	111
Bihar & Orissa	53
Bombay Presidency	108
Burma	368
Central Provinces and Berar	66
Coorg	176
Delhi	163
Madras	108
North-West Frontier Province	49
Panjab	63
United Provinces of Agra & Oudh	55

The Government of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh may be satisfied with the fact that of all provinces they contain the largest number of universities, and so may their intelligentsia. But can the mass of the people of the U. P. and the real leaders thereof congratulate themselves on their place in the table given above ?

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Outcome of Mr. Nehru's Attack on Hindu Mahasabha

One result of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's attack on the Hindu Mahasabha has been that he and some other Congressmen have been compelled, for the sake of decency at least, to condemn Muslim communalists also, which they had hitherto avoided doing entirely or as much as possible—though it was the Muslims who started the communalist game. To castigate the mild Hindu with excessive and undeserved severity was easy enough ; let us see how the dynamic Muslim is handled.

Some Bombay Congresswalas, with Mrs. Sarojini Naidu at their head, have issued the following statement :

> It has long been a painfully obvious fact to all dispassionate observers that those organizations which claim to protect the separate interests of communities divided by religion serve only the self-interest of small coteries of exploiters of the religions sentiments of their fellowmen.
>
> They have in the last few years set up artificial barriers against the attainment of national unity. They have encouraged a narrow sectarianism and intolerance which finds frequent expression in riots, and leaves a continuing trail of hatred and rancour. And they have been attempting to release such anti-social forces as would make any attempt at a wider synthesis of human culture ineffective.
>
> It has been our hope that these symptoms are but the passing and irrelevant phases of a new age struggling to be born. We have remained confident that in spite of the disruptive elements introduced into our body politic, the inherent social affinities cannot long remain obscured from the public mind. And in the expectation of this sanity asserting itself we have been content to remain indifferent to the antics of these communal agitators who strut in the pompous authority of artificially incubated organizations.
>
> But recently there has been a coalescing of reactionary forces, a defining of new and vicious attitudes and the development of fresh and dangerous approaches to communal agitation that compel us to express our open abhorrence of such methods. And we congratulate Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on the courageous lead he has given in the matter. We agree with him, that all such as in the name of religion, caste or community hold unholy truck with the enemies of Indian freedom have to be opposed and fought. And we assure Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru of our support in his war against the blind and rabid communalists in this country.

Mahatma Gandhi on Council Entry

It has been reported that in the course a talk which Mahatma Gandhi had w some Congress workers before he left De he said : "If they thought that Council-en would benefit the country, they should en rather than sit idle ; for the paralytic st should soon end." This is not an injuncti Mahatmaji has simply lifted the ban Council entry, and that perhaps not wh heartedly but rather reluctantly. Still the f is welcome that he considers council en better than idleness. What Mahatmaji insi upon is that the paralytic stage should s end. We think that, though, "harijan" w and khadi work are good in their w congressmen should do some direct politi work, too.

Of course, the time for Council entry h yet to come. But those who are inclined do political work in the Councils and h greater aptitude for such political work rat than for political work of other descriptio should prepare themselves to enter t legislatures.

Mahatmaji's Hold on the Country

British imperialists and perhaps so Indians, too, had been imagining th Mahatmaji's hold on the country h diminished. But the vast crowds who gath to see and hear him wherever he goes tel different story. The combined role of the sa and the socio-political deliverer cannot h appeal irresistibly to the Indian mass-mind.

Soviet Russia's Preparations Against Possible Japanese Offensive ?

According to a Free Press Cable, dat Moscow, December 12, 1933 :

> Apparently with the purpose of promot migration eastwards and thus strengthening Soviet's Far Eastern maritime province agai any possible future Japanese attack, a strik decree, which is to come into operation fr January 1, 1934, has been issued over signatures of M. Stalin and M. Molotov.
>
> 50 P. C. INCREASE TO SOLDIERS
>
> The decree authorizes, in the Far Eas province, an increase of 50 per cent. in t to soldiers and to workers in coal indus a 20 per cent increase to workers in o

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industries and 10 per cent in the case of white collar workers.

EXEMPTION FROM GOVT. DUES

The decree exempts provinces and collective farms from delivery of quotas of grain to Government for 10 years and individual peasants for five years.

Also, except in regard to certain points, compulsory deliveries to Government of meat, potatoes, butter, milk, hemp, oilseeds and wool have been reduced by 50 per cent. Simultaneously the price paid for fish from collective farms on this Eastern sea-board will be raised by 20 per cent.

Mussolini Versus Kipling

According to Reuter, six hundred representatives from China, Japan, India, Persia, Afghanistan, Siam and Egypt attended the Congress of Asiatic students in Rome, inaugurated in the presence of Signor Mussolini, who, in welcoming the delegates, said that the statement (made by the British jingo poet Rudyard Kipling) that "East and West will never meet" had been proved untrue by history. Twice already during crises the world had been saved by the collaboration of Rome and the East.

And he might have added that in times gone by there was no such sharp division between East and West as exists today as the result of Occidental sense of superiority.

Mahatma Gandhi and Women's Jewellery

According to old style Hindu saints, like Paramahansa Ramakrishna for example, *Kamini* (woman) and *Kanchan* (gold) were both to be shunned, if one wanted liberation. But Mahatma Gandhi wants all the gold that he can get—not, of course, for his own personal use, but formerly it was for the Tilak Swarajya Fund, then for Khadi, and now for "harijan" service.

With reference to women's jewellery, he writes in a recent number of *Harijan* :

"I have seen a paragraph in a newspaper adversely criticizing my appeal to the women for gifts of jewellery and my auctioning things received as donations. Indeed, I would like the thousands of sisters who attend my meetings to give me most if not all of the jewellery they wear. In this country of semi-starvation of a million and insufficient nutrition of practically eighty per cent of the people the wearing of jewellery is an offence to the eye. A woman in India has rarely any cash which she can call her own. But the jewellery she wears does belong to her, though even that she will not, dare not, give away, without the consent of her lord and master. It ennobles her to part with for a good cause something she calls her own. Moreover most of this jewelley has no pretension to art, some of it is positively ugly and a harbinger of dirt. Such are anklets, heavy necklaces, clasps worn not for adjusting the hair, but purely as a decoration for unkempt unwashed and often evil-smelling hair, or row upon row of bangles from wrist to elbow. In my opinion the wearing of expensive jewellery is a distinct loss to the country. It is so much capital locked up or worse still allowed to wear away. And in this movement of self-purification the surrender of jewellery by women or men I hold to be a distinct benefit to society. Those who give do so gladly. My invariable condition is that on no account should the jewellery donated be replaced. Indeed, women have blessed me for inducing them to part with things which had enslaved them. And in not a few cases men have thanked me for being an instrument for bringing simplicity into their homes."

Some Evidence re Steel Industry Before Tariff Board

The Tata Iron and Steel Company's works at Jamshedpur are undoubtedly a national asset. They must be preserved and developed even if the Indian taxpayer and consumer may have to pay directly or indirectly for that purpose for some length of time. But the burden which they are required to bear should not be more than can be proved to be strictly necessary for the continued existence and development of the works, nor should the taxpayer aud consumer be taxed longer than is necessary. Hence, when the Tariff Board has been considering the desirability of a further extension of protection to the Tatas, the question should be threshed out from all points of view.

The Consumer's Point of View

Pandit Nilakantha Das of Orissa, in the memorandum submitted to the Tariff Board and in his oral evidence claimed to represent the interests of the consumers of iron and steel products. His oral evidence has been thus summed up in *The Statesman*.

The Pandit urged that giving protection by means of a tariff was detrimental to the

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interests of the consumer and if protection must be given, it should be given by means of a bounty.

In his memorandum Pandit Nilakantha Das maintained that the policy of protection by means of tariffs tended to serve three distinct interests—the Government of India who wanted more revenue, the capitalists and the promoters of Imperial or "British" preference—but it militated against the interests of the consumer. If preference was thought necessary, it should be provided by conventions of quota purchases or purchases of particular articles even at a loss. "That kind of direct dealing would be free, healthy and manly. But a planned preference to be worked automatically under a system of protective tariffs should be stopped at once in the interests not only of the consumer but of national economy and national morality."

The Pandit concluded :—

"I am not a free trader. I yield to few in my anxiety for giving all reasonable help to our national industry, and the general taxpayer of the land must not refuse to do so. But we must not imitate the methods of other countries, nor be carried away by theoretical arguments of interested parties. Temporary help should be provided for our basic iron and steel industry if by facts and figures it is convincingly and conclusively proved that an extension of the present help is necessary in the interests of the real economic future of the country. But any help necessary must take the form of bounties to particular firms and industries."

In the course of his examination by the President, the witness admitted that he was not competent to deal with technical questions and that the Tariff Board were the competent body to do that. What he was chiefly concerned with was that there should be an expansion of the steel industry, that nothing should be done which would turn the industry into a monopoly of one concern only, in which case the poor consumers would be the sufferers.

Pandit Nilakantha Das has supplemented the brief report of his evidence in *The Statesman* in the following paragraphs for our use :

"Tatas are the only basic steel producing concern in India, and therefore all protection is contemplated for the Tata Company alone. The maximum annual production of steel of the Tata Company is estimated at 600,000 tons. The normal annual consumption of steel in India is more than double of this quantity. Thus Tatas at best can supply less than half the Indian market. In such a case, evidently, bounty is the only solution ; for why should the consumer be made to pay to the state on more than half the quantity which India is not expected to produce in future ? At present, galvanized-sheets are protected with a tariff of Rs. 83 per ton and it sells at Rs. 236 per ton. With all the duty Tatas' production has reached up to only one-third of the Indian consumption. Still the Government goes on taxing the consumer to this enormous extent for no benefit to him. The consumer is thus being ruined, and that in these dire days of depression,

"Tatas have submitted a representation to the Tariff Board. They have not said a word as to how they have directed their activities towards expanding steel industry in India, how they have fostered subsidiary industries like foundries, rolling or sheet mills, engineering works, etc., or how they have worked for the promotion of village artisans by putting their own scrap and other suitable material in the Indian market. On the contrary, they have been exporting basic materials, like pig iron, billets, etc., as also scrap at a much cheaper rate to foreign countries. For instance, pig-iron is sold to foreign countries at Rs. [illegible] per ton. The Indian consumer gets it at not less than Rs. 75 (now reduced to Rs. [illegible] per ton. Scrap is sold to Japan only through Japanese firms here at Rs. 20 to Rs. 30 per ton. It is never sold to any Indian consumer though that also contains the article the village artisan badly requires. The result is that foreigners get cheap raw materials to compete in our market and Tatas want more and more protection. In the sales policy there are combines with competing firms here and also there is discrimination in the sale of raw materials."

"Freight concession which is a part of the protection is used for the same end. All this results in a pernicous monopoly and corruption deadly detrimental to the development and expansion of Indian steel industry. In short, all small industries are killed to eliminate internal competition. But under Indian circumstances these defects are rather inherent in a system of indefinite protection by tariff duty. Therefore if protection is thought necessary it should take the definite form of bounty, in which there may be no waste of taxpayer's or consumer's money nor may there be corruption in the industry. The giver of it will know exactly where he stands and the receiver of it will feel responsible and directly answerable."

The Indian Mining Federation's Point of View

Rai Bahadur A. C. Banerjee and others gave evidence before the Tariff Board on behalf of the Indian Mining Federation in relation to the Tatas' application for a further

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term of protection to the iron and steel industry. In their memorandum the committee of the Federation observed :

> The Indian section of the coal industry had been little benefited by the growth and development of the steel industry in the country for the obvious reason that steel works did not use second class coal. They therefore asked the Board to investigate whether second class coal could be economically and profitably used in steel works and, if so, it should ask the industry to use second class coal as much as possible. The Committee considered that if the use of second class coal was feasible it would not only reduce the works cost but at the same time help the Indian section of the coal trade considerably.
>
> The next point to which the Committee drew attention was the economic utilization and preservation of India's caking coal. They suggested that it was desirable to close down entirely all Tata's collieries and to ask the Company to buy all its requirements from the open market. The immediate result of this would be that the Company would not only get its coal at cheaper rates but would also have a considerable quantity of caking coal in reserve for future contingencies.
>
> The Committee fully believe that for the present industrial development of India discriminatory protection was necessary from time to time, but they were at the same time of opinion that such protection should not be of a permanent nature and be a burden on the consumers, and it should not encourage inefficiency.

Confirmation af some Conclusions of Ramaprasad Chanda

Sir Herbert Risley's *Census of India*, 1901, published in 1903, first drew Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda's attention to anthropology, and he undertook to collect ethnographical data from ancient Indian literature and take measurements of the sub-castes of the Brahmans and the Kayasthas in Bengal, Bihar and the United Provinces along lines laid down by Risley. The results of his researches were embodied in a small volume entitled : *"The Indo-Aryan Races, A study of the Origin of Indo-Aryan People and Institutions,"* published in 1916 by the Varendra Research Society of Rajshahi. In this work Mr. Chanda endeavoured to establish these propositions :

(1) Risley's Dravidian type erroneously included another distinct physical type called Pre-Dravidian of some anthropologists and presented the ancient Nishada stock described in the ancient Sanskrit literature.

(2) The so-called Aryans of the Rigvedic period named by him Vedic Aryans were not physically homogeneous, but included men of two different races, one blonde and the other dark.

(3) The broad-headed elements in Risley's Turko-Iranian, Scytho-Dravidian and Mongoloid Dravidian types (excluding the Mogoloid tribes and castes of the North-Eastern borderland of Bengal) are akin to the Alpine race and probably originated in the Pamir region of Central Asia.

The creeds now popularly known as Hinduism, *viz.* Saivism, Saktism and Vaishnavism are of non-Vedic and some of them pre-Vedic origin.

The excavations at Harappa in the Panjab and at Mohenjo-Daro in Sind by revealing the remains of a highly developed pre-Vedic civilization dating from the beginning of the third millennium B. C., confirmed the anticipations of Mr. Chanda. In 1929 he published *Survival of the Prehistoric Civilization of the Indus Valley* (as Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 41) wherein he endeavoured to show that in that remote age the pre-Vedic population of the Indus Valley practised Yoga and worshipped images in the pose of Yogi like the images of the Buddha and the Jinas. As pointed out by Sir John Marshall (*Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, p. 54) seals discovered subsequently at Mohenjo-daro confirmed this hypothesis. Sir John Marshall has, with very good reasons, identified a four-head image engraved in a seal seated in the posture of *Yoga* as the prototype of Siva. The recent researches into the racial distribution of the blood groups, as pointed out by Dr. Hutton in his *Census of India, 1931 Report* (pp. 451-452), also indicate Alpine affinities of the population of the middle zone of India extending from Gujarat across the Deccan plateau to Bengal. Among the skeletal remains unearthed at Mohenjo-daro Colonel Sewell and Dr. B. S. Guha recognize a Mediterranean type forming the bulk of the population, a Mongoloid type, and Alpine type, and a Nishada type (called by them proto-Australoid and by others Veddoid).

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National Trades Union Federation

The first session of the National Trades Union Federation, held at Bombay on December 24, 25 and 26, 1933, was presided over by Mr. Mrinal Kanti Bose. In the course of his address, he referred to the reasons why the White Paper has given so little to Indian Labour.

> No people get more than they deserve. If the White Paper has yielded us workers so little,—it is much less than what has been allowed to the bourgeoisie—we need not pretend to be surprised. This should make us search our hearts. Leaders of the working class movement have been few and the right type of workers fewer. What sacrifice we of the Labour Movement have made, compared to that of the followers of the Indian National Congress ? I know the difficulties in the organization of Labour. The lack of education and the dire poverty of the workers are enough difficulties apart from the hostility of the employers and the want of leaders and workers. The followers of the Indian National Congress are the intelligentsia and many of the leaders and workers of the Congress are wealthy men. They can far more easily raise lacs of rupees for organization and propaganda, than we can a few hundreds. Making allowance for all this, we have to confess that we should have been able to do more. I have given most anxious thought for days and nights and for years on the matter. I am convinced that we have got to make a wider appeal for Union workers and make our platform wider than what it is.
>
> Even the Whitley Commission have taken the labour unions to task for their lack of self-reliance. They say :
>
> 'There is already a lack of self-reliance and a tendency to wait too much upon the employers' attitude. No amount of encouragement from employers or of assistance from the State, can infuse life in the unions which have nothing vital in themselves ; true vigour can only come from within. In those countries where the movement is strong, it owes that strength mainly to its own efforts and perhaps more to the opposition it has confronted than to the support it has received from employers.'
>
> Had the Whitley Commission been a body of Socialists, they could not speak with greater frankness and truth. It gives me great pain to say it but you all know that this is the bare truth, that our Unions have practically degenerated into petition-making bodies and activities of most of our so-called living Unions are confined to writing petitions for individual members dealing with their special and individual grievances.

He proceeds to ask, where to get mo workers and the right type of workers ? H answers is :

> In my opinion, the workers must be fou from the vast body of the educated unemplo ed. My communist comrades may sneer me and ridicule the idea of getting the as stance of the bourgeoisie to fight for t proletariat. My daily duty brings me touch with the type of the unemployed whom I am speaking. Their poverty a misery have brought them down to the le of the proletariat. Within my limited exp ence, I have come across the fin materials among them quite fit to soldiers and in time to be leaders of proletarian movement. What many of th lack is not the temperamental equipment, t the power of initiative. The field for Lab organization is immense. It can suppor considerable number of the unemployed if t latter can call into play the resourcefuln to organize unions and have the comm honesty to render account of the fu collected by them.
>
> It is the duty of the present leaders the working class movement to find out a train workers for the movement. I q agree with the observations of the Whi Commission on the need of paid officials the Unions, and the prospects of these offic in the way of emoluments. The Commiss observe :
>
> 'What is required is the paid official w has been an actual worker. He must be p by the Union, since it is impossible to exp that heavy labour involved will be carried for nothing ; the nexus of payment bri responsibility by making the officials dep dent on the Union and its fortunes. recognize that the present income of m Unions cannot meet such charges ; but organizing official, if he is even moderat competent, will secure a substantial incr in that income. The few Unions which h such officials have found them profitable vestments, and the expense must be face a Union is to acquire strength.'
>
> If an 'actual worker' who has worked the industry, is not forthcoming, a non-wor educated, honest and with spirit of enterp must be found.

The speaker rightly condemned comm labour organizations. Said he :

> The Labour movement had long been from the virus of communalism. But could not possibly expect immunity for time in view of its pervading influence in political field. We of the working movement must do our utmost to shake movement off this poison and to prevent

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further nroad. There are many ways of doing it, but one I wish to suggest to you. No person connected with the Labour movement should be a member of or countenance in any way the communal organizations, Hindu, Mahomedan or any other. The canker of communalism is a by-product of the scramble of the educated few for loaves and fishes.

"All-India Trade Union Congress" at Cawnpore

It is much to be regretted that there is division in the camp of Indian Labour. Hence we find one organization meeting at Bombay and another at Cawnpore. Of the Cawnpore meeting, the following report has appeared in some dailies :

> Cawnpore, Dec. 23.
>
> The All-India Trade Union Congress commenced its session this evening in the Trade Union Congress pandal. That the trade union movement is rapidly gaining in strength in India was evident from the fact that a large number of delegates from the different trade unions all over India attended. After the Chairman, reception committee and the President had read their addresses, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru delivered his speech.
>
> Speaking as Chairman of the Reception Committee Pandit Surya Prasad Awasthi referred at the outset to the loss sustained by the working classes at the death of Pandit Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi whom he characterized as a valiant champion of the poor and the down-trodden.
>
> He regretted the disunity among the rival camps of the Trade Union Associations today when the condition of the working class has become more precarious than it ever was. This disunity was responsible for the reduction of the wages and also retrenchment of the workers in large numbers.
>
> Unfortunately, he said, at this critical hour the Indian working class was not able to present a united front to the capitalist and imperialist offensive. He thought that the condition of the workers can be improved only by strengthening their organization and not petitions and deputations.
>
> The immediate task of the moment, he concluded, was the mobilization of the working classes to give a united front to all vested interests which was making their position from bad to worse.—United Press.

Rabindranath Tagore in Bombay

The Indian Social Reformer of Bombay writes in its issue of December 2, 1933 :

> Rabindranath Tagore has been having a wonderful reception in Bombay. The public has been moved by the sight of the venerable figure patiently sitting in front of the stage watching the audience as the enchanting world of light and colour and sound and rhythmic movement of his creation, unfolded itself before its enraptured vision. The Excelsior theatre has been crowded from floor to ceiling every day. It is pleasant to know that the Viswabharati's burden would be appreciably lightened by the success of the plays. The poet has been in great demand in other directions also. The students of Bombay have been able to persuade him amidst his incessant engagements to give them an address. The Exhibition of paintings in the Town Hall has called attention to the many-sided activities of the great international institution which the genius of the Poet has raised at Bolpur. About this time last year, Bombay was holding its breath in suspense awaiting the issue of Gandhiji's fast at Yerravda. It has had a veritable feast of the soul in the visions of beauty and the words of profound insight which the Poet has given us in this memorable week.

Visva-bharati Rural Reconstruction Work

[Mr. Rabindra Mohan Datta, M. Sc., of Panihati has sent us the note printed below.]

Mr. Strickland, I. C. S., C. I. E., sometime Registrar of Co-operative Societies in the Panjab, in a small book edited by him under the auspices of the Indian Village Welfare Association of England has spoken disparagingly of Rabindranath's attempt at rural reconstruction. Let us see whether he is justified in his remarks or not. We shall give some extracts from the latest official publication on the subject, *viz.*, Annual Report on the Working of Co-operative Societies in Bengal for the year ending 30th June 1932.

First with regard to the training of Supervisors, the report says :

> New recruits to the rank of Supervisors are···given a practical training in their duties and are required to obtain a certificate of competency from the Bengal Co-operative Organization Society.···For a variety of reasons, it was not possible for the Bengal Co-operative Organization Society to hold a training class during the year under report. But the annual training camp of the rural reconstruction workers was held by the Rural Reconstruction Department of the Visvabharati with the assistance of the Bengal Co-operative Organization Society. (Para. 9.)

The Government would not have selected Visvabharati as the training centre, if the

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method of work there was not of the highest kind available in Bengal.

Secondly, with regard to the Rural Reconstruction Societies, the report says :

> The number of these societies increased from 6 to 7. They generally worked well, the foremost among them being the societies organized by the Rural Reconstruction Department of the Visvabharati at Sriniketan. There are ten such societies organized by the Rural Reconstruction Department of the Visvabharati. Six of them are doing useful work, but they have been tabled under the head anti-malarial societies. The Ballabhpur Society has introduced spinning in their idle hours and has got a fly-shuttle handloom for weaving yarn spun in the village. It maintains a free night school. Besides the filling up of *dóbas* and the clearing of drains it assists its members to take up kitchen gardening, while it trains the female members of the village in needle work, embroidery, tailoring, etc. The Bandgora Society also works on similar lines and has excavated a tank with a view to removing the scarcity of water in the village. Four other societies have through their Co-operative effort built a two-storied mud house worth Rs. 450 for the purpose of establishing a dispensary and a laboratory for research work on medical problems. The dispensary and the laboratory are now in charge of Mr. H. G. Timbers of the Societies of Friends. (Para. 58).

The Bengal Administration Report for 1931-32 speaks thus of the Poet's work at Visvabharati :

> The number of these societies increased from 6 to 7. They generally worked well, the foremost among them being the societies organized by the rural reconstruction department of the Visvabharati at Sriniketan.

This is only one aspect of the Poet's work with regard to rural reconstruction. We wonder why Mr. Strickland was tempted to make such irresponsible remarks against the Poet. We would not have said anything but for the fact that the booklet is distributed free in some quarters.

Water Hyacinth Menace in Bengal

Mr. Jatindra Mohan Datta, B. L., writes to us from Panihati :

"The Government of Bengal sometime in 1921 or 1922 wasted some Rs. 30,000 in trying one Mr. Griffith's method of eradicating water-hyacinth by spraying. From time to time sporadic efforts have been made by Government to control the menace, without any results. The life-history of plant or the technical scientific side has been studied ; but unless it can be demonstrated the poor cultivator that he can utilize it economically for his field, such purely scientific research is bound to remain barren. The Imperial Council of Agricultural Research has allotted money to Madras and Bihar, but nothing to Bengal, though the waterways of Bengal are highly infected with this water-hyacinth menace. We would draw the readers' attention to an article by Mr. P. K. Bose in the *Modern Review* for August, 1933. Will the Imperial Council allot some money to Bengal, or will the Government of Bengal press for some money for practical research as to how best to utilize it economically ?"

Steel Required for New Howrah Bridge

A paragraph recently appeared in the papers informing the public that all the steel required for the construction of the new Howrah bridge would be purchased in India *except* a certain quantity—and that is a large quantity—of steel of high tensility which was alleged to be unavailable in India. During our recent visit to Jamshedpur we inquired of the steel experts in Tatas' Works, with the extent and usefulness of which we were highly impressed, whether they could not or did not make steel of that particular description. We were told emphatically that the paragraph was quite misleading.

If large orders must be placed with the British iron and steel manufacturers, those who want to do so ought not to have recourse to misleading propaganda ; they should have the frankness to say that they desire to discriminate in favour of Britain and against India.

Reviews and Notices of Vernacular Books

We are glad to inform our readers that with effect from the present issue of the *Modern Review*, we resume the publication of reviews and notices of books in the principal vernaculars of India.

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Governor of Bengal on the Terrorist Movement

Sir John Anderson, Governor of Bengal, said in the course of his speech at the St. Andrews' Day dinner in Calcutta :

> There must be many people better qualified than I to give an accurate diagnosis, but most, I think, would agree that it originated in and to a large extent represents today an effort—a desperate effort—on the part of certain elements of the Hindu community to advance the interests of that community.
>
> Whether they genuinely regard the interests of the community as identical with a wider national interest seems to me for this purpose immaterial in face of the significant fact that the movement is essentially a Hindu movement. That does not, of course, mean that the whole Hindu community should be stigmatized. Far from it : there are active terroists relatively few in number : there are those who sympathize—unfortunately far more numerous, but the Government has every reason to recognize with gratitude the loyal and steadfast service and support given by a vast body of Hindus in public service outside.
>
> Now, why should the movement make so strong an appeal to the limited section of the Hindu community to which I have referred ? It can only be because the general atmosphere is favourable to the propagation of subversive doctrine. And why should this be ? Opinions may differ on the point ; but I, personally, think that part, certainly, of the reason is to be found in the gloomy tinge that the outlook, both political and economic, is apt to assume for the Hindu intelligentsia—the educated middle class, the *bhadralog* youth. I can understand that—to some extent at least.
>
> So far, however, as the political outlook is concerned, I would venture to say this. With the development of democratic institutions, in which they avow their faith, the Hindu could not hope as a minority community in Bengal, to maintain intact the privileged position which in the past they have undoubtedly enjoyed under British rule. They gird at the communal award : that is a subject I am debarred from discussing. The award stands, as everyone knows, unless it is either rejected by Parliament or modified by agreement. But one thing can be said with confidence : under the new constitutional arrangements the Hindus will not and cannot be deprived of the opportunity of taking their part and pulling their weight in the public affairs of the country, except in so far as they themselves may spurn that offer. In my judgment, therefore, their political outlook is not nearly as black as it is sometimes painted.

So, in Sir John Anderson's opinion terrorism is essentially a Hindu and a Bengali movement. But this diagnosis is not correct.

We are not sure what he means by calling it "essentially a Hindu movement." *Ahimsa* (not-killing, non-violence) and toleration are the highest ideals of the Hindu religion and culture. Of course, texts can be quoted from Hindu scriptures in support of war and the use of force, and Hindus have fought and used force as a matter of fact. But these are not characteristic of them and their culture exclusively or to a greater extent than of other religious communities and their culture.

The use of poison gas in war was introduced by the Christian nations of the West. Perhaps its use is still confined to these Christian peoples, for Japan or China or Turkey is not known to have used it in warfare. Even if they have, most of those who have hitherto used it are their discoverers, the Christian peoples. Bombing non-combatant civilian populations from aeroplanes is a similar device discovered originally and for the most part made use of by Christian peoples. Would any one, therefore, be justified in calling these methods of warfare "essentially" Christian methods ? Certainly not.

If by calling the terrorist movement "essentially Hindu"—he does not call it wholly or exclusively Hindu, probably because he knows that there have been and are non-Hindu terrorists also,—Sir John means that Hindu terrorists form the majority of the terrorist party, he is correct. But there is nothing especially noteworthy in that fact. Hindus form the majority of the population of India and of its educated section. Even in the provinces of Bengal as at present constituted, the minority community of Hindus contains the majority of educated persons. So, it is the Hindus who respond more quickly and to a greater extent to external influences of various descriptions than the next largest community in India, *viz.*, the Muslims, who went in for Western education later. For this reason, the Congress and other non-violent movements, which follow Western methods, are also essentially Hindu movements in the sense that the majority of their workers and adherents are

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Hindus. Just as non-violent Indian movements have adopted Western methods, so the terrorist movement, which is violent, owes its inception to European ideas and has adopted European methods. As in the case of non-violent movements, so in that of the violent terrorist movement, the majority of workers and adherents are Hindus. There is nothing surprising in that fact.

But even if all terrorists were or are Hindus, an adequate explanation of that fact should strike all political thinkers acquainted with facts as they are in India. Of course, whether our supposition is correct or not, only the leaders of the terrorists, whom we do not know, can say. Let us state what our supposition is. Terrorists are liable to the extreme penalty of the law. Hence it is reasonable to assume that they would admit to their ranks only such persons as they consider worthy of their entire confidence and as are prepared to face death and would not betray them. The evidence produced in many conspiracy and other similar cases has shown that the object of the terrorists is to establish an independent Indian republic owing not even the shadow of allegiance to the British Empire. Hence they would naturally refuse to seek recruits from the ranks of all who are loyal to the British Government, all who are loyalists, all who want only Dominion Status, and all who want the substance of independence within the British Empire. It is perhaps for this reason that Moderates or Indian National Liberal Federationists, Muslim Leaguers and other Musalman communalist loyalists, Dominion-status-seekers and substance-of-independence-seekers have not been found among convicted terrorists or suspected terrorists. There is a particular reason for including Muslims of some descriptions in the list of parties mentioned in the foregoing sentence. The British Government has bestowed the highest praise for loyalty on the Muslim community and the leaders of that community have also declared their loyalty more often and more emphatically than the leaders of any other community.

Sir John Anderson seems to think that the terrorist movement is confined to Bengal, originated in Bengal, and is born of Bengali Hindu despair due to quite recent political events, possibilities, and proposals such, for instance, as those contained in the White Paper. But the facts are quite different. Terrorism did not originate in Bengal, and it was not and is not confined to Bengal—though Bengali terrorists appear to have undergone more training and acquired more experience. Owing to more persistent and longer disturbed conditions and repression in Bengal than elsewhere, terrorism has been longer and more prominently in evidence in Bengal than elsewhere.

Having been in India for a comparatively brief period, Sir John Anderson does not know, but his advisers ought to have told him that terrorism appeared in India and Bengal before the publication of the White Paper proposals, before the sessions of the Pseudo-Round Table Conference, before the peregrinations of the Simon Commission, before the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, nay, before even the Morley-Minto reforms, when the gloomy outlook for Bengali Hindus foreshadowed in the White Paper scheme was non-existent. The terrorist movement is not a child of Sir John Anderson's regime, not of the present lustrum, nor even of the present decade. It is a Frankenstein of the British period of Indian history older than the present generation of youthful Indian political suspects. Therefore, it did *not* originate in, nor does it at all represent "an effort on the part of certain elements of the Hindu community to advance the interests of that community." Sir John's diagnosis is utterly wrong.

The terrorists kill Hindus and non-Hindus alike. So far as Indians are concerned, they have killed more Hindus than non-Hindus. And so far as we are aware or can recollect, almost all, if not all, the non-official house-holders whom they have robbed, wounded, maimed or killed, are Hindus—though there are in existence well-to-do and rich non-Hindus also. Is that even the criminals' way to advance the interests of the Hindu community? A queer way indeed!

The territorists may be the very incarnations of Satan. But Satan was not a fool nor are the terrorists fools. They, like the rest of their countrymen who are non-violent, find that the Muslims are being given a really "privileged position" by the British

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Government, because they declare their loyalty and do not join the ranks of the agitators in considerable numbers. If the territorists wanted to preserve for the Bengali Hindu community its so-called "privileged position," they should have become loud loyalists instead of being detested terrorists.

Sir John Anderson obviously had serious doubts regarding the correctness of his diagnosis that the terrorrist movement was a Hindu communal movement for the promotion of Hindu interests alone ; for he indirectly suggests the question "whether they [the terrorists] genuinely regard the interests of the [Hindu] community as indentical with a wider national interest," but refuses to discuss it on the question-begging plea that it seems immaterial because "the movement is essentially a Hindu movement." But to prove that the movement is essentially a Hindu movement, it would be necessary to prove (1) that it has its roots deep in Hindu religion, culture and character, and specially in them, which is not true, (2) that all terrorists past and present have been and are Hindus, which is not true, (3) that terrorists have robbed, wounded, maimed or killed only, or at least mostly, non-Hindu officials and non-officials, which is not true, and (4) that the confessions, and secret correspondence and other documents of terrorists seized up to date filed as exhibits in cases tried in law-courts, have shown that they are a Hindu communalist organization for the attainment of communal objects, which is not a fact.

In Morley's *Recollections* there are a good many references to terrorism and terrorists, but none which lends the least support to Sir John's diagnosis. There are similar references in Buchan's *Lord Minto*, but none which Sir John can quote for his purpose. He cannot find anything in Sir Valentine Chirol's writings to support his conclusions. Dr. Zacharias's recent book on *Renascent India* mentions and describes terrorism in at least fifteen different places, but no passage in it would serve to keep Sir John's diagnosis in countenance. The Government of India's publication *India in 1931-32*, published a few weeks ago, devotes about nine pages in three different parts of the book to an account of terrorism, aud the Government of Bengal's *Report on the Administration of Bengal 1931-32*, received about a month ago, devotes about 8 pages in two different parts, to an account of terrorism and the measures taken to eradicate it. But those official publications also leave the Bengal Governor's assumptions severely alone.

So he can certainly claim originality.

He calls the Hindus' position in Bengal a "privileged position." But the position which the Hindus have acquired was not the gift of the British Government or of anybody else. They acquired it by their ability and industry. Hence to speak of it as a privileged position is misleading. Government is giving the Muslims a privileged position, no doubt.

His Excellency appears to have a peculiar idea of democratic institutions. Democratic institutions exist in his own country. Is there any division of seats in Parliament there according to religious communities ? Has any deliberate effort been made there to pull down any class or community by statute from the position which they have acquired by their education, ability, and public spirit to a position of inferiority and impotence ? Is there any law in Great Britain which prevents a minority community from winning any number of seats in Parliament which they can by their ability and public spirit ? Is there any law which compels a minority community or class there to be content with less seats in Parliament than even its numbers would entitle it to, even though it were the best educated, the ablest and the most public-spirited, and contributed by far the largest portion of the revenue to the public treasury ?

His Excellency has avoided discussing the so-called commuual "award." But, if he could have defended it, we are sure he would have done so. For, no law or rule or convention stands in the way of an officer of the British Government supporting and applauding its policy and proposals. Let that pass, however.

Sir John Anderson says, "the Hindus will not and cannot be deprived of the opportunity of taking their part and pulling their weight in the public affairs of the country, . . ." So far as non-official public affairs of the country are concerned, this is true. Perhaps, when the new constitution begins to operate, the

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Hindus will have to be more active than ever, in order to establish a constitutiou of a far different kind. But so far as those public affairs are concerned which are in any way controlled by Government, the White Paper proposals have seen to it that the Hindus may not pull their weight. Those proposals or some arrangements worse than those which they foreshadow, are likely to come into effect. Let us assume, however, that nothing worse than the White Paper Seheme is in store for us. Now, many things are meant by "weight," such as numerical strength, character, intelligence, education, ability, public spirit, enterprise, wealth, etc. The Hindus have not been given even the number of seats which even their numbers would entitle them to. Whatever character, intelligence, public spirit, taxability, etc., they may develop, these will not help them in a legislature in which they are to be in a hopeless inexpansible and fixed minority. How, then, can they pull their weight?

So far as the Hindus' political outlook depends on the sense of justice of the present human rulers of India, it is black, though it may not be "*nearly* as black as it is sometimes painted," whatever that may mean. But so far as their future is in their own hands, it need not be black. It may be very bright, if they are men.

Many British politicians have tried to make the world believe that, not to speak of other non-communal and non-violent organizations, even the greatest of Indian non-violent non-communal political organizations, the Congress, is a Hindu organization for attaining Hindu objects. These British politicians seem to hold the opinion that in India men can work only for the selfish ends of the community in which they were born: a Hindu cannot work for the welfare of non-Hindus, a Muslim cannot work for the welfare of non-Muslims, and so on. It is only Englishmen who can work here for Indians, who are not their kith and kin. Hence, if in the opinion of numerous high-placed Englishmen even the greatest Indian Congress leaders, enjoying the respect of Indians and non-British non-Indians, are not to be credited with having laboured for national welfare but only for selfish communal interests, no wonder that Sir John Anderson should believe that terrorists, who have no reputation, no fame, no name, and who are condemned by all their articulate countrymen and foreigners in India, can work to promote the supposed interests of only a particular community. But we are unable to understand how their acts and methods can advance the communal interests of that particular community.

Dr. B. C. Roy's Presidential Address

In his presidential address at the 26th annual conference of the All-India Medical Licentiates' Association held last month at Bombay, Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy stated that the status of Medical Licentiates had remained what it was a century ago and referred to the supercilious attitude of the European members of the I. M. S. towards Indian medical practitioners. He formulated a plan for establishing a single brotherhood of medical men and for a uniform standard of education. In his opinion the India Medical Council Act contained an unsatisfactory scheme of reciprocity. He dealt with the vital question of the supply and manufacture of drugs in India and dwelt upon the need of encouraging the industry under the control of trained medical men and not of capitalists. He also pointed out that there ought to be an adequate supply of properly trained and equipped pharmacists, compounders, nurses and midwives. He concluded by calling attention to the financial distress of the medical profession and suggesting remedies. Said he:

> While the Association rightly concerns itself with various problems which are of interest to the profession, nothing can concern its members more intimately than the provision of their bread and butter. On account of the present financial depression this problem has become more serious. The people cannot pay for professional services and a large number of them now resort to Charitable Institutions for advice and treatment. I am intimately associated with one such Institution in Calcutta, the Chittaranjan Seva Sadan and I admit that the demands made upon it leave no room for doubt that even making allowances for those who are able to pay and yet resort to hospital, there are yet an increasing number who come there because they find it difficult

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to pay for treatment at home. These institutions, I am afraid, will in future go on multiplying and I have no doubt that they will surely affect the income from private practice. What are we to do then? Are we to discourage this tendency to make such charitable endowments? Shall we refuse to work in these institutions, particularly when most of them demand from us honorary services? Self-interest will give an affirmative answer to both questions. We are however proud to belong to a profession, which is not only dubbed "noble" but which is founded on self-restraint and self-abnegation. It is the medical man who discovers methods of preventing diseases, it is the medical man who lays down the laws of healthy living. And in doing so, he sacrifices his own income. And yet he has to live, he has to meet the ordinary demands of life.

He proceeded to state what is done in the West and suggested what may be done in India.

In the West, Panel system, Club system, have been introduced to meet this difficulty. In some States of America, every medical man is paid from the State and they treat patients free. In England Municipal Corporations in urban areas and the County Councils in rural areas have established dispensaries on co-operative system. It is difficult to say which plan will suit us best. I feel strongly that our hospitals, while making ample provisions for the poor, should charge those who are able to pay, on a graded scale. Such payments are to be demanded not on the basis of additional comforts provided to them but on their capacity to pay. Out of such proceeds a certain proportion may be paid to the doctors, the amount received by each individual will depend on his ability to attract patients for treatment and reduce the general incidence of taxation. I think it is prudent to take a middle course and have a certain number of free beds and the rest paying.

"Sympathy with Terrorists"

Mr. S. C. Mitra, M. L. A., occasionally asks questions relating to prisoners in the Andamans, detenus at Deoli, detenus in the Mianwali Jail, etc. One day, Sir Harry Haig, the Home Member, when answering one of such questions last month, took exception to so many questions being asked relating to the details of the health of detenus. His view was that "the continued publication of these allegations conveyed a mischievous effect in Bengal, as it served to keep alive sympathy with the terrorists as individuals and in that way stimulated some sympathy with the movement with which they were connected."

The detenus have not been found guilty after any kind of trial—they have had no trial at all. They have been deprived of their liberty on mere suspicion. It cannot be said that, though there is convincing proof of the guilt of these suspects, they cannot be brought to trial because of the risk which witnesses must run; for persons accused of political murder or attempted murder, of conspiracy, of possession of bombs, and similar offences, are being frequently tried without any witnesses being threatened or murdered. Hence, the very fact that the detenus have not been brought to trial is proof presumptive of their innocence, in the opinion of the public. Therefore, when Sir Harry Haig calls them terrorists, he simply begs the question. Moreover, even convicted murderers are entitled to humane treatment, and if there be any suspicion in the public mind that they are not getting such treatment, it is the duty of the members of councils to ask questions relating to their treatment. As there is a suspicion in the public mind about the treatment received by detenus, who are not convicted prisoners, and as they appear to be subjected to greater restrictions as to interviews and correspondence than criminals imprisoned after regular trial, there is every justification for asking questions about their health, etc. Such men cannot be treated by the public as if dead and gone and buried in oblivion.

Even in the case of convicted criminals, if there be suspicion that they are not treated as they ought to be, sympathy with them as ill-treated persons is not necessarily sympathy with their crime.

If Government want to put a stop to questions relating to detenus, the Indian constitution should be so changed as to put an end to terrorism. And then there will be neither real terrorists, nor persons deprived of freedom on the suspicion of their being terrorists.

"Devaluation" of the Rupee

The question whether the Rupee should bear an official relation with the pound sterling

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as measured by Re. 1 : sh 1-6d or Re. 1 : sh 1-4d has raised a tremendous controversy all over India. People of every shade of opinion and every grade of scholarship and learning have joined in it and added to the general misunderstanding of this complex subject. It is, of course, now a *fait accompli*, on account of the verdict of the Legislative Assembly, that the Rupee is to be officially equal to sh 1-6 ; and one might think it waste of labour to expatiate on the Rupee-sterling ratio at the present moment. Still, as Indian Finance is fickle as a deltaic river, in that it changes its course often and suddenly, it may not be entirely idle to try to understand its possibilities for future reference. Greater minds than ours have, no doubt, tried to throw clear light on the subject ; but owing to their having thought *unlike*, the man in the street has been more confused than enlightened by the controversy. So that there is still room for the lesser men to attempt to make it less abstruse to the general public.

The word devaluation has been used in this connection by all the participants in the debate. This would have been correct if the Rupee really had any fixed gold value ; for the pound-sterling itself having lost connection with gold has no fixed value and the Rupee being merely an artificial attachment of the pound-sterling is equally non-valuable. Most of the currencies of the world these days adjust their values according to the exigencies of international or internal trade. Thus when any country wishes to increase exports, its currency is manipulated to assume a lower international value. Example Japan. When again, a country wishes to increase internal prices, it inflates its currency as a means to stimulate internal trade. Example the United States of America. When, on the other hand, a country (or its rulers), wish to force up the purchasing power of its currency artificially it contracts the issue of paper-money, thus creating a shortage and a fall in the general price level. Example India and its 1 sh 6d. Rupee, which cut both ways, because the English buyers of the Rupee gained more than what they lost by being able to buy more raw materials in India then with one Rupee than they could buy before that with eighteen annas. So that increasing or lowering the international or internal value or purchasing power of a currency in these days has no sentimental meaning, any more than free trade and protection have. What should concern practical minds is whether by a certain measure of increase or decrease in the international or internal purchasing power of a currency a nation is going to gain or lose general prosperity and to what extent. Attempts at calculating the *real value* of a currency by means of worthless index numbers appear to us only ridiculous although such attempts have an appearance of learning. "Quis accurate loquitur nisi qui vult putide loqui ?"* (Seneca). If the Rupee had been fixed to the pound-sterling at a ratio of sh 1-4d. it would have very likely increased our exports to the degree more or less, as it would increase if our exportable commodities were just now sold at a price about 10 to 12 per cent below present prices. If along with this "devaluation" in the worlds market, the Government had also done a little inflation as would have become necessary to help the increased commerce, the internal trade would also have gained a little strength owing to the tendency to increasing prices, as this measure would have no doubt brought about. This "devaluation" would also have reduced our foreign imports and helped Swadeshi manufacturers and would have created a strong balance of trade in our favour. As all interested people know the tremendous export of gold from India was very largely due to the attempt of the Government to keep up the 1 sh-6d. ratio. The Government of India were very keen on keeping up this ratio as a 1 sh-4d. Rupee would have cut down English exports to India substantially. As a matter of fact all the arguments in favour of the 1 sh-4d. Rupee could be easily found in the government's attitude. What the foreign traders desire strongly has been usually found to be our bane.

Arguments against having a 1 sh 4d. Rupee are not wanting. The most forceful one is many, and many a word of selfless wisdom has

* "For who studies to speak too accurately that does not at the same time design to perplex his auditory ?"

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been uttered under its stimulus, is that it would increase the price of foreign imports. It would, for instance, increase the cost of all projected industrial plants, of imported paper, textiles, yarn for cloth or hosiery, metals, alloys etc. If there is loss of imports there is loss in Customs revenues and the burden of balancing the budget would rest elsewhere. It would make it easier for foreign capital to creep into India. But against these it may be said that such increased prices will help the growth of the Indian machine making industry and other industries although it may inconvenience temporarily some Swadeshi industrialists who depend largely upon foreign plant and imported raw, and half-manufactured materials and, often, on foreign ingredients which they merely mix or just pack up for sale.

Then again in the case of loss of revenue the demand for raising more money out of the country directly will arise. But every intelligent person understands that these indirect taxes are ultimately paid by the buyers of foreign goods. If they do not any more buy these goods, a surplus of unspent wealth will be left with the people and they will be better off to pay further taxes. If a group of Swadeshi manufacturers grow up to replace the imports, they will also pay taxes. In any case no country should be worse off to pay taxes because they do not spend on foreign goods. The question of Home charges is also important. We shall have to spend more in Rupees to meet these charges. Will this mean so much loss as would counterbalance all our gains? We do not think so. Lastly if foreign capital flows our way we should protect our interests in other ways than by refusing it admission.

The ideal currency for India should be independent of all artificial links. If we could have a Gold Standard (assuming that the other great trading nations will also get back to the Gold Standard sooner or later) that would be the best. If on the other hand we have a managed currency, we should manage it for our own benefit and not for that of any other country. Now that the 1s. 6d. Rupee has obtained a fresh lease of life, we should consider these matters seriously. For who knows how soon England will find it profitable to change the value of the Rupee?

A. C.

British Trade in Arms and Ammunition

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the British Prime Minister, took exception in a speech of his in the House of Commons to a statement made by Mr. George Lansbury to the effect that England supplied about one-third of the total world export trade in arms. But the American *Foreign Policy Reports*, dated August 16, 1933, gives the following table compiled from the League of Nations Statistical Year-Book covering the trade of 59 countries and 49 colonies.

The distribution of world trade in arms among these countries is shown in the following table:

	Per cent of total exports in 1930
Great Britain	30.8
France	12.9
United States	11.7
Czechoslovakia	9.6
Sweden	7.8
Italy	6.8
The Netherlands	5.4
Belgium	4.4
Denmark	1.9
Japan	1.9

It will be noted that 55 per cent of the total world exports in 1930 came from three countries—Great Britain, France and the United States. The private arms industries of these three countries, moreover, have been the source of approximately 75 per cent—more than $459,000,000—of all the war materials exported since 1920.

President Roosevelt Wants Criticism of His Programme

President Roosevelt *perhaps* possesses as much power and intelligence as our Anglo-Indian (old style) bureaucrats. But he does not consider himself or his government infallible. His national industrial recovery programme having been enthusiastically welcomed in his country he, addressing some journalists who visited White House, said that "he was dumb-founded by the almost unanimous support given to his programme

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by the American press." He went on to ask :

> Where is your criticism ? You know the Government can make mistakes, and this programme is too vast an undertaking for any one man or set of men to be sure of. We are certain to make blunders. I rely on you newspaper men to check us. If you see us going wrong, for goodness sake, sing out about it. There is no kindness in flattering a wrong cause. I want your criticism as well as your support. It is the best kind ef backing, and the only request I make is that you be prompt about it.

Reviews and Notices of Vernacular Books

We are glad to be able to state that, with the help of our friends, we have resumed the publication of reviews and notices of books in the principal vernaculars of India with effect from the present issue. Authors and publishers will kindly bear in mind that we do not notice periodicals, pamphlets, booklets, reprints of magazine articles, school-books, and the like, nor can we guarantee that every book sent to us will be reviewed.

The Muhammadan Uprising in Chinese Turkistan

Indian readers of newspapers have not forgotten the news relating to the Muhammadan rebellion in Chinese Turkistan which appeared sometime ago in the dailies sporadically. It was felt that China was being weakened on the one hand by Japan and on the other by this uprising. And Hindu India was much agitated by the news of the rebels' attack on Hindu merchants. According to a paragraph in an article in the last October number of *Current History* of America there has been 'peaceful' penetration in China on the part of France, too. Mr. Wilbar Burton, the author of the article, writes :

> Yunnan, according to authoritative sources, has become virtually a part of French Indo-China. The British-trained army of Tibet has been encroaching on Szechuan for the past eighteen months. A recent Mahomedan uprising in Sinkiang (Chinese Turkistan) which, according to Chinese and Soviet accounts, was financed and directed by the British, has set up an allegedly autonomous government there with the apparent resulting loss of the territory to China."

It is the duty of the British Government to contradict the statement contained in the last few lines quoted above.

Reciprocity and Retaliation

According to Sir Samuel Hoare's memorandum no British subject, whether British by birth or otherwise, should be disabled from holding offices or practising any trade, profession or calling in British India only by reason of his religion, descent, caste, colour or place of birth, and that this principle would be applicable in the case of all British subjects including those of the British Dominions. Indian settlers in South Africa are practically treated as pariahs, do not enjoy the same civic status as the Whites and are subjected to many galling restrictions and disabilities. But India must not discriminate against the South African Whites in the same way, because Queen Victoria's Proclamation gave British subjects equal rights ! But this Proclamation gave assurances to Indians in India, not to South African Whites in South Africa. In fact, most Whites in South Africa had not become British subject in 1858, when the Proclamation was issued. Many solemn pledges *given to Indians,* including those contained in the Proclamation, are treated as mere scraps of paper, or, at the best, as "declarations of intention ;" but an assurance wrongly assumed to have been given to South African Whites, for example, when they have not become British subjects, must be respected. Of course, this is very unjust and galling to the self-respect of Indians. But who cares for the self-respect of people who are not free, or, rather, who is bound to assume that such people have any self-respect ?

Another matter in which India may be deprived of the right to insist on reciprocity relates to British medical men practising in India and Indian medical men practising in Great Britain. When the Legislative Assembly voted for the passage of the India Medical Council Bill, in the form in which it came out of the hands of the Select Committee, it was on the understanding that the provisions of the Bill relating to the right of retaliation

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and other important rights would not be tampered with by the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee or other authorities who would draft the Indian Constitution Bill. But from an answer given by Mr. Bajpai to a question in the Assembly it appears that the Joint Select Committee would be free to do what they thought proper !

Indianization in the Army

So *Indianization in the Indian Army* is only an experiment ! There is much grim, though unintended, humour in the letters i n d i a n in the expressions Indianization and Indian army.

Sir Philip Chetwode, addressing the Indian Military Academy cadets, has said :

> We have had only a year in which to judge your progress, but from what I hear and what I see I feel confident that I may tell His Excellency the Viceroy and his Government that the experiment is justifying itself.

Experiment indeed ! As if in the long history of India, there were never any Indian military leaders of consummate ability !

"British Troops the Cement of India"

Recently Major-General Sir Alfred Knox delivered a lecture on "British troops the Cement of India" at a gathering of Conservatives at Manchester. Said he ;

> If you take that cement away, then India will dissolve into warring atoms.

During India's long past history, there have not been more internecine warfare than such warfare during the same period in Europe, which, *minus* Russia, is equal to India. But, though there are no foreign armies of occupation in European countries, they have not dissolved into warring atoms in modern times. There is, therefore, no reason *why in modern times* India should dissolve into warring atoms in the absence of a foreign army of occupation. Besides, when during the last great war there were only 15,000 white soldiers in India, the country neither dissolved into warring atoms nor showed a tendency to do so.

The Late Mr. Vithalbhai Patel's Bequest

It was quite characteristic of the late Mr. Vithalbhai Patel that he should have left more than a lakh of rupees for political work for India, particularly with reference to publicity work intended to place India's case before the civilized world outside India.

Kausambi

It is a welcome piece of news that Mr. Brijnarain Vyas, the cultured, energetic and public-spirited Executive Officer of the Allahabad Municipality has moved the Archæological Department to excavate the ruins of Kausambi, which was in Buddhist times a great capital city.

Allahabad

The Statesman has published the open secret that the piecemeal removal of the capital of the U. P. from Allahabad is intended as a punishment for the political sins of that city.

The Award of the Capitation Charges Tribunal

Though the Capitation Charges Tribunal derives its name from only one of the questions referred to it, its decision covers the whole field of the financial relations between the India Government and the War Office, London. The terms of reference of this Tribunal covered four main points :

> (*a*) Whether, and if so, on what basis, capitation payments should continue, namely, the contribution paid from Indian revenues towards the expenses borne by the War Office and the Air Ministry in recruiting officers, soldiers and airmen in England and training them for service in India ;
>
> (*b*) India's claim that a contribution should be made from Imperial revenues towards military expenditure from Indian revenues ;
>
> (*c*) The claim of the War Office and the Air Ministry that India should pay a direct contribution towards the cost of the Imperial reserves ; and

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(*d*) Whether the sea transport contribution paid by the War Office to India should be continued.

On these heads of military expenditure in dispute between the Government of India and the War Office, the decisions of the Tribunal as accepted by the respective Governments are as follows:

(*a*) The capitation charges in respect of the Army is reduced by £200,000 and the same charges are increased by £93,000 in respect of the Air forces, the net reduction in favour of India being thus £107,000 per annum.
(*b*) The Imperial contribution to Indian defence expenditure is fixed at £1,500,000. This sum would, however, include £130,000 representing the sea transport costs. The net gain in favour of India in respect of defence expenditure will thus be £1,370,000 a year.
(*c*) India will not have to pay any contribution towards the maintenance of Imperial reserves.
(*d*) The War Office will have to pay the sea transport cost, but the contribution will be included in the general contribution of the British Government towards Indian defence expenditure.

It will thus be seen that financially, the India Government has gained more or less on all the points, and the total gain in India's favour has been calculated to be £1,417,000 per annum, the Imperial contribution to Indian defence alone relieving the Indian tax-payer of the cost of about ten British battalions. This will no doubt mean some relief to the Finance Department, but whether the Indian tax-payer will also be benefited depends upon the use that will be made of the saving effected. Will there be a reduction of appromixately two crores in taxation? Will the sum be utilized for fostering education and the industries of the country? Or will the sum be appropriated to the salaries of the Police and the Civil Service?

Descending now from the general to the particular, one finds that the decisions of the Capitation Tribunal and of His Majesty's Government raise important questions of principle. Of these we shall take up only the question of the so-called capitation charges here. For more than a hundred years India has been paying the War Office a regular annual contribution for raising and training in England the British soldiers and officers required in India. The argument is that since India is incapable of defending herself and since Great Britain has to supply her with a contingent of British troops for that purpose India should not only pay for the British troops while they are stationed in India, but also contribute towards the expense of recruiting and training these soldiers in England. Before the war and for some years after it this contribution was paid at an annual *per capita* rate. But in 1926 a provisional settlement was arrived at by which the contribution was fixed at a lump sum of £1,400,000 for the army alone. The fairness of the amount was, however, contested by the India Government, and as a result a tribunal was appointed last year to arbitrate between the War Office and the India Government.

Now, Indian opinion has always objected to this contribution as unfair and burdensome, and its stand on this question has always been clear and consistent. In contradistinction to the Government of India, it has opposed not only the rate of the charge but the charge itself. It has rightly taken up the stand that since the British garrison in India is needed to uphold British Imperial interests, the talk of any service being rendered to India is more or less disingenuous. The question at issue then is the principle of the capitation charges and not simply their rate. This point should be stressed as seriously as possible, because there is just a chance that the immediate gain of something like two crores of rupees would make us overlook the implications of the position into which we are being led.

It cannot be doubted that by making a concession in the rate the British Government aims to place the capitation charges on a firm juridical basis. As the Prime Minister said in announcing the Government's decision in the House of Commons: "This involves the acceptance by the Government of India of capitation charges calculated in accordance with the Tribunal's suggestion as legitimate charges on Indian revenues." If this be a correct estimate of the position with regard to the capitation charges, then one should say that India has yielded on a fundamental principle in return for a negligible gain in pounds, shillings and pence.

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The Reichstag Fire : An Example of Nazi Methods

The belated trial in connexion with the Reichstag fire has just concluded. At the time of writing these lines the text of the judgment is not available in this country. But whatever the contents of that document, it must be admitted fairly generally, that the German Supreme Court has to some extent maintained its reputation by acquitting Herr Torgler, formerly leader of the Communists in the Reichstag, and the Bulgarian Communists, Dimitroff, Popoff and Taneff. We say 'to some extent' only, because if the Court possessed the necessary courage and impartiality, it would not have condemned the half-witted twenty-four-year-old Dutch workman Marinus Van der Lubbe (who, of course, admitted the crime) without demanding that before it did so the other accused (*e. g.*, Goering and his Nazi associates) responsible for the fire be brought before it to stand their trial. But the Court, after all, derives its authority from the Nazi State ; and, naturally, it could not go so far without making itself liable for a 'term' in a concentration camp. Perhaps that is why though the Court sentenced to death the Dutch tramp for high treason in conjunction with, an act of insurrectionary incendiarism and acquitted his alleged accomplices in the crime, it has not passed an opinion as to who the other culprits may have been in view of the decisive facts (i) that Van der Lubbe was closely in touch with the Nazis for some time before the fire and actually spent the whole of 27th February in the company of some Nazis, and (ii) that the fire could not have been brought about by one man.

Van der Lubbe, if at all guilty (his conduct during the trial was suspicious), was no more than an instrument of the Nazi party, whose ends the fire most admirably served. The acquittal of Torgler, Dimitroff, Popoff, and Taneff takes the bottom out of the Nazi case, whatever the story of the planned Communist insurrection was worth (as, indeed, informed opinion was from the very first inclined to discount it). The Court has only repeated the verdict passed by the International Legal Commission of Inquiry which published its findings even before the official trial began at Leipzig. The coincidence of the International Commission's and the Supreme Court's opinions lends additional interest to what the former had to say, and to all that which supports the Commission's views on the political aspect of the whole affair. The Nazi Government described the International Commission as a body deliberately set up to discredit the Nazis in the eyes of the world. But now that its own court has pronounced opinion not very dissimilar to that of the Commission's as regards the guilt of all the accused except Van der Lubbe it would be interesting to hear what the Nazis have to say in their own defence. The Leipzig judgment makes it imperative that the search for real culprits be made in other directions than the one indicated by the prosecuting indictment of the prisoners. In fact, very material facts came to light even before the commencement of the trial : the trial was merely an eye-wash but as to how far it has succeeded in bluffing political opinion all over the world we entertain grave doubts.

The Reichstag fire was too sensational an episode to be soon forgotten, and the public of all countries will doubtless form some opinion of it, if it has not yet. That being so, it is much to be desired that such an opinion should be framed in the light of certain facts which might be given too little consideration.

In the short space possible to devote here it would be best to state some bare facts only. These are : (i) Such an act of incendiarism on the part of the Communist party would surely have been suicidal to their prospects in the elections of March 5 which were close at hand, as, indeed, a vast section of the electorate succumbed to the Communist scare got up by the Nazis. (ii) Herr Torgler himself predicted such an incident during the fifth session of the Prussian State Council on Feb. 23, 1933. The Communists were warned by the Reichswehr previously that some big "provocation" was planned. And because Torgler was so straightforward as to give out his knowledge before the Prussian State Council on Feb. 23, that day's proceedings were withheld from members. (iii) Though the Government declared that they had discovered plans

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for a Communist uprising on the night of Feb. 27-28 the Reichstag building was left sparsely guarded. (iv) The fire was very extensively organized—it was set on from various points with a great deal of fire-raising material. In fact the fire-brigade chief, who got the fire under, testified that "in parts of the Reichstag building which were not destroyed there were great masses of unused incendiary material lying about . . . material which would have completely filled a lorry." Many men, therefore, must have been employed. How did they get in ? And how did they get out ? And how was the incendiary material introduced ?

The building stands on a detached area. It is strongly watched on every side day and night. No one but a member is admitted and that through an elaborate system of permits and shepherding. How could an incendiary gang get in with over a lorry-load of material in the short space of one-and-half hours which elapsed between the closing of the building and the discovery of the fire ? There was one easy way, and no other thinkable one. The building is connected by a subterranean passage with the house of the Reichstag President, who is none else than Goering himself. Obviously, then, this is the only feasible clandestine approach that an early official statement suggested that the Communists "may have been able to escape through." But seeing that it only led to a hostile fortress garrisoned by 30 storm-troopers, this absurd suggestion was dropped. Thus the people who profitted most by the act were also the people who had any power to do it in the way it was done.

There are numerous other considerations, for example, the Oberfohren Memorandum that originated inside the Cabinet itself, but it is not possible to touch upon them here for want of space. But one consideration is important: is it really possible that Goering and Van der Lubbe had part in the fire ? What sort of character do these men possess ? Eight years ago (we are informed in *The Brown Book of the Hitler Terror*) Goering was confined in a lunatic asylum in Sweden, and six months later he was certified by a doctor to be a morphia addict. Facsimiles of documents are given to prove both facts. As for Van der Lubbe there is no evidence that he had any connexion with any Communist movement after 1931 when he left the Dutch Communist party of which he had been a member for some time. There is evidence according to the Commission that he developed hostility to "all forms of working-class organizations," and that he even supported Facist doctrines. From 1927 to 1933 he lived "in a milieu of more or less anarchistic elements and of homo-sexuals."

The Reichstag fire will in any case go down to history as the one single event that more than any other put the Hitlerites in power.

The Eighth Session of the All-India Women's Conference

The All-India Women's Conference which is a standing organization working throughout the year for the social, political, educational and economic uplift of the women of India is holding a very successful eighth session at Calcutta. Lady Abdul Qadir of Lahore presided over the Conference and read a very able address, which, however, we are debarred from commenting on, as we are going to press earlier than usual.

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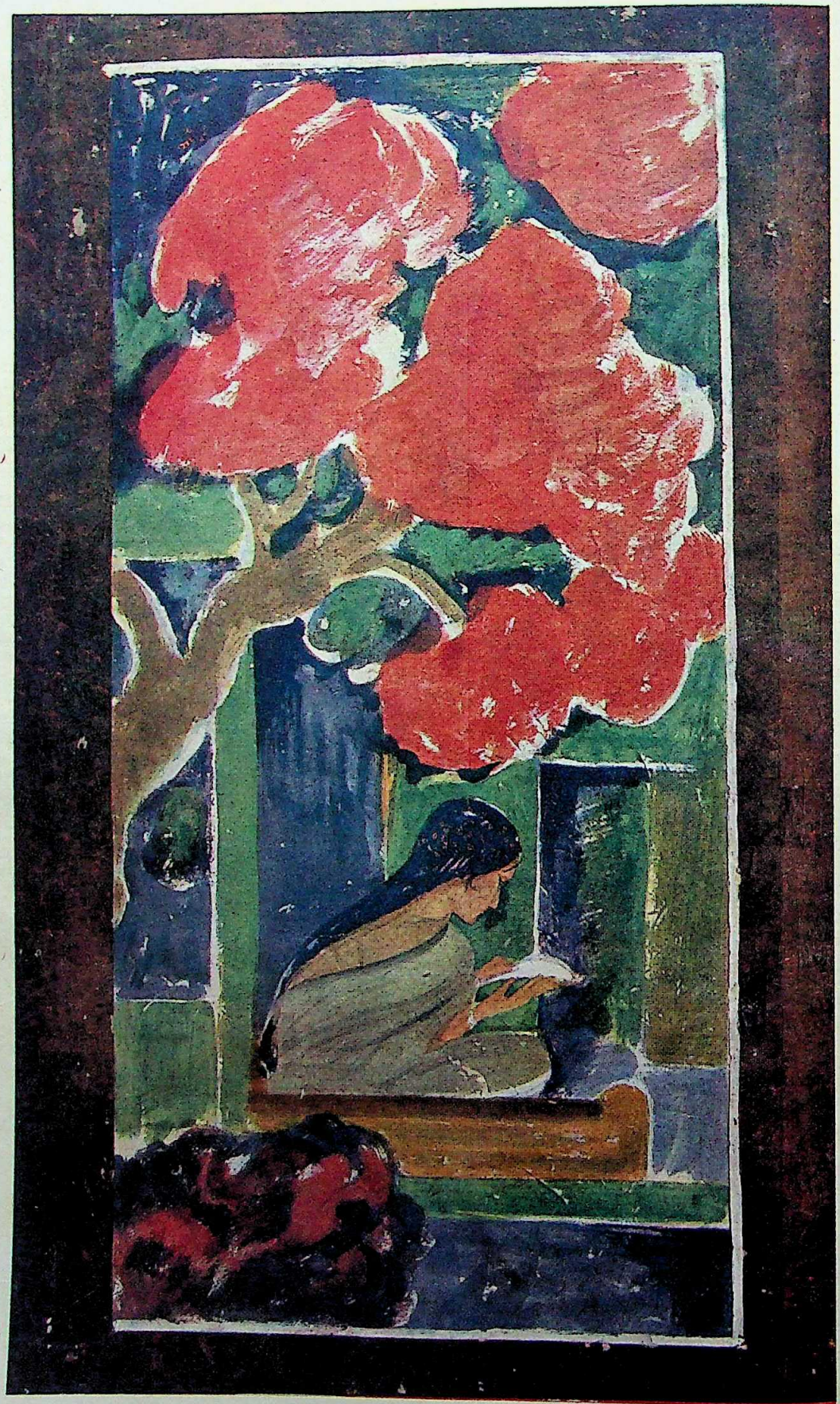

A VILLAGE SCENE
By Nanda Lal Bose

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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THE LAST LETTER

By JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Being the last of a series of historical letters written in gaol to his daughter Indira by Jawaharlal Nehru.

[Jawaharlal Nehru wrote a series of elementary letters to his daughter six years ago. These were published in book form. During his stay in prison in 1931, 1932 and 1933 he continued this series, which was in the form of glimpses of world history. He completed the series, bringing it up to date, in August 1933, a little before his discharge from prison. We understand that arrangements are being made for the publication of the full series in English, Hindi, Urdu, and Gujarati. We give below the last letter of the series.—ED., *M. R.*]

WE have finished, my dear; the long story has ended. I need write no more, but the desire to end off with a kind of flourish induces me to write another letter—the Last Letter!

It was time I finished, for the end of my two year term draws near. In three and thirty days from today I should be discharged, if indeed I am not released sooner, as the jailor sometimes threatens to do. The full two years are not over yet, but I have received three and a half months' remission of my sentence, as all well-behaved prisoners do. For I am supposed to be a well-behaved prisoner, a reputation which I have certainly done nothing to deserve. So ends my sixth sentence and I shall go out again into the wide world, but to what purpose? *A quoi bon?* When most of my friends and comrades lie in jail and the whole country seems a vast prison.

What a mountain of letters I have written! And what a lot of good *swadeshi* ink I have spread out on *swadeshi* paper. Was it worthwhile, I wonder? Will all this paper and ink convey any message to you that will interest you? You will say, 'Yes, of course,' for you will feel that any other answer might hurt me, and you are too partial to me to take such a risk. But whether you care for them or not, you cannot grudge me the joy of having written them, day after day, during these two long years. It was winter when I came. Winter gave place to our brief spring, slain all too soon by the summer heat; and then when the ground was parched and dry and men and beasts panted for breath, came the monsoon with its bountiful supply of fresh and cool rain water. Autumn followed, and the sky was wonderfully clear and blue and the afternoons were pleasant. The year's cycle was over, and again it began: winter and spring and summer and the rainy season. I have sat here, writing to you and thinking of you, and watched the seasons go by, and listened to the pitapat of the rain on my barrack roof—

"O doux bruit de la pluie,
Par terre et sur les toits!
Pour un coeur qui s'ennuie,
Oh! le chant de la pluie!"

"O the sweet sound of the rain,
On the ground and on the roofs!
For a heart that is aweary,
Oh! the song of the rain."

Benjamin Disraeli, the great English statesman of the nineteenth century, has written that

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"Other men condemned to exile and captivity, if they survive, despair; the man of letters may reckon those days as the sweetest of his life." He was writing about Hugo Grotius, a famous Dutch jurist and philosopher of the seventeenth century, who was condemned to imprisonment for life but managed to escape after two years. He spent these two years in prison in philosophic and literary work. There have been many famous literary gaol-birds, the two best known perhaps being the Spaniard, Cervantes, who wrote *Don Quixote*, and the Englishman, John Bunyan, the author of *The Pilgrim's Progress*.

I am not a man of letters and I am not prepared to say that the many years I have spent in jail have been the sweetest in my life, but I must say that reading and writing have helped me wonderfully to get through them. I am not a literary man, and I am not a historian; what indeed am I? I find it difficult to answer that question. I have been a dabbler in many things; I began with science at college and then took to the law and, after developing various other interests in life, finally adopted the popular and widely-practised profession of jail-going in India!

You must not take what I have written in these letters as the final authority on any subject. A politician wants to have a say on every subject, and he always pretends to know much more than he actually does. He has to be watched carefully! These letters of mine are but superficial sketches joined together by a thin thread. I have rambled on, skipping centuries and many important happenings, and then pitching my tent for quite a long time on some event which interested me. As you will notice, my likes and dislikes are pretty obvious, and so also sometimes are my moods in jail. I do not want you to take all this for granted; there may indeed be many errors in my accounts. A prison, with no libraries or reference books at hand, is not the most suitable place to write on historical subjects. I have had to rely very largely on the many note books which I have accumulated since I began my visits to jail twelve years ago. Many books have also come to me here; they have come and gone, for I could not collect a library here. I have shamelessly taken from these books facts and ideas; there is nothing original in what I have written. Perhaps occasionally you may find my letters difficult to follow; skip those parts, do not mind them. The grown-up in me got the better of me sometimes and I wrote as I should not have done.

I have given you the barest outline; this is not history; they are just fleeting glimpses of our long past. If history interests you if you feel some of the fascination of history you will find your way to many books, which will help you to unravel the threads of past ages. But reading books alone will not help. If you would know the past, you must look upon it with sympathy and with understanding. To understand a person who lived long ago, you will have to understand his environment, the conditions under which he lived, the ideas that filled his mind. It is absurd for us to judge of past people as if they lived now and thought as we do. There is no one to defend slavery today, and yet the great Plato held that slavery was essential. Within recent times scores of thousands of lives were given in an effort to retain slavery in the United States. We cannot judge the past from the standards of the present. Every one will willingly admit this. But everyone will not admit the equally absurd habit of judging the present by the standards of the past. The various religions have especially helped in petrifying old beliefs and faiths and customs which may have had some use in the age and country of their birth, but which are singularly unsuitable in our present age.

If, then, you look upon past history with the eye of sympathy, the dry bones will rise up with flesh and blood, and you will see a mighty procession of living men and women and children in every age and every clime, different from us and yet very like us, with much the same human virtues and human failings. History is not a magic show, but there is plenty of magic in it for those who have eyes to see.

Innumerable pictures from the gallery of history crowd our minds: Egypt—Babylon—Nineveh—the old Indian civilizations—the coming of the Aryans to India and their spreading out over Europe and Asia—the wonderful record of Chinese culture—Knossos and Greece

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—Imperial Rome and Byzantium—the triumphant march of the Arabs across two continents—the renaissance of Indian culture and its decay—the little known Maya and Aztec civilizations of America—the vast conquests of the Mongols—the Middle Ages in Europe with their wonderful Gothic cathedrals—the coming of Islam to India and the Mughal Empire—the Renaissance of learning and art in Western Europe—the discovery of America and the sea-routes to the East—the beginnings of Western aggression in the East—the coming of the big machine and the development of capitalism—the spread of industrialism and European domination and imperialism—and the wonders of science in the modern world.

Great empires have risen and fallen and been forgotten by man for thousands of years, till their remains were dug up again by patient explorers from under the sands that covered them. And yet many an idea, many a fancy has survived and proved stronger and more peristent than the empire.

"Egypt's might is tumbled down
Down a-down the deeps of thought ;
Greece is fallen and Troy town,
Glorious Rome hath lost her crown,
Venice' pride is nought.

But the dreams their children dreamed
Fleeting, unsubstantial, vain,
Shadowy as the shadows seemed,
Airy nothings, as they deemed,
These remain."

So sings Mary Coleridge.

The past brings us many gifts ; indeed all that we have today of culture, civilization, science or knowledge of some aspects of the truth, is a gift of the distant or recent past to us. It is right that we acknowledge our obligation to the past. But the past does not exhaust our duty or obligation. We owe a duty to the future also and perhaps that obligation is even greater than the one we owe to the past. For the past is past and done with, we cannot change it ; the future is yet to come and perhaps we may be able to shape it a little. If the past has given us some part of the truth, the future also hides many aspects of the truth and invites us to search for it. But often the past is jealous of the future and holds us in a terrible grip, and we have to struggle with it to get free to face and advance towards the future.

History, it is said, has many lessons to teach us ; and there is another saying that history never repeats itself. Both are true, for we cannot learn anything from it by slavishly trying to copy it, or by expecting it to repeat itself or remain stagnant ; but we can learn something from it by prying behind it and trying to discover the forces that move it. Even so what we get is seldom a straight answer. "History," says Karl Marx, "has no other way of answering old questions than by putting new ones."

The old days were days of faith, blind, unquestioning faith. The wonderful temples and mosques and cathedrals of past centuries could never have been built but for the over-powering faith of the architects and builders and people generally. The very stones they reverently put one on top of the other, or carved in beautiful designs, tell us of this faith. The old temple spire, the mosque with its slender minarets, the Gothic cathedral—all of them pointing upward with an amazing intensity of devotion as if, offering a prayer in stone or marble to the sky above—thrill us even now, though we may be lacking in that faith of old of which they are the embodiments. But the days of that faith are gone, and gone with them is that magic touch in stone. Thousands of temples and mosques and cathedrals continue to be built but they lack the spirit that made them live during the Middle Ages. There is little difference between them and the commercial offices which are so representative of our age.

Our age is a different one ; it is an age of disillusion, of doubt and uncertainty and questioning. We can no longer accept many of the ancient beliefs and customs ; we have no more faith in them, in Asia or in Europe or America. So we search for new ways, new aspects of the truth more in harmony with our environment. And we question each other and debate and quarrel and evolve any number of 'isms' and philosophies. As in the days of Socrates, we live in an age of questioning, but that questioning is not confined to a city like Athens ; it is world-wide.

Sometimes the injustice, the unhappiness, the brutality of the world oppresses us and darkens our minds, and we see no way out. With Matthew Arnold, we feel that there is

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no hope in this world and all we can do is to be true to one another.

"For the world which seems
To lie before us, like a land of dreams,
So various, so beautiful, so new,
Hath really neither joy, nor love, nor light,
Nor certitude, nor peace, nor help for pain ;
And we are here, as on a darkling plain
Swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight,
Where ignorant armies clash by night."

And yet if we take such a dismal view, we have not learnt aright the lesson of life or of history. For history teaches us of growth and progress and of the possibility of an infinite advance for man. And life is rich and varied, and though it has many swamps and marshes and muddy places, it has also the great sea, and the mountains, and snow, and glaciers, and wonderful star-lit nights (especially in jail !), and the love of family and friends, and the comradeship of workers in a common cause, and music, and books and the empire of ideas. So that each one of us may well say :

"Lord, though I lived on earth, the child of earth,
Yet was I fathered by the starry sky."

It is easy to admire the beauties of the universe and to live in a world of thought and imagination. But to try to escape in this way from the unhappiness of others, caring little what happens to them, is no sign of courage or fellow-feeling. Thought, in order to justify itself, must lead to action. "Action is the end of thought," says our friend Romain Rolland. "All thought which does not look towards action is an abortion and a treachery. If then we are the servants of thought, we must be the servants of action."

People avoid action often because they are afraid of the consequences, for action means risk and danger. Danger seems terrible from a distance ; it is not so bad if you have a close look at it. And often it is a pleasant companion, adding to the zest and delight of life. The ordinary course of life becomes dull at times and we take too many things for granted and have no joy in them. And yet how we appreciate these common things of life when we have lived without them for a while ! Many people go up high mountains and risk life and limb for the joy of the climb and the exhilaration that comes from a difficulty surmounted, a danger overcome ; and because of the danger that hovers all around them, their perceptions get keener, their joy of the life which hangs by a thread the more intense.

All of us have their choice of living in the valleys below with their unhealthy mists and fogs but giving a measure of bodily security ; or of climbing the high mountains with risk and danger for companions, to breathe the pure air above, and take joy in the distant views, and welcome the rising sun.

I have given you many quotations and extracts from poets and others in this letter. I shall finish up with one more. It is from the *Gitanjali* ; it is a poem, or prayer, by Rabindranath Tagore :

"Where the mind is without fear and the head
is held high ;
Where knowledge is free ;
Where the world has not been broken up into
fragments by narrow domestic walls ;
Where words come out from the depth of truth ;
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards
perfection ;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its
way into the dreary desert sand of dead
habit ;
Where the mind is led forward by thee into
ever-widening thought and action—
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my
country awake.

We have finished, carissima, and this last letter ends. The last letter ! Certainly not. I shall write you many more. But this series ends, and so

Tamam Shud !

Dehra Dun Jail
August 9th, 1933

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OUR PROTECTION POLICY

By NILAKANTHA DAS

THE Indian Tariff Board is sitting on enquiring to recommend, if necessary, an extension of protection to the Indian Steel Industry, that is, mainly, if not entirely, to the Tata Iron and Steel Company at Jamshedpur. About ten years India has been passing through a period of giving protection to industries, and for over three years industrial countries like England have been, so to say, mad after protecting their own industries. Depression in trade leads to protection and protection ends in further depression. Thus the world's commerce is moving in a vicious circle. India that has no voice to be called her own finds herself in the midst not only of a vicious circle but of a dangerous whirlpool. Many a tariff board has come and gone. Practically they have taken evidence from capitalists interested in industries and other similar interested parties. The consumer and the tax-payer who bear the burden of protection, are hardly taken into any serious account, though every thing is formally done in their name. The reason is that the mass of the population are not alive to the effects of measures like protection. Nor are they made to feel the effects, as all protection is given by tariffs on imported articles—*i.e.* by indirect taxes.

A nation gives protection to its own industries when any industry cannot compete with foreign imported products in price, but is expected to compete in course of time as a result of the protection. This protection is of two forms—one is Bounty, and the other is Duty.

(1) *Bounty*—In a system of Bounty Government directly gives money to the industry to make up its difference in price with the same kind of imported articles. For instance, say, if the fair selling price of galvanized sheets made by the Tata Company is found to be not less than Rs. 236 per ton and the imported article sells at Rs. 153 per ton, then the Government may give a direct help of Rs. 83 per ton to the Tata Company to enable it to sell its galvanized sheets in competition with imported articles. This is called Bounty and it is met from the Government revenues, that is, by the general tax-payer of the country.

(2) *Duty*—Similar help can also be given by taxing the imported articles. This tax is called Duty. In the above instance the Government instead may levy a duty of Rs. 83 per ton on imported galvanized sheets, which they are actually doing today. Tariff is a list of these Statutory duties and we therefore generally say protection by tariffs, that is, duties on several imported articles.

In all protection the nation pays on the calculated assurance that the industry protected will in course of time stand on its own legs, *i.e.*, face competition without protection. Protection which does not end in gradual progress and expansion of the industry is useless and is a waste of national wealth. Hence in a system of protection a careful application of the money with a watchful vigilance to ensure growth of national wealth and economy is essential.

Bounty is a definite grant. Its administration may be a little more difficult, but it makes the giver always watchful and the receiver careful. It is based on direct tax—which is the main stay of progressive taxation. Direct tax may be unpalatable, but it is always directed to classes of people who can pay, and its progressive character readily contributes to an increase of national wealth. It affects neither the consumer nor the poorer class of the tax-payer. But as Governments generally have to deal with the organized opposition of richer classes in the country, the unintelligent and unorganized mass of the population, *i.e.*, the poorer tax-payer and the general consumer are more easily made to bear the main burden of the State, without knowing that they bear it. Hence Governments generally shrink from levying direct taxes, and this is very often responsible for

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preferring tariffs to bounties in the matter of protection.

Duty is always an indirect taxation. We are paying indirect taxes on many of our articles of use, such as, cloth, matches, kerosene, salt, etc, etc. This indirect tax not only makes prices of imported articles higher, for these imported articles pay the tax directly to the Government; but all prices adapt themselves up to the price of those imported articles and the living becomes dearer in consequence. In the above instance suppose for some reason the fair selling price of the Tatas' Galvanized Sheets could be reduced, but so long as the duty remains unreduced Tatas will never think of reducing their prices. Thus, this indefinite protection by tariff, given by an indirect unconscious payment by the people, affords a bad sense of security to the industry protected, which consequently becomes careless about the money it receives. Hence a system of indirect taxation is always regressive in its effect and is bad for national economy. To a certain extent it can only be adopted in countries where the standard of living is so high that a little indirect increase on account of taxation will not palpably affect the economic condition of the people.

Protection by tariff, moreover, is fatal to national economy where the normal production, in the country, of the particular articles protected is a small part, say less than half, of the normal consumption of the same article in the country. For instance, Tatas' maximum production of steel is calculated under best of conditions to be six hundred thousand tons. The normal Indian consumption of steel is twelve hundred thousand to fifteen hundred thousand tons. So with all the necessary protection the country never expects to supply half the market in steel. But the consumer under the tariff system is being made to pay to the Government on more than half the articles consumed. Another glaring instance is that of the galvanized sheets to protect which the consumer pays more than Rs. 83 per ton. This protection began when Tatas could supply only 12 % of the Indian consumption. Inspite of all this artificial prop the present supply of the Tatas has not gone beyond 32% (last year's account).

Thus considering the general principles of protection the present Indian tariff system is not *prima facie* suitable to the present industrial and economic circumstances prevailing in India. Well-considered bounty should have been the only course followed; for bounty is definite both in the amount of money spent as well as the effect produced. In a system of bounty there can be no waste of tax-payers' money, and today the ordinary tax-payer and the consumer has no extra pie to spare for the luxury of protection.

Now let us consider the particular conditions prevailing in India in relation to the world's trade, and their bearing on our policy of protection.

After the world war prospects of industries all over the world looked up. India's steel and iron wares were a great help to the British nation during the war. During this period as well as in the period of boom that followed Indian iron and steel brought money beyond all expectation. The reaction began in 1922. All over the country the capitalist industrialists raised a clamour for protection to our industries; for all other industries more or less had followed the same course as that of steel and iron.

In this cry for protection some salient points need be remembered. World's industry in different countries has developed different ideals and different methods of progress. During the course of the war Russia developed communism, *i. e.*, Russia wanted to nationalize all industries and developed methods of industrial progress in which the old world capitalist was of no use. The United States of America did not give up captialism but it sought to nationalize industry and to base it as far as possible on human expectations. It developed methods of giving higher pay for better profit in which the labourer became gradually conscious that he had a definite share. The barrier of aristocracy between capital and labour began gradually to break down. Recently Japan has attempted a new method, and perhaps successfully. This is an amalgam, so to say, or a synthesis of the Russian and the American methods. There are capitalists who finance industries and at

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the same time all industry is the property of the nation as it were. The profit as well as the labour is the concern of the State. All these three countries, particularly Russia, are vast agricultural countries and conditions prevailing there approach those in India except that in India the people have practically nothing to do with the policy of the State.

In industrial countries like England where the system is very old the methods are so to say antiquated. Capital and Labour stand apart and an age-long aristocratic mentality stands practically like a stone wall between them. The idea underlying this method is that Labour must be fleeced so that capital may flourish and the strength of money is considered the real strength of the State. India in her industrial outlook is a creature of England. For various reasons, which may or may not bear mention here, she has got to follow in the footsteps of England, and even in matters of detail where freedom could, to a certain extent, be exercised she does not think or act freely. So whatever is done in England or say dominions like Canada, must be followed in India. In our policy of protection this mentality, it will be explained, has already been responsible for a good deal of mischief, and the interests of the nation will suffer if we do not think and act freely in our industrial policy even now.

Without giving any detailed explanation in this connection it may be mentioned that on the 16th February, 1923, when the policy of protection first came up for discussion in the Legislative Assembly, Mr. C. A. Innes (now Sir Charles Innes), the then Commerce Member, said as follows on behalf of the Government of India :

> "Our policy of protection must increase the level of price for the consumer generally and particularly for the agricultural and middle classes. There is no getting away from this fact. By discrimination we may mitigate the rise. But the fact remains, and it is so certain that I do not propose to argue it, that a policy of protection must mean an increase of prices in India. Now, I am well aware that many countries have gone in boldly for a policy of protection in spite of this disadvantage. But we are considering the case of India. We are not considering the case of countries with a high standard of living like the United States of America and like dominions such as Canada and Australia. People of countries like that can no doubt pay the inevitable price that protection demands. But in India we have a country of 300 millions. Two thirds of that population are agriculturists. Most of them are poor, and the standard of comfort is low. One thing I think is certain. If the agricultural classes were able fully to bring their influence to bear upon this Assembly, I doubt very much whether this Assembly today would accept my amendment. I doubt indeed whether I should be putting that amendment (*i.e.*. in favour of discrimnating protection) forward. The agricultural classes in every country in the world, I think, I may say this with confidence, stand to gain the least and lose the most by a policy of protection. But even if we leave the agricultural classes out of consideration, is there any one in this house who can view without alarm, having regard to the conditions of India, the prospect of a substantial rise of prices following upon the development of a policy of protection ? It is easy to say that India must be prepared for a sacrifice. But surely the experience of the last few years has demonstrated even to the most unobservant, the effect of high prices not only upon the public finances of India but also upon the political, social and economic conditions throughout the country."

The general consumer of industrial products—the general tax-payer as well as the poor agriculturalist, is practically one and the same man in India and according to the above sentiments expressed by the Government, a policy of protection and that by tariffs, cannot be conducive to the interest of the Indian masses. It may, however, be asked, why the Government after expressing these sentiments consented to a policy of protection. The Government amendment on the same occasion, *i.e.*, on the 16th February, 1923, included the following clause :

> (b) That in the application of the above principle of protection regard must be had to the financial needs of the country and to the present dependence of the Government of India on Import and Export and Excise duties for a large part of its revenues."

Thus it is clear that the Government has developed a vested interest in this policy of protection by tariff and an examination of the Indian Budget year after year will bear out how the customs revenue rose year after year on account of the protective tariff on industrial products. If the Government want money they may tax the people and take the consequences, if any. But to balance their budget they should not take shelter under a policy of protection and thus trade upon the patriotic sentiment of the people on the one hand, and the self-interest of the capitalist on the other.

The significance of the above clause in the Government amendment has been of late

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sought to be explained away in some interested quarters by the assertion that high protective tariffs may at once reduce consumption of foreign articles very markedly and Government might lose much of its revenue realized from customs, which is the main stay of Government finances. This plausible explanation was neither meant nor is borne out by the policy since followed by the Government. Ordinarily high duties are responsible for lower consumption and a consequent reduction of revenue. But there is always a minimum normal consumption which cannot be much reduced in ordinary times. The present abnormal fall of revenue, if any, is due to circumstances affecting the quantity and price of world trade and not to purely local conditions.

Again, had that been the intention of the Government, *i.e.*, had the Government been afraid of high prices in the country apprehending an abnormal fall in customs revenue, Government might have taken to a consistent policy of protecting our industries by a system of giving bounties. Bounty would mean a direct taxation. But that taxation, as I have said, could be well directed to people who could pay taxes like super-tax on income, death duty etc. It would affect neither the general tax-payer nor the consumer of the industrial products who is ordinarily poor, or, the Government might contract a loan of a few crores for the purpose of protecting our industries. The tax-payer would pay the interest of this productive loan for a few years and then the industry would pay it. A furtherance of our industrial wealth by this means would ultimately be as much paying, if not more, as our railway debt. But these are means and methods which do not suit the fixed policy of parties interested in ruling over our destinies.

Thus the present policy of protection has a definite plan and a political motive behind it. The poor man, the consumer, is being bled white to fatten only a few industrial magnates in the land. But neither any industry as such is really promoted nor the mass of the nation is benefited in any other way. This *prima facie* may look absurd. Let us indicate the real reason behind this apparent absurdity. The dissatisfied masses of India cannot permanently be depended upon. Sooner or later they will become alive to their own interests, however much one may try to throw dust in their eyes. A foreign Government must in that case have to depend on some elements of the community of the governed. These elements must be made to remain under obligation to that Government. Zemindars of old were created and protected at a time with this object in view. But for many obvious reasons they may not be now considered an adequate safeguard. Hence another like element of the community is to be sought for, and this is found in the owners of industries. Various measures, again, are being devised to identify their interests with the interests of external capital working in this country. The recent White Paper proposes such an identity of interests in trade and industries; but the ordinary man in the street wonders as to what a proposal like this for equal opportunities of trade and industry does actually signify. The consumer may be alarmed to imagine the state of things—the effects of all his protection—under the Government proposed in the White Paper, when statutory elimination of commercial discrimination will have its full sway in this country. Big competitive English firms will rise up, and the perpetually protection-pampered firms like Tatas, for instance, will either count out their days in supplying cheap basic materials to those firms or will lose their own existence in the midst of those firms. This danger is enough to dispel the lethargic sense of security under a system of protection by tariffs supported by an interested Government and make our industries try at once to stand on their own legs to face all competition successfully.

In this connection the misgivings of the Indian consumer in another like direction must be seriously taken into account. The tariff policy of the Government of India is intimately connected with the policy of Imperial, or more correctly, British preference. Here it may be noted that our protection to industry began only in 1924 in connection with the steel industry, *i.e.*, the Tata Iron and Steel Company of Jamshedpur. The policy was inaugurated mainly in giving bounty to the Tatas on certain articles. The tariff was rather negligible. The same method was repeated in 1925. The Legislative Assembly was made

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to sanction this policy which was to be in force for three years. But unfortunately for the Indian consumer and the mass this much-praised Bounty Policy was made a thin end of the wedge for a purely protective tariff policy for the future and the Legislative Assembly was sought to be lulled in the belief that it had been committed to a policy of protection to steel industry, no matter whether it was to be by bounty or by tariff. It may now be clear that this was a deliberate change, a measure adopted as one most suitable for Imperial or British preference. The same Sir Charles Innes, who was then the Member for Commerce and Railways, had to represent India in the Imperial Economic Conference of 1923 in London, where he said :

> "Large sums have been set aside for the rehabilitation of her (India's) Railways and I hope that we may be able to embark on some new construction. On Railway material alone we spent last year, almost entirely in this country, more than 8½ millions sterling. Other development schemes are in contemplation, and in one way or another the Government estimate that something like 70 millions sterling will be spent on imported stores during *the next five years* for the Railways and other development schemes. As in the past so in the future, I have no doubt that the skill and enterprise of the British manufacturers will see to it that the vast bulk of their (Indians') moneys will be spent in this country."

The next five years of the above statement was to end in 1928 and preference to British Steel was enacted in the Indian Legislature in 1927 along with tariff protection to Indian Steel industry. To make the above quotation intelligible it may be further explained here, that in the name of development in India, the Indian Government made a plan for huge Railway construction and they proposed to borrow 30 crores of rupees a year for five years mostly in England. Much of it was to go to purchase British Steel, though during these five years all the money could not be spent nor the purchased materials fully utilized for new Railway construction. This five year plan nevertheless was to end in 1928 and new ways for supplying market to British Steel were necessary.

But plausible arguments are not wanting in support of preference to British Industry. Treasury Benches in the Indian Legislature may still use them somewhat effectively in the House. But it may be well suggested, if preference is really necessary, the Indian tax-payer should be asked to take to other means, free and straightforward. He may be asked, for instance, to purchase definite quantities by convention. But a preference worked automatically under a system of protective tariff is not only bad economy, but it affects national morality.

Protective tariff under our Indian circumstances should be, therefore, by all means avoided. If it can be proved that protection to any industry is still a real necessity, bounty is the only course to follow. After all this, if a tariff policy is still contemplated, first of all preference should be scrupulously eliminated and secondly the money obtained by Government beyond revenue duty, should be earmarked and set apart for expansion and promotion of industry and other works of nation-building.

An interested Government combined with the interested capitalists ought not to lead the patriotic mass of the consuming public into a policy the disastrous effects of which the latter are never allowed either to comprehend fully or to counteract effectively.

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RUSSIA TODAY

By NITYA NARAYAN BANERJEE

IT was 9 o'clock in the morning. For the fine arrangement of central steam heating I had a nice sound sleep. I remember a day in Hamburg, where I stayed in a hotel without central heating : although the whole body was in fur quilt the head with the brain inside seemed to be frozen, callous—the whole room seemed to be a cold storage and myself a cold piece of meat. In England too in most of the hotels and pensions one has to have the same experience, as the English people are too conservative to change their gas fire and their small buildings do not justify a central heating arrangement. But in this hotel the heating arrangement was splendid—there was hot and cold water running in the bath-room. The breakfast was not a palatable one ; only I could take the 'Chai' (Tea) and a piece of brown bread.

"Good morning, had a nice sleep ?" Said the smiling face of my guide in the dining room.

"Aren't you ready ? Oh, what a lazy fellow you are," added she.

Taking my last sip I said, "Yes I am ready—I was just waiting for you.".

"Come on ; we should not lose any time today."

"Excuse me, I am bringing my overcoat from my room, a minute please," begged I. The lift brought me up ; on the way to my room in the corridor I met some children. They were so nice and charming that I could not help stopping a moment near them. One of them—a girl aged about seven, asked in clear English, "Do you speak English ?" I was glad indeed to have a chance to talk with these pretty babies. I asked, "Are you Russian ? How do you speak such good English." The girl replied, "No, I am American. My father is an Engineer here."

"How long have you been here ?"

"About ten months, but you know we are not going to stay here longer. The Russians are very bad people."

I was eager to know why this little baby was so angry with the Russians. She added, "My father had two years' contract here, but they are treating us very badly. You know they are so naughty that so long they need our service they will worship us, but when they themselves understand the job they try to kick us out but as they made contract with us they can not do it straight, that is why they are treating us so badly." It was evident that the other two girls could not understand our talk. I asked them, "Can't speak English ?" They laughed and said something which I could not understand. The American girl said, "They can't speak English, they are Russian. But I can speak Russian, German and French too." To test her I asked in German, "How did you learn so many languages ?" She began to talk like a machine. "Oh, I had been in Germany for two years and in France a year. My father used to work there." I came to my senses ; I had been detaining the guide unnecessarily. They all bent their knees a little and nodded. The American girl enquired, "Will you please come to our music this evening ?" I promised to come if I could come back by that time.

The guide advised that it would be convenient to see round the city with a taxi as more things could be seen in a day. I agreed to the proposal. So we had to go to the Intourist Office to make arrangements for the taxi. The office was not very far and the temperature was not so terrible ; so we walked.

Not a single shop with the fine continental art of display came to my notice. Motor buses were very rare but the Russians hope to have plenty of them very soon, when their own motor factories will begin to produce them. Now as Russia has no credit in the world market she has to buy every thing by gold, by selling their food or timber. There are a few hackney carriages, mostly for carrying loads, some with pneumatic tyres. These are still private property. Now Russia has allowed private trade provided no one is

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exploited by that. There are laws which prohibit employment of any person by any individual trader except on some special condition. Even the farmers are not allowed to hire labour except in illness or under some such conditions. The revolutionaries have changed their laws regarding private enterprise but not the aim. Now all sorts of private trade can be carried on in Russia by law. But for the heavy taxes, supertaxes and apathy of the State, it is practically impossible to carry on any business on a large scale. The potter may produce his goods and sell them in the open market—the weaver, carpenter, blacksmith or such other individual traders can carry on their trade individually and sell their goods publicly, provided they do not hire any labourers, that is, exploit others' labour, but all private traders are defranchised, taxed and that heavily and noticed with a suspicious look. To forfeit one's property is the most common punishment in Russian Court in case of a private trader. A private trader's son will have the last chance in school, hospital, club and army, his children will have to pay more for their education, food, clothing and lodging. From every side the State is eager to take as much as possible from a private trader, it is their main object to strike the death blow to individual trading, as that is their greatest enemy. There is no private shopkeeper in Leningrad, no private taxi, house, no immovable personal property: every thing is owned by the state. If any one incurs the wrath of the State he is sure to starve, as there is none to employ him; if he has money it will be soon exausted by the heavy prices of goods which a non-labourer must pay. If anyone does the work of a middleman, *i.e.*, buys goods from villages at cheaper rates and sells in towns at higher rates thereby having some profit for himself, he is prosecuted and sentenced heavily.

On the way I saw a boy begging on the foot-path. I jokingly asked the guide, "Well, is it a fact that you have no unemployment and no beggar ?"

"Yes it is so—have you any doubt about it ?"

Pointing to the boy I said, "He speaks against your statement."

"Ah, those are naughty boys. They are often taken to nurseries by the police—but they are habitual beggars, they fly away from the nursery and begin to beg. They are lazy by blood, they prefer begging to work. But fortunately they are very few," said she. I asked, "Surely these poor boys are not treated well there. Had they got better and loving treatment, why would they leave the nursery and beg in this cold ?"

"You see, by blood they are so idle that they don't like the discipline and work of the nurseries. You understand ?"

A Picture in Hermitage. Leningrad

"Yes, but why are your people so poor in general. Everyone is insufficiently clothed and probably not well fed. What have you gained by the revolution, by so much bloodshed ?" asked I.

She replied, "True it is that we have not got enough clothing to clothe the whole population and not even enough food for the whole nation but in pre-revolutionary days all the people of the nation could not get food even daily, while some of the upper classes

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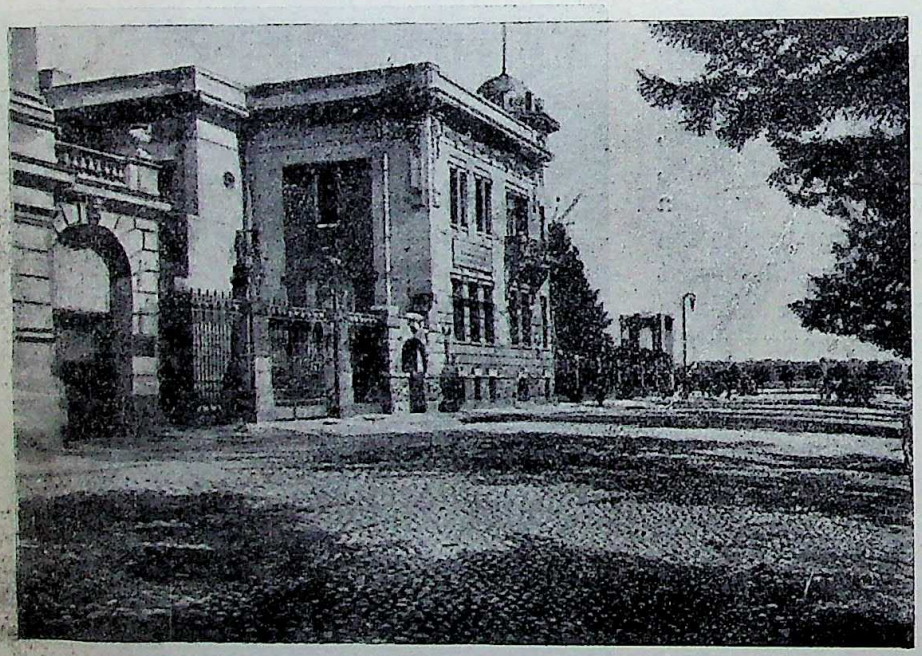
used to eat in gold dishes and throw them away—now though we don't get good quality of food, all of us get sufficient food to satisfy hunger, and in our Second Five Year Plan we will have more light industries, *i.e.*, food and cloth ; our standard of living will be raised."

We came before the Intourist office, pushed the revolving glass door and went inside. It was "Pramila Kingdom," where there are only women. Not a single male clerk came to my notice, all were ladies. I asked my guide, "Well, have you driven out the other sex from office works ?"



The first residence of the Cental Committee of the Communist Party—Leningrad. From the arrow-marked balcony Lenin delivered his first lecture after his return from foreign land.

She replied, "Yes, they have to do heavier works. Factories have absorbed all male labour, so we have to do all these light works."

"So you are the bourgoiousie now and males are the proletariat," smiled I.

"But we never fear heavier works. There are female tractor and locomotive drivers, soldiers and even envoys. Owing to our physical difficulty we may not do some works but we never fear any work," protested she.

This is true. Even the tram drivers and conductors were females. But what a horror is a Russian tram ; they are always packed to the inch—about five to seven passengers always hang on the footboard holding the iron handle. At the stoppage it stops for a whi never cares whether the passengers cou get in or get out. One has to force his wa into the trams but first of all he should mak a little place for his one foot to hang on th footboard—then gradually by outside pus and through his effort he can make a roo on the platform. There are only two line of benches inside, each is broad enough t accommodate one person only. Trams ar meant for standing. The window glasses ar all smeared with hard snow with a sma circular gap caused by the fingers o passengers eager to se their destination. It i impossible to bend dow to take anything fro the floor. I remembe an incident. A passenge before leaving the ca cried, "I have lost on shoe—it has just slippe off my foot." Every on bent his head down wards but none dare or could search it becaus every one is jammed an the poor passenger ha to get down with on shoe on. One thin surprised me. The peopl were so poor, but non was eager to deceiv the conductor by no paying the fare ; instead the passengers wer passing their money to the conductor throug fellow passengers from one corner to the oth corner. It seemed everyone thought it the duty to pay the fare, as they knew the tram car were their own property. The so-called morali countries should learn the honesty of th Russian poor. If anybody wanted to ge down at a certain stoppage he should try t make his way out before two or three stop from the destination. In winter such rush i to some extent relieving, but God knows wha it is in the summer.

We got down near a "Creche" as she tol me, the "workers' children Home." We pu off our overcoat and over-shoes in the cloa room and went upstairs. My guide asked

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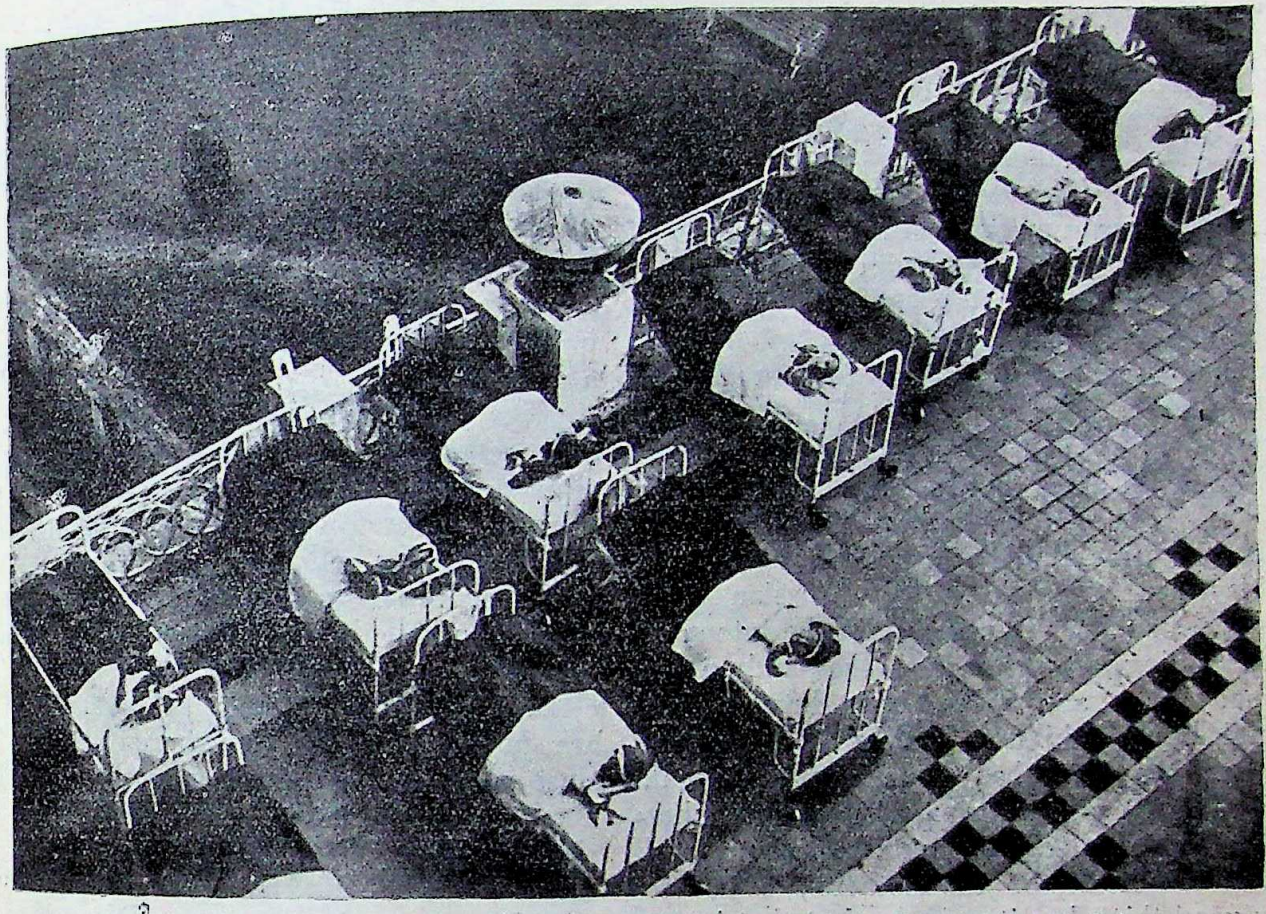

Children basking in the sun on the roof a "Creche" (Hospital)

the permission of the in-charge, who was a lady, to see the institution. She smilingly agreed and requested us to put on a long milkwhite apron before we went into the children's rooms.

In this Home, children from three months to three years old are brought up. The working mothers get one month's leave before and two months' leave after the delivery with full pay. Dancers and others who have to undergo more physical labour get four months' leave. On the third month after delivery they have to go to work. As Russia is trying and has been succesful to a great extent to abolish the family, these children's Homes became necessary to look after the young three month old babies. Russian labourers work in shifts, so that machines can work twenty-four hours. Every mother before going to the factory leaves her child in these Homes where they are carefully looked after and on her way back the mother takes her child home. There are many who say that Russia has no home life; as children are looked after by the State, mothers have lost their affection towards their children; as there are no strict rules regarding marriage, fathers never care for the children. But surely these allegations are not true. The Children's Homes have freed the mothers from the responsibility of rearing their children and thus enabled them to render their full service to the State. Similarly common kitchen in factories, common laundry, and community houses have freed half the strength of the country which wasted its energy uneconomically. Formerly, in each family women had to spend their energy in rearing children, cooking, washing, cleaning and other household affairs. Now the small family units have been crushed in towns and greater families are made. These families live in community houses, have their food from one kitchen, their dresses cleaned from one laundry, they have one library to read in, one club room to meet. Mother's love can not be washed away by a thousand more such Russian revolutions—it is an inborn instinct—it exists even amongst the birds and beasts, so family life can not go. But true it is that the family life in Russia has taken a different shape from that

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in any other country and this is due to the new economic policy of the State. For the whole day the child remains in a Children's Home, the mother gets half an hour's leave every day to feed her child and after the day's work she presses her baby on her breast, showers kisses on it, wraps her in cotton bed and takes it back home to share the delight with her husband. I have seen many a young and old mother in this home to fondle her baby, to kiss it incessantly and press it on her breast to feel the sweet dreamy touch of the angel of heaven. How can family life go where the family is in the hands of such beloved mothers? In Russia even the conception of motherhood is different from that of any other continental or American countries. The Russian girls think it debauchery to marry with the intention of not having any children: the children are national assets and it is their duty to give the nation more children, healthy and worthy. Of course the State has made abortion legal, teaching birth-control through its doctors; but that is only to check unwanted children and to save the health of the mothers; of course every good thing has its abuses, but that is not to be counted. Before the age of majority the Russian children are barred from doing any heavy labour and can claim maintenan from the parents. So how can father and moth have no family? But in a Russian fami if you want the Hindu or Catholic regard a son towards parents, probably you will disappointed. The Russians have no place f sentiments, they are realistic to the backbo There are a thousand and one examples whe a son has denied all connection with a 'Kul or (formerly) rich father to have the right a proletariat.

The Children's Home was spotlessly cle and everything was in order, complete disciplin reigned there. First, we were taken into a roo having numbered almirahs where the dirty hom dresses of the children are taken out a kept according to number. Next, they a taken to a hall having rows of pots to answ nature's call—then they are bathed a cleaned, new clean dresses are put on and th are placed in their numbered beds. Th sleep, play and eat together at the same ho I asked, "How is it that these babies ev sleep together. Don't some of them cry a disturb others?" The guide interpreted t attending nurse's answer, "No, if fr childhood they are taught to do every thi together, they do it and will do it for life"

THE RED CROSS AND THE BANNER OF PEACE

By Hon. HENRY A. WALLACE

Secretary of Agriculture, Third International Conference for the Roerich Peace Pact

November 17, 1933. Washington D. C.

IN these days of great discord it is well for those who have faith in our common humanity, regardless of nation or class, to meet together. Those terrible forces unleashed by the World War have too long caused the nations to fight each other with the deadly economic weapons of tariffs, quotas and speculative currencies. This economic warfare has, by throwing men out of work on a world-wide scale, caused more impoverishment than the actual physical warfare from 1914 to 1918. Unfortunately, we have no machinery for declaring an Economic Peace. As we look at the complexities of the tariffs, the quotas, the currencies, and the International debts, we see possibilities for endless strife. Here in the United States we have bound the world t us by loaning billions and billions of dolla and at the same time have thrust the wor away by our tariff policy. Many Europe nations have striven desperately to keep o American products by tariffs, quotas and currenc manipulations. In this way, with everyone blame or no one to blame as you plea the world has arrived at its greatest stage heartsickness.

In such a time the opportunities are gre for those in position to hold up before the ey of the world the idea of the Unity of the Hum Heart regardless of Nation, in the worship beauty of culture, of science, and of educatio

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Hatred, prejudice, fear and greed have acted as the virus of a dread disease to make the whole world sick, but fortunately the world like the human body builds up resistance. The anti-bodies, the white blood corpuscles which restore health to a sick world have to do with those things which transcend national boundaries. These finer, broader, human aspirations which are so important are often intangible to many people unless materialized by symbols, pacts and organizations.

Many symbols have been used for broadening the human mind. One of the most ancient and useful of these has been the cross, symbolic of infinite sympathy with suffering. A modern adaptation is the Red Cross, conceived and promoted originally by Henri Dunant, a Swiss who witnessed the terrible suffering of the wounded at the Battle of Solferino, Italy, in 1859. Conventions were called in Switzerland and finally in the late sixties most of the European nations had signed the agreement, establishing the Red Cross as the International symbol for the alleviation of physical suffering. For many years Clara Barton and other humanitarians strove to get the United States to adhere to the Convention of Geneva but it was not until sixteen years had elapsed and thirty-one other nations had signed that Clara Barton, by making a direct appeal to President Garfield, was able to cut the red tape which had kept the idealistic heart of the United States from manifesting itself in its true light.

Tonight we are concerned with another symbol strangely like the Red Cross in many ways. The Red Cross is concerned with the healing of wounded physical bodies—the Banner of Peace is concerned with the healing of hurt souls, spiritual bodies wounded by international discord, fear, hatred, greed and ugliness. The cross suggests the Trinity, unity in diversity and finally infinite compassion, however great the misunderstanding. The Banner of Peace with its three dots in a circle tells the same story but here we are dealing with the spirit rather than the body.

The Roerich Peace Pact of which the Banner is the symbol, aims to protect in time of war the cultural body of mankind, the Universities, the Libraries, the Art Galleries, the Cathedrals and other treasures of the spirit. If they are registered as institutions of culture and fly the Banner of Peace, they thereby become recognized as neutral territory by the signatory nations. Would that the nations of old had flown the Banner of cultural unity in the midst of national diversity and that we might have preserved the Alexandrian Library to this day. And while we today still retain a considerable amount of our pre-war optimistic confidence in endless progress, there are many who now shudder at the thought that the barbaric, disintegrating, hateful forces may finally reduce some of our most precious treasures to the status of the Alexandrian Library.

It is to the manifold genius of Nicholas Roerich that we owe this plan. For thirty years, since he first pronounced his concern for the preservation of the world's cultural treasures, he has dedicated himself tirelessly to this ideal. And tonight, when the end seems so close of fulfilment, we may send to Nicholas Roerich our tribute as a creator and as an indefatigable leader in the cause of world cultural unity.

The World War wounded and killed millions of physical bodies—the post-war has maimed hundreds of millions of spiritual bodies. We have all seen friends and relatives whose inmost being has been twisted by the hatreds and prejudices of these terrible times. Whole nations, writhing in their pain, have practically gone insane. The terror created by the worldwide despression of the past three years has been almost equal to that of the World War itself. And the end is not yet. The nations are still shrinking fearfully away from each other, erecting barriers against each other, using tariffs and depreciated currencies to harm each other at the expense of the general good.

We in the United States during the past four months have plowed under ten million acres of cotton and slaughtered six million little pigs in a desperate attempt to behave as a creditor nation must behave when it has destroyed the foreign markets for its surplus by high tariffs. As we contemplate further acts of nationalistic contraction, we perceive an infinite number of re-adjustments and we wonder more and more how far we should travel the path of national self-sufficiency. It is urged that we should recognize that we are a part of the community of nations by reducing our tariffs as a creditor nation sooner or later must and by furnishing leadership to bring order out of the international monetary chaos.

But behind all economic forces and all International Conferences are the simple things which have to do with the attitude of the human heart. The universal appeal of the Red Cross is based on this simple fact. The Banner of Peace comes to the attention of Americans today at a time when it seems all mankind has lost faith in International Conferences and Disarmament Conferences, when it seems that the nations were never more suspicious of each other. I am not one to urge an idealistic symbol, such as the Banner of Peace as a substitute for effective action in the world of hard economic facts. But I do say that it is high time for the idealists who make the reality of tomorrow to rally around an International Flag of Cultural Unity. This is no narrow proletarian Bolshevism that I am preaching but an appeal to that appreciation of beauty, of science, of education which runs across all national boundaries to strengthen all that we hold dear in our own particular governments and customs. If the Cultural Flag, this Banner of Peace, this symbol of International

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Unity is lifted up in these dark days by the stronger nations, we may speedily realize the vision of Isaiah when all the nations will come to the mountain of the Lord and Universal Peace will descend.

Strikingly enough the flag of the United States is very similar in its concept to the Banner of Peace. Our flag is a symbol of the unity of 48 diverse states. The Banner of Peace represents diversity by three dots and Unity by the enclosing circle. I trust that the time may come when this symbol will be held dear by all who truly love their own nation and in addition appreciate the unique contributions of other nations and also are prepared to do reverence to that common spiritual enterprise of mankind which draws together in one fellowship all artists, scientists, educators and the truly religious of whatever faith. These men of good will have been scattered and discouraged. Let them lift up their hearts unto the Lord of the Unity of the fundamentally worthwhile things of the spirit and it will not be so long before International Economic and Disarmament Conferences will be a success.

In the world of practical affairs, many of the leaders, whether in business or in politics, tend to lay their emphasis on legislation and the social machinery which is built therefrom. All this is important and I would be the last to decry the work which has been done by the emergency organizations working out from Washington during the past six months. Yet as I have watched these efforts representing literally hundreds of millions of human contacts, I have reached the conclusion that social machinery, no matter how intelligently constructed and sympathetically administered, cannot by itself be enough. I believe wholeheartedly in the New Deal but it is absolutely essential as every responsible person in the nation wrestles with the problems precipitated by the New Deal that all of us become imbued with the concept that our efforts are directed beyond benefit to a particular class or region or even the nation itself. To make us feel truly at home in this universe, all of us are helped by the thought that our efforts are ministering to the long time good of mankind. Such concepts are necessarily vague. They have to do with the emotions of the human heart and cannot be set down in words. But after all is said and done, these things which have to do with the attitude of man toward the universe are the fundamental realities, and the handicraft of man that we see about us is the shadow.

In this connection, I like to think of the concept of Spengler who finds all civilizations going through spring, summer, fall and win[ter]. In the spring time, he finds the spirits of m[an] bursting with the importance of their attitu[de] toward the universe. At first this attitude h[as] no very tangible method of manifestation [but] shortly it pushes forth in the region of cathedral[s] painting, literature and music. Then finally [the] intellect comes to triumph over the heart, scien[ce] brings control over nature, and there comes [a] period when the abundance of material thin[gs] first gives man great pride of conquest a[nd] finally demonstrates the inadequacies of [the] purely intellectual approach. Then comes [the] time of great danger when men tend to lose fa[ith] and question whether anything is really wort[h] while after all. This in paraphrase is the schem[e] of civilization as set forth by Spengler, [the] German philosopher, and Petrie, the gr[eat] Egyptologist. This outline of the rise and f[all] of the human spirit is truly suggestive and, [in] my opinion, only very partially true. U[p] doubtedly the supremely important thing in [a] civilization is the faith which animates myria[ds] of human hearts simultaneously by some divi[ne] contagion of the spirit.

History repeats itself but always in a n[ew] way, and I trust against an ever larger ba[ck] ground. This would seem to be especially tr[ue] at the present time. The extraordinary faith [in] the sacredness of the individual which has ser[ved] the world so well for so many centuries is n[ow] apparently about to be merged into a lar[ger] concept, a striking symbol of which is the Bann[er] of Peace with its crimson circle enclosing th[e] smaller spheres. As this concept more and m[ore] pervades the world, we can have the individu[al] person and the individual nation each striv[ing] to attain his own unique destiny and his o[wn] type of perfection with a simultaneous resp[ect] for the strivings of others and a recognition th[at] all such efforts are comprised in the larger wh[ole]. This dream which is essentially the same as t[hat] of Micah and Isaiah of more than 2,000 ye[ars] ago can be fulfilled in considerable meas[ure] during the next century.

I am here tonight because I believe that i[n] this dream which gives reality to all our eff[orts] to create material wealth and work out [an] improved social machinery for distributing [the] wealth. We must have a unifying principle [to] which all our hearts can give supreme allegia[nce] while we work out in the sweat of daily effort [the] millions of difficult details. In this way we [can] work with faith and joy anticipating the spiri[tual] reality of which the Banner of Peace is [a] symbol.

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PLAY AS A FACTOR IN SOCIAL EFFICIENCY

By J. M. KUMARAPPA, M. A., Ph. D.

SINCE Nature has made the child a playing animal, he spends almost all of the energy he develops in motor activity. His first interests and achievements are almost entirely physical. The child does not play because he is young; he is young in order that he may play and thereby prepare himself for life's activities. Play being in harmony with his nature, he enters into it whole-heartedly, and through unconscious exercise acquires an adequate physical basis for his life. In the course of his play he develops his reflexes, increases his powers of physical control, makes his nervous and digestive organs strong, his blood pure and his heart and lungs sound. In addition, he gains precision in his movements, an accurate knowledge of his environment and enough resistance to throw off the disease germs. In short, through play the child acquires health, strength, endurance, grace and symmetry. But the effects of play are not merely physical. Even the mind of the child gets through play the exercise it requires for proper development. In fact, play develops it more effectively than does the traditional school work. Similarly, play satisfies also the deepest propensities of the child's moral nature.

In view of the fact that play stimulates every phase of the child's growth, educationists and philosophers have emphasized from early times the importance of play in education. "Education" said Plato, "should begin with the right direction of children's sports," and likewise Froebel, the noted educationist, declared that "the plays of childhood are the germinal leaves for all later life." In spite of such trenchant pronouncements from time to time, we have gone on taking the child out of his play and sending him to school regardless of Nature's way of educating him. And what baffles understanding is the fact that even now we have not become fully aware of how hopelessly we have failed to realize not only that there is something more important to the child's future than the acquisition of information but the vital point that the child's way of educating himself is through his play.

Though the physical and mental effects of play were the first values to be discovered, its social and moral influences were unobserved until some of their necessary consequences became too patent to remain hidden from the view of the sociologist. That some of the world's great teachers have long since discerned the values of play is true, but the popular mind has not followed them and the discovery had to be made anew. Even now the social values of play have not yet been given the consideration they deserve. Hence the writer's purpose in this article is to confine himself to a brief study of play as a factor in social efficiency. Even in the West the place of play and its social meaning in the education of the child have come to receive recognition only recently. Though the Duke of Wellington, when asked to explain his victory at Waterloo, is reported to have replied that it had been won years ago on the playgrounds of Eton, yet we have been very slow in realizing that the playground is the place where the child learns to lead and be led, to live and let live, and play the game in the struggle for existence even if the odds are against him. The child's real world is the world of play, and he thinks and acts in terms of play. Naturally therefore it is in play and playground companionships that he gets nearly all his experiences and forms almost all his habits. In the playground his choices are innumerable; he acts as a free agent and creates his own ideals. It is there that he does what he wants to do and acts from the inner law of his own being. Such actual participation in life and its various responsibilities afford a training for which no other substitute can be found.

The moral and social influences of play produce indelible effects on the child for good or ill, as the case may be, and leave their traces upon his character. No doubt,

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unorganized and spontaneous group play often develops the bully or the coward, but well-planned and supervised play minimizes these defects and impresses upon the child's mind the ideals taught by method and co-operation. Few children are instinctively generous; the majority of them being selfish need the companionship of other children to round out their rough corners. And through the medium of the supervised play children soon learn,—though they have no clear idea to begin with of the rights of the individual,—that no group of children can usurp all the privileges, that the right to use a play outfit cannot be monopolized by any one, that all things should be held in common and that every child must be given an equal opportunity. Play thus helps to eliminate from the child's mind the vulgar or street notion that might is right and inculcate in him the idea that others also have rights and they must be respected. In this manner he gradually learns to recognize mutual rights as a principle in co-operative living. Need we point out of what profound significance this development of the notion of mutual rights is for the growth of a healthy citizenship? Our rapidly increasing communal consciousness, social and political expansion and the increasing number of contacts which they involve, demand new limitations of rights and a more ample recognition of the boundaries of the group and the individual. Our short-coming in municipal government and other public activities can be remedied, at least in part, by teaching the young both the extent and limitation of rights. Does not this fact alone, namely, that play gives the child the much-needed training in the recognition of mutual rights, entitle it to be regarded as a most important school for the training of citizens?

Allied to the development of this recognition of mutual rights is the growth of self-control, which is a natural consequence of the former. The social results which follow are expressed in such ethical values as order, obedience, self-denial and discipline. The self-repression or self-control, which develops from the influence of play, makes obedience something more than unwilling subordination. When the child gets the idea on the playground that he should play the game according to its rules, he carries these same ideas into busine and plays the game there according to t rules of the business world. As children, th do not, of course, learn business or financi honesty; the idea of honesty they form is personal relationships which occur almo entirely in play. Then again, the playgrou is really a voluntary democratic organizatio Here the team elects its own captain a obeys his orders. It is necessary for t members to subordinate themselves and tak the position assigned to them whether th like it or not, and yet their implicit obedien to the captain and the rules of the playfi is striking and cheerful. But how differe is their attitude towards the rules of t school! The school, they think, is an absolu monarchy where the word of the teacher law. Not so the playground; to them t playground is a perfect democracy where t rules are of their own making and hence sel imposed. But the rules of the school a imposed upon them from without. What really worthy of notice here is the fact th the child wants to obey the rules of t playground because they are in harmony wi his nature and his needs. The boy, who th develops the spirit of obedience on the pla ground, learns, as he grows up, to respe authority and to obey the laws of the State.

But that is not all. Play emphasizes a the importance of the group as against t worth of the individual. The success of t team is soon recognized as more import than the brilliant achievements of a sing player. And the necessary concessions to t interests of the group demand certain sacrifi of the interests of the individual. The i of group life, of "social oneness," an ethi quality of unmistakable value, is t developed. Is not this idea of the welf of the group at the apparent, but not re cost of the individual, which play emphasi in direct harmony with our pres social need? The most important traini given in this direction, we may say, is that loyalty. Perhaps the greatest need in civic life of every country is that its citi shall acquire a community sense, that they be able to think in terms larger than those their own individuality, and be willing to w unselfishly for the organization, the city or

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country to which they belong. The spirit of loyalty is an essential qualification of a true citizen, a selfless patriot. A person who thinks only of himself and his own welfare is a bad citizen, but he who always thinks of himself as a member of a larger whole to which his loyalty is due, is a good citizen. Loyalty, asserts Prof. Royce, is the most fundamental virtue, more elementary even than love in the moral code. How then is the child to cultivate this virtue ? Is there any other way by which the child can more easily get the necessary training in this important feature of citizenship ?

The easiest way to nurture this community sense in the child, this feeling of loyalty to a body larger than himself, is to encourage the child to participate in team-games. As a member of the team, he is obliged to do many things in its interest,—which in his own personal interest he would rather not do,—in order that the team might be successful. And this spirit of loyalty is spoken of as good citizenship when manifested in his relation to the city, and as patriotism when pressed into the service of the country. It is needless to say that this spirit of selfless devotion to an institution is most necessary for the success of any democratic government. Even the conflicts of the playground are of some service in building up the child's character ; in fact, they awaken in the child his first notions of social justice. Further, the child's experiences of the organization and methods of play and the playground help to produce in him a sense of the value and uses of order which is the mainstay of social stability. So also that type of instant decision and execution, which is most valuable in social living, is derivable from games and athletics, inasmuch as all good play involves a discipline in instantaneous judgment and in the immediate execution of that decision with all the power that the child possesses. Whether or not men shall be successful in the management of public affairs depends almost entirely upon their training. Therefore the social values, which games teach, will play no mean part in preparing them for civic and national responsibilities.

Another of the most valubale results of play is the growth of the instinct of co-operation. Since co-operation is the essence of the democratic movement, the capacity to co-operate on the part of the citizens needs further enlargement. While ability to work together spells ability to excel, the absence of this power means disunion and ultimate chaos. Practice in accomplishing a given task in co-operation with others impresses boys and girls with the immense value of concerted action. Since every child is expected to participate in the activities of the playground, the individual begins to learn that he is necessary for the success of all, and also that without his co-operation neither he nor his associates will be able to enjoy themselves. Thus through practice and sheer necessity, the child increases his capacity for co-operation. The citizen will not function wisely until he learns the value of co-operation and feels himself a part of the government. If his government is only moderately successful, he must feel the disparagement ; if it fails he must share in the disgrace ; if it succeeds, he may rejoice in the accomplishment as he would if it were entirely his own. Every achievement of the group will inevitably reflect itself in the attitude of the individual if the true spirit of co-operation prevails. The successful adjustment of the individual characteristics to those of the group so as to make the interrelation possible is a prime task of the playground, and nowhere else can it be effected so satisfactorily.

Play is social in character and naturally therefore another of its positive social values lies in the effectiveness with which it brings together on a common level children of different castes and social standards. Children of all castes and religious groups are alike in their need for play, and the ideals of the playground are more or less the same for all. This common human need and this common mode of its expression furnish a basis on which children of all kinds and conditions can meet. Surely no better opportunities than those furnished by play could be desired for allaying caste prejudices, mitigating social and class differences, and laying the foundation for the recognition of our common humanity. The danger to a wholesome civic life in India lies in the communal conflicts and caste prejudices, in the lack of sympathy and

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understanding and in the persistence within our gates of irreconcilable and hostile elements. But the opportunities afforded by organized and supervised recreation for accomplishing this task of unifying the discordant forces are certainly very great.

Play engenders under normal conditions a spirit of friendliness and good followship which creates an ideal atmosphere for the development of social graces. Play makes children thoughtful and courteous, and draws out the finer qualities of the spirit. Training in friendliness and companionableness have not been thought of as part of an education. Is there anything we are now giving in the school that means more for either success or happiness than the ability to make friends? The very best discipline the child can have in the art of living together comes not so much from school life as through social play of its childhood. All the great social movements of the present are nothing but expressions of the growing sense of racial solidarity, of human brotherhood. Anything that can help to train the children in this direction will be in line with the spirit of the New Age. If we wish to see more love and sympathy in this world, one of our first efforts must be to provide well-organized play for children and promote the right sort of sociability in them. Does not play, in view of the fact that it is really the most effective teacher of that kind of comradeship, which makes for political unity and racial amity, deserve a more prominent place in our system of education?

Then again, think of the training play gives the boy in sportsmanship. It trains him to play fair; to try to win and work all the harder when the odds are against him; to take defeat with a smiling face and come back to try his luck again; to accept the decisions of the umpire and not to try to avenge himself for his defeat by harming or insulting his opponents; to treat the members of the visiting team as guests and give them the position of advantage. Indeed, no better training than this is needed for civic conduct and social behaviour. No opportunity therefore for discipline in social living is more significant than that afforded by play, and if the school is to strive toward the ideal of social efficiency, it can ill-afford to neglect the play life of boys and girls. Like all else, play is the soil from which evil as well as good may spring up. Hence if the possibilities for good is to be fully realized, play must be made a subject of serious study and careful direction.

Only recently has there come about a recognition of the opportunity made possible by play and the playground for training in social relationships and for building up in boys and girls the best social ideals. We have already seen how play tends not only to give physical efficiency, a good carriage, a full chest, a stable nervous system, a good digestion, a healthy sex development, strong heart and lungs and robust health but to develop in a rudimentary form the best types of social virtues. Such fine traits of character as loyalty, honesty, truthfulness, social justice, sportsmanship, generosity, respect for law and authority and devotion of one's self to the welfare of the group, emerge, quite naturally and spontaneously, in the life of the playground. Could any nation afford therefore to overlook the importance of play in civic training? Is it not regrettable that we in India have not yet begun to appreciate the great importance of play in building the character of our future citizens? If play is so significant a factor in the education of the child, should not the State spend more money on supervised play and the playground? When it means so much to the child's mental growth, should not play be given at least as much of his time as is devoted to one of his studies? If play develops all phases of a child's life, should not the opportunities afforded by it be used to their limit to bring about his complete and harmonious development? If our children are to learn team work, imbibe the spirit of sportsmanship, develop the capacity for neighbourliness and form the habit of subordinating selfish to group interests, then they must be enabled to acquire these through experience, and it is play and the playground,—not the text-books,—that provide the necessary opportunities for such moral and social discipline. Therefore, if we want to make the child a social being, to live at peace and harmony with his fellows and to co-operate generally as a good citizen, we cannot afford to ignore much longer this play way of training the child in social virtues.

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THE PROBLEM OF MINORITIES IN SOVIET RUSSIA

By SASADHAR SINHA, B.Sc., Econ., Ph.D. Econ. (Lond.)

THE difficulties presented by national conflicts on the wide arena of the world have their counterpart in the problems connected with the various national minorities. Like nationalism, group loyalty, racial, linguistic and cultural, within the national boundaries proves more virile than is commonly supposed. The emotional drive behind it, unless afforded full play, may prove a constant source of trouble, even ultimate danger, to the body-politic. It cannot be suppressed. It has never been suppressed. It grows on conflict. National unity at the expense of the minorities has been attempted again and again. It was tried in Ireland; it has been tried in the case of the Jews in all Western countries; it is being tried in Germany at this very moment, but, in the long run, wherever the minority group is sufficiently large and exists in intimate spatial relation, it has succeeded in keeping itself distinct, ready to leap into resistance at the slightest provocation. It is nationalism in miniature. Like nationalism, the problem of minorities cannot be solved by simply ignoring it. The problem needs more radical solution.

A novel, and by far the boldest, solution of this delicate question comes from Soviet Russia. The Russian solution naturally forms an integral part of Communist philosophy, which in the last resort envisages a world society, but the lessons of this solution are such as to be of universal significance.*

Russia, like all vast countries, is a conglomerate of racial, linguistic and religious minorities. In 1926, for instance, it was estimated that Soviet Russia contained 185 racial and 147 linguistic groups. On the other hand, besides Christians of many sects, there live in Russia Muhammadans, Jews and Buddhists. In the pre-War days Russian Imperialism followed the steam-roller method of "Russification," recognized only Russian as the official language and Greek Orthodoxy as the State religion. The Jews and other non-Russians, the *Inorodtzi* (literally, the foreign-born), inhabiting the East, were treated as aliens. They had no civil rights. Thus, although the Russians were in a minority, *i. e.*, 43% of the population, the "official statistics managed to contrive a Russian majority of 63% by counting in the Ukrainians and the White Russians." The Government pursued a steady policy of apotheosizing the Russians over all the other ethnic groups in the Russian Empire. As members of the Imperial race Russians enjoyed privileges everywhere. In Asiatic Russia, for instance, the indigenous populations were deprived of their best lands in order that the Russian colonists might settle on them.* Everything conspired to keep these people economically and culturally backward. Even in European Russia this policy found its echo. In the zeal for "Russification" the use of Lithuanian, Ukrainian and White Russian languages was forbidden. It was not until after the Russo-Japanese war that books in these languages could be published. Although the claims of the minorities were thus ignored, they were not thereby suppressed.

Indeed, in direct conflict with this centralizing policy, local nationalism had steadily grown throughout the Empire. Among the Western border states, its origin can be traced back to the 19th century, while Pan-Islamism among the Muhammadan populations grew with the resurgence of Muhammadanism in the Near East in the present century. Nationalism among the oppressed minorities and the revolutionary movement among the Russian intelligentsia went on hand in hand,

* *Cf.* Dr. Hans Kohn's brilliant book on "Nationalism in the Soviet Union" (Routledge, 1933). This was written after the author's visit to Russia in 1931 on behalf of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. Dr. Kohn's "A History of Nationalism in the East" (Routledge, 1929) is probably familiar to many readers of the *Modern Review*.

* *Cf.* Tolstoy's parable "How Much Land Does A Man Need ?"

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one reinforcing the other. This alliance was not always plain-sailing, because the Russian revolutionaries themselves were often patriotically-minded. Nevertheless, so long as open conflict was averted, it was a source of strength to both. It is well known that the abortive reforms of 1905 were won by joint effort.

The assumption of power by the Bolsheviks in 1917 immediately brought them face to face with the national question—the question of minority rights. The collapse of the Tsarist Empire let loose two forces, which were equally important and equally dangerous. The growth of "Pan-Russian chauvinism," as Lenin called it, among the revolutionary leaders on the one hand, and the growth of separatist movements among the national minorities on the other, boded evil for the future of the revolution. "Pan-Russian chauvinism" thus stood for centralization, breaking down all barriers of race, language and religion, and the creation of a State to all intents and purposes Russian. Behind all this quibbling with words, it was evident that the old imperial ideal was reasserting itself, but only in a different garb this time. The renewed vitality of nationalist sentiments of the racial minorities showed at the same time that the situation called for delicate handling. Slavophilism in any form would set the powder magazine ablaze. Lenin's analysis of the problem or rather problems presented by these two points of view, diametrically opposed and yet not irreconcilable, was characteristic. At the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (March 19, 1919), Lenin said :

> "It seems to me that the Finnish example and that of the Bashkirs show that in the question of nationality it is not possible to proceed from the assumption that economic unity is necessary at any price. Necessary, of course, it is. But we must attain it through propaganda, through agitation, through a voluntary union. The Bashkirs distrust the Russians, because the Russians are at a higher level of civilization and have used their civilization to rob the Bashkirs. Consequently in these remote districts the name Russian means "oppressor" to the Bashkirs. We must take that into account, we must combat it. . . We have only now learnt to manage better, and even that only some of us yet. Thus there are Communists among us who say 'uniform schools', and accordingly no instruction to be given except through the Russian language. In my view a Communist who thinks in this way is a Pan-Russian chauvinist. . ."*

The solution followed as a matter of course. The Russian Communist Party firmly laid down the principle of self-determination for all peoples and their complete right to secede from the Soviet Union. This was a solution at once bold and constructive. At one fell swoop it took the wind out of the sails of extravagant local patriotism smarting under Russian oppression, supposed or real.

It is only natural that this policy did not meet with the approval of extremists on either side. The so-called "Left" internationalists opposed it on the ground that it went off at a tangent to the growth of international solidarity, while nothing but complete national autonomy would satisfy ultra-nationalists. Lenin set his face against both. To him, as indeed to all true Communists, nationalism is not an absolute ideal—the *summum bonum*. Lenin recognized it, but only as a relative concept, as a stage in the progress towards an international society. He said: "To refuse to recognize the Thing that Is, cannot be permitted: recognition enforces itself." In the second place, the recognition of national autonomy would have gone against all his teachings. The realization of a supra-national outlook for Russia, which would bind all its units in harmonious co-operation, was for him vital for demonstrating that internationalism was more than an empty cant.

Obviously, the recognition of formal constitutional equality† between the various

* *Cf.* "Nationalism in the Soviet Union," *op. cit.*, Appendix I.

† The Soviet Union is divided into seven autonomous units, *i.e.*, 9 federal member states, 15 autonomous republics and 18 autonomous regions. It is a federal constitution with various degrees of devolution. Purely local affairs, like law, public health, welfare organization and education are reposed in the autonomous units themselves. For economic, financial and labour questions, the Union and member states are held jointly responsible. The conduct of foreign policy, defence, transport, etc., lies within the competence of the Union acting through the All-union Central Executive Committee elected by the All-union Soviet Congress, the supreme organ of the Union. In addition to this territorial solution, elaborate precautions have been taken

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racial and linguistic groups (religious or doctrinal differences are not recognized in Soviet Russia) is the beginning, indeed a very minor beginning, towards the effacement of the past which had embittered their mutual relations. The cultural and economic reconstruction of the Union has consequently rivetted the major attention of the Soviet authorities. With a clearness of insight, characteristic of Lenin, he had seen that what differentiates the civilized from the uncivilized lies in the last resort in economic and, therefore, cultural differences. Human nature is the same everywhere. Once this was firmly grasped, the whole approach to the minorities, or, what is the same, nationalities, problem was simplified. The main task lay in the levelling up of the cultural and economic life of the constituents of the Soviet Union. With the removal of the economic, often disguised as the cultural, motive, the minorities problem will solve itself.

Cultural work took the form of what in Soviet terminology is called the liquidation of illiteracy and the emancipation of women. Neither of them was easy. Among the non-Russians, in many cases, there did not even exist a written literature. It was a tremendous task. Nothing daunted, the Faithful set to work. The miracle has happened. National literatures, both literary and scientific, have grown up throughout the Union. Truly national indeed are these, because the key to the Soviet linguistic policy lies, as Dr. Kohn puts it, in "simplicity and popularization." At the beginning of 1931, it is reported, "A reading book for sociology for the first grade schools" was published in the Mari language, a language spoken by one of the Finnish-Ugrian tribes living in the extreme north of Russia, who before the war had no written literature of their own. Even in some of the more advanced areas, scientific studies could not, until lately, be carried on except through the medium of Russian. But so great has been the advance that by this year "there are to be sufficient teachers and sufficient lingual preparation to enable all faculties to use the language of the peoples." The task of women's emancipation, especially among the Muhammadan tribes of Central Asia, was fraught with explosive material. Any unnecessary haste would have spelt disaster. Co-education or free social intercourse among the latter would have been unthinkable in the early days. Special schools and special clubs had to be started for these eastern women. "'Red Yurts' and 'Red Kibitkas' were instituted in the areas inhabited by nomads and semi-nomads—transportable tents with which teacher and doctor and midwife and library went from camp to camp, held courses of instruction in reading and writing, in hygiene and the care of children, and made the women acquainted with their rights, and tried to organize them." All movements for freedom have their martyrs. Many a heroic Muhammadan woman paid with her life for her faith. Contrary to the usual belief, women had shown themselves more eager for their emancipation than their menfolk. Nevertheless, the civilizing influence has made rapid strides. Since 1927 the old caution on the part of the authorities has been found unnecessary. The "unchanging" East has begun to change. Indeed, in areas on a higher level of culture, like the Crimea, as Dr. Kohn points out, "the veil has completely disappeared. Tartar girls are increasingly attending the state schools . . . ; on the Corso in Simferopol they are hardly distinguishable in appearance and manner from Russian girls. . ."

In the economic sphere a similar policy has been pursued. In the pre-War Russia, the sole aim of the Russian industrial policy was Russia's enrichment. The non-Russian territories within the Empire were treated as virtual colonies. The Soviet authorities have completely reversed the process. A policy of decentralization is being deliberately followed with a view firstly, to bring up the economic level of the undeveloped territories to that of the more advanced, thereby strengthening the economic interdependence of the different parts of the country, and secondly, to create a native proletariat, who would be the backbone of the workers' state. The result of this policy is

to protect minorities, like the Jews, who do not live in any particular area. These minorities have their own schools and are allowed to use their mother-tongue for official purposes. On the other hand, when possible "they have been brought together in administrative units in which their language and their national characteristics have full play."

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already reflected in the proportionately larger "tempo" of industrialization in the periphery as compared with the centre of Russia. The exploitation of one part of the country (or of one people) for the benefit of another has ceased. The policy of mechanization of agriculture issues from the same motive. The old antithesis between urban and rural labour, a source of friction and of backwardness in the latter case, must be abolished.

National self-determination, economic and cultural equality among the various units of the Union, however, do not in themselves or even in conjunction ensure a supra-national outlook. Indeed, nationalism often becomes an end in itself, and economic and cultural motives serve to reinforce it. The Soviet authorities themselves are well aware of this danger.* The building up of a common culture, the Communist culture, thus becomes the corner-stone of Soviet policy. In other words, this culture will be national in form but common in content. "The Communist state can grant entire lingual autonomy and liberty, but it cannot recognize cultural autonomy and liberty." It is in this sense that Party solidarity assumes such seminal importance. The party organization in consequence takes no cognizance of national differences. It is supra-national in character. It is believed, and from the party point of view no doubt rightly, that the ultimate defence against all fissiparous tendencies (as the Indian political jargon has it) must be the Communist Party which cuts across all racial and linguistic barriers and unites the party members in a common purpose. "The government and party machinery had to be 'rooted,' to use the official term, in the indigenous population, as the Soviet st could only so be assured of the acti co-operation of the broad masses among its peoples."

Paradoxically enough, the cultur backwardness of Russia has not been a unmitigated evil. The Soviet authorities ha a clean slate to write upon. For the bu of the Soviet citizens at any rate the cultur heritage to which they come is the on culture they have. Everything is new them. The generation that is growing u today, although speaking different tongu (and even that is not strictly correct toda is imbued with the same cultural outloo It is bound to be a source of enormo strength to the new Russian society.

Clearly, any constructive solution of t minorities problem must begin by recogniz the basic facts which constitute the differenc between minority groups. Race, langua and religion are real enough and often loose violent passions. Pan-Islamism Central Asia or the smouldering nationali in Ukraine or White Russia may yet disru the Soviet Union. And yet it may not. T mainspring of discord between nation minorities, as between nations, lies elsewher Dr. Kohn is probably right in his insisten that the success of the Russian solution the minorities problem will depend on t success of Communism as a whole. For, he says, "it cannot be otherwise with Comm nism, as an ordering of life that takes accou of all life, and aims at interpreting its meani by a universalistic and all-embracing conc tion of the history and destiny of mankind."

* *Cf.* Stalin's speech (July, 1930) in Appendix I, *op. cit.*

* It is reported that since the removal of Russian language from its privileged positi it is developing by free consent into a *lin franca* for the multi-lingual Union.

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A PLANET AND A STAR

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

'YES, I know you love Narga and she loves you.' And then in reply to the unspoken question in Orlon's eyes I told him briefly how I had been an unwilling and unwitting witness to that evening scene in the wood when the first words of love had been exchanged between him and Narga.

'Have you spoken to Maruchi or any one else about it?'

'No,' I replied, 'I have kept your secret. Narga is her own mistress and except for the fact that she is a high priestess we would all welcome your union.'

'That is the trouble. I have never dreamed of loving Narga clandestinely, but my lips have been sealed on account of Narga's peculiar position. She warned me before and she repeated the warning this evening that if Karos and the other monks were to know that she has broken her vows and fallen in love with one of us our lives would not be worth an hour's purchase. Her power over them would vanish in an instant and although they will not offer her any violence they will certainly put our whole party to death and wreck the machine.'

'What do you propose to do?'

'The decision rests with Narga. During all these months that we have been away her heart has been torn with the struggle between her sense of duty and her own inclinations. I have told her definitely that whatever happens I will not expose any of you to any danger.'

'Tut, tut, danger and we have been bed-fellows far too long for any one of us to be scared by any danger signal. Narga must choose between you and her present position and if she decides to marry you we shall outwit the monks. I know that Maruchi will be pleased, though he is under the impression that Narga's heart is impregnable. You had better take Maruchi into your confidence without delay.'

'Not to-night. You see, Narga has not yet finally decided what to do, and however strong my own feelings I will do nothing to hasten or force her decision.'

'Quite right. But what about the sneak? He would like nothing better than to carry a tale to Karos.'

'I should like to wring his neck.'

'But it cannot be done. You will have to avoid meeting Narga every evening, for if Jomel were to see you together he would at once suspect the truth and then things would begin to happen. It would be safer for you to let me see Narga on your behalf.'

'I agree, but I must meet her at least once.'

'Let me come with you to guard against spying and eavesdropping.'

With this understanding we sought our beds for the night.

XLI

We were invited the next morning to meet Narga in the room where we had seen her before. Nabor went with us, but, Ganimet was mounting guard over the airship. Between him and Nabor it had been arranged that the machine should be watched day and night, either one or both of them being always present where the 'Mundanus' was kept.

Maruchi related our adventures and experiences and sometimes Orlon and myself added a few details. Karos and some others were present and behind Narga sat three or four young women novices, all listening with eager interest to the story we had to tell.

While speaking of what we had seen at Sipri Maruchi produced the instrument which had been presented to him by the scientists and handed it to Narga. She looked into it and exclaimed after a minute that it was wonderful as she could see objects and people at a considerable distance outside the room. The instrument went the round of the whole room and ejaculations of astonishment were heard from every one. When the penetroscope, as we had casually named the instrument for want of a better one, came back to Maruchi I took it from him and peering into it saw Jomel, who had not been asked to join our meeting, hanging about the entrance to the wing in which we were sitting. The sight of him gave me a sudden bright idea. With that instrument in my possession I could play the spy upon him far more successfully than he could upon Orlon or any one else of us and it would not even be necessary for me to follow him. I at once asked Maruchi to let me keep the instrument.'

'Certainly,' said Maruchi and went on with the recital of his story. When he described the Pompos and mentioned how we had captured two of them and afterwards restored them to liberty there were fresh exclamations of astonishment as very little was known about the Pompos and they were supposed to be a most dangerous and savage tribe. The mood of the hearers changed when Maruchi, with a fine and racy humour, described our experiences in the White City and City of the Kings. Narga burst into uncontrollable laughter when Maruchi gave

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a vivid picture of the swaggering captain of the guard and the corpulent Governor of the White City and she nodded appreciatively when told of the acute and shrewd wit of Yoko. The account of the people in the City of the Kings not only amused her but set her thinking.

'Fancy a city,' she said musingly, 'peopled entirely by the descendants of kings and queens. And these people, as you say, have a lower order of intelligence than the common people.'

'I would not put it that way. We found them clinging to the memory of the past in a hopeless way and almost incapable of helping themselves. And consequently they had fallen lower and lower and lost all self-respect.'

'Yet you find a man and a woman among them, specially the woman Vanita.'

'Yes, in other times she would have made a great queen. I trust she will play an important part in the new order of things.'

'And you say you have roused them out of their apathy and made them work for their own benefit.'

'It was Orlon who woke them up and he spoke to them with the fire of a prophet.'

Narga cast a swift glance of admiration at Orlon but she would not let her eyes linger long on his face lest they should betray the deeper emotion in her heart.

Orlon said, 'I merely obeyed Maruchi's orders. He gives others credit because he is as modest as he is able.'

Narga said, 'You are all modest and you are all wonderful. Now tell me of your visit to the Master and to Raba.'

Maruchi spoke with deliberation. 'Something we may tell all but there are other things that we are not at liberty to speak about except to you alone, for you are among the initiates.'

Karos interrupted with some impatience, 'Do you suggest that the Master told you, who were utter strangers, secrets which he would not mention to his disciples or to us?'

'That is precisely what we mean,' answered Maruchi, 'and the Master knows that we shall respect even his unspoken wishes and what he was pleased to let us know in confidence is safe with us.'

'What was your claim to the Master's special confidence? I can hardly believe—'

'Peace, Karos,' broke in Narga in a voice of authority while her eyes flashed dangerously, 'you seem to forget yourself strangely. Who has invited your belief or unbelief? Who has constituted you the judge of the Master's discretion as to who are worthy of his confidence? I fully understand what Maruchi means and he is quite right. I think you are jealous, but such a feeling is unworthy of you.'

Karos held his peace. He was crest-fallen, but not quite convinced that he had been rightly reproved.

Maruchi described in glowing language the physical appearance of the Master. Narga murmured approvingly, 'There is no one like him.' Maruchi spoke of the Master's kindness and how he gave us lavishly of his wisdom. He mentioned our visit to Raba without saying a word about the secret passage and added how the Master had spoken to the pilgrims. He concluded with a few more words.

Narga glanced at him once and then turned to Karos, 'I would now be alone with my honoured visitors.'

Karos and the other monks left the room though we could see they were anything but pleased at their dismissal.

'And now tell me everything,' said Narga with frank eagerness.

When Maruchi mentioned that the Master had taken us to Raba by the secret passage, which he vividly described, and had displayed miraculous powers, and how he had spoken to us every day and at night for hours on the deepest spiritual problems Narga was very much impressed and said, 'You have been greatly favoured and very rightly. But since the Master knew you were coming back here had he no message, no commands, for me, his unworthy pupil?'

'He could hardly send any message through us for we are outsiders and know nothing about your Order. But he certainly spoke about you as we did.'

'Whatever he said must be helpful to me. Tell me what he said.'

Maruchi looked slightly embarrassed and flashed a question at me with his eyes. The question was whatever it would be right to tell Narga what the Master had said about her. And then Maruchi spoke to Narga with some hesitation, 'I am not sure whether the Master wished what he said to be repeated to you.'

With swift intuition Narga turned to me. 'You, Sahir, are my good friend, and I can trust you to tell me all that the Master said. He would not mention to you anything that he would not tell me to my face.'

I felt she was right and I repeated to her what the Master had said about her.

Narga listened with quiet attention and then said, 'The Master must be right. I must have been impatient and I must have foolishly thought that I had no other trial to pass through. Few of us can judge our own selves rightly. The Master refused to say anything about my future?'

'He refused to try to look into it on the ground that the future so far as it is the outcome of the past cannot be altered, and probably he did not wish to disturb his own mind by attempting to read your future, which he would be powerless to turn from its course.'

'I am very grateful to you, Sahir, for what you have told me and although the Master has refused to lift the veil of the future I think I understand what he had in mind. Let me now

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think a little, but I hope, I shall have other opportunities of speaking to you.'

We rose for we saw Narga wanted to be alone. As Maruchi and I came out with Nabor, Orlon lingered behind and probably some words passed between Narga and himself which we did not hear. We had proceeded only a few steps when Orlon overtook us. Maruchi was somewhat surprised and asked Orlon, 'You had something to tell Narga ?'

'Yes, you will know what it was about in a little while.'

Maruchi asked no other question, but he became thoughtful. We came out. There was no one about. Maruchi and Nabor went straight to the building where the airship was kept. We followed more leisurely. As soon as the other two were out of earshot Orlon said, 'I have asked Narga to meet me this afternoon before sunset in the wood. I have told her that you know all. She was not surprised. She seemed to expect that you knew something from the way you spoke to her just now. She was rather pleased than otherwise for she has very great faith in your friendship. She will meet us both.'

'Good. As regards friend Jomel he will be on the trail whether by daylight or in the dark and we shall not succeed in shaking him off, but I propose to give him a pretty shaking when I catch him with his nose on the scent.'

I told Orlon of my little plan and tapped the instrument in my pocket. He rubbed his hands gleefully and his eyes were full of admiration. He chuckled as he said, 'You would have been a great man in the days when successful detectives were considered the greatest men.'

We found Ganimet at work on the machine and Nabor joined him as soon as he arrived. Looking at the two at work it occurred to me that we should be always in a state of preparedness. In spite of all my vigilance I could not hope to prevent Jomel from doing some serious mischief. Karos had been very much annoyed at being excluded from the latter part of our interview with Narga and although her authority was great who knew what would happen if the monks once took it into their heads that Narga had so far forgotten herself as to look upon one of us with eyes of love ? They would naturally come to the conclusion that she had been tempted and had fallen. Her power would at once vanish and the infuriated monks would wreak their vengeance on us. Until, however, the meeting with Narga in the afternoon I could not communicate my fears to Maruchi. I watched Nabor and Ganimet at work and casually inquired how long it would take to make the machine ready for our final flight.

Nabor briskly replied, 'We are quite ready. I thought it would take us some days to overhaul the machine, but we have examined it thoroughly and have found it in perfect condition. We may leave this moment if you like.'

This was reassuring. If we had not met Jomel at the monastery I would not have felt so anxious. The presence of this man portended danger, whether only to ourselves or to Narga also I could not say. I could only wait for the next turn of events.

When we returned to our rooms we did not meet any one. Perhaps Karos and the other monks were engaged, but even Jomel was not to be seen. I thought Maruchi had a feeling that something was in the air, but he would ask no questions until we volunteered some information. He noted that we had been left to ourselves since our meeting with Narga, but said nothing.

In the afternoon Orlon and I went out. I led him first towards the place where the machine was kept. I told him, 'We must not go straight to the wood. We shall go out as if for a walk and enter the wood from the other end.'

We saw Jomel standing under a tree near the central entrance of the monastery, but he made no attempt to follow us as we turned our steps towards the open fields.

'That man has no interest in us at present,' I said, 'and he cannot follow without being seen. He wants to find out whether there is anything unusual between any one of us and an inmate of the monastery.'

'Do you think he suspects anything about Narga and myself ?'

'How can he ? He has seen nothing, but he definitely suspects you, because you went out alone last evening and I prevented him from following you. No, I don't think he has any suspicions about Narga, for in spite of her great beauty, she is believed to be above all human weaknesses. My own idea is that Jomel believes you went to meet one of the nuns or novices secretly, for if you had gone to meet a man I would not have stood in that man's way when he tried to follow you. If he can find out anything there will be a terrible hubbub and Jomel will have the time of his life.'

Orlon rapped out, 'My fingers are itching to get round his throat.'

'Leave him to me,' I said, and we proceeded to walk on till we were out of sight and then turned round to enter the wood at a point away from the entrance that led from the monastery. Arriving at the open space where we had first landed on the morning that we had reached Mars I drew Orlon beneath a large tree that stood on one side, took out the instrument from my pocket and looked through it in the direction of the monastery. Presently, I saw Narga coming out and walking in her queenly way towards the wood, looking neither to right nor to left, nor once glancing behind her. And then I saw Jomel lurking in the distance behind her, moving from tree to tree seeking cover and looking behind him to see if he was being followed in his turn.

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I handed the glass to Orlon who saw what I had seen and ground his teeth in anger. I said, 'Don't look like that when we meet Narga. Trust me to run Master Reynard Jomel to earth. We shall both meet Narga as if by accident and you must be careful to greet Narga respectfully like myself and not to kindle the love-light in your eyes. Don't let your eyes rove about in search of Jomel and behave as if we are not being shadowed by any one.'

Orlon readily promised implicit compliance with my instructions. Through the glass I saw Narga entering the wood and Jomel, who had drawn nearer to her, flitting from cover to cover like a shadow. Orlon and myself were walking slowly, for I wanted that we should meet Narga at a spot where there was plenty of cover so that the spy could hide himself and overhear the first part of our conversation. Having selected such a place we halted and a moment later Narga appeared, moving towards us with matchless grace, her long robe clinging to her graceful figure. As she approached us we bowed low to her with deep respect and I opened the conversation.

'This is a delightful surprise and a great honour, Lady Narga,' I said.

Women are quick-witted but Narga was quicker than most. We had met by appointment but from my words Narga understood that we should behave as if we had met by accident. She replied smilingly, 'I am pleased to meet you. I come here some time of an afternoon.'

I started talking of our visit to the White City and led the way to the open space where no one could follow us unseen and where we were out of earshot of any eavesdropper. Then lowering my voice I told Narga that she had been followed by Jomel who was even then hiding in the shrubbery.

'How do you know?' asked Narga in surprise.

I told her of the instrument I had with me and Orlon added that he also had seen Jomel following her.

'What do you propose doing?' asked Narga.

'I shall catch him now in your presence, but we cannot do him any violence, nor can we prevent him from carrying any tale he pleases to Karos and the others.'

Orlon said, 'The matter rests in your hands now, Narga. We are accustomed to danger, though I do not wish my friends to be exposed to any risk on my account.'

She looked at me. 'Sahir, my friend, what am I to do? You know all. My heart is no longer my own. How am I to choose between the man I love and my place here? I am no longer fit to be the priestess here.'

'Narga', I spoke with decision, 'you must come with us. Once Jomel gets at Karos and the other monks you will lose all your power over them. They will not only try to kill us but may do you an injury. It is not, however, on the ground of fear that I appeal to you. Be guided by the inclination of your heart.'

'So be it. But you must keep Jomel's mouth closed for this one night. Tomorrow let him make up any tale he likes, for tomorrow I shall go away with you.'

'Very well. Tonight we shall take care of Jomel. We shall put the fear of instant death into him if he dares to speak so much as a word against you or any one of us. You put your clothes and other things together so that we may leave early tomorrow morning.'

'I shall be ready,' said Narga and then she and Orlon exchanged a long, clinging look, and we strolled slowly back to the shaded path in the wood, in the vicinity of which Jomel lay crouched and concealed.

A single glance through the glass showed me where Jomel was hiding behind a bush. I stepped up to the place and caught him by the scruff of the neck. I lifted him to his feet and whispered fiercely in his ear, 'Raise a single cry and you are a dead man.' I shifted my hand from the neck to the throat and squeezed it till he was red in the face and his eyes bulged out. Then I relaxed my hold without withdrawing it while with the other hand I grasped him firmly by the arm and dragged him in front of Narga and Orlon.

Narga looked at him contemptuously but spoke no word. Orlon's eyes blazed in fierce wrath, but he controlled himself and spoke in an even voice. 'Well, my friend, your curiosity is rather unhealthy and may make you ill.'

I propelled Jomel in the direction from which we had entered the wood. A turn in the path hid Narga and Orlon from our eyes, but a few moments later Orlon overtook us with long swift strides, and asked me, 'What do you propose doing with this viper?'

'We must take great care of him tonight and must not trust him out of our sight for a moment. Tomorrow we shall cease to have any interest in him.'

'Karos and the other fellows may want to take him away with them.'

'No fear. Jomel is too good a friend to leave us.'

I explained to Jomel in a few terse sentences that so long as he obeyed us he would be quite safe. He was going to take his evening meal with us and to keep us company for part of the night after which he would be free. But if he tried to escape or to communicate with the monks we would kill him at once. I twisted his arm to emphasize my statement.

Jomel was livid with fear. He was as limp as a bundle of rags in my hands and as passive. He professed he had meant no harm and repeatedly promised to obey us implicitly.

When we came near the building in which the airship was kept I let go my hold of Jomel's arm and linked my arm with his as if we were

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very intimate friends. Maruchi, Nabor and Ganimet were all there. They stared hard at Jomel, but I briefly explained everything. When I said that Narga and Orlon loved each other and Narga would leave with us the next morning the astonishment and the excitement were unbounded.

Maruchi warmly shook hands with Orlon. 'I dreamed of such a union,' he exclaimed enthusiastically, 'and Sahir told me you loved Narga, but I was doubtful whether there was any place for love in her heart. Praise be to Raba that my dream has materialized! Not all the monks and spies in Mars can keep Narga when she has made up her mind to go with us.'

Orlon shook hands with Nabor and Ganimet. Jomel was bewildered by the sight of all this exuberance of spirits, but when Ganimet with his eyes rolling horribly and his large and unhandsome face distorted with real or feigned passion lurched towards Jomel with his huge hands clawing the air the spy let out a squeal of terror and clung to me, trembling violently.

I laughed and pushed Ganimet away.

'No manhandling,' I said, 'besides, Jomel here is my particular friend,' and I patted the shivering spy reassuringly on the back.

Ganimet made a grimace of disappointment 'I wish we were back to the good old times when spies were summarily hanged and shot. I feel I could stretch this rascal's neck with my bare hands without the slightest compunction.'

XLII

We had to be very careful about the man Jomel. If he were to slip through our hands before we were ready to leave it might lead to grave complications and perhaps to a ghastly tragedy. At the same time we could not think of laying violent hands upon him, for apart from our own disinclination to do so there were Karos and the others to be reckoned with and we had to do all we could to avoid a conflct with them. Nothing less than the fear of instant and sudden death would prevent Jomel from attempting treachery and this fear I put into him as we proceeded towards our quarters. Outwardly, we appeared to be great friends, for I walked with Jomel arm in arm while the rest of us had taken up strategic positions which effectively prevented all chances of escape. I was engaged in persuading Jomel that even if any one asked him to leave us that evening he should refuse to do so on the ground that he was very happy with us. My persuasion was punctuated with gentle hints as to what would happen if he were so disobliging as to attempt to part company with us. I looked at him with murderous eyes as I said, 'Make the slightest movement and the next moment you will be dead before any one can stir a finger to save you. And you must laugh and look quite happy while you are with us. You must not look like a frightened rabbit. Laugh now and let us see how you do it.'

Jomel laughed. It was a horrid cackle while his lips and face formed into a hideous grin.

Orlon clapped him on the back so vigorously that he winced and wilted. 'Never mind about laughing,' cried Orlon, 'you wear the winsome smile.'

And Jomel smiled. It was nearly as bright as the laugh.

In our own rooms we made a careful disposition of our forces. We made Jomel sit with his back to the wall while we sat close to him in a semi-circle so that we could easily reach him by putting forth our hands. When a man came in with our food we told him to bring Jomel's share also and he did so at once.

We had just begun to take our food when Karos and another monk came in. Karos looked surprised and said, 'Jomel, where have you been all the evening? I thought you were coming to take your meal with us.'

Jomel looked at us and we looked at him. Our looks were not at all menacing but they were very eloquent. Jomel said, 'I have been with your distinguished guests here. They have been very kind to me.'

Maruchi said, 'Our friend here has travelled a great deal and we find his conversation very entertaining. Let him spend this evening with us since we shall be leaving very soon.'

'You heard what the Lady Narga said,' rejoined Karos. 'She holds confidential conversations with you and she will detain you here.'

'We have been away from our own world for quite a long time and we hope to have Lady Narga's permission to depart. If it has pleased her to converse with us in confidence on high subjects we feel very highly honoured. The great Master Ashan favoured us with his confidence and what he told us was intended for the Lady Narga's ears alone.'

'You are very fortunate. Even the Lady Narga takes your part against us.'

It was no part of our plot to precipitate a misunderstanding or a quarrel with the monks. Maruchi spoke with the adroit tact that never failed him. 'Hardly that, Karos. The Lady Narga had to be careful like ourselves. You are wise and we have been fortunate in meeting you and the other holy men here.'

This soft answer had the desired effect and Karos and his companion withdrew.

We sat up late that night talking over our plans for the next morning. We did not mind Jomel's presence as he could not understand our language and we avoided mentioning Narga by name. Orlon went out for a short while and when he returned Nabor and Gaminet went to the place where the airship was kept. They had instructions to take out the machine towards the end of the night and to be ready to leave the instant Narga and we boarded the ship.

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About midnight Orlon and myself took Jomel to his room and tied and gagged him securely so that he could neither move nor cry out. We did not want him to witness our departure or to know when we left. We closed the door of his room from outside. Returning to our own rooms we put on our own clothes and laid aside those that the monks had given us. Some of these clothes were on board the airship. We had nothing to carry for Nabor and Ganimet had taken away everything belonging to us. Orlon told us that he had gone out to take from Narga a large bag containing her clothes, and he had put it away in a locker in our airship. She had also told him that she would come out very early before any one else was up and that we should await her half way between the monastery and the airship.

For Orlon there was no sleep that night. Maruchi slept a little while I had a few short snatches of uneasy sleep. Half an hour before dawn Orlon awoke Maruchi and myself by touching us gently, and we came out of our rooms and listened for any sound from Jomel's room or any other part of the building. There was stillness everywhere and we silently passed out into the open. Orlon ran swiftly with noiseless feet to assure himself that Nabor and Ganimet were ready at their post, and he returned and whispered that everything was right. We then looked anxiously towards the door that led to the apartments of Narga.

There was a cool breath of the coming morning in the air. The light of the stars was paling and not many were visible. Our own planet was fading in the growing light and in the east the grey of the dawn was dispelling the blackness of the night.

As we strained our eyes in the direction from which we expected Narga to appear we heard a frightful uproar near the rooms we had occupied and knew at once that Jomel had been discovered and his tale had been told. The next inst... two doors in two parts of the building w... flung open. From the first issued Narga wit... startled look in her eyes, and from the oth... emerged the monks with Karos at their head a... Jomel well behind the rest. Narga cast o... glance at them and then she ran like the wi... urging us with her right hand to hurry back ... the airship. The monks were furious and w... shouting death to us all. Their object was to g... between us and the ship and prevent us fr... boarding it. But they were not young, they w... big and heavy men and they were too close ... one another to be able to run fast.

Orlon made a movement of going towar... Narga but Maruchi seized him firmly and as ... ran to the ship he said, 'The monks could k... us by merely holding us. Narga herself wa... us to reach the machine. She is quite safe.'

The monks were still at some distance wh... we ran up to the machine. Maruchi and ... clambered in at once but Orlon insisted ... waiting for Narga.

Seeing that we had given them the slip t... monks turned to intercept Narga. They spre... out with the intention of barring her way to t... airship, though they merely thought that s... wanted to save us from their fury and had ... suspicion that she intended to join our flig... They might as well have tried to catch a bi... flying through the air. Narga was out throu... them like a flash and the moment she was with... reach Orlon caught her in his outspread arm... and swung her on to the machine and sprang ... after her. There came a horrified gasp and ... smothered yell from the monks. Nabor turn... on the switch charging the protecting wires rou... the machine with the electric current and Kar... and the monks who tried to lay hold of t... machine were thrown back staggering a... reeling, the machine ran a short distance a... rose swiftly into the air.

(To be continued.)

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THE PROBLEM OF PSYCHO-PHYSICS IN WESTERN AND EASTERN THINKING

By KURT F. LEIDECKER

THE relation of the psychical to the physical has been one of the vexing problems in Western philosophy and, like every problem in metaphysics, has not been settled. The reason is very patent. The solution of philosophical questions depends entirely upon the attitude which a person assumes. No consensus of opinion, however, would be possible were it not for the fact that the great variety of attitudes which people take towards life, can be reduced to a few types which are very clear-cut and distinct from each other. Conclusions follow logically from certain assumptions, and, likewise, a person's behaviour and habit of thinking flows logically from his attitude.

It is possible to take two fundamental attitudes toward the problem of psycho-physical relationships. One is to acknowledge its reality, the other is to deny it. In the first case it is a matter of inclination whether we believe merely in a parallelism between the psychical and the physical, or in the existence of a definite influence of the physical on the psychical or *vice versa*. Belief in the impossibility of any relationship whatever by no means implies disbelief in the spiritual. It may indicate that the person has no faith in the existence of the spiritual, everything being physical and material ; but it also may mean that the person interprets nature spiritually only. Each of these views—and there are many gradations arising from the greater or lesser power one is willing to allow either the physical or the psychical—may be defended rationally and to complete satisfaction. The only question is whether we are willing to accept the premises.

Let us see briefly which views the West has favoured on a whole, before we discuss the Eastern view on the subject. The exponents of a strict parallelism really fail to see the problem. They keep the physical—by which we understand here always the material and the purely physiological and biological—absolutely in isolation, as they do the psychical—by which we here understand the spiritual, the mental and the conscious in general. There can be as little relation or communication between the two as there can be between a thing and its image in the mirror, provided we do not invoke the aid of a miracle which, though permissible, is yet neither scientific nor philosophic. We characterize this doctrine as dualism in its uncompromising form. In its milder form, dualism accepts physical and psychical reality in their distinctive qualities, but endows them with properties producing reactions in the other. Sometimes it is the physical which stimulates and encroaches on the psychical, at other times the psychical determines changes in the physical. Such a view is tenable but has to face many difficulties which monism attempts to correct. If both the physical and the psychical are capable of interacting, then both must share certain qualities and their nature cannot differ very much. Thus, why not allow only the physical or the psychical ? The various manifestations may then be considered modes of one being. A religious person, or one believing in the supremacy of the spiritual, would, in taking this step, fear to be thrown together with rank materialists. Scientists, on the other hand, are apt to reduce spiritual to physical reality, and should they not be willing to do so they would lay themselves bare to the charge of inconsistency.

In the treatment of the psycho-physical problem it has always been the tendency of Western thinkers not only to accept certain traditional views, but to make the constitution of the individual the writ large of the universe. To talk of body-mind or mind-body does not alter the situation very much ; it simply evades the issue. Philosophic thought in the East, whose cradle has been India, approaches the question under consideration differently. The

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general premise of all Western speculators about the psycho-physical is that thought is completely other than the reality about us. They artificially separate the contents of consciousness and hypostatize certain elements. Mind and soul is known only from what they are about, yet they are set up as separate entities in a complex world. Likewise, tangible matter is known only in those qualities which affect our mental and psychological apparatus, yet it is treated as a foreign substance. The correctness of these premises as we hinted in the beginning depends on our attitude. Strictly, they can neither be proven nor disproven. All we can say is that they lead us on to conclusions which are not wholly acceptable either to the scientist or a religious consciousness.

Let us see in what light the psycho-physical problem appears in Hindu philosophy. As we cannot go into a detailed discussion of intricacies of language and thought we must rest content with a summary picture and an abstract, as it were, from the Hindu outlook on life.

When we reflect on life and the universe we make use of what the Germans call a certain *Einstellung*, that is, we turn away from our habits of doing, the ordinary routine of everyday existence, that is, as we commonly say, we stop and think. This is a most significant act, for immediately the world assumes a novel aspect. We become aware that this world in which we acted and were acted upon a while ago is, to speak with Schopenhauer, our idea. It is all content of our consciousness. Mind and the "psychical" are the necessary conditions of our experience and whatever is is merely our experience. The importance of this insight for the mind-body problem consists in that we cannot talk about a physical *influencing* a psychical or a psychical *influencing* a physical, but that the psychical is to the physical like the tree to the leaf. The existence of the tree is the necessary condition of a particu ar leaf. The existence of the tree does not cause the leaf, but is necessarily, or from principle, or *a priori* contained in the concept of the leaf. And thus the whole universe in Hindu thinking is not an interaction of physical and psychical reality, but one mighty manifestation of consciousness.

What practical consequences arise f such a view and how are the phenomena wh are explained on the basis of a psycho-phys relationship to be evaluated in this theory ?

In the first place we must rid ourselves the generally accepted, though somew antiquated, idea of a pantheism underlying Hindu world image. That any partic thing or any collection of things is God is best very unphilosophical and Hindu spec tion cannot be charged with that. The daring step which ancient Indian philosoph took was to identify the essence of the hu with that of the universe in the fam Upanishad phrase *tat tvamasi*, That art t Not this limited complex of feeling quali called the body, nor that complex of thoug and ideas called the mind is supposed be identical with the world ; but the of man, *atman*, is the same as the Self or S of the universe. In other words, the necess *a priori* background of this my indivi experience is the same as that which forms logical substratum of the universe, call it if you like. Not, as some mystics have that the human soul is a spark of the div the self within each man coincides, as it with the fond and font of the All.

This identity has, indeed, been discov also by idealists in the West in their theo of knowledge. But the East has never b satisfied with this intellectual discovery. went farther than that and asserted that identity must be made an object of experie The only way is full realization of the in of this metaphysical truth. Herein lies happiness and bliss, *ananda*, which every H sage wishes to attain. It also supplies basis of all morality. Not only is a truly h person good by nature, but the realizatio oneness with all can lead to no evil de thought.

Although, generally, Hindu philosop defined the ultimate reality in impersonal as *That, It, This, this world all*, an like as an object of reverence and wo a personal relation was bound to be u most in the minds of devotees. Reli enthusiasm and inspiration are always fervid if the object of piety is conceiv having some characters that are akin to kind. In prayer too, it is in the nat

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language to lapse into a personal attitude. But it must be said that the Hindus generally do not pray in the sense of asking a favour or making a petition. Their prayer is rather a meditation, a collecting oneself, which has the significance of putting oneself in closer touch with the metaphysical world-ground.

If we enquire finally what benefits are to be derived from this particular Hindu attitude, we get a different picture from that usually drawn of Hindus. Pessimism is in order for those only, who see no escape from the round of rebirths, *samsara*. Salvation lies in the vital realization of the unity of all, as described above. Since, however, not all are philosophers, they cannot fully comprehend the meaning of the metaphysical solution and their unhappiness has always been taken as typical of Hindu life and religion. The Vedantin, on the contrary, presents the picture of contentment, for he ever keeps the object of his realization in view. He need not, like the Yogin, take recourse to physical means in order to get in touch with the highest reality, as he carries it deep within himself.

And here we should point out the implications which the theories of re-incarnation and *karman* have as far as the problem of the psycho-physical organism is concerned. The logicalness of the Hindu who is unafraid to draw the ultimate conclusion and to accept it at its full value becomes apparent when we take into account the following.

Those who consider the round of rebirths, *samsara*, as practically stopping only at the world end to begin again in the next *Kalpa*, submit to their fate quietly and without complaint. To uphold their belief they must postulate a soul-entity—the psychical mechanism of the Western world—and a corporeal entity which is the body, with this difference that in the Hindu concept of body is included a finally assorted mass of material elements, starting with the tangible elements constituting the body proper and ending with an ethereal substance representing the mind-stuff. The same laws which govern the physical world hold good in all classes of "matter." Action and reaction, cause and effect, stimulus and response are inviolable behaviours in these realms, and the totality of such forces is called *karman, i.e.*, action. This action may be good or evil, leading to a pleasant or an unpleasant future life. It is to be noted that thought falls under the same category, producing good or evil *karman*. In as much as it is the nature of living bodies to react and to act spontaneously, *karman* is inevitably accumulated, and the only hope of a person consists in diminishing his pile of evil *karman* and building up more and more good *karman* around the nucleus of his self or *atman*.

This is a consistent doctrine. It avoids all those dangerous rocks before which the Western thinkers halted, faltered or turned back. It is ruthless in its consistency, but at the same time, or, rather, because of its relentlessness, it is blind. Hence that mightiest of all human struggles—equalled by the medieval cry for salvation from original sin—the struggle to get out of the round of rebirths, to be released and to attain peace and everlasting happiness. And India *did* find the solution in the sublimest of all truths that the individual self is identical with the All, that *atman* equals *brahman*, and that in knowledge or realization, *vidya*, salvation is to be found.

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A TRILOGY OF PARADOXES

By FRANK C. BANCROFT, Jr.

AMONG Europeans who have become "seasoned" by a considerable residence in this country, the common assumption is that Indian temperament is at bottom paradoxical and therefore beyond ordinary human comprehension. If the personal reference may be pardoned, this is a matter of considerable interest to myself, for in it lies the influence which has kept me here much longer than I had originally intended and which largely occupies my attention as I make ready to depart. This matter of paradox deserves attention, for it is more complicated than we generally assume. Often what we regard as paradoxes are mere superficial disparities which tend to dissolve themselves as we learn more of the real meaning below. Again, more significantly, sometimes the so-called paradox is a *bona fide* conflict, *i. e.*, apparently paradoxical conduct results from the fact that an individual-in-society is a complex affair and that the forces which impinge upon him at one time lead him to feel, think, speak and act in one way, and later in a different. However much experience and patient analysis correct understanding of such a situation may demand of us, there is nothing mysterious or occult about it; once we realize the nature, the intensity, the complexity and frequency of these currents, the conduct becomes natural enough. Indeed, in this sense human nature is paradoxical in varying degrees the world over.

But there is a set of facts which tend to make Indian temperament perhaps a shade more paradoxical than most. After a brief examination of them, we shall proceed to the task of attempting to unravel three of the paradoxes which most commonly confuse the minds of those foreigners who are interested in understanding the people among whom they live. Even in settled conditions of culture there is always a certain amount of perennial conflict between the desires and interests of the individual and folkways and inhibitions of his group. Indeed it is these which have provided the skeletons of ninety-per cent of European novels and dramas f the origins of those literary forms to present day. It is always interesting watch the reactions of people who have b told that they may not have something wi they very much want, or that they m accept something for which they have sli inclination.

This normal conflict is drastically accentu ed in India today by two principal fa In the first place her entire national h beginning at the top and percolating down the very bottom, is coerced by a politi a cultural, an economic, a religious an social pressure from without. In other wor that very agency which usually repres stability elsewhere—that is to say, the lar corporate entity, society—here is a source conflict of the most violent nature. It but natural that when the stabilizer its runs on a loose pulley its component pa will not tend to manifest a high degree stability. It requires a stretch of the imagi tion to grasp the second fact, for it is stridently at variance with this one. It simply this: That Indian society is, by nat extremely conservative. Now we are com somewhat closer to the central source of this paradox. Do you not see that i characteristically close-knit and static so organism is called upon to live in continu change and in continuous conflict with anot of an entirely disparate order, that it bound, in the very nature of the case, produce paradoxical individuals? If centripetal and the centrifugal forces alw operated with the same intensity, a remarka stability would of course be produced. they do not. Let us take an instance. centrifugal forces begin to operate in mature Indian girl undergraduate. She been reading Keats, Shelley, Swinburne Browning. She has visited an occasio Occidental cinema. She has met one or sophisticated companions of her broth

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Circumstances so conspire that she thinks nd says a number of things which are onsiderably eccentric to the customarily rescribed behaviour of her sex, caste and lass. As long as these forces have relatively ree play, she is a tolerably unified individual. t suddenly the centripetal ones begin to nction. Perhaps they come in the shape of onscience (*i. e.*, social memory); perhaps in at of a severe fraternal or paternal primand; perhaps in that of fear of tection and social boycott. Inwardly and twardly she changes. But there is nothing rticularly paradoxical about it. Ordinary uman beings, Indians or otherwise, men or omen, placed in similar circumstances, act in this fashion. Thus to an examination several general classes of confusing conduct India.

I

Organizing Ability

Europeans (and not infrequently Indians emselves) are often taken aback by the ct that the latter exhibit a lamentable k of organizing power. Among all peoples, y say, those of this country should el in this respect, for their family and cial life is perhaps the best disciplined in the rld. In an Indian household there is not slightest doubt about who wields supreme thority nor about the exact relationship ich exists between every member and all others. Each has his duties and rogatives and is quickly called back into if he transgresses or falls short. So in the ger social groups; each caste, each class, ch profession is strictly docketted and machine runs like clockwork. Such condition would seem to provide the al background for the efficient functioning voluntary organizations, such as the ngress, agencies of social service, nicipal bodies, educational institutions, etc. that is necessary is that the members nsfer to the leaders and to their colleagues same attitudes and the same sense of thority and discipline which they habitually bit in regard to their parents, wives, sbands, sisters and brothers. But what do see? Hardly a voluntary organization ny kind in India which is not perpetually split asunder by schisms, factions and disintegrations. Whence the paradox?

There are two principal sources, one external and one internal and both comparable to the fact that an unused member tends to atrophy. Ordinary Indians have not had the opportunity to order their own corporate affairs literally for centuries. From the feudal stage (which was a world-phenomenon and which produced the general irresponsibility which forms the principal problem of democracy to this day) they passed under first, the Muslim domination and then the British. It has become part of their very nature to look up for orders rather than in and out for corporate plans. That particular function of the human personality which enters into voluntary and sustained corporate enterprise has lain dormant so long that it can scarcely be wakened in a tryce. Collateral with this is the internal fact. The traditional Hindu family is a benevolent despotism in which each member performs certain duties but in which he seldom has to exercise the disciplined initiative which is the heart of voluntary corporate enterprise. During his youth he does what he is told; in his maturity he does the telling and others obey. Between these two periods there is nothing.

The educated young man who is expected to share in voluntary enterprise today is egregiously badly prepared for it. During his boyhood and young manhood he has alternated between two despotic milieux; that of his paternistically geared home and that of his bureaucratic school and college. I cannot quite express the surprise which came to me when I became aware of the juvenile disciplines under which college students live in Calcutta. Two agencies and not one are responsible for it. On the one hand, Government does not trust these young men because they are potential terrorists and trouble-makers; and on the other hand, their parents and guardians do not trust them, because they may fall into evil ways. Between the two the youth has not the ghost of a chance of developing into the kind of man who can corporately bear responsibilities with equals and who can make a disciplined inferior and a reasonable superior. Human nature is like a jack-in-the-box. Once the overhead pressure has been removed, we see before us

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the very embodiment of self-asserting arrogance—or a supine willingness once more to be "squshed" down into the little compartment.

II

Regarding the Physical

Before coming to India it was my impression that the tendency to separate the spiritual and the physical into sharp dichotomy is a Hebrew trick and that in India I would find a more penetrating realization of their interrelation. Certainly the expectation cannot be considered entirely without foundation. It has become a truism to remark that India's traditional and characteristic contribution to the world of thought is that all things are One. The final word of India in the metaphysical realm is monism, pure or qualified. And that of the Hebrew-Christian tradition is dualism, sharp or mystically softened. The latter had failed to satisfy me and I hoped to find a vital interpretation of the former in the life of contemporary India. How pitiably naive—to expect unity of life in the India whom history, internal and external, has torn to bits ! At any rate, such was my hope ; but what did I find ? I have never known any people in whose minds and actions there exists a more categorical disjunction of spiritual and physical than my Indian friends of the moment. The very word "physical" has become an accepted adjective of contempt and aspersion and everything pertaining to the physical life of man is regarded as inimical to his spiritual development. And yet, when this troubled life of psycho-physical conflict is terminated, the corpse is escorted to the burning-ghat by the cry "Hari Om."

How is it that India has so conspicuously relinquished her birthright ? Have I fallen into some grave error of insight when I presume that the fruits of monism should be not asceticism, but a sacramental attitude which conceives the physical as a medium of expression for spiritual values ? It cannot fairly be answered that such a spirit as I describe pertains to the India of a century ago, but not to today. Is not the ascetic Mahatmaji still m..e to the liking of the people than the Greek Rabindranath ? Insuperably great as he is as a political a social prophet, when it comes to the in psyche and the normal life of the individ Gandhiji is of the flesh-and-bone of Sim Stylites and Savanarola. Such a disposit is what is commonly accepted as "holy" the India of today. Before the turtle-s can find light, it must pull in the head limbs, representing the five senses. The se are not servants helping the individual in pilgrimage, but traitors leading him inevit into the nether abyss.

This paradox is considerably more diffi to resolve than the previous one ; ind it is something of a real paradox. But must attempt to scale its battlem

In the first place, it must be remembe that in all lands the philosophy of enlightened ones and the psychology of common people do not at all points coin It is extremely doubtful that the ordinary of Indian men and women ever unders let alone vitally adopted, any form of mon Early they came to realize that undiscipl sense expression led to a deterioration spiritual life, so they broke their world into two inimical halves and called the heaven and the other hell. In the realm sex, hell became permissible only marriage, when it somehow got itself t muted into a kind of heaven. This w little hard to understand, but the priests it was so, so it must be. It is a tempti easy solution of the moral problem to hang placard "bad" over the physical and "g over the so-called spiritual and let it that. Everyone can perceive the diffe (or thinks he can).

But even among the thoughtful m themselves, there was at work a dialectic was inevitably tending toward asce True it is, they said, that all things bottom spiritual, and that, *rightly unde and properly controlled* the physical be the medium of the spiritual. But usually inhibits us from a full underst and enjoyment of this fact ? It is imp and undisciplined sense-expression. The the senses have to be *converted* to their use and this can be done only thro rigorous and prolonged course of Therefore in their naive and raw co

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the senses are inimical to spiritual realization. Hence *yoga* and asceticism.

Unfortunately, human beings usually forget the point during the process and somewhere along the line apotheosize the subsidiary technique, losing sight of the goal. This is probably what happened in India. Undoubtedly the early conception of holiness was wholeness, a unified life in which the physical, mental and spiritual worked spontaneously and organically. To this end, discipline was necessary. But, on the way, holiness was transferred to the discipline itself and the "holy man" became the one who lashed, starved, and lacerated his body into subservience. Alas! While "brother ass" was being whipped into harness the sweet meaning of life had scampered off into the woods of oblivion.

But the worst has not been said. If Indians as a whole had been willing and able scrupulously to follow the implications of this philosophy—*i.e.*, if the people had turned wholesale into one hundred per cent ascetics, *yogis*, *sannyasis* and *brahmacharis*, there would have soon been a wholesome reaction which would have blown the lid sky-high. But they were not so easily to be trapped. They evolved a professional clique of scapegoats (at Benares and elsewhere) and commended themselves to a permanent blame-complex. These, they said, were the ideals of human life. They were "holy men." But, for themselves, it was necessary, for the work of the world, that there should be "worldly men." Thus, no doubt unconsciously, the problem of the good life was flubbed. And the paradox of India's present attitude toward the physical life is that she still groans under this unhappy legacy.

III

Precarious Romance

Lastly, let us look at an interesting and allied paradox, *i.e.*, the condition of romance in India today. This also considerably confused me in my early residence here. I went to live with college students and, as far as I could perceive, their lives were entirely devoid of this element which plays so important a part in that of their contemporaries in Europe and America. Theirs, in short, was a womanless existence, a situation with which I quickly came to sympathize! As usual, my first reaction was naive. Had I not been told that East and West were poles asunder? Here it seemed, were young men who were not young men in the sense I had previously understood—beings peculiarly interested in young women. No doubt their studies, athletics, pecuniary worries, and politics completely filled their minds and spirits. In the beginning, from time to time, I vaguely wondered whether it was not India which I had always considered a country of romance, but at length I began to conclude that this had no doubt been false testimony of the order of "Mother India," "Uncle Sham," etc. I stoically resolved to adjust my thinking to the facts.

But then, gradually, I began to detect in my companions a suspicious proclivity to read lyric poetry and to creep clandestinely into the more erotic Western films. Furthermore, when the formality wore off, I became aware that at times their conversation sought levels different from those of metaphysics and politics. Again, the pictures in their rooms were not all of Bhagat Singh (I was in Lahore) and the Taj. Most inconsiderate of them—to force me into another mental adjustment. Then I began to inquire whether romance had really always been contraband in India. Had the moon, the fields, and the rivers always been of purely astronomical, botanical and geological interest? Little by little I was acquainted with the fact that in North India there was to this day a predilection for the more erotic of the Persian poets and that in Bengal there had been certain Vaishnav versifiers of similar stamp. And *then* I received primary introduction into the metaphysics of Radha and Krishna. Tagore, of course, was to be interpreted purely metaphysically. I wondered. . . .

Now, I am sorry to say, the cat is out of the bag. It happens to be a fact that not only are Indian young men young men, but Indian young women bear close resemblance to young women! The only difference is that they have more difficulty in actualizing it. Such is social obedience in India that the older generation is not even aware of what is going on inside the hearts and minds of their sons and

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daughters today. With the exception of a slowly increasing number of clandestine departures, external relations go on today much as before. But the tide is rising and one day, not in the very distant future, romance will once more come into its own in India. It is in the mind and blood of the people and murder will out. It is already "outing" more than nine-tenths of the population realize. But the price is often cruel and the percentage of broken hearts is sadistically high. There is some consolation in the fact, however, that this curve will decrease as its cause increases. This is the positive side of the law of diminishing returns.

Thus this paradox resolves itself comparatively simply. Superficially one wonders how it can be possible that a people uniquely rich in romantic imagination can be almost completely starved of it in experiment. In the first place, the repression itself is no doubt responsible for much of the lyrical exuberance, as is the case in all times and countries. "The sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thought." Keep a romantic young man severely solitary at ten o'clock on a full-moon night and the odds are that he will write a poem—though not so good a one as if he had done a little preliminary laboratory work. Much of what remains of the paradox is further resolved by realization of the fact that the present constricted social order is not an immemorial one in India. Time was when young men and young women had considerably more prenubial freedom than today. Numerous invasions, and particularly the Mussalman invasion, did much to tighten things up. Sudden and unaccustomed congested living in a place like Calcutta has in recent times increased the difficulty, by making contact more inevitable and more dangerous. It is really not a paradox. It is a socio-historical complex.

An Attitude

No claim is advanced that these "solutions" adequately or even correctly get to the bottom of the three paradoxes dealt with. No doubt continued living and thought in India would produce newer and deeper insights into the nature of them. And even if these three were satisfactory, there remain dozens of others which baffle us foreigners. My only hope is that the assumption and the method are correct. The assumption is that Indian nature is human nature and that the laws which affect it are those which affect the rest of us, however different the particular contemporary and historical facts may be. The method is that of sympathetic effort to understand and suspended judgment. The former presumes a certain social attitude toward one's fellowmen as a whole, and the latter a rather difficult and always bothersome condition of the judgment—*i.e.*, that of stable disequilibrium. Our judgment always wishes to rush into port and to settle down in the haven of accepted attitudes and neat formulae. This permits us to make speeches and write articles, but it does not permit us to go ahead in the vital process of growing in understanding. For what it is worth, I offer this as a fruitful spirit in which foreigners may enter into rapport with Indian people. Of course those who come only to tour, to rule, to convert, or to exploit, will not be interested. Fortunately, these by no means constitute the entire European constituency in India today.

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PRINTING IN INDIA TODAY—ITS NATIONAL ASPECT

I. By C. F. ANDREWS

I have kept in my writing case now for nearly a year a remarkable paper which I received from Nitindranath, the grandson of Rabindra Nath Tagore. Before he died, he told me very much about his own ideals and I have embodied these conversations in this paper.

Germany is today in the throes of a great revolution which represents a tremendous reaction on the part of the younger generation against the cruelty and falsehood of Versailles. At the time that this Peace was forcibly imposed upon Germany, I wrote an article in *The Modern Review* (August, 1919) called 'A Peace that is No Peace,' condemning the dishonourable way in which that peace had been made. At the end of that article, which was actually finished on July 9th, shortly after the signing of the peace, I wrote as follows:

"Just as from every corner of the world the cry went up before against the inhumanity of the war methods employed by Germany, which shocked the conscience of mankind, so now from every corner of the world the cry will go up against the inhumanity of these 'peace' methods of the Allies, which, as soon as they are fully known and understood, will shock the conscience of mankind. Inevitably this will come to pass, and the voice of thoughtful men everywhere will be clear and strong."

Unfortunately, the latter part of this sentence did not come true, for very little protest was made at the time, and I was bitterly attacked for writing this article. But very slowly since then the tide has turned and the treachery of the Allies has become more and more openly recognized.

The aftermath of the War told on the German people far more severely than on any other portion of Europe; for in that land, the suffering that had succeeded the War was almost greater in its physical misery than that which occurred during the war itself. We must remember this when we judge the things that are now happening before our eyes in Germany today.

Since the year 1919, I have visited Germany five times in all, and while on each occasion my admiration for the German people has steadily grown greater, there has been mingled with it an ever-increasing sense of a weight of sorrow lying heavily on the land which nothing seems able to remove.

On the last two occasions, my errand has been itself a sad one. This has naturally added to the gloom of the picture which I drew in my own mind. For Nitindranath, the grandson of the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, had gone to Germany, with high hopes, only a little more than a year ago in order to carry through a great object for his own country whereon he had already set his heart and soul. He was determined to create in India an artistic school of printing, not inferior in any respect to the finest art printing schools in Europe and America.

I have with me a pamphlet beautifully set up in type, which he published in Germany a short time ago.* In this, he explains his whole idea of national printing in India. He tells us how in the year 1561 A. D., the Portugese missionaries brought with them the message of John Gutenberg to the shores of India. His article will, I hope, be published in *The Modern Review* where readers may get for themselves his point of view. Here I only wish to tell, in the simplest way possible, something about this young author and printer, whose last days were passed in Germany which he had learnt to love as his own home. He had suffered quite unexpectedly for some months from a very rapid form of illness which brought to an untimely end his brilliant career.

During the last days of the illness he spoke to me often about the plan he had been preparing for carrying forward more rapidly the handicraft of his own country in this direction. His longing was that the great skill in craftsmanship, which had been inherited in India for more than a hundred generations, should be revived and employed for art printing. Especially he desired that the vernacular scripts of India should have their own fully acknowledged place as works of beauty in the Printer's Art.

A very brief sketch of his career may here be given. After he had gone through his preliminary education at a modern school, called St. Christopher, at Letchworth, near London, the choice was offered him of either continuing his studies in some university, with a literary end in view, or else of taking up some technical course, such as art-printing. He preferred the latter, and after trying various forms of technical work he became more and more enthusiastic about this printing course he had originally chosen.

At first he was sent as an apprentice to the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, in order to study from beginning to end the entire process of the production of Indian books in the different vernaculars. This Press is famous for the variety of its different language types. The Rev. H. Knight helped him greatly in this preliminary

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work and had a great affection for him. From this work in Calcutta he went on at last to Bombay and through the influence of Sir Stanley Reed was admitted to the Times of India Press. Here he was able to study some of the special colour processes which had been developed in that press in connection with its illustrations.

During this time in Bombay the idea began to take possession of him that he should make a life study of this subject and win for his own country a high place in the artistic printing of the world. After some hesitation, he decided to go to Germany where the best modern art printing work is to be found. He went first of all from Bombay to Berlin, where he had many friends both Indian and European. He stayed at the house of Dr. and Mrs. Mendel, where the Poet, his grandfather, had always been a thrice welcome guest. They are related to the world-famous Dr. Albert Einstein, who used constantly to visit their house.

The greater part of the bitter winter weather was passed in Berlin itself, and it would seem that it was here in this bleak, wintry climate that he contracted a serious weakness in the lungs which led on to his final illness. Before the illness became acute, for the sake of his own printing work he went on from Berlin to Leipzig ; for in that city the greatest publishers in Germany are to be found. In Leipzig, the chest trouble which he had contracted in Berlin rapidly developed. In the end, on March 14th he was striken down by a very serious illness, which made him take to his bed and from which he never recovered. As soon as ever he was able to be removed he was taken to a sanatorium called the Neue Heilanstadt, in the Black Forest, at Schomberg, where he recieved every possible care and attention ; but the disease had already gone too far and after great suffering he passed away on August 7, 1932, at the age of twenty.

While he was in Leipzig, he had taken the greatest interest, even from his bed of sickness, in an international club for foreign students. This occupied every spare moment of his time, and his unselfish service for his fellow-students won their deep regard. They would come to see him all day long, in his illness, and this was his greatest satisfaction and comfort.

In the closing days of his life it was quite remarkable to watch how the idea of the development of fine art printing in India had taken possession of him. Even in his illness, he still looked forward eagerly to its accomplishment. His whole heart was in the cause. There was no thought in his mind of any likelihood of his own early death. Indeed, his one wish was to get well as quickly as possible, in order to carry out the idea on which he had set his heart. During the very last days of his life, he continued to speak of it.

When the end came at last very suddenly, and his earthly life was over, it was deeply touching to those who had watched by his bedside to witness the sympathy of all those who had been with him in his illness. Nurses and doctors alike, as well as the humblest servants, had felt a deep affection for him. He had been so patient and gentle and unselfish in his own suffering, that everyone who came in contact with him realized the noble spirit which inhabited so frail a body. He had a kindly word for each of those who visited him ; and even when he was suffering great pain, he had a smile to cheer those who nursed him. The German people, who have gone through such deep sorrows themselves, had a place in their hearts for him.

The beautiful spot where he was laid to rest was on the brow of a hill overlooking a broad open valley with a pine-forest rising above it. In the far distance of the other side of the valley the pine-forest again stretched out for many miles. It is called in German "Schwarzwald," the "Black Forest". This is a part of Germany most deeply loved by the German people for its beauty and romance. The songs and the legends of the German people are centred in it.

Here in the heart of the "Black Forest" Nitindranath Ganguly was laid to rest. While flowers have been planted over his grave and the wind sweeping through the pine-trees perpetually whispers peace. No more peaceful spot could be imagined and its beauty did much to take away the bitterness of sorrow.

The remarkable project of the grandson of the Poet now remains unaccomplished. It is true that we have already fine art printing in India, but it has not yet reached that superlative excellence which would make it able to compete on equal terms with the finest art-printing of the West.

Skill of hand in designing is probably superior in India to anything which the West can offer. But the extraordinary technical facilities of the West, with its infinite mechanical fertility, have placed Europe in an almost unassailable position. It remains to be seen whether some other young Indian craftsman is able to take up the task which Nitindranath tried to accomplish. His very death, with its pathetic story, may possibly inspire someone or other of his compeers to undertake this adventure.

I have obtained a copy of his paper, which was published in German as well as English and give for the readers of *The Modern Review* the English translation below.

II. By NITINDRANATH GANGULY

IN 1561 A.D., the Portuguese Missionaries brought with them the message of John Gutenberg of Mainz, to the shores of Portuguese India. History tells us that they were the first to introduce printing from "movable types" into India —and that Gaspar de Leao, the Archbishop

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Goa, printed the first book in that country by this new method in the same year. It is not known yet whether printing from such types existed earlier than 1561, or in other words whether it came from China and the Far East, where printing by means of wooden blocks and "moveable types" were in existence "prior to their appearance or discovery in Europe." However, necessary details are lacking to support this vague theory. These are the meagre historical data.

In India there are two distinct divisions of printing, firstly, the English printing presses under English or European management, and secondly, the Indian presses under Indian management. And it is my object here to deal with the latter, with particular attention to its national aspect.

The printing art originated in Germany, and from there it spread gradually to other European countries, where it soon took the form of a national art. But in India this has not been the case, it is still foreign. The distinctive styles developed by those countries have become so characteristic and representative, that it is even possible for the layman to recognize them at a glance. For instance, "the sober and somewhat formal English and the free bold American styles," and many other features, such as the general get-up and binding which gives to the book a "national expression." The question immediately arises, how can this "national expression" be brought about ?

In the Western countries, facilities are given for obtaining practical training in printing and its allied arts, in schools specially devoted for these purposes, whereas in India there are no such schools where it is possible to undergo the necessary training and course of instructions.

The greatest of all problems which face us today is the want of qualified men and schools of printing where suitable training, both practical and theoretical could be imparted to the poor Indian student of print, under expert supervision and guidance. Until and unless we find the solution to this problem, there can be no progress made and the aspiration of a national printing art or industry will merely be a long distant dream.

It is not possible for the would-be Gutenberg to come to Europe for training as he cannot afford it. There are some who have come to Europe at their own expense—some are Government scholarship holders. It will be doing injustice to the young printer to deny him the opportunity of training himself, by placing a financial obstacle before him. Therefore, by establishing local schools of printing in India this difficulty will be overcome.

The government of India, has founded a scholarship for the study of printing in England. But there are certain conditions which make it inaccessible, as it is awarded to those who know English and have completed a period of apprenticeship in a government printing press.

The object of this scholarship is to give qualified Indians the posts held by Englishmen, such as managers, superintendents and departmental heads.

There is no doubt that many have been attracted by this tempting offer and I am of opinion, that it will be a great pity if trained Indians, instead of helping to build up a national printing art, seek posts in the government printing offices.

The birth of a national printing art can never be expected from the government printing offices, where the work produced, such as official reports, etc. are no typographical masterpieces. Besides the English style is strictly adhered to.

To sum up I can do no better than to quote Warren who says "Men are wanted who will take an interest in printing for its own sake and study it as a means of national self-expression."

There are very few good Indian presses and the best work is only a copy or "as is usually the case, a miserable out-of-date imitation." Here again the question of training arises. The creative mind of the printer can only express itself when he is acquainted with the elementary principles of typography and knows the different styles. This will strengthen his imagination and lead him to create a distinctive style.

Our own ancient art will be a source of inspiration to the future printer and will supply us with new ideas which through the process of "modification" and "elimination" will clothe the future Indian book in a national and in beautiful typographical garment.

In the province of Bengal I have seen some books, neatly printed the pages rich with ornaments, decorations, and bound in an Indian *motif*—altogether a beautiful production, which has proved how the artist can help the printer and how important it is to co-operate with each other. This indeed is a very hopeful sign.

It is, therefore, evident that the main problem is the want of technically qualified men and schools of printing in India today. Amongst other problems mainly are, firstly, the general want of education. Some know English and can read and write it and others the vernacular only. Instructions in future schools of printing could then be in the vernacular. Secondly, the want of money in most Indian presses which sometimes hampers their progress, and lastly the absence of interest in the average worker and the indifferent and unfriendly attitude existing between the employer and the employee, which must change.

The owners and managers can do a great deal for the welfare of their employees by arranging demonstrations, lantern-lectures and activities of this kind which will help to create an interest in the worker in his particular work.

In conclusion, I may point out that it requires hard work and sacrifice to build up a national art which India in time to come, will justly be proud of, as she is of her ancient art and literature.

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THE SANATORIUM UNIVERSITAIRE AND THE INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY SANATORIUM, LEYSIN, SWITZERLAND

By A. K. MAJUMDAR, M.A.

"I slept and dreamt that life was Beauty,
I woke and found that life was Duty."

TO be with the young is to be young, and to work for the amelioration of the suffering of the sick is to ennoble one's own soul. This two-fold truth is brought home to everyone who visits the great "Sanatorium Universitaire" at Leysin, a small but flourishing village in the Swiss Canton of Vaud, and who spends some time with the young inmates of this institution.

Dr. L. C. Vauthier, M.D.,
Director, Sanatorium Universitaire Suisse and Secretary-General, International University Sanatorium Committee, Leysin (Suisse)

On invitation from Dr. L. C. Vauthier, M.D., the Warden and Direktor of the Sanatorium, my friend, Dr. R. K. Kacker, Superintendent, King Edward Sanatorium, Bhowali, India, and I visited the Sanatorium Universitaire at Leysin-Village on the afternoon of October 12, 1933. We were kindly received by Dr. and Mrs. Vauthier, and were a few minutes later introduced to Miss Agnes Lindahl, a girl student of the University of Copenhagen who speaks German, French and English fluently. She showed us round, explained to us the life of the students residing there, and acted as our interpreter. Since then I have visited the institution many times, passed many happy hours with the University students of Europe here, shared their activities and discussed at great length with Dr. Vauthier the great problems connected with this Sanatorium. It is a unique institution in the world, and therefore deserves to be brought prominently to the notice of the thousands of students who are studying at our Indian Universities, of their parents and of the University authorities in India.

"The Sanatorium Universitaire Suisse," as it is generally called is beautifully situated in the midst of pine forests at an altitude of 4,500 feet above the sea-level. It commands a charming view of the superb Rhone Valley and the snowy faces of the majestic Alps—the Mont Blanc and the Dents du Midi. It is primarily intended for such Swiss University students and teachers of both sexes who are suffering from tuberculosis, whether pulmonary or surgical. The idea of such a sanatorium originated with Dr. Vauthier, who saw that tubercular students residing in Sanatoria, cliniques and pensions all over Switzerland, were not in ideal environments. The hospital atmosphere at most of these places damped their youthful energies and cramped their buoyant spirits. This young doctor's sympathetic nature discovered that two opposite evils surrounded the tubercular patient in those ordinary places of cure, namely, "helpless loneliness on the one hand,

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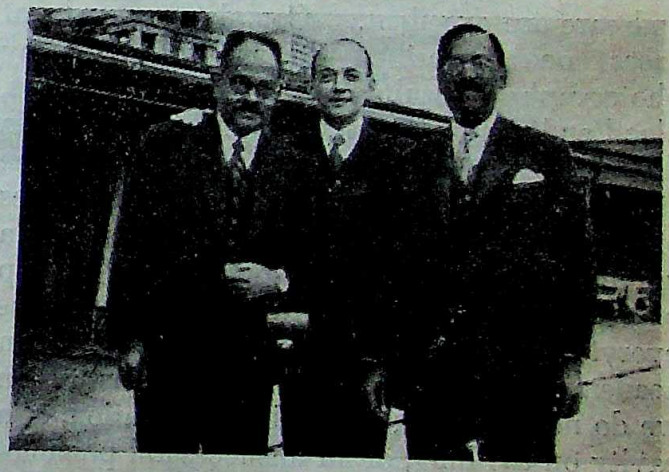
the deadening weight of unwanted society on the other." Therefore with a view to providing healthy surroundings, an educational atmosphere, facilities for quiet literary and scientific studies, a mixture of freedom and association of young men and women of about the same age, combined with up-to-date medical arrangements to ensure proper treatment, care and rest Dr. and Mrs. Vauthier tried their best to popularize the scheme of a University Sanatorium, and to carry on an extensive propaganda. In every University town special meetings and fêtes were held to explain the idea and collect funds. This was done under the patronage of the Swiss Federal Council, the Red Cross Society and the League of the Prevention of Tuberculosis. The Swiss press strongly supported the project. A Swiss manufacturer gave a handsome donation of 25,000 francs, and the collections at special meetings amounted to about 60,000 francs. The Swiss students all over the little country responded to the appeal splendidly and the scheme was approved by the seven Swiss Universities, the federal School of Technology and the National Union of Students. They gave practical proofs of their sympathy by making it obligatory on all Swiss University professors and students to contribute at the rate of 20 francs and 10 francs a year per head respectively. The University contributions for one term before the actual opening of the Sanatorium brought in about 40,000 francs. The house already standing on the site was rented for a year and some money was spent on its equipment. Afterwards the house was acquired, and additions and alterations were made to make it a suitable sanatorium. The present value of the building is about 400,000 francs. Thus in October 1, 1922, the Sanatorium Universitaire Suisse was opened at Leysin, which had unanimously been chosen by the Committee for the seat of this sanatorium, with 45 beds. While half of the number of beds is reserved for the Swiss University students and professors, it extends its helping hand to the students of all foreign universities, without distinction of colour, caste, creed or nationality. Several Indian students studying in Europe and stricken with tuberculosis have been hospitably received and treated here, for example, Messrs. Reddi, Ahmed and Sekka, whose photographs have been shown to me by Dr. Vauthier. The cost has been kept as low as possible. In considerotion of the regular contributions which were made by the professors and students in "health times"—which by the way are of the nature of premia for insurance against sickness (Tuberculosis)—the professors and students of Swiss universities (even if of foreign nationality) are, during their residence here, required to pay 6.50 francs a day or about 2.16 s. a week each and students and professors coming from other countries have to pay 12 francs a day each. When we remember that this charge includes board, lodging, service, treatment, medicine, X-Ray, and all university facilities, we realize how cheap the arrangement is in an expensive country like Switzerland. Indeed, we are told that the charge is actually below cost.



Dr. R. K. Kacker, Dr. Vauthier and Mr. A. K. Majumdar

This sanatorium is now provided with a modern X-Ray apparatus, a pneumo-thorax apparatus, a dispensing room, a laboratory, an excellent library of 10,000 volumes, a reading hall with more than one hundred and sixty newspapers and magazines of different countries of the world—alas! our country has not so far thought it fit to send any, while Egypt is represented here—old numbers being nicely bound and well arranged, a radio, a microphone, a cinema-projector, an epidiascope, a camera with an enlarging apparatus and a properly equipped "dark room," a lecture hall, a well-furnished small room for tutorial classes,

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a spacious SOLARIUM for the Sun Cure, and wireless installations at each bedside and on each balcony for transmitting lectures, concerts, etc. to those staying in their rooms upstairs under medical advice.*

Dr. Vauthier was entrusted with the medical, academic and social direction of this Sanatorium. For ten years he worked indefatigably as its physician, surgeon, superintendent, manager, etc. In fact, he was and continues to be the soul of this institution. But the work was too much for one man; therefore he has been relieved of the medical side of the work by the appointment of a resident, qualified doctor, and a part-time head doctor who visits the house twice a week. The expenditure is kept within the income, and effort is made by the managing committee to pay the interest and part of the loan from savings.

The arrangements for the medical examination of the students and for their treatment and care are excellent. Complete records of cases on prescribed forms with X-Ray photographs, results of X-Ray screenings, blood and sputum tests, etc. are maintained in decent covers. The social contact of the students makes them cheerful. The authorities of the institution do not aim at running a university for tubercular students on the top of a mountain; but within the limitations everything possible is done to introduce an academic atmosphere here. At this institution we do not hear talks of a bone operation, of a cavity on the lung, of an unsuccessful pneumothorax operation on account of adhesions, of alcoholization, of phrenic evulsion, of the dreaded thoracoplasty and of a thousand and one talks in the same vein so common at the ordinary sanotaria, cliniques and pensions for tubercular patients. We call this institution a sanatorium, but nobody here talks of sickness. The students enjoy radio music and lectures; they laugh and play and study. Students pursuing the same courses of studies help one another,—for example, one dictates notes and another works on the typewriter. They photograph together and develop fil... together. Sometimes one of them lectur... and those interested in the subject listen a... afterwards discuss. While there are ... "complete cycle of University faculties" a... regular courses, the work of each studen... supervised by a tutor chosen from among t... professors. Distinguished Swiss, French a... other professors give them guidance a... advice in research work. A young man w... is a medical student is collecting material f... a thesis on "Constitution and Tuberculosis... and a girl student is writing a thesis on "Te... and Tubercnlosis" the object being to tr... the connection between Caries and Tub... culosis. A young male student of Zuri... who has tuberculosis of the hip-joint, is ... proud possessor of a huge postage sta... album. The collection he has already made... very creditable. And what is the attitude... the universities? It is most sympathe... All the Swiss universities count the ter... spent by their students at this Sanatorium, a... I know it for a fact that many of the inm... of this institution, who were able to conti... their studies here, took their examinations ... the plains and obtained university degre... Medical students get excellent clinical prac... at the various sanatoria and cliniques ... Leysin. The valuable and growing library ... the Sanatorium owes its existence to the g... of charitably disposed publishers, priv... bodies and individuals. The section ... newspapers and magazines is remarkably r... and, in this respect, can easily beat some ... the University libraries in India. ... students can keep well informed on all ... literary, scientific, political, economic and s... progress of the world. Besides, they h... the use of the Swiss University librar... and of those of the "Societe de la Sta... Climatérique" and Societe de Médecine ... Leysin. Students whose health has sufficie... improved, are introduced to light ... interesting handwork, such as book-bind... easy woodwork and metalwork. The sp... lectures that are arranged by the ever-w... Warden, Dr. Vauthier, are interesting ... useful. They are delivered by lea... professors of Swiss, French and ... universities, and by famous artists ... public men. These lectures are atte...

* I propose to deal, in a subsequent article, with the need of an Indian University Sanatorium of this type at a suitable hill-station in India. I am convinced as to its feasibility, but it is not possible for me to discuss that question in this article.

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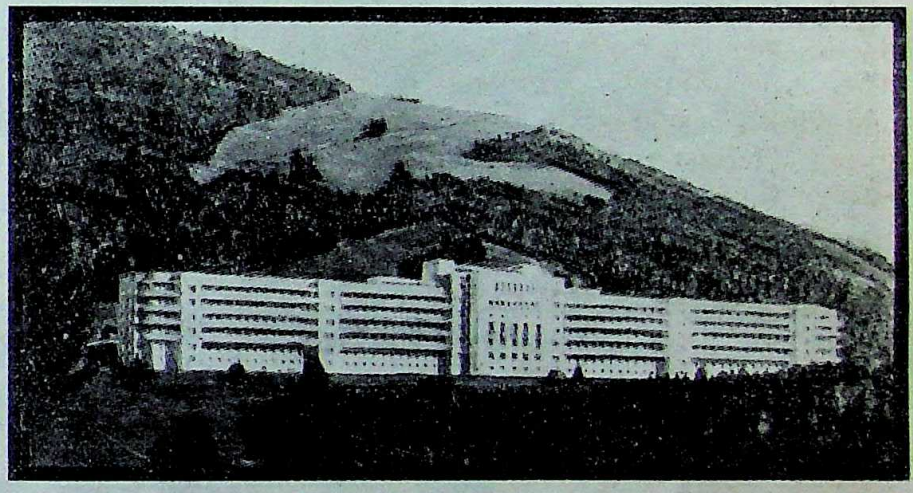
not only by the inmates of the Sanatorium, but also by outsiders. I have had the honour of being invited to more than a dozen of these lectures and I have actually attended five of them.

This will be sufficient to give an idea of the activities of the students of the Sanatorium Universitaire Suisse. Dr. Vautheir is a man of wonderful activity and great power of organization. He works with the energy and enthusiasm of a young man, and is ably assisted by his devoted wife. In the preceding paragraphs I have endeavoured to show what he has done and is doing for the Swiss University students smitten by tuberculosis. But since tuberculosis is a great scourge of civilization, and seizes young men and women in all civilized countries, Dr. Vautheir, the great dreamer and worker as he is, has drawn up a great plan for the establishment of a real International University Santorium at Leysin, in which all the great nations of the world will be asked to co-operate by founding a number of beds for such university students and professors of their countries as may in future be seized by this fell disease. The scheme is by way of an insurance against tuberculosis. It is intended to build a large, thoroughly equipped Sanatorium, containing 208 beds at a total cost of £ 208,000. The Government of each country can have a fixed number of beds reserved at £ 1000 each. A representative Provisional Organizing Committee has been formed for the purpose with Dr. Vautheir as Secretary-General, and detailed plans and estimates have been prepared. The Swiss Federal Government has been pleased to patronize the proposed scheme by deciding to buy 20 beds, although there are 45 beds for Swiss students and professors at the University Sanatorium Suisse. They have already voted 500,000 gold Swiss francs ; the Canton of Vaud has subscribed 50,000 francs Swiss and the Municipality of Leysin has with equal liberality given a large, beautiful site absolutely free. Owing to the unfavourable financial situation in most countries, the Governments of all countries have not yet been approached ; but many Governments have already promised their support. It is intended to approach others soon, and the Government of India will also be requested to participate in this international work. It has the support of the League of Nations and later on all the participating Governments of the world will be its patrons. I am concerned with Indian students. They will ask : "What have we to do with the proposals for the establishment of an International University Sanatorium at far-off Leysin in Switzerland ?" Well, the aim is three-fold :



The Plan of the proposed International University Sanatorium, Leysin (Switzerland)

(*a*) to cure university students and teachers of all countries, who are attacked by tuberculosis ;

(*b*) to enable university students to continue their studies ;

(*c*) to surround them with an atmosphere of university self-help and international co-operation.

There are about 2,000 Indian students studying in Europe and the incidener of tuberculosis among them is believed to be not less than five per year. Such Indian students as during their residence in Europe are attacked by tuberculosis, can easily come to the International University Sanatorium, and stay for cure and private study at a far less expense than at any other modern sanatorium or clinique. The treatment by means of Heliotherapy is not

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Sanatorium Universitaire

practised in bone cases in India. Some of the difficult means of treatment of Pulmonary Tuberculosis, such as, cutting of adhesions, alcoholization, thoracoplasty, etc., are practically unknown in India. I can state from personal knowledge that nowhere in India, not even in Kasmir, do we have such excellent climatic conditions—dry cold, freedom from humidity, purity of atmosphere particularly during the six months of snow—as we find in Switzerland. No one need be afraid of the cold, for with modern electric heating arrangements we do not feel it at all. Why should we not then make it possible for a few well-chosen Indian University students suffering from tuberculosis, to take their treatment at the International University Sanatorium under the best and most renowned physicians and surgeons of Europe? How? By purchasing a few beds, say ten, now at that proposed Sanatorium. It is easy for us to say that we should ask the central Government to find money for the purpose; but I attach very great importance to *self-help*. I have been greatly impressed by the wonderful power of organization shown by the University students of Europe and by their useful activities. I may mention in this connection that the following International Students Organizations are actively participating in the work and are represented on the Committee:

(*i*) The International Confederation of Students

(*ii*) The International Federation of University Women

(*iii*) The International Students Service

(*iv*) The International University Federation of the League of Nations

(*v*) Pax Romana

(*vi*) The World Students' Christian Federation.

(*vii*) The World Union of Jewish Students

Let once the students of Indian universities realize the importance, the imperative necessity of having a few beds reserved at the

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International University Sanatorium, and I am sure the accomplishment of the object will be only a question of months. If under the auspices of the university union at each Indian University centre and under the guidance of the Vice-Chancellor, meetings be held by the students and professors to explain the project of the I. U. S. and if the Indian students resolve to participate in the establishment of this international institution for their own good and that of their successors, let them subscribe, once for all, a paltry sum of eight annas per head, and the sum realized will be sufficient to meet the cost of one bed. When the scheme is supported by all the Vice-Chancellors and the provincial Ministers of Education, the Indian Education Member of the Government of India will, I am sure, be only too glad to patronize the International institution by reserving at least ten beds for Indian University students and professors.

Any one who sees the zeal, the enthusiasm, the earnestness with which Dr. Vautheir, the friend and benefactor of the Youth of the World, is working for the great dream of his life, cannot but pray that the day of the realization of his dream may come soon. I believe that all humanitarian work is God's work and that it does not fail for lack of funds. "To labour is to pray" ; but the labour which is of one's own free will undertaken, as by the learned Doctor, to relieve suffering humanity, to relieve the young students who are the joys of their families and the hopes of their nations, but touched, alas ! by the blasting hand of sickness while in the pursuit of their studies with the goal of life in sight—is one of the purest forms of prayer. Will such prayer go unheeded ? Will such unselfish labour be in vain ?

Let the Indian University Students answer !

EUROPE AND INDIA

The original painting has been presented to Indian Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie by the artist, Mr. Sekumar Deuskar, who studied art in Munich. The picture is meant to represent the spirit of the present age, in which a serious attempt is being made by some cultural men of the East and West to know and appreciate each other.

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THE END OF THE NOBLE EXPERIMENT OF "PROHIBITION" IN THE U. S. A.

By P. GOPALA KRISHNAYYA, M.A., M. SC.,
Columbia University, New York

THE era of prohibition is over in the United States. The repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment to the constitution ended one of the most far-reaching social experiments in the history of the world. It lasted nearly fourteen years. Never before had there been such an attempt to regulate the habits and customs of a nation of 120,000,000 persons of such varied national strains by sumptuary legislation. It was the first time the power of the American Federal Government has been exercised to reach into the private lives and moral conduct of the people of the states on any such extensive scale.

National prohibition followed three-quarters of a century in which the States tried to regulate and control the liquor traffic by State and local option laws. At the time the Eighteenth Amendment went into effect State-wide prohibition was already in effect in thirty-three States, in eighteen of which it has been incorporated in the State Constitutions. 90 per cent of the townships and rural precints, 85 per cent of the countries and 75 per cent of the villages were dry by State legislation. More than two-thirds of the population and 95 per cent of the land area of the United States were under prohibition.

State and local laws and the temperance campaigns that were conducted many years in the wet areas did not satisfy the prohibitionists. They argued that tremendous social and economic advantages would follow national prohibition, that crime and insanity would be reduced, jails and insane asylums closed, workmen's pay diverted to food, clothing and other goods instead of the saloon; industry, trade and commerce stimulated by the new buying power.

The Anti-Saloon League raised large campaign funds among members of the evangelical churches, who were devoted to the ideal of national prohibition on moral and social grounds, and among large industrialists and other capitalists who were convinced that it would increase the economic efficiency of the nation and of their own corporations. One of the most effective propaganda campaigns in the history of the country was organized.

Beginning in 1911 when the proposal came before the American Congress, national prohibition grew in strength as an issue every year, slowly but surely. It might have taken many years to come to a head had not the world war given it a tremendous impetus through the desire to conserve grain supplies for food instead of alcohol and to keep liquor from the soldi... Coming then, when the interest of the nat... was concentrated on the war and when milli... of men were away in uniform, national proh... tion was a sudden surprise and shock to m... Americans.

Drafted by senator Sheppard, the Eighte... Amendent was submitted to the States by a v... of 65 to 20 in the United States Senate ... August 1, 1917, and a vote of 282 to 138 in ... House of Representatives on December 17, 1... The first State to ratify was Mississippi, ... January 8, 1918. Nebraska became dry ... January 16, 1919, the thirty-sixth State to rat... completing the three-fourths of the forty-e... States necessary to make ratification effective.

In the end, forty-six of the forty-eight St... ratified the amendment, only Rhode Island ... Connecticut refusing to do so. Ratification ... accomplished by vote of the State Legisla... in the various States, rather than by pop... vote in State Conventions as specified in ... twenty-first (or repeal) Amendment. The off... figures in the forty-eight State senates w... 1810, or 84·6 per cent for ratification to ... against; in the House of Representatives 3,782, ... 78·5 per cent for ratification to 1,035 against.

Meanwhile, on November 21, 1918, ten d... after the signing of the Armistice, the Amer... Congress enacted the war-time Prohibiton ... which remained in effect until the Eighte... Amendment became effective, on January ... 1920, one year after ratification.

The Volstead Act, fixing one-half of 1 ... cent by volume as the definition of the alcol... content of an intoxicating beverage and provi... for the enforcement of national prohibi... first as applied to the war-time Prohibition Act ... later the Eighteenth Amendment, was adopted ... the Senate and the House of Representatives ... October 8 and 10, respectively, in 1919, ... by President Roosevelt on October 27, and pa... by the American Congress over his veto ... following day.

The constitutionality of the Eighteenth Am... ment and the Volstead Act was challenged ... was sustained in the decisions of the United St... Supreme Court on June 1 and 7, 1920. "Concu... highest court also held that the "concurrent ... power" granted to the States in the Eighte... Amendment authorized them only to ena... prohibition, not to thwart or defeat it.

From the very beginning countrywide pr...

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was engendered by the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act. Not only were houses divided against each other but also churches, political parties, business organizations, social groups, whole communities. Prohibition became the most controversial issue in the United States since the civil war.

Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, took the lead among the intellecutal, and former Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York among the political opponents of the Eighteenth Amendment. Both started early to fight it and carried their opposition consistently to the end, Dr. Butler going so far as to openly advocate revolt against it as utterly contradicting the spirit of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, if it could not be repealed. Governor Smith split the Democratic party temporarily through his unsuccessful fight for the presidential nomination in 1924 and his nomination in 1928, when he took a far more advanced stand against prohibition than other wets in his party were willing to take in those days, and when the party platform remained dry.

During the early years of the great experiment the opposition did not gain much headway. Aside from the extremist prohibition leaders, national prohibition had many supporters among such political leaders as Herbert Hoover and Senator William E. Borah, and such industrialists as Henry Ford, who believed that it was entitled to a fair trial in view of the theoretical advantages which would follow if it could be made to work.

With prosperity so great that taxes were not a burden and with bootlegging, rum-running and speakeasies so widespread that no one really was deprived of his favourite beverages, the general public remained more or less apathetic for several years as the prohibitionists pressed the Federal Government to more drastic enforcement activities and as unwholesome social trends developed in American life in consequence of the growing power of the under world.

Enforcement was most effective in the first two years of prohibition—1920 and 1921—when the country was still under the influence of the wave of dry sentiment that had carried the Eighteenth Amendment into the Constitution. Forty-seven States, Rhode Island being the only exception, adopted state enforcement laws. New York state adopted the Mullan-Gage Enforcement Act, but repealed it in 1923, the repealer being signed by Governor Smith despite warnings that it would end his political career.

Throughout the past ten years there has been a progressive disintegration of enforcement.

As the years passed it became apparent that national prohibition, instead of bringing great economic benefits to the country, was diverting billions of dollars from legitimate business channels and from governments, sources of tax revenues to criminal syndicates. Instead of creating a new and better social world, it was obviously bringing the under-world up to a position of such financial and political influence that it would corrupt office-holders and the police on an unprecedentedly broad scale ; that it could engage in its private wars, killings, kidnappings, torturings, hijackings and shake-downs, in defiance of constituted authority ; that it speakeasies were as bad or worse than the old saloon ; that its minor henchmen or hirelings were crowding the courts and jails, and that its openly scandalous conduct was setting a bad example to the youth of the land, not only in excessive drinking, but also in general contempt for law and orders.

Treaties with foreign nations enabling the coast guard to search rum-runners flying foreign flags within the twelve-miles limit or one-hour run from the American coast, raids on distilleries and breweries, padlocking of speakeasies, seizures of automobiles and trucks loaded with liquor, pitched battles in which both dry agents and rum-runners were killed, and thousands of arrests, fines and imprisonments, all figured in the unsuccessful effort to enforce national prohibition.

In 1926 General Lincoln C. Andrews, a retired Army Officer, appointed as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury to reorganize the enforcement system asserted that the Volstead Act could not be enforced under existing conditions, that the prohibition agents did not seize more than one-tenth of the illicit stills in operation, and that from 12,000 to 15,000 men would be needed to patrol the borders to stop smuggling of liquor. Emory R. Buckner, then United States' Attorney at New York, estimated that "reasonable enforcement" in New York State alone would cost more than $ 70,000,000 a year, seven times more than the enforcement appropriation for the whole country that year.

In 1929 and 1930 final efforts were made to solve the problem by more drastic enforcement. The Jones "Five-and-Ten" Act, passed by Congress and signed by President Colvin Coolidge, provided for five years' imprisonment and $ 10,000 fine for violations of the prohibition law. The theory was that the violators would be frightened into compliance with the law. Greater efficiency in enforcement was expected from transferring the Prohibition Bureau from the Treasury Department to the Department of Justice. Both these efforts failed.

As the depression deepened bringing with it a larger tool burden in terms of a reduced national income, the effects of prohibition in the costs of enforcement and the sacrifice of large potential tax and customs revenue from the liquor industry came to the fore in public discussion in every State. Even in the former dry rural sections the demand became strong to legitimatize the liquor trade so that taxes upon it might relieve the tax burden upon industry, agriculture and the home, and so that

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a new industry might give impetus to business activity and employment.

At the same time the moral argument against prohibition gained weight with the publication of the Wickersham Report in 1931. Of the eleven members of the Wickersham Commission, two favoured repeal, seven revision, and only two retention of the Eighteenth Amendment. Moreover, the Commission's investigation had confirmed the common knowledge of the failure of the prohibition experiment from the standpoint of social reform.

Last year was the crucial one in the fight against prohibition. The Democratic party put a repeal plank in its national platform and made repeal one of the leading issues of the campaign. John D. Rockefeller Jr. and other former supporters of prohibition among the capitalist and industrial leaders publicly reversed their position. The Association against the Prohibition Amendment and the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform conducted nation-wide propaganda campaigns on almost as extensive a scale as the Anti-Saloon League's campaign for prohibition years ago, whereas last year the Anti-Saloon League made only comparatively feeble attempts to stem the tide.

The result of the election made it clear that the new Congress had a mandate from the people to repeal the Eighteenth Amendment. Even the old lame-duck Congress saw the handwriting on the wall, and voted to submit the repeal amendment to the States. The Senate voted 63 to 23 on February 16, 1933, and the House of Representatives 289 to 121 on February 20.

Since then ratification process had gone rapidly in practically every State with an overwhelming majority.

Prohibition is now dead in these United States. The prohibitionists sought to put the cause beyond the reach of public opinion. They have now discovered that they reckoned ill with the resourcefulness and determination of democratic America. The higher and more insurmountable appeared the barriers created around prohibition, the more resolved were the people to break through them and destroy it.

The whole affair is a fresh and overwhelming demonstration of the fact that in this country public opinion rules. In the end it will have its way. Thus besides the immediate question of getting rid of constitutional prohibition, we have this instructive showing that the American political methods and policies are always subject to control by the deliberate will of the people. In 1920 this looked impossible. By 1933 it had become an established fact.

RAMMOHUN ROY CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS AT CALCUTTA

THE Calcutta public celebrated the Centenary of the death of Raja Rammohun Roy on the 29th, 30th and 31st December, 1933, at the Senate House of the Calcutta University in a manner befitting the great occasion.

The dais, with a specially constructed platform, was beautifully but soberly decorated with flowers, evergreens and festoons. The Raja's full-size portrait in oils, kindly lent by the authorities of the City College, was placed on a table at the end of the Hall, facing the audience. Several loud-speakers were installed in various parts of the Hall and its vestibules.

On the dais were seated the Vice-Presidents and Office-bearers of the Centenary Committee, and those who were to address the meeting. The choir were accommodated near the dais. Numerous volunteers, wearing badges with the words "Rammohun Centenary" and pictures of Rammohun printed on them, were in attendance.

Throughout the three days' proceedings the great Hall was almost always filled to its utmost capacity. Some of the most distinguished sons and daughters of India attended and took part in the functions, among them being Rabindranath Tagore, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Madame L. Morin, Dr. (Mrs) Muthulakshmi Reddi, Maharani Sucharu Devi of Mayurbhanj, Miss A. Margaret Barr, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Mrs Cousins, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Mr. G. A. Natesan, Dr. S. K. Dutta, Rao Sahib Dr. V. Ramkrishna Rao, Mr. B. B. Keskar, Prof. Sardar Uttam Singh, Swami Adyananda, Pandit Rishi Ram, Mr. Govind Ba... Mahamahophdhyaya Pandit Pramatha Nath Tark... bhushan, Sir Brajendra Nath Seal, Sir J. C. Bo... Lady Abala Bose, Sir Nil Ratan Sircar, Lady ... Ratan Sircar, Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary, ... Hon'ble Sir C. C. Ghose, Sir Bipin Bihari Ghos... Mr. Krishna Kumar Mitra, Mr. J. N. Basu, Pan... Sitanath Tattvabhushan, Dr. Pran Krishna Achary... Mrs Pran Krishna Acharya, Maulavi Abdul Kar... M. L. C., Principal Dr. Heramba Chandra Mai... Principal J. R. Banerjea, Dr. Pramatha Na... Banerjea, Dr. P. K. Sen, Prof. Bijay Chand... Majumdar, Mr. Pramatha Choudhuri, Prof. Raj... Kanta Guha, Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, Dr. B. ... Ghosh, Dr. Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta, Pandit Ksh... Mohan Sen, Pandit Dhirendra Nath Choudhu... Vedantavagis, Maulavi Wahed Husain, Dr. B... Madhava Barua, Dr. D. N. Maitra, Mr. Sant... Kumar Basu, Raja Kshitindra Deb Rai Mahash... Dr. Kalidas Nag, Mr. Hemendra Prasad Ghosh, M... Amal Home, Prof. Biman Behari Majumdar, Dr. Sa... Kumar Das, Dr. Humayun Kabir, Dr. Batakrish... Ghosh, Rai Bahadur Jaladhar Sen, Prof. R. K. Sid... Prof. Hari Charan Ghosh, Mr. Girindra Nath Ch... dhury, Mr. Jitendra Mohan Sen, Prof. Nare... Chandra Ray, Mr. E. A. Arakie, Sja. Hemlata Da... Sja. Hemlata Sarkar, Sja. Indira Devi, Sja. Sara... Devi Choudhurani, Mrs. S. R. Das, Mrs. N. C. Se...

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Sja. Sarojini Datta, Sja. Nirupama Devi, Sja. Sarala Bala Sarkar, Mrs. Kumudini Basu, Mrs. Basanti Chakravarti, Mrs. Shamsun Nahar Mahmud, Sja. Sobhana Nandi, Miss Jyotirmayi Ganguli, Sja. Santa Devi, Sja. Sita Devi, Mrs. Purnima Basak, Mrs. Tatini Das, Mrs. Sadhan Chandra Roy, Sja. Sudha Chakravarti, Dr. Sachi Kumar Chatterji, Sja. Bani Devi, Mr. Prafulla Kumar Ray, Mrs. Santwana Ray, Dr. Premankur De, Mrs. Premankur De, Prof. Prasanto C. Mahalanobis, Prof. Charu Chandra Bhattacharyya, Prof. Amiya Kumar Sen, Dr. J. N. Ghosh, Mr. S. C. Ray, Dr. Dickinson, Mr. Ganendra Nath Banerji, Mr. Prabhat Chandra Ganguli, Mr. Satis Chandra Chakravarti, and others.

1st. Session, 29th December, 12 noon to 4-30 p.m.

The First Session, which commenced at 12 noon on Friday, the 29th December, comprised the **Presidential Address of Rabindranath Tagore** and the **Convention of Religions.**

Long before the appointed hour distinguished ladies and gentlemen representing different communities and cultures of India gathered at the House to pay their homage to the Maker of Modern India.

On the arrival of the Poet, he was led to the pulpit. With his flowing grey beard and grey locks, sitting in a meditative posture, he recalled the saints of old.

The proceedings opened with the singing of the Vedic hymn यो देवोऽग्नौ (with a Bengali version by Mr. Kshitindranath Tagore) to the accompaniment of several musical instruments by a large choir composed of both ladies and gentlemen. Rabindranath, seated on the platform, read in solemn and measured cadence his well-known prayer beginning with the words "Where the mind is without fear, and the head is held high." He then delivered his Presidential Address in Bengali on भारतपथिक राममोहन which was listened to with rapt attention by the vast audience.

Though on the wrong side of 70, the Poet's voice did not suffer with his growing years. He read out the whole address in his inimitable style which was the envy of young and old alike. Sonorous yet impressive, sweet yet emphatic, the Poet was heard without the help of the loud speaker, from the remotest corner of the Hall. He first tried the loud speaker, but science played a trick, and his voice did not reach all ears. When he put aside the transmitter and produced a clearer natural voice to convey his all-embracing message to every heart, it was a case of science yielding to nature.

Dr. Tagore's address was on *India's Message to the World*. Raja Rammohun Roy was the Ambassador who communicated that message abroad. India's Message is Unity, Universal Brotherhood.

Next, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu delivered an oration in her own inimitable manner, embodying the substance of Rabindranath's Address and eloquently paying her own homage to the great Raja.

Her poetic, flowery language charmed the audience who listened to her with breathless silence. The English rendering did not suffer in the least in comparison with the original. She went on like a flowing river murmuring with the songs of the great Poet.

After Mrs. Naidu's speech Dr. Tagore rose and expressed his inability to conduct the proceedings throughout due to weakness. He invited Mahamahopadhyaya Pramatha Nath Tarkabhusan to adorn the Chair. The Poet accompanied by Mrs Sarojini Naidu then left the Hall.

THE CONVENTION OF RELIGIONS then commenced with an Address in Bengali from the President, Mahamahopadhyaya Pramatha Nath Tarkabhushan, on *Rammohun from a Hindu view-point.*

Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu, Mayor of Calcutta, in a short speech referred to the numerous messages received on this momentous occasion by the Centenary Committee from various cities in India and abroad. Dr. Kalidas Nag read out, first, a list of these messages, and then a few words from some of them. Messages were received from MAHATMA GANDHI, Ellore, SIR P. C. RAY, C. F. ANDREWS, London, DEVAPRIYA VALISINHA, General Secretary, Mahabodhi Society, Sarnath, Benares, the ALL-INDIA BUDDHIST CONFERENCE, Darjeeling, PURAN CHAND NAHAR (on behalf of the Jain community), PANDIT DEVA SHARMA, Principal, Gurukula University, Kangri, The Hon. SARDAR SIR JOGENDRA SINGH, Punjab, S. PARTAP SINGH M. A., LL. B., Advocate, of Lahore, SIR SYED ROSS MASOOD, Vice-Chancellor, Muslim University, Aligrah, Right Rev. BISHOP H. PAKENHAM-WALSH and A. J. APPASAMY of the Bishop's College, FATHER VERRIER ELWIN, Karanjia, Mandla Dist., Rev. W. H. DRUMMOND, Oxford, Bishop GEORGE BOROS of the Unitarian Episcopacy of Cluj-Kolozsvar, Rumania, REV. J. T. SUNDERLAND, Ann Arbor, Michigan, U. S. A., REV. F. C. SOUTHWORTH and ALICE B. SOUTHWORTH, Melrose, Mass., U. S. A., ROBERT C. DEXTER, American Unitarian Association, Boston, U. S. A., DANA MCLEAN GREELEY, Young People's Religious Union, Boston, U. S. A., REV. HENRY WILDER FOOTE, Belmont, U. S. A., L. D. WALD, Henry Street Settlement, New York, ALMA L. LISSBERGER, New York, the EAST BENGAL BRAHMO SAMAJ, Dacca, GIRISH CHANDRA NAG of Dacca, the ANDHRA THEISTIC CONFERENCE, Rajahmundry, V. VARADARAJULU NAIDU, Dewan Bahadur HARBILAS SARDA, Ajmere, the ACTING CONSUL-GENERAL for Germany, the CONSUL-GENERAL for Czecho-Slovakia, NICHOLAS ROERICH, S. CHARLETY, Recteur, University of Paris, Lt.-Col. BONNAUD, French Trade Commissioner for India, Burma, and Ceylon, SIR ATUL C. CHATTERJEE, Weybridge, Surrey, England, and the LONDON CELEBRATION COMMITTEE.

Madame L. Morin, a great admirer of Rammohun Roy, who is collecting materials for writing a biography of the Raja in French, delivered a message on behalf of the French public. Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh, who had just returned from Paris, gave an account of the celebrations in France organised by Prof. Sylvain Levi, whose original message in French was read at the meeting and explained.

Maulavi Abdul Karim, M.L.C., then read his paper on *Rammohun as a Roligious Reformer*. A second hymn in chorus (भुवनवासी सबे गाओ) having been sung, Mahamahopadhyaya Pramatha Nath requested Principal J. R. Banerjea, M.A., B.L., to take the chair. Mr. E. A. Arakie, Honorary Secretary, Elias Meyer Free School and Talmud Torah of Bowbazar, then read his paper on *Rammohun from the view-point of Judaism.* He was followed by Dr. Benimadhava Barua, whose subject was *Rammohun from the Buddhist standpoint.* Next, Miss A. Margaret Barr, who represented the "Order of the Great Companions" of Dublin, read her paper on *Rammohun, the Universalist.* She was followed by Swami Adyananda of the Ramkrishna Mission with his paper on *Rammohun and the Re-awakening of Modern India*, and Pandit Rishi Ram, B. A., of the Arya Samaj, who read a paper on *Rammohun from the standpoint of the Arya Samaj.*

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After this Prof. Uttam Singh M.A, of the Khalsa College spoke on *Rammohun and Sikhism*.

Dr. Kalidas Nag then read the substance of Rev. W. S. Urquhart's paper on *A Pilgrimage in Memory from a Christian standpoint*, Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee's paper on *Rammohun's Monotheism as an aid to Nation-building*, and Mr. D. J. Irani's paper on *Rammohun and the Teachings of Zoroaster*, the writers themselves being unavoidably absent.

The proceedings of the CONVENTION OF RELIGIONS, came to a close at about 4-30 P.M. with the Presidential Address of Principal J. R. Banerjea.

SECOND SESSION, FRIDAY, 29TH DECEMBER, 6-30 TO 8-30 P. M.

WOMEN'S CONFERENCE.

The WOMEN'S CONFERENCE was held the same evening at the Senate House. The ALL-INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE, which was in session in Calcutta, had resolved at its Standing Committee meeting of the 27th December to join this CONFERENCE in celebrating the Centenary of the Raja. In accordance with this Resolution, a large number of Delegates and Members of the All-India Women's Conference also attended the Rammohun Centenary meeting at the Senate House, which was filled to overflowing.

Mrs. Kumudini Basu in a few well-chosen words paid her tribute to the memory of the Raja, and proposed the Dowager Maharani Sucharu Devi of Mourbhanj as President. Mrs. Basanti Chakravarti seconded the proposal. After Maharani Sucharu Devi had taken the chair, the proceedings commenced with a hymn of Rammohun Roy (भाव सेइ एके) sung in chorus by ladies.

Maharani Sucharu Devi first offered a prayer in Bengali, and then delivered her presidential address in English. Dr. (Mrs.) Muthulakshmi Reddi then moved this Resolution :—"This Conference of women pays its respectful homage to Raja Rammohun Roy during his Centenary Celebration for his inestimable and magnificent services to humanity, to his country and to the cause of Indian Womanhood." Rajkumari Amrit Kaur seconded the Resolution. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mrs. Cousins, Madame L. Morin, Mrs. Hemalata Sarkar, Mrs. Shamsun Nahar Mahmud, and Sja. Hemlata Devi spoke supporting the Resolution. Speeches and papers by Sjas. Sita Devi, Santa Devi, Nirupama Devi, Mrs. Sarojini Datta, Mrs. Sobhana Nandi, Mrs. Sudha Chakravarti, Mrs. Saralabala Sarkar were held over for want of time.

The proceedings came to a close at about 8-30 P. M. with a hymn (भारत भाग्य आकाशे उदिछे मेघमुक्त तरुण तपन) specially composed for the occasion by Sja. Hemlata Devi, a great-great-grand-daughter of Rammohun Roy, sung by a choir of students of the Sarojnalini Institution.

THIRD SESSION, 30TH DECEMBER, 3 to 6-15 P. M. GENERAL CONFERENCE

This day's proceedings began with a hymn (शुभ दिन छाणे शुभ एइ मासे) sung in chorus and a prayer offered by Dr. Heramba Chandra Maitra. Sir Nil Ratan Sircar then rose to propose to the chair Sir J. C. Bose, who was greeted with cheers as soon as he was seen on the Dais. The solemnity of the great occasion, and the emotions that surged in Sir Nil Ratan's heart at the remembrance of services rendered to the country and to humanity Rammohun Roy, and by Sir Jagadish, who was present with him in the flesh, so overpowered Sir Ratan that his voice was almost choked. Dr. Pramatha Nath Banerjea seconded his motion.

Sir J. C. Bose then delivered his presidential address, the main themes of which were *the Unity all intellectual life as taught by, and the fire-heat incandescent life as exemplified by Rammohun R*. Two messages received since the last day's meeting having been read by Dr. Kalidas Nag, Prof. Rai Kanta Guha read his paper on *Rammohun and Poli*. At this stage Sir J. C. Bose requested Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan to take the chair. Dr. Nares Chandra Sen Gupta then read his paper on *Rammohun and Law*. After this, Sir S. Radhakrishnan delivered his presidential address on *Mysticism a Charity as blended in Rammohun*. He then request Mr. G. A. Natesan to take the chair.

A second hymn (कि स्वदेशे कि विदेशे यथाय तथाय थाकि composed by Raja Rammohun Roy having been sung by the choir, Mr. G. A. Natesan delivered his presidential address. Mr. Hemendra Prasad Ghose and Prof. Naresh Chandra Ray read papers dealing with *Rammohun and the Freedom of the Press*. After this, Mr. G. A. Natesan requested Dr. S. K. Datta, Principal, Forman Christian College of Lahore, to take the chair.

Dr. S. K. Datta in his presidential address referred to Rammohun's thirst for knowledge, polished manners, and personal magnetism. Prof. Humayun Kabir then read his paper on *Rammohun and Fundamental Unity of all Faiths*. and Mr. Jitendra Mohan Sen his paper on *Rammohun as a Pioneer Education*. Next, Maulavi Wahed Husain read his paper on *the Characteristics of Rammohun's M theism*.

In the unavoidable absence of Dr. Subimal Sarkar the substance of his papes on *Rammohun the Her of a New Age* was read by Dr. Kalidas Nag. Dr. S. K. Datta then thanked the speakers over whose speeches he had presided. The meeting came to close at about 6-15 P. M.

FOURTH SESSION, 31ST DECEMBER, 12 NOON TO 4 P. M. GENERAL CONFERENCE (CONTD.)

In a serene atmosphere, illumined by the mellow glow cast by the midday sun reflected through blue and green glasses of the sky-windows, hallowed by the memory of the great man who was born in the East and buried in the West a hundred years ago, and sweetened by the melodious music of hymns and prayers, the Rammohun Roy Centenary Celebrations came to a successful end this day with the inspiring concluding address of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. It was a delightful sight to see three great Indians of whom India is justly proud, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, a poetess of international fame, representing the womanhood of this vast continent, Dr. Brajendranath Seal, one of the world's first-rank thinkers and philosophers, and Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, who has shed lusture on his Motherland by securing garlands of honour from all the world over, assembled together with other ladies and gentlemen of culture to pay homage to another great Indian, Raja Rammohun Roy, who diffused the message of India abroad a century ago. The galaxy of women with their many coloured dress shining in reflected effulgence added charm to the ceremony.

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Following the song अयि भुवन मनोमोहिनि sung by a choir of ladies and gentlemen, and a heart-enthralling prayer offered by Prof. Bijay Chandra Majumdar in the strain of "Lead, Kindly Light." Mrs. Sarojini Naidn took the chair on the proposal of Moulavi Abdul Karim, M. L. C., seconded by Dr. B. C. Ghosh.

Dr. (Mrs.) Muthulakshmi Reddi, who was to have been the first speaker of the day, was detained by her duties in connection with the All-India Women's Conference. Madame L. Morin therefore addressed the meeting first. She spoke on Rammohun Roy's short stay at Paris, and how the traces he had left there were now being searched out by his admirers. Maulavi Abdul Karim then read his second paper on the Raja, *viz. Rammohun, the Type and Pioneer of Modern India*, After this, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu delivered her presidential address, in which she described *Rammohun as the Reconciler of irreconcilables.*

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu then requested Sir Brajendra Nath Seal to take the chair. The venerable figure of Sir Brajendra Nath inspired the audience to a spontaneous outburst of cheers. As he was extremely feeble in health, he requested Dr. Kalidas Nag to to read his Presidential Addsess for him. Pandit Sitanath Tattvabhushan then read his paper on *Rammohun's Idea of Worship*, and Pandit Dhirendra Nath Chowdhury Vedantavagis his paper on *Rammohun's Conception of God and the World.*

Sir Brajendra Nath then requested Maulavi Abdul Karim to take the chair. After the second hymn of the day (देश देश नन्दित करि) had been sung, Rao Sahib Dr. V. Ramkrishna Rao addressed the meeting on *Rammohun and the larger Unities of life.* Dr. Saroj Kumar Das was the next speaker, his subject being *Rammohun and Vedanta.*

Rabindranath Tagore arrived at the Senate House when this paper was being read. At the conclusion of the paper, Mr. Pramatha Chaudhuri, being requested by Maulavi Abdul Karim to preside over the remaining part of the day, observed that as the Poet had arrived, and as it would be difficult for him in the present state of his health to stay on for a long time, the remaining papers and addresses—*viz.* Prof. Biman Bihari Majumdar's paper on *Rammohun, the Father of Modern Political Movements in India*, Prof. Ruchi Ram Sahni's paper on *Rammohun's Passion for Liberty*. Prof. Sukumar Sen's and his (Mr. Chaudhuri's) own papers on *The Bengali Prose of Rammohun*, and Pandit Kshiti Mohan Sen's address on योगक्षेत्र भारते पूर्ण साधक राममोहन, *Rammohun the Last Link in the Chain of India's Prophets*,—should all be held over. He then asked the Poet to resume his office of presidentship.

Rabindranath ascended the pulpit prepared for him. Mr. J. N. Basu, General Secretary of the Centenary Committee, presented the following Report of the year's work, and requested Dr. D. N. Maitra to read it out for him :

"The proceedings in connection with the celebration of the Centenary of the death of Raja Rammohun Roy commenced with a Preliminary Meeting held in this Hall on the 18th February last with our illustrious president in the chair. At that meeting three resolutions were adopted,—the *first* offering homage to the memory of the Raja, and calling upon all sections of the people of this country to co-operate in making the celebration a success; the *second* appointing, for the purposes of organising celebrations in Bengal, a General Committee, with instructions to co-opt representatives from different districts of Bengal; the *third* arranging for celebrations in other parts of India.

"A comprehensive Scheme of Celebrations (given in our Publicity Booklet, pp. 152-155) was framed, and a Working Committee and several Sub-committees formed, to give effect to it.

"The Scheme comprised:

"(*a*) Celebrations in Calcutta during the Christmas holidays, consisting of a Convention of Religions, a General Conference for papers and specches on the Raja, a Women's Conference, and an Exhibition of various articles connected with the Raja's life and activities.

"(*b*) Preparation of Publicity literature, and with the help of such literature, and by correspondence, organization of celebrations throughout Bengal and the other provinces of India, and also in London, Bristol, Paris, New York, Chicago, and Geneva.

"(*c*) Pilgrimages to Radhanagar and Bristol.

"(*d*) Publication of the Raja's Works, an Anthology from his writings, interpretative Studies, and Commemoration Volume.

(*e*) Permanent Memorials, in the shape of a Portrait in oils and a Bronze Statue in Calcutta, re-naming the northern half of the Upper Circular Road as "Rammohun Roy Avenue," and the completion of the Memorial Building at Radhanagar.

"(*f*) The Foundation of a Rammohun Roy Chair and Fellowrhips.

"Throughout the year the endeavours of the Working Committee have been directed mainly to the items (*a*) and (*b*). The most outstanding achievements in these respects are (i) the Publicity Booklet, RAMMOHUN ROY: The Man and his Work," edited by Mr. Amal Home, to whom we are indebted in more than one way, which has been a powerful instrument in the hands of the Working Committee in organizing celebrations, and in helping people to form some estimate of the multi-sided personality of Rammohun, and (ii) the success of our efforts to rouse the enthusiasm of people throughout the length and breadth of India, and in places abroad, for the celebration of the Centenary, as has, we presume, been apparent to the public from a perusal of the newspapers throughout the year. We may perhaps add to these the Exhibition of the Raja's relics and the celebrations which are just being terminated in Calcutta.

"For various reasons, not the least of which is the present state of financial depression prevailing in the country, the funds that the Working Committee have so far been able to raise are very small. An account of the receipts and expenditure will be published in the newspapers as soon as possible.

"This inadequacy of funds prevented the Working Commitee from taking any active steps during the year towards the publication of the Works of Rammohun, which was the most cherished item in their Scheme, or towards the Permanent Memorials. It is gratifying to note, however, that the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, the renowned Literary Society of the province, has undertaken the publication of a comprehensive edition of the Raja's collected Works under the General Editorship of one of our Vice-Presidents, Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee. In view of this fact, the "Works and Studies Sub-committee" decided at its meeting of the 2nd December last, not to proceed with a separate project for the same purpose. The question of co-operating with the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat in this respect is being considered, and

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the formation of a small but influential All-India Committee to raise funds for financing the publication and also for the Permanent Memorials is under contemplation. It is to be hoped that when such a committee is formed, and the necessary appeals issued, public response will be forthcoming in a generous measure, so that this Centenary may have something tangible and permanent as its record and achievement.

"In conclusion, we take leave to convey our thanks to all those who have helped us in any way in connection with the present Celebrations. While it is not possible to mention all names individually, we shall be failing in our duty if we do not take this opportunity of recording our sense of deep gratitude to all who have come from far and near to participate in our celebrations,—notably to Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Dr. (Mrs) Muthulakshmi Reddi, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Mr. G. A. Natesan, Dr. S. K. Dutta, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Rao Sahib Dr. V. Ramkrishna Rao, and to Madame L. Morin, who has travelled all the way from Paris; to all our friends in the other provinces of India, in Burma, in Ceylon, and in Europe and America, who have enthusiastically organized similar celebrations; to the authorities of the University of Calcutta for placing this Hall for the Inaugural Meeting, and for the Convention and the Conferences, and a room in the Asutosh Building for our Exhibition; to the Albert Institute for the use of a room for our Committee meetings throughout the year; to the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj for lending us a room for the Centenary Office, and to Mr. N. Mukherji of the Art Press for printing our literature at exceptionally moderate rates, to Messrs. Dwarkin and Son for lending us the use of a large Organ-harmonium and to our volunteers and musical choirs."

After the reading of the Report, Rabindranath delivered *extempore* his concluding address and benediction in Bengali, exhorting the vast audience and all his countrymen to be true to Rammohun Roy and his ideals, reciting at the end in an impassioned voice his poem हे मोर चित्त पुण्यतीर्थे जाग, रे धीरे। The function came to a close with the singing of the Bengali National Anthem जनगणमन-अधिनायक जय हे by the choir, during which the whole audience reverently remained standing.

The Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri, who was to have presided over the General Conference, was the great disappointment of the organisers as well as of the public, prevented by illness from coming to Calcutta. Dr. P. K. Sen, who had just arrived from England, and was expected to give on the 27th December interesting details about the celebrations held in London and Bristol, was also prevented on the day by a sudden illness from coming to the meeting. Dr. Surendranath Das Gupta, who was to have addressed the meeting on *Rammohun and the various Systems of Philosophy*, and Dr. B. C. Roy, who was to have taken part in the proceedings of 27th December, were prevented from doing so by other unavoidable engagements. Letters regretting inability to attend were received from Dewan Bahadur Sir R. Venkata Ratnam Naidu and the Maharaja Bahadur of Pithapuram.

The Exhibition

An Exhibition of Rammohun's portraits, busts, various editions of his works, other relics, and objects related to him was held at Room No. 17 of the Asutosh Buildings from December 24th to 31st. It was formally opened by Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikari on Wednesday, the 27th December at 4-30 P.M. After Raja Kshitindra Deva Rai Mahashay of the Bansberia Raj Family had read a paper, Sir D. Prasad spoke about the all-round greatness of the Raja, and the contacts, traceable through three generations, between his own family and that of Rammohun Roy. There was a distinguished gathering of ladies and gentlemen, who inspected the Exhibits with great interest after the ceremony was over. Mr. Ganendranath Banerjee, Secretary in charge, to whom the Exhibition owes its success, courteously pointed out to the visitors all objects of special interest collected there.

Programme Booklet

A booklet with an artistically designed cover depicting Rammohun pointing to the dawn, and containing a tri-colour portrait of the Raja as frontispiece, the detailed Programme of the Convention and Conferences, Tagore's Opening Prayer and President's Address, the Hymns, with an English translation by Indira Devi of the National Anthem and a Catalogue of Exhibits displayed at the Exhibition, was distributed free to the audience.

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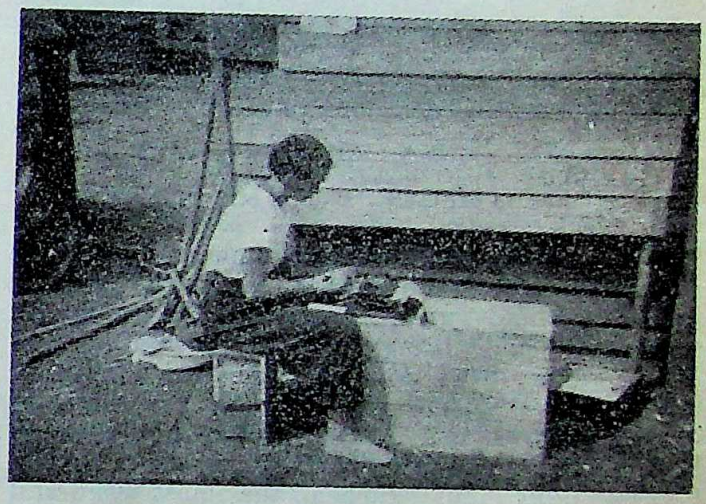
HOW YOUTH OF EUROPE SPENDS HOLIDAYS

By MISS HANNAH BARTH

[Miss Hannah Barth aged only eighteen was the secretary and leader of a Peace and Youth movement in Dresden in Germany during the last three years; and having had to leave Germany last year has now settled in Prague (C. S. R.) with her parents. Though a German by birth she is very internationally minded. Having travelled herself in France, she in return entertained French guests in her family to eradicate in her own way, any unfriendly relations between the two nations. She organized a meeting of her group in Dresden in 1932 where Dr. D. N. Maitra was invited to deliver an address on the national progressive movements in India, and she acted as the interpreter to the audience, interpreting their questions and answers thereto. She is a great admirer of Tagore and Gandhi and it is her ambition to visit India which has a large and warm corner in her heart.—Ed., *M. R.*]

HOLIDAYS last about two months, *viz.*, July and August. This is plenty of time for undertaking some adventure. The kind of adventure wanted must offer both recreation and education. As nobody among us has much money at his disposal—we are students, the oldest of us being 25, but the better part is 16-19—we must think of spending the holidays in a cheap way too. We find our wishes realized in what is generally known as "camp." Let me tell you in details my experiences in a camp. Youth of various classes, confessions, nationalities takes part in it. There were about 40 Czechs, and 35 Germans from Prague and her suburbs, Karlsbad, Brunn, and one boy from Berlin. The party set out in two groups, one a few days earlier than the other, because many preparations have to be done. We travelled together on June 29th in a wagon as soldiers will travel. Seats were formed by the various chests which contain pots, and other kitchen utensils, and stores such as some bread, much sugar, flour, cacao, coffee, tinned provisions, etc. I was much surprised at the discipline and fairness of all the boys and girls. A boy ordered that all of us had to give their food, such as rolls, cake, fruit, etc., to him; and he was, after this was performed, assisted by a few others in dividing and distributing everything in common meals.

Our camp was to be near a little village in the surroundings of (Hlinsko near) Olmutz in Moravia. When we arrived, a farmer who had expected us with his rack-wagon drawn by oxen, welcomed us. Several boys were now busy putting the things directly from the wagon upon his cart. We had also taken with us a few bicycles which we should need for "shopping," in order to fetch the doctor, or any purpose else. Unfortunately it was raining the first days; thus we could not at once go to see the place where the camp was to be built. We lived with the farmer who allowed us to sleep in the straw of



Camp, July 1933. Moravia, C. S. R.
Myself behind the "library."

his granary, to cook in his kitchen and to stay in his garden, where tables and benches were. By the way, a cook had come with us, a kind and reserved girl. And a lady teacher had come too. She was a real comrade to us. In crucial questions, such as to the division of the tents and whether boys and girls should sleep together in one tent (of what I shall have to speak still), she retreated and let us discuss without trying to influence us in any way. Thus we were really independent. And we showed ourselves worthy of it. When sun pierced the clouds we went to the site which had already been selected by expert boys. When selecting the place for the building of a camp, attention must be paid to these necessities: there must be (1) a nice large meadow, woods near by; (2) a source for drinking water; (3) a bathing-place; (4) the roads to the villages or to the town near by. It is most agreeable to build the camp in a hilly landscape, far away from the noise and traffic of the "world." At last, fine days came when there was no thought of rain and no cloud in the clear blue sky. We began to measure the ground. Some of us dragged props and trunks from the mountain down upon the meadow which is in the valley and in which we would build. Planks were ordered in the saw-mill. Nails and all sorts of implements had been gathered in Prague. Everyone had had to contribute from "at home."

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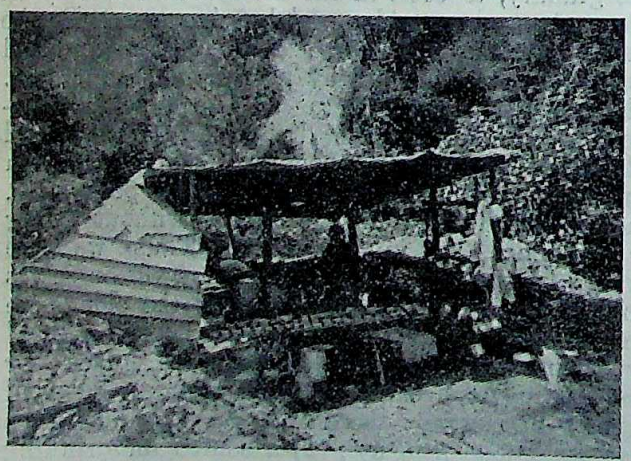
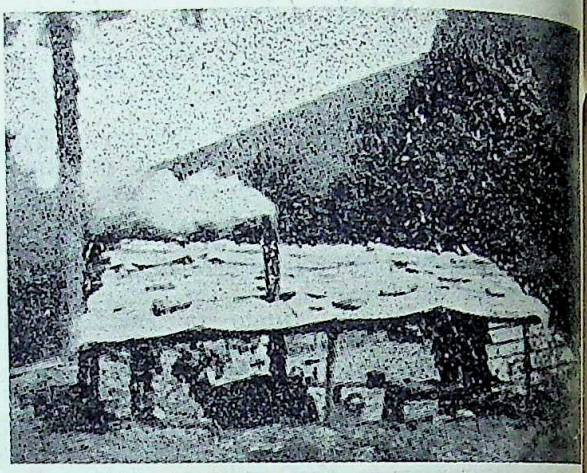
Camp, July 1933. Mosavia, C. S. R.
The tents are built, one is still missing.

Shall I tell you of what names we gave to quite trite things, *e.g.*, to the tents ? I fear I should write too long. We were all very joyful and happy and busy and worked hard ; and there was singing and laughing and joking with us. We wore bathing-suits or ittle black trousers. A girl wearing a skirt would have been an impossible imagination. A few Czechs built the "kitchen" the most wonderful part of which was the hearth. We fetched clay for it from a hill near by, and carefully chose oblong flat stones, seeking everywhere. When the clay had dried, the whole was an admirable



Camp, July 1933. Moravia, C. S. R.
The "Kitchen" on the left hand side the larder behind the boards, in front the rolls prepared for supper.

piece of work and most practicable. The iron-plates had been taken from Prague. A deep pit which they dug in the ground and inlaid with fir-branches was the larder. By and by, our whole household was brought from the farm to the tents. There are seven tents on the whole, the library in the middle where the typewriter was on a special little table, the drugs were kept and on the b side of which the news, caricatures on single ev of the camp-life were exhibited. A great num



Camp, July 1933. Moravia, C. S. R.
The "kitchen," seen from behind.

of various newspapers from various towns taken in besides. The library consisted of b which the inhabitants of the camp had There were most beautiful and modern w which I enjoyed much. What a tent looked from outside you see in the photos. Inside was "furnished" like that : three-fourths or so taken by the beds of boards which are arran one over the other. There we have straw In the night we would wrap ourselves in p which we had brought from at home. In spare part of the wall, boards are fixed where inhabitants of the tent put their things. In corner of the free space the rucksacks are We washed in the brook where we had stairs, the plates and pots were washed farther down there. The pond was cold troubled unfortunately, and we dived int only when we had no better amusement. B the tents on the lane a playground for volley was prepared and, about a ten minutes' walk a large ground for foot-ball and gymna This was the ordinary contents of a day: wa ing at 6 o'clock ; gymnastics in the sport ground ; washing; breakfast (consisting of c and bread) ; appell ; sports ; reading, sing music-playing (guitar) ; lecture (political, econ cal or a historical one) ; discussion ; dinner simple, one dish ; everyone had brought with a bowl of aluminium and spoon) ; sport an ment, tours on bicycle ; discussions again ; su (tea, bread and butter) ; talking ; sleep at 10 o now and then being on guard. The orga tion of the camp was this : there was a le one of the boys ; in every tent a leader, boy girl. The work, such as sweeping, washing pots, etc., was done by so-called Bereitsch (preparers) which changed every two days consisted of about five persons. On the day

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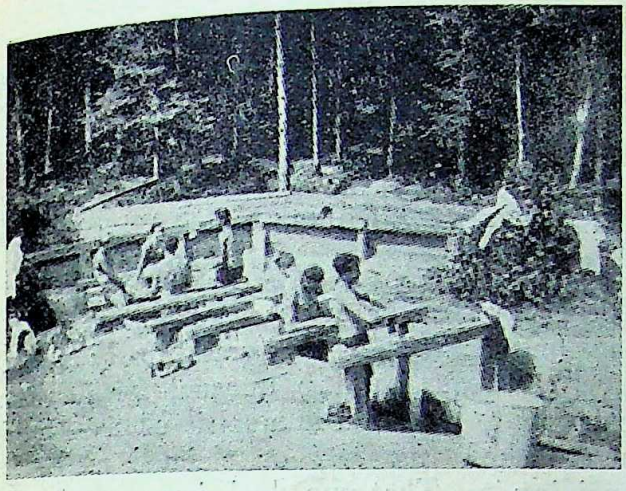
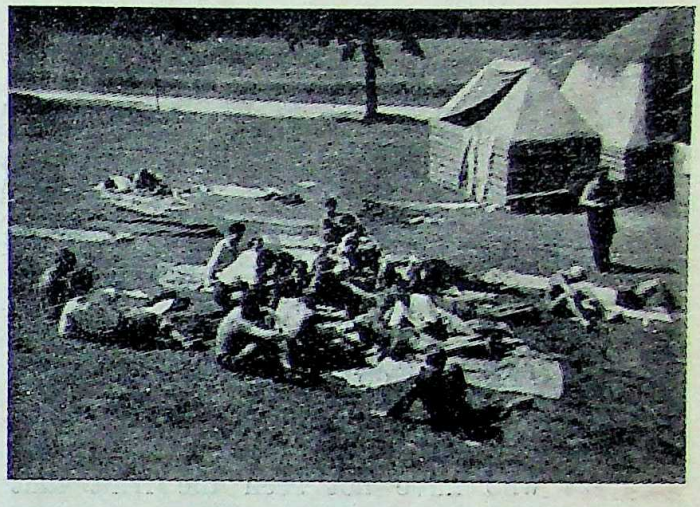
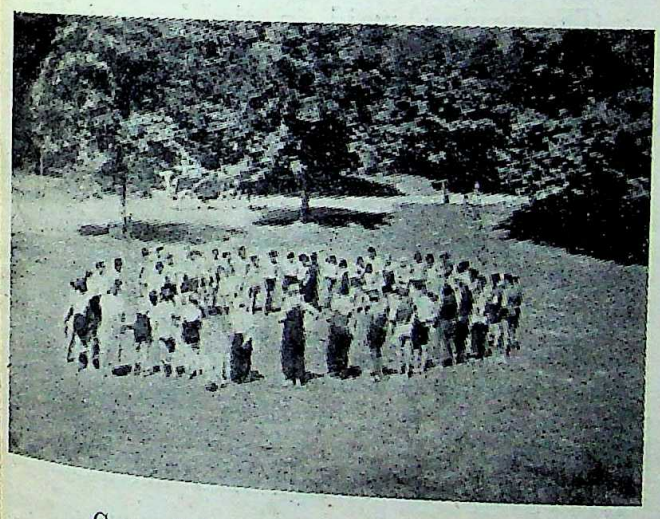


Camp, July 1933. Moravia, C. S. R.
Washing



Camp, July 1933. Moravia, C. S. R.
Rest

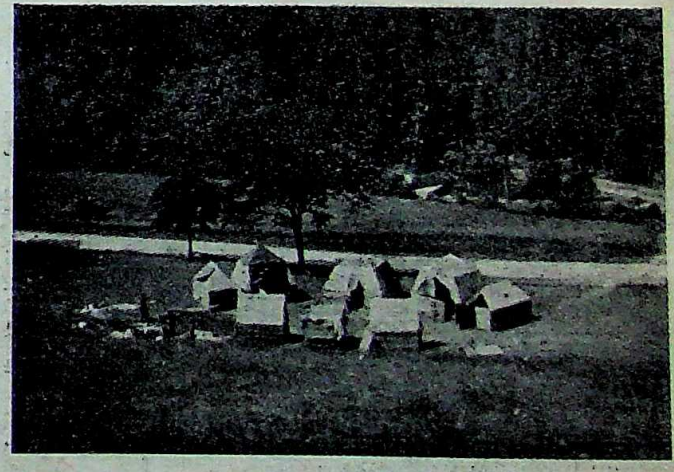
we all removed with our rucksacks to the camp, the meeting was called in where the question should be discussed whether boys and girls should dwell in the same tent. The boys and



Camp, July 1933. Moravia, C. S. R.
Appell

girls spoke vividly quoting Marx, Reich, and others. As no agreement could be accomplished thus a vote was organized in the way that one party should form one file and the opposite party a file opposite. It was so funny, much noise and much excitement, at first all forming a wild crowd, gesticulating and shouting and trying to convince the adversary. At last two files, insulting each other and laughing at the same time, were complete, the one exactly as strong in number as the other. A committee was elected now, five boys and five girls, who continued the debate on the top of a hill. At last they were successful. In the evening a paper was passed round with the names of the tents and the names of those who should stay in them. The last arrangement had been performed because of making Czechs and Germans mix up and become acquainted with each other. In the tent where I was, there were merely Czechs, and I was glad about this fact as it would enable me to learn much of the language.

On the stay in the camp the chief value was laid upon the lectures and, with that, on the political education of the participators of the camp. All of them were socialists and pacifists. The lectures were instructive, whereas the discussions concerned too the editing of a



Camp, July 1933. Moravia, C.S.R.
The tents complete.

newspaper which would have to introduce the pupils and students in social thoughts. They had published a paper like this before, but it could not be published longer for financial accounts. On the whole, I must say that the influence of camp-life, this healthy life in sun and air is most favourable. Youth amongst youth, that is a good school! I have learnt so many things, become acquainted with so many different young people, with so many different opinions and minds. I wish our Indian friends could enjoy camp-life. I send all of them a heartiest regard, the greeting of camp: Ahoj!

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LALA LAJPAT RAI

II. Chats on Men and Matters*

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

I

HAWKERS go about the streets in Punjab towns during the summer crying "phut! phut!!" Persons who have not seen the fruit that these peddlers are selling might be puzzled by that word, which means "broken! broken!!" It is a species of melon. The name given to it exactly describes it. I do not recall seeing a single specimen the skin of which had not burst. When it is ripe it falls to pieces.

I have always found it insipid and avoid it. It must however please some palates, otherwise fruit-sellers would not trouble to hawk it about. Cheapness perhaps has something to do with such popularity as it enjoys.

II

Perhaps because most Punjabis relish *phut* any organization into which they form themselves soon cracks, as does this fruit. So at least was the case with the Arya Samaj, founded a little more than half a century ago.

So far back as my memory goes, it always lacked unity. My earliest recollections cluster round the sharp discord that existed between the two sections into which it was then divided.

These sections had their designations. Rather high-sounding ones.

But persons who prefer to throw hatchets at one another's heads can never expect the lookers-on to remember the contestants by the gaudy labels they give themselves even though they claim to fight in the name of God. Nicknames coined in the mint of irreverence gain currency and no effort can stop them from being used.

As if the Arya Samajists had differences over nothing more serious than their dietary, the two bands into which they were organized during my boyhood days were known as the *mas* (meat) and the *ghas* (grass) party respectively. It was nothing unusual for an Arya Samajist to be asked in a spirit of mischief if he relished *jal tori* or claimed merit for avoiding it. That pun had been constructed by some "jokesmith" who conceived the notion that fish looked like *tori* (a kind of "lady's finger," as the English put it, or "okra" as the Americans call it).

III

The serving maid in the house in East Dulwich (a south-eastern suburb of London) in which we lived from 1912 to 1916 discovered that Lala Lajpat Rai belonged to the *mas* party. She was Irish—irresponsible at times—irrepressible always.

One day as I was going past the kitchen door I overheard this conversation between her and her mistress:

"If it is the gentleman that I have in mind who is coming to dinner tonight, didn't we ought to cook two or three kinds of meat Ma'am?"

Laughing, Mrs. Singh asked her whom she meant.

"The gentleman who laughs so much," she replied.

"You mean the Master?" this from my wife, who evidently was bent upon teasing the maid.

"No, Ma'am," she said, "the gentleman I am talking about laughs much more than the Master. Much more loudly, too."

He came here the other day to tea. I had made heaps of sandwiches—chicken, meat and fish-paste. They all seemed to melt away.

"I says to myself as I brought you a fresh pot of tea: 'the gentleman is partial to meat sandwiches.' It sure is a pleasure to cook for them that eats as if they relish what you have made for them."

I repeated this conversation to Lalaji when

* The preceding article appeared in the January issue of *The Modern Review*—EDITOR.

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he came to dinner that evening. He burst out into a fit of laughter that nearly choked him. The maid, who was in the room, coloured up to the very roots of her hair.

Though he was not a vegetarian, Lalaji drew the line at beef. "I simply cannot touch it," he would tell his Western friends. They knew that for generations untold the cow, as the giver of sustenance through her udders and the service she renders to Indian agriculture through her male progeny, had been deemed sacred. They therefore respected his scruples and did not place beef before him.

I have a recollection that he fancied the vegetables of my own growing that were specially cooked for him more than the meat dishes concocted by the Irish maid. There was a plot of land at the back of the house which I had terraced, mostly by myself. The lowest terrace, almost hidden from the drawing room, had been converted into a kitchen garden. Here I spent a good part of my leisure digging, cultivating, manuring, sowing, and in the summer time watering, the lettuces, cabbages, carrots, parsnips, beets and other vegetables.

Lalaji liked these especially because they were fresh. The stale vegetables that usually found their way to the table in London appeared to him to be tasteless and lifeless.

IV

Beneath the laughter his heart was heavy. He was too devoted to the Punjab to be happy away from it. Every now and again he said something that showed that he was yearning for home. I remember, for instance, his telling me on one occasion while we were at the table:

"When you come to Lahore I will ask my wife to cook *missi-ki-roti* (bread made of wheat and gram flour) specially for you. It is delicious. She makes it better than any one I know."

Had he stayed in Lahore however after the outbreak of the war there is no knowing what might have happened to him. The officials under the leadership of Sir Michael O'Dwyer (then the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab) were having things pretty much their own way. They had been armed with special powers, in common with the executive in other parts of India. Scenting a revolutionary plot, they made full use of such powers.

Many Punjabis—mostly Sikhs—had returned just about that time from the Pacific Coast of the United States and Canada to their homes in the Punjab villages. O'Dwyer and his subordinates believed that they had come back filled with revolutionary ideas and were hot on their trail.

No love was lost between Lalaji and the officials, especially after his return from the Fort at Mandalay. He was suspect in their eyes. He might have been involved in this campaign. It was therefore just as well that he was not in Lahore during the years when the war had fanned hatred into a blaze.

V

Since his mind was not at ease, he could not settle down to any serious work. He would, therefore, often sally down from his temporary home in north-western London to our house.

He liked sitting in my study and talking. It was on the first floor at the back of the house, built upon a slight eminence. The land fell away towards the Thames Valley, with Parliament Buildings and the immense structures in which the various departments of State carried on their administrative activities were situated. Beyond that it rose again until it culminated in Hampstead and Highgate, some parts of which were actually as high as or even higher than the tower of Westminster Abbey or the Dome of St. Paul's Cathedral. From where Lalaji and I used to sit talking, this panorama stretched before our eyes whenever we chose to look through the bow window of my study, and the weather was propitious. London was spread out before us as a girl's dower is displayed on wooden cots.

VI

Our conversation used to embrace a large field. Some news in the daily papers or an article in a magazine or review, or a chance remark would send us off on a subject and we would not stop until we had torn it to shreds.

Our talk was by no means confined to Indian topics. Conditions in India however naturally came under discussion oftener than the state of affairs elsewhere.

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I soon found that he did not look upon the years that he had given to the service of the Arya Samaj as time wasted. But he did feel that as a new faith raised its head in any part of India it added to the religious rancour that already existed there. It made confusion worse confounded.

There was too much religion in India, he said. I suggested that it would be more correct to describe it as "what passed for religion". He replied that I could phrase it as I pleased. In any case the fact remained. Creeds divided us. In their name we fought. So long as we continued to do so, there was little chance of our coming together and forming a strong, united nation.

Lalaji was a nationalist and not a separatist. I clearly saw that.

VII

In these talks I also discovered that while Lalaji loved our people, he was not blind to their frailties. He loved them despite their faults. Patriotism did not lie in blinking at the defects in our nature, he would say. It lay, on the contrary, in recognizing them and trying to remove them.

He did not confine his criticism to persons of common clay. He was of the opinion—an opinion which I fully shared that India was badly led—that many of our leaders were not only short-sighted but, what was still worse, they often lacked spirit in some cases to the point of actually being cowards.

He took the view—in which I unreservedly concurred—that it was necessary to put a spark of manhood into Indians. That object, he thought, could be attained only by means of education, employing that word in its widest connotation.

He found fault with the system of instruction in India. It was, he said, based upon an utterly wrong assumption—the inferiority of the East *vis a vis* the West. The Indian intellect was, in consequence, enslaved.

The liberation of the Indian mind was, we agreed, the supreme necessity of the moment. There were stupendous difficulties in the way. They had to be conquered at any cost.

VIII

Such talk often led us to make a survey of the conditions in which the Indian women were bred and born—in which they had their being. Lalaji was ineffably sad at the manner in which their education and well-being were neglected. So long as the mothers of the nation were in a depressed state, he declared the nation itself was bound to remain depressed.

He held equally strong views in regard to the so-called lower orders of Hinduism. The treatment of "untouchables," especially in southern India, he asserted again and again was a blot upon Hinduism.

Sometimes he and I would compare conditions in Britain with those prevailing in our own country, often to India's disadvantage. With what freedom, he used to remark, I could and did express myself in publications issued from London and New York. When would the press in India attain the same measure of freedom !

IX

The more I got to know Lalaji the more I realized that he was a modernist to his finger-tips. He had not troubled to learn Sanskrit nor did he delight in chanting the few *mantrams* that he had memorized. True, he was pressed for time. He himself advanced that as an excuse. But the explanation was made self-consciously. A man of his intelligence and industry could easily have acquired at least a fair knowledge of the language if he wished to do so.

His attention was, however, engrossed in other matters. His chief interest lay in awakening the people among whom his lot was cast to the realities of the days in which they lived. They had fallen into an almost bottomless pit. The height from which they had dropped had only served to drive their feet and legs deep into the soft, mucky bottom of the pit into which they had fallen and thereby made it much more difficult for them to extricate themselves.

The past, as such, had no great interest for him. Archaeology did not make an irresistible appeal to him.

He left severely alone all tomes dealing with antiquity—even our own antiquity. Stones, no matter how delicately carved—no matter how eloquently they spoke of the past—did not move him to ecstasy.

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His mind was essentially secular. The peculiar circumstances in which he was reared in his parental home turned it into a religious channel. But it merely floated upon the surface and soon drifted into the vast, uncharted ocean of Indian politics.

I have a fancy that even when he was a zealous Arya Samajist, the purely spiritual aspect of that faith must not have stirred his being to its depths. He occssionally participated in *havana* and joined persons sitting round the sacred fire chanting *mantras*. That was however more a congregational affair than a real spiritual exercise.

At one stage of his career he directed the attention of the people with whom he talked in private and whom he addressed from the platform to India's Golden Age. But only because he wished to create another Golden Age—a brighter Golden Age.

I have known few men who were fonder than he of history, particularly biographies. None was more anxious to use the lives of great patriots—Indians and non-Indians—to kindle enthusiasm in the youthful Indian heart for service to the country.

X

Lalaji's emotional nature was as highly developed as his intellect. If anything a little more.

He lavished affection upon every one with whom he came in anything like intimate contact. They could have anything that he had. He would take even more acquaintances to expensive restaurants and theatres.

Children attracted him and he them. Not far from our house lived two friends of his—and ours—Mr. Walter F. Westbrook, an English Civil Servant and his wife, a Scottish lady. They had a daughter about fourteen and a son about eleven. Lalaji used to descend the ladder of time and the children and he would enjoy themselves hugely.

Mr. Westbrook had been religiously inclined from an early age. He would have liked to enter the Church of England. But circumstances over which he had no control prevented him. He appeared instead in the Civil Service Examination and being proficient in English and the classics easily beat all the other candidates. Posted to the Colonial Office, he rose to be the Chief Registrar.

Attracted by Positivism he got hold of everything written on the subject and plunged into it. It developed in him a fine sense of humanity. The barriers of race and creed fell. His interests became world-wide. Intellectuals from the four corners of the globe—among them many Indians—found a hearty welcome in his home.

He was fortunate in his life-partner. Born in Dundee, Jessie Duncan* (to give her her maiden name) somehow or other formed, early in her girlhood, a romantic attachment for India. When only eleven years old she composed a poem extolling the beauties of the Taj Mahal at Agra. About the time we took the house in East Dulwich she returned from a tour in India, in the course of which she had visited most of our famous monuments and religious centres.

Mrs. Westbrook had, if I remember aright, been entertained by Lalaji at his house when she visited Lahore. He in any case was always welcome at 65, Calton Road, in Dulwich village, where she lived with her husband and children.

XI

Lala Lajpat Rai had established contact with some British socialists—mostly of the mildest type. Fabians they called themselves and Fabians they truly were. They no doubt desired a new order—but at a snail's pace, through propaganda. They talked a great deal of organization and a few of them produced tomes that dealt with the emergence of Labour and kindred subjects. So far as I could see however they themselves were content with that contribution and left others to do the actual work of organization with a view to bringing about social reconstruction.

Among the Fabians whom Lalaji had met was Mr. Sidney Webb, whom Mr. Ramsay MacDonald subsequently sent to the Upper House and who assumed the title of Lord Passmore. His wife, whom the Indian leader also knew, insisted upon remaining plane Mrs.

* Mrs. Jessie Duncan Westbrook translated into English some of the late Mrs. Kamini Roy's Bengali poems. These appeared in *The Modern Review* for November 1929.

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Sidney Webb, refusing to be called "Lady Passmore."

Mr. Webb started life as a Civil Servant. He was however much too intellectual to be content with the life decreed to permanent officials by the regulations and even more so by the conventions that grow up in a staid life, such as the English had led from the time they went through the industrial revolution up to the beginning of hostilities in 1914.

Taking to Fabianism, and coming in intimate association with Mr. George Bernard Shaw, Professor Graham Wallas and a few other kindred souls, Mr. Webb helped to start an institution that now forms an important constituent college of the London University. It retains the modest name originally given to it—the London School of Economics. I have often wondered if this is a Shavian retort to the Englishmen who delight in calling their 'public schools" colleges. These schoools evidently earn the title of being "public" by virtually shutting out all but rich men's sons.

Mrs. Webb inherited a large block of shares from her father, a railway magnate. She had inherited from him much more than wealth. A fine intellect and great force of character were among her legacies. She cultivated them assiduously. Long before I had the privilege of meeting her, she was acknowledged—and rightly so—as one of the greatest women of the age.

The Webbs collaborated in writing books. Many of the works they produced are still valuable to persons who desire information on subjects connected with the formation and development of the Labour Union in Britain, poor law relief and kindred subjects.

I do not recollect how Lalaji had met the Sidney Webbs ; but they spoke to me of him as a man whose friendship they valued. And he was devoted to them.

He paid Mr. and Mrs. Webb several calls. He also saw a good deal of some of the professors connected with the London School of Economies. He had, I recall, formed a very high regard for Professsor Graham Wallas and I believe for Mr. Lees Smith.

This contact generated in Lalaji the desire to initiate in India a movement similar to the one that had fructified in the establishment of the London School of Economi... When he and I were meeting in London ... often, he had spoken more than once of t... idea. I very much doubt that he as yet h... any definite idea of embarking upon a simil... undertaking. How could he when O'Dw... was in the saddle in Lahore and he was ... exile legally through his own choice but ... reality through compulsion ?

He was nevertheless convinced that Indi... would drive great advantage in carrying ... the struggle in which our people were engag... if they could pass through the portals of so... such school and acquire systematic knowled... of politics and administration. Such traini... he felt would be of greater benefit to o... people when the sons of the soil bore t... full responsibilities of administration, as ... fondly hoped they would ere long.*

XII

Of a very different type from these Fabi... Socialists was Mr. James Keir Hardie, wh... Lalaji greatly esteemed. Trained as he h... been in the hard school of penury in h... native Scotland, his outlook was quite differe... from that of the book-Socialists who h... always or nearly always led a comfortab... life.

Lalaji had also met Mr. J. Rams... MacDonald, who in collaboration with Hard... had helped to fashion Labour into a politic... party. At the time when the executive ... India was penning up Indian leaders withe... charge or trial, MacDonald had shown gre... fighting spirit in the House of Commons, ... which assembly he had been returned ... workers engaged mostly in boot and sho... making who then had implicit faith in hi...

He was on terms of friendship wi... Dr. V. H. Rutherford, under whose hospitab... roof he had, I seem to recollect, spent som... days. A north-country man who had specialis... ed in skin diseases, this Liberal politician th... lived in Hampstead.

The placidity with which John Morl... the keeper of the Liberal conscience, appear...

* Many years later Lala Lajpat Rai, upon ... return from an extended stay in the United St... of America, decided to launch a project for establish... in Lahore an institution similar to the Lond... School of Economics. He called it the Tilak Sch... of Politics.

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at least to persons not in his confidence, to have permitted Lord Minto to deprive Indian leaders of their freedom without charge or trial, greatly enraged Dr. Rutherford. He made it exceedingly hot for the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons, even though he knew that in so doing he was offending against party discipline. Lalaji never forgot the services that this friend of freedom rendered to the Indian cause at that juncture and always spoke of him in the kindliest terms.

He also had great regard for Sir William Wedderburn, who at that time was at the helm of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress. Coming down from his country seat in Gloucestershire every now and again, Sir William used to take rooms in the hotel attached to the Paddington Station. Either there or at the offices of the British Committee of the National Congress, he would hold conference with Indian leaders who happened to be in London and other persons interested in Indian affairs.

On one occasion I happened to go into Sir William's room just as Lalaji was leaving it. I found him greatly exercised in his mind over his Indian friend's attitude towards the war.

Lalaji, I may explain, thought that the conflict in which Britain was engaged with Germany offered Indians a splendid opportunity to come to an arrangement that would solve our political problem. Sir William took the opposite view. In his estimation Indians had done right in offering aid to Britain without attaching any conditions to such help.

XIII

I do not remember whether or not Sir William had counselled Lalaji to go away from Britain for a time. Probably he had.

Soon after this I learnt from him that he had decided to go to the United States of America. He had not been across the Atlantic Ocean and had a great curiosity to see something of a country of which he had read and heard so much. He might have added that it would also offer him safe asylum, whereas he was not quite sure what might happen to him if he continued to stay in London.

He insisted that before he went, Mrs. St. Nihal Singh and I should have a meal with him.

"But you have no home here," my wife said to him. "You would be put to a great deal of trouble."

"Never you mind. There will be no trouble. I will make all the necessary arrangements," he replied.

She still demurred. But Lalaji continued to plead until we had to give in.

Upon our arrival at the address which he had given us we found a great feast spread before us—an Indian feast. He had sought the good offices of an Indian lady who, with her husband (a law student) was sojourning in London. She had cooked with her own hands a meal fit for the gods.

As soon as the dishes began to be brought to the table at which we sat, my wife realized that the poor lady must have had spent hours in cooking them. When she attempted to chide Lalaji, he refused to be chided. He told her that when she came to Lahore he would have his wife cook specially for her. Then she would see what people in India ate. There in London it was impossible to have all the materials needed in Indian cookery and even though his young friend had done her best the meal was not what he should have wished it to be.

He was, as I have said, a man of generous instincts and his sense of hospitality was exceedingly keen. After the dinner we kept on talking until it was past midnight. We knew that that was our last meeting for some time to come—may be months, as we then expected,—or years,—as proved to be the case.

The parting was sad, particularly because we knew that Lalaji's heart was hungering for home: and yet the Fates were turning his face in the opposite direction.

XIV

From such news as drifted my way I understood that during the five years Lalaji spent in the United States he did exceedingly useful work for our country and our people. He sought out American professors, writers and politicians and gave them information about India and Indians. He also wrote books and articles.

Mr. Huebsch—a Jewish-American publi-

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sher—was charmed with Lalaji. He had got in touch with me in 1909. In that year he had bought the rights of publishing in the United States of America the letters written by Keir Hardie while travelling in India. He sent me a copy of the book—one of the first batch off the press. A copy was also forwarded to me for review by the *Nation* (New York)—a high-grade literary weekly—for which I then wrote.

I found Mr. Heubsch a man of liberal views and broad sympathies. So did Lajpat Rai years later and got him to print and to publish two of his books.

Lalaji met many other persons in the United States who esteemed him and whom he esteemed. If India had not needed him he would, I believe, have liked to settle in or near New York. An intellectual man who could write with ease and rapidity and who possessed great conversational gifts and personal magnetism, he would have been successful.

But his heart was in India. He could not bear to be away from his home-land. He attached great importance to propaganda work in behalf of his country: but it did not fill his life. He wished to take an active part in the political movement back home.

Apparently however the India Office took a different view of the matter. He was unable to obtain a passport, without which he could not return to the Motherland.

That view seemed to have persisted at the India Office even after the armistice was signed. Mr. Edwin Samuel Montagu, who had been at its head since 1917, was neither conservative nor narrow-minded. Quite the reverse. Many of his colleagues were, on the contrary, short-sighted and reactionary. He had moreover to carry with him the officials in India, many of whom were bitterly opposed to his policies and did everything in their power to block him.

I feel certain that had Mr. Montagu been differently placed he would have made it possible for Lalaji to return to India earlier than he was able to do. I saw him often in those days and can therefore write from personal knowledge.

Lalaji was suffering too much from nostalgia to lose precious time in making preparations to leave or in bidding farewell to friends. Once he learnt that he was to be allowed to go home he crossed the Atlantic for Britain and, after a short time in London sailed for India.

PROPOSALS FOR AN ALL-INDIA ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

By G. C. MUKHERJEE, M. SC.

Introduction

EVEN at an early stage of civilization, knowledge was regarded as the source of power and pursuit of knowledge was confined to a small class of people (generally the priests), and even amongst them there was much secrecy and rivalry, co-operation being practically unknown. Each individual held fast to his own traditions and his own school of thought, and bitter jealousy leading sometimes to fierce conflicts existed between different schools. With the progress of civilization, however, as the intellectuals and the society realized their duties to each other, it was recognized that the cultivation of knowledge could be carried on more efficiently, if the learned members of the society could co-operate and could come into more frequent contact with each other's achievements and thoughts. For this purpose corporate bodies were organized and frequent discussions used to be held. It was also recognized that knowledge should not be confined to any particular class, but its portals should be thrown open to all who possessed the necessary earnestness of purpose and gifted mental powers.

At the present time we can regard the democratization of knowledge as almost a sure measure of the progress of civilization in a country; for it was almost unknown in medieval priest-ridden societies. Amongst the countries of the Western World, Greece was probably the first to reach this stage, near about the 4th century B.C. The first learned body of Greece, the famous Academy (named after certain Academe) of Athens was founded by Plato, a pupil of Socrates. Plato was not only a philosopher, but was also a great believer in exact science; on the portals of his Academy was inscribed—*"Let nobody enter the Academy who does not know Geometry."* Aristotle succeeded Plato and under Aristotle who wrote on Physics, Ethics, History of Animals, etc., fame of the Academy spread far and wide, and it became the rendezvous of all seekers after truth in the great Empire of Alexander.

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Academy of Athens continued its glorious existence even after the political downfall of Greece, and throughout the Roman supremacy, the teachers and scholars of the academy used to receive students even from Imperial Rome. Besides the great Academy of Athens, other learned societies sprang up in various parts of the civilized world, specially at Alexandria, at various places in Asia Minor like Pergamum and Antioch and at Syracuse in Sicily. It is interesting to note that in the Museum of Alexandria, which was founded by Ptolemy Philadelphus and so named because it was dedicated to the Muses, the patron deities of knowledge, all the expenses of the scholars were borne by the king.

The Academy Movement in Europe

The spread of Christianity in the Mediterranean world in the next centuries gave rise to intense theological bigotry, and this killed or drove underground the scientific spirit in Europe for about ten centuries. During the Renaissance period, partly under the influence of Arabic culture, the spirit of scientific enquiry again revived, and a number of learned academies were formed in quick succession. Lead was taken by Italy, then a country of city states, like Venice, Genoa and Florence each of which tried to emulate the achievements of the Alexandrian Museum. The Florence Academy will be long remembered in the Annals of Science on account of the encouragement it gave to Galileo, the inventor of the telescope, and the founder of modern Physics. At the same time was founded the Academie des Lincei* at Rome, which has been recently organized by Mussolini's Government into a National Academy for Italy. Italy being the intellectual leader during the Renaissance, it was but natural that other countries of Europe should follow in her footsteps and should found their own *National Academies* under the idea which may now be considered romantic, that the cultivation of science would usher in a new era in human civilization.

In response to these ideas, the French Academy in Paris whose activities were mainly literary, was founded in 1634 by Cardinal Richelieu, minister of Louis XIII of France. The Academie des Sciences was founded about the same time and among its first members were the philosopher Descartes and the Mathematician Pascal. After the French Revolution, a single Institute de France was organized by Napoleon, of which the various Academies (of Science, Belle Lettres, etc.,) formed branches. By 1630, France had become a great National Unit, but Germany was still divided into a number of petty states whose sole aim was to imitate French manners and customs. The great national institution of Germany, the Prussian Academy of Sciences, was founded a century afterwards in 1740 by Fredrick the Great, who was a great admirer of French culture. It undertook direct and active encouragement of scientific research of the nation by the creation of a number of research professorships and paid memberships; these persons were not expected to do any teaching work and were free to devote the whole of their time and energy to scientific research. Amongst the Academicians of the Prussian Academy, one could find such famous names as those of Voltaire and Manpertuis and the Humboldts in the 17th and 18th centuries, and Vaut Hoff and Einstein in recent years.

The Royal Society of London

The famous Royal Society of London was founded in response to a widespread movement initiated by Francis Bacon who in a pamphlet entitled the *New Atlantis,* advocated plans for a college of learned men where cultivation of science would be properly organized. But the civil war in England soon intervened and the idea could be given effect to only after the Restoration. The Royal Society first took definite shape in 1663 under a Royal Charter from King Charles II, who took an active interest in its foundation, and gave properties worth £1300 from his own pocket towards its foundation. The first meeting took place on May 20, 1663, under the presidency of Viscount Brouncker, a nobleman who was also a mathematician of some note and among the first fellows were Robert Boyle, Christopher Wren (the builder of the St. Paul's Cathedral), Hooke, and the great Newton joined the Society somewhat later. For about 270 years the Royal Society has played a unique and most important part in the intellectual life of the English nation, and it can count among its presidents men like Newton, Davy (Chemist), Hooker (Botanist), Kelvin (Physicist), Lister (Surgeon), Crookes (Chemist), Geikie (Geologist), Thomson, and Rutherford (Physicists) and Hopkins (Bio-chemist), each a giant in his own subject. The above list is enough to excite the envy of any other learned Society of the world.

The Royal Society holds such an eminent position among the other scientific bodies (of which there are many) of England that it will be better here to review briefly its composition, constitution and functions. The Royal Society has about 450 Fellows on its rolls, and about 50 Foreign members. The representation of different Sciences in the present body of Fellows is as follows:

Physics and Meteorology	77
Mathematics and Astronomy	53
Engineering	24
Chemistry	70
Medicine	90

* So called, because the intellectual insight of the Academicians was supposed to penetrate the obscure secrets of nature, as the eyes of a lynx are supposed in fable to be endowed with the extraordinary power of seeing through the solid walls.

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Zoology	36
Botany	34
Geology	35
Psychology	5
Miscellaneous	18
National Work	8
Archaeology	3
	—
	453

Among the Foreign members are such men as Einstein, Bohr and Pavlov. Seventeen new Fellows are elected every year. The candidate who wants to get elected will have to get a Fellow who will propose his name and the proposal should be endorsed by six other Fellows. About 120 names are proposed each year of which 15 are elected by ballot by the members of the council and the remaining two are elected for National work. The administration is vested in the council which consists of a president elected for two years, two secretaries elected for eight years, a treasurer and 22 members elected from amongst the Fellows. The President may be elected for a second term.

I shall now briefly describe the functions of the Royal Society at the present time.

The Royal Society publishes two learned Journals—(*a*) The Proceedings which have two sections (*i*) Physical, (*ii*) Biological; (*b*) the Transactions with two Sections (*i*) Physical, (*ii*) Biological. Papers communicated to the society are read in the weekly meetings, and then sent to sectional committees for publication, and if approved are published in the Proceedings or the Transactions.

Besides these purely academic works the society has to discharge a lot of administrative function. It acts, to put the matter in a nutshell, as the *National Governing Body* for the administration of all matters of scientific interest. Through its committees, it administers the following departments:

1. The Government grant for Scientific investigations—amounting to about £ 6,000 per annum.

2. The Kew Observatory: This is the National observatory for research and observations in Magnetism, Scisnology (science of earthquakes) Geo-physics, and Meteorology (science of weather).

3. The Meteorological Office.—(At present under the Air Ministry, but the Royal Society has two representatives on the Governing body).

4. National Physical Laboratory.—The National Physical Laboratory was founded in 1900, following the report of a committee with physicist Lord Rayleigh as Chairman to consider and report upon the desirability of founding a public institution for standardizing and verifying instruments, for testing materials. The administration is vested in a committee of the Royal Society, though in the Executive Committee, other interests are represented. In addition discharging the above functions, the Nati Physical Laboratory undertakes scientific inve gations of national importance, such as, rese in ship-building, radio-telegraphy, metallur and employs a large number of scientific staff.

5. The Royal Observatory, Greenwhich, Timekeeper of the world, was established in 1 on the initiative of the Royal Society.

A committee of the Royal Society form formed the governing body of the institut but now they form the board of Visitors and strongly represented in the governing body.

6. The International Research Council. Science is international and a good deal scientific work has to be done by internati co-operation. So, as a result of series international conferences held in London, P and Brussels during 1918-19, an Internati Research Council was formed for the purp of facilitating international co-operation scientific work and promoting the formation International Unions in different branches Science. The Royal Society, *acting as National Academy of Great Britain* appoints British delegates to the meetings of the Int national Research Council. At present, internati research is carried on in the follow subjects :—

[Quoted from page 148 of the year-book of Royal Society, 1933].

(1) Astronomy, (2) Geodesy and Geo-phys (3) Mathemetics, (4) Radio-telegraphy, (5) Phys (6) Geography, (7) Chemistry, (8) Biology (9) Medicine.

The Royal Society is represented through members in the Selection Committees appointments of Professors in many Universi Colleges and other National Institutions, exerts a very healthy influence in the maintena of proper standard.

Besides these activities, the Royal Society to administer a very large fund amounting several thousand pounds which has b bequeathed to it by successive generations benefactors for founding Studentships, Medi for recognition of meritorious scientific wo A very useful and interesting fund known the Scientific Relief Fund is maintained by Royal Society, the object of which is to scientific men and their families in of emergency. In recent years, a number of manufactures have endowed six-full-time Resea Professorships of annual value of £ 1,500 Before the institution of these Resea Professorships, the Royal Society was behind her continental counterparts (in Fra and Germany.)

Relation of the Royal Society of London to Sectional Societies

Science plays such a great part in activities of great nations that even such a

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as the Royal Society, with its great age, tradition and highly efficient organization finds it difficult to cope with all the branches of science. So out of the Royal Society has sprung, in different times, the following societies devoted to only the particular subjects of study :

1. The Royal Astronomical Society.
2. The Royal Anthropological Society.
3. The Royal Geographical Society.
4. The Royal Meteorological Society.

The other great Scientific Societies in Great Britain are :

1. The Chemical Society.
2. The Physical Society.
3. The Geological Society.
4. The Linnean Society (Botany).
5. The London Mathematical Society.
6. The Zoological Society.
7. The Cambridge Philosophical Society.
8. The Faraday Society.
9. The Rontgen Society.
10. The Institution of Electrical Engineers.

From the above it will be apparent that inspite of the existence of a large number of societies in England engaged in the promotion of interest and research work in particular branches of Science, the Royal Society is by no means a superfluous organization. On the other hand, it is a very important national institution, as being a Society composed of most eminent scientists and national workers on all lines, it is consulted by the Government on all scientific matters and is entrusted with the administration of scientific departments and institutions. It also acts as a liaison body between societies devoted to particular subjects. Its relation to other scientific bodies is best understood by describing it as *an apex of the pyramid formed by these societies.*

National Academies in other British Dominions

In these days some sort of national academy has become so essential for every civilized country, that all the dominions of the British Empire, have, from time to time, managed to secure Royal Charter for their own national institutions. There is a very old Royal Society of Edinburgh, an old Royal (now National) Irish Academy of Dublin, a Royal Society at Toronto (for Canada), as well as Royal Societies for South Africa, Australia and New Zealand. All these societies have taken the Royal Society of London as their prototype and have similar relation and influence with the Governments and other scientific bodies of their countries. *Among the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations India is the only country which does not yet possess a National Academy of sufficient prestige and power like these Royal Societies.*

Scientific Bodies in India—Official and Non-Official.

In India in fact, the number of learned societies is extremely small. The oldest and the most well known being the Asiatic Society of Bengal which has just celebrated its 150th anniversary. It was founded in 1784 by the famous Oriental scholar Sir William Jones. The chief field of activity of the Asiatic Society has been ancient and medieval Indian History and Archæology in which it has done admirable work. In fact, the Asiatic Society has been mainly responsible for unearthing India's past. It has also got a Natural Science section, and has published very valuable memoirs in Zoology, Botany and Anthropology. In recent years it has organized the Indian Science Congress on the model of the British Association. Through its efforts, the Indian Museum and the Meteorological department were called into being. Next in importance is the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, chiefly devoted to ancient Indian History. Other scientific societies devoted to special subjects are the Calcutta Mathematical Society, the Indian Mathematical Society and the Benares Mathematical Society, and the Indian Botanical Society, each of which publishes a journal. The most active society, however, has been the Indian Chemical Society founded in 1925 by the Indian Chemists headed by Sir P. C. Ray. It has already managed to enroll more than 500 Fellows, publishes a monthly journal and has got a paid whole time Assistant Secretary. In Physics no society has yet been formed, though the Indian Association for the cultivation of science at Calcutta, publishes a journal of Physics, in which, mainly the researches of Prof. Raman and his school are published. Another very important body which is not sectional but provincial in its scope, is the Academy of Sciences of the United Provinces. It was founded in 1930 with its headquarters at Allahabad by the scientists of U. P. It represents mainly the scientific workers of that province, but has a considerable number of extra provincial Fellows and Members. It has managed to secure some government support, publishes a quarterly bulletin and maintains a library of journals.

Apart from these non-official societies, there are a number of Government and semi-Government scientific organizations in India chiefly managed by the Services which publish their own journals and memoirs. No civilized government these days can do without undertaking a large amount of systematic scientific and semi-scientific activities including a lot of research work, and has to maintain well-equipped departments for that purpose. To organize and run these departments efficiently, expert advice is essential, for which the Government generally turns to and receives prompt help from the national academy of the country. In these matters, there generally exists a spirit of close co-operation between the national academy and the state. In fact, it is not unusual to leave a part of the actual administration regarding scientific matters in the hands of the national institution as we have seen in the case

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of the Royal Society of London. In common with other civilized Governments of the world, the Indian Government too undertakes a considerable amount of Scientific work, of which the following are some of the most important forms and are under the direct control of the Government of India.

1. The Indian Trigonometrical Survey at Dehra Dun.

It is responsible for the survey of the Indian Empire and also does a certain amount of work in Hydrography, Seismology and Geo-physics.

2. The Geological Survey of India.
3. The Meteorological Service.
4. The Zoological Survey of India.
5. The Agricultural Service.
6. The Botanical Survey.

Here may also be mentioned the Central Council of Agricultural Research and the proposed Central Medical Research Council. Besides these, many provincial Governments maintain Scientific Departments which are devoted to the study of problems peculiar to those provinces. The Irrigation Department of the Panjab, which has a highly organized Research staff, the Department of Fisheries of Bengal, and the Cotton Research Institute of Bombay are organizations of this nature. In the absence of an All-India Academy of Sciences, the expert advice that the Government needs for the purpose is sought elsewhere. Generally this help has been given by an Indian Committee of the Royal Society of London. Hitherto this Indian Committee of the Royal Society has been the guiding factor in the policy of the Government of India with regard to scientific matters, *e.g.*, in the establishment of the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore (the original purpose of which was to organize research on industrial problems), in the Forest Research Institute, Bangalore, in the various medical research institutes as well as in the organization of the scientific services advice was sought from the Royal Society. It is also clear that in the absence of a National Academy, the Indian Scientific opinion can have very little influence over the management of the above Government institutions; and very little effective co-operation is possible between the Scientific workers in the Government Institutions and the non-official Indian Scientific workers carrying on research work in various Universities and institutions scattered all over the country.

Recent Proposals for the Formation of an All-India Academy of Sciences

During the last four or five years the Indian Scientists have been gradually awaking to the fact that the absence of an All-India Academy of Sciences not only greatly hampers the cultivation of Science, but deprives the nation of a large amount of valuable service which she badly needs. Eminent individuals, as well as important scientific bodies have from time to time expressed their opinion that an immediate establishment of a National Academy is absolutely essential these stray voices from different quarters have recently developed into a strong movement, and it is to be hoped that the formation of such a body is a question of a few months. The growth of the movement may here be briefly outlined.

Initiative of the Government of India

Towards the end of 1930, the Government of India addressed a letter to the Provincial Governments, the learned societies of India, the Universities and the Indian Science Congress requesting their opinions on the formation in India of (a) a National Research Council and (b) National Committees, to co-operate respectively with the International Research Council and certain affiliated Unions which have been mentioned above. Their views were sought particularly on the following points (a) whether the formation of such a council and committees would be useful (b) what should be the composition and the method of appointment of these bodies, (c) in what ways would the expenses be met, (d) how much control the Government should exercise over these bodies.

In their reply to this circular, the council of the Executive Committee of the Indian Science Congress expressed their opinion that (a) the formation of such bodies would certainly be useful (b) though the ideal constitution of the proposed National Research Council would be one analogous to that of the Royal Society of London, for the present it should include among its members the representatives of the following categories of Scientific workers: (i) Representatives of the Scientific departments of the Government of India, (ii) Representatives of the learned societies and organizations of research (iii) Representatives of the Universities (iv) Eminent scientists, (v) Representatives of such Provinces and the Indian States as are willing to bear part of the expenses.

(c) For the present, the Government of India should bear all the necessary expenses.

(d) The National Research Council should be as free from Government control as possible.

Government action on these proposals has not yet been taken owing to financial stringency but even this preliminary action shows that the Government of India realizes the importance of organizing a National Academy.

The Propaganda by the "Current Science"

The Editor of the famous Scientific weekly *Nature* Sir Richard Gregory, during his recent tour in India, discussed the question of the formation of an All-India Academy of Science with the Editors of *Current Science*. The January 1933 issue of the journal contained an Editorial on the subject, the substance of which can be understood from the following extract

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"Although Indian Science should command practically unlimited resources, and actually has enlisted a band of competent and highly qualified investigators, it suffers from a lack of financial support and from the lack of an authoritative exposition of its achievements by a central responsible body which can speak on behalf of her scientific men for India, as a whole.—It seems to us that the early establishment of a National Academy of Science should secure closer and better organized co-operation of activities among all research institutions of India. The scope and purpose of the functions of the Academy are therefore different from those of the Indian Science Congress which offers principally the advantage of human contacts. Among other functions which the Academy will exercise should be included the protection and advancement of the professional interests of its members. It should acquire the necessary authority to advise Government, the Universities and other institutions on all scientific matters and other problems referred to it for consideration and to negotiate on behalf of Indian scientific workers with similar institutions abroad;—through its library, the Academy will act as a bureau of information to be disseminated among its members. An Academy of Science is not an ornament, but an indispensable institution for directing the destinies of the nation. We have no hesitation in thinking that its establishment ought to be the natural and legitimate ambition of a progressive Government and an enlightened public who should unhesitatingly provide the institution with sufficient funds for its service in their cause."

The Editors then consulted their board of editorial co-operators and issued over their signatures a circular letter with questionnaire on the subject. The letter stated that if a sufficiently widespread support for the proposal of establishing an All-India Academy would be forthcoming, the investigation of details would immediately engage the attention of a competent committee appointed for the purpose. The questionnaire asked for the views of the addressee on the scope, function, and constitution of such an Academy, its relation to other scientific bodies, about its finances, etc. The Calcutta Scientists gathered together on the 17th September and drafted a collective reply to this circular. They approved of the proposal wholeheartedly and expressed their opinions on various points. They were in favour of associating the new body closely with the Asiatic Society of Bengal and expressed the opinion that Calcutta would be the most suitable place for its location. They however suggested that the various schemes received regarding the formation of the Indian Academy be placed before a special meeting of the General Committee of the Indian Science Congress in its forthcoming Poona (changed later to Bombay) session for full discussion.

Proposals of the Marquis of Zetland and Prof. Thomas for Founding a Royal Indian Academy (of Science, Letters and Arts)

Meanwhile the sounding of opinion for establishing a National Academy was started from another quarter. In April 1933, Lord Zetland, the ex-Governor of Bengal and Professor Thomas, the distinguished orientalist of Oxford, addressed 25 most eminent Indian intellectuals on this subject, on behalf of some British gentlemen who were interested in the intellectual life of India and had gathered together in London to discuss the desirability of an Indian Academy, representative of Philosophy, Science, Literature and Art. They stated that the international influence of a single Indian National Academy will be probably much greater than the united influence of a number of academies, and therefore the former was preferable. As regards the process of initiating such a body, they suggested that the *British Academy might help as far as the Indian opinion would consider such help desirable, specially in such matters as obtaining Government recognition and support and a Royal Charter*. They asked the views of those whom they addressed, as to whether such action on the part of the British Academy would have their approval and support. Among the replies which were sent to them individually, majority were in the favour of establishing a single academy, but some were for separate academies for Science and Arts. They were also informed that in the forthcoming Science Congress (1934), the proposal for an All-India Academy of Sciences would engage the attention of its General Committee. In their reply to Prof. Saha, who was to preside in that session of the Congress, they said that they had hitherto been acting in association with the British Academy who are naturally more interested in a single Academy than in an Academy of Science only, and they suggested that "after the discussion of the matter in the Indian Science Congress (assuming of course that the trend of the discussion did not render such a course impossible) the Council of the Congress be asked to consider whether they might not issue an invitation to those with whom we have been corresponding in India."

The Academy of Sciences in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh

The Scientists of U. P., however, have taken a most active part in this general movement for a National Academy of Sciences. As early as 1929, in his "Plea for an Academy of Sciences" Prof. Saha indicated the need of a National Academy of Sciences and discussed the question with a number of scientists at the Science Congress which assembled at Allahabad in 1930. As the realization of the proposals, then seemed remote, a more modest institution, the U. P.

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Academy of Sciences, was founded in 1930. But the sponsors of the Provincial Academy continued to cherish the idea of an All-India Academy and took pains to invite scientists of other provinces to join the U. P. Academy. For three years this body worked silently and efficiently, receiving wholehearted co-operation of not only the U. P. scientists but of a number of extra provincial scientists as well. In the middle of 1933, time seemed to be ripe and circumstances favourable for forming an All-India institution, and the U. P. Academy took the initiative in this matter by passing the following resolution on the 10th of August, "That the Academy welcomes the proposal of the Council that the Academy of Sciences, U. P., should become the All-India Academy of Sciences."

Just after this a circular letter was sent to the scientists all over India requesting their views on the matter. The following is an extract from this letter: "In the U. P. Academy of Sciences, thus, there already exists the nucleus of an All-India Academy. The signatories to this letter are authorised by the Academy to state, that the U. P. Academy will be only too glad to place its organisation, experience and resources, at the service of the All-India body, and in case the offer is accepted the Indian Academy can come into existence almost immediately."

The comments of the famous scientific journal *Nature* over these proposals of the U. P. Academy were highly reasonable and sympathetic. The Editorial of September 23, 1933 strongly favoured the formation of an All-India Science Academy and wrote: "As a matter of fact when a number of men of science from different parts of India assembled at Allahabad in January 1930, the question of the establishment of an Academy of Sciences in India was thoroughly discussed. It was then decided to start, as an experimental measure, the U. P. Academy of Sciences which would be the official expositor of the research work conducted mainly in the five universities of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and it was also settled that membership would be open to men of science residing outside the territorial limits of the United Provinces. It was also suggested that if the experiment proved successful, the U. P. Academy might later develop into an All-India organization. The progress of the Academy during the last three years has shown that the experiment has been very successful, and members of the Academy residing in other parts of India have suggested that it should become an All-India Academy of Sciences. The U. P. Academy is the first of its kind to have been started in India, and it has, therefore, strong claim to develop into an All-India Academy. We understand that the council has discussed the question recently, and has recommended to the general body of the Academy that its name be changed to the Indian Academy of Sciences."

It was however realized that the Indian Science Congress being the recognized authoritative body representing Indian Scientists, was the only body capable of dealing with such an All-India problem as the establishment of an Indian Academy—hence, the U. P. Academy in a resolution dated December 19, 1933 authorized Prof. Saha to bring to the notice of the scientists attending the Science Congress at Bombay, the resolution of the U. P. Academy of August 10, 1933, and to discuss the whole question with them, and to report to the Academy the deliberations of the Congress, at its next meeting.

The above review shows that the necessity of forming an All-India Academy of Sciences has been emphasized by various authoritative bodies including the Government of India, but regarding the composition and modalities of formation, considerable divergence of opinion prevailed. The greatest divergence of opinion was with respect to the question of location. Naturally enough every society or scientific body wanted the Academy to be located in the particular city in which it was interested. The situation in this case, as in every other All-India affair, was not unlike that in the old Athenian democracy, where every leader of the army, when asked to nominate a captain-general, gave the first vote to himself and the next to somebody else. Generally, the man who got the largest number of second votes was elected. A similar procedure might be needed to deal with the present situation. Thus the different scientific bodies, the Asiatic Society, the U. P. Academy, and the Current Science group, with an admirable spirit of co-operation, resigned all powers into the hands of the Indian Science Congress. The Sponsors of the Congress felt that the discussion of the question of location was unnecessary at that stage, as it depended entirely on the form into which the constitution of the Academy would be finally emerging. They, therefore, submitted to the decision of the General Committee only questions of a general nature. On the 3rd. January, 1934, a special meeting of the General Committee of the Indian Science Congress Association was specially convened for the purpose. At this meeting which was attended by about 75 members from all parts of India, the following resolutions were passed.

Resolution 1

The General Committee of the Indian Science Congress thanks the Editorial Board of the *Current Science* for the excellent spade work in sounding the scientific opinion in India on the desiribility or otherwise of having an Indian Academy of Science and proposing to hand over to the General Committee of the Indian Science Congress the material hitherto collected.

The following is an extract from the letter

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circulated by the *Current Science* on the replies received to their circular letter :

"I have the honour to submit herewith an analysis of the replies so far received to the questionnaire recently issued under your authority.

"We have so far received 109 replies to the questionnaire of which several represented collective opinions of groups of individuals, Research Institutes, learned Societies and Universities. Over 150 individual scientists (distributed all over the country) are agreed that there is great need for the organization of an All-India Academy of Sciences. Three learned Societies, seven Universities and five Research Institutions have supported the idea after consulting the constituent members ; two individuals have expressed doubts about the need for such an organization at the present juncture ; four have opined that the Indian Science Congress fulfils the functions of an Academy.

"Among those who favour the formation of an Academy, one learned Society and five individuals have suggested a further discussion of the matter at the session of the Indian Science Congress at Bombay and the necessary action to be taken based on the decision reached at the meeting ; all the others are in favour of a Committee appointed by you, going into the question and deciding on the constitution of the Academy.

"There has been some difference of opinion regarding the process of initiating the Academy. The majority approve of seeking State-aid to start an entirely new organization which would be run more or less along the line of the Royal Society of London, the details of the constitution as also the process of initiation of the Academy to be decided by the committee to be appointed by you for the purpose."

The above letter shows that there is an overwhelming majority amongst the scientists and scientific bodies of India for starting a National Academy of Science, and they were all agreed that the task of framing the constitution and taking such other steps as is necessary for bringing the Academy to existence should be left to a Committee appointed by the Indian Science Congress. Accordingly the following resolutions were moved by Dr. L. Fermor, President of the Congress for 1933, and were adopted by the General Committee after a full discussion.

Resolution 2.

In the opinion of the General Committee of the Indian Science Congress, the principal purposes for which an Indian Academy of Sciences is desirable are :

(*i*) To act as a co-ordinating body between scientific societies in India, institutions engaged in scientific work, Government Scientific Departments and Services.

(*ii*) To act as a body of scientists of eminence, to promote and safeguard the interests of scientists in India, and also to act as a National Research Council.

(*iii*) To publish a *Comptes Rendus* of papers read before the Academy and also Memoirs and Transactions.

(*iv*) To keep the door open either for a federation of the Science Academy with other Academies of Letters and Social Sciences which may come into existence.

(*v*) To secure and manage funds and endowments for scientific research.

(*vi*) To do such other things as may be necessary for the promotion of Science in India.

Resolution 3.

Resolved that a Committee be appointed to meet at an early date in Calcutta, with the object of drafting a constitution to be laid before the next meeting of the Indian Science Congress, and to take the necessary steps for bringing the Academy into existence by the end of the year 1934.

Resolution 4.

The Committee shall be constituted as follows :—

1. The outgoing President of the Indian Science Congress.
2. The incoming President of the Indian Science Congress.

(A) One representative each of the following Societies :

3. Asiatic Society of Bengal.
4. Indian Chemical Society.
5. Indian Botanical Society.
6. Mining and Geological Institute, jointly with the Geological, Mining and Metalurgical Society.
7. Indian Mathematical Society. } one joint
   Benares " " } representa-
   Calcutta " " } tive.
8. U. P. Academy of Sciences.
9. Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science. (Calcutta)

(B) Director or a representative nominated by the following All-India Government Departments.

10. Botanical Survey of India.
11. Geological " "
12. Zoological " "
13. Trigonometric " "
14. Meteorological Department.
15. Imperial Institute of Agricultural and Forest Research.
16. Indian Research Fund Association.
17. Imperial Institute of Veterinary Research.
18. Director or representative of the Indian Institute of Science.
19. Representative of the Editorial Board of the *Current Science*.

20-24. The following five members to represent the General Committes of the Indian Science Congress. (They were elected after ballot was taken.)

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(*i*) Prof. S. N. Bose	...	Dacca.
(*ii*) Mr. D. N. Wadia	...	Bombay.
(*iii*) Dr. S. K. Mukerjee	...	Lucknow.
(*iv*) Dr. K. G. Naik	...	Baroda.
(*v*) Dr. H. K. Sen	...	Calcutta.

The Committee have power to co-opt additional members as required.

RESOLUTION 5.

Prof. M. N. Saha and Prof. S. P. Agharkar be appointed Organizing Secretaries.

The Committee is to hold its first meeting at Calcutta (the venue of the Indian Science Congress for 1935) on February 11 and 12 when mode of procedure will be discussed.

On account of the great public importance of the measure proposed, *The Modern Review* has taken special pains to obtain from the authorities of the Indian Science Congress, a detailed account of the movement. The above account shows that a very good start has been made for a measure of first-rate national importance and the country will watch with great eagerness the working of the Committee. It is hoped that the Central Government as well as the States will give the enterprise their unstinted and whole-hearted support, morally as well as materially.

INDIAN WOMENHOOD

SRIMATI MAI WARERKAR is the editor of *Mahila*, a Marathi Monthly.

Srimati Mai Warerkar

MISS VIMALA GADVE went to London and joined the Rachel Macmillan Training College.

Miss Vimala Gadve

She has taken the Nursery School Teachers' Diploma from the college. She is the first Indian girl to take this diploma.

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BOOK REVIEWS

BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

GANDHI VERSUS THE EMPIRE. *By Haridas T. Mozumdar, Ph. D. Illustrated. Pp. 351. A foreword by Will Durant. The Universal Publishing Company, New York.*

Dr. Mazumdar possesses three essential qualifications for writing such a book about Mahatma Gandhi as Americans need to possess. He knows India well, he knows Gandhi well, and he knows America and Americans well.

1. He knows India as nobody can quite know it except one born and reared there, who has drunk in its spirit from the very breast of his mother, from his father's first embrace, from the profound and lasting influences of his Indian child-companionships, his Indian school-training and the Indian environment everywhere about him moulding his whole nature as a hand moulds clay throughout all his impressionable years from birth to manhood.

2. Dr. Mozumdar knows Gandhi through the close intimacy of living with him in his home; through sharing with him the hopes, the toils, the anxieties and the sufferings of the Mahatma's daring, historic, threeweeks' march on foot to the sea, to break Britain's infamous salt-tax, and thus proclaim to her and to the world India's determination to be free; and, later, through conversations and companionship with the great Indian leader in London, during the second Round Table Conference there.

3. Dr. Mozumdar knows America and Americans through more than a dozen years of residence here, where he has studied in our great universities and achieved high standing as a scholar, and more important still, where he has travelled in all parts of the land, studying American institutions and American life, and lecturing with ability and eloquence in support of the right of his country to self-rule and to a place once more among the world's great nations. The work that he has done and is doing for India, as a public speaker, has been, and is, invaluable.

Dr. Mozumdar has written much on both Gandhi and India. And now, in a sense he gathers up the ripe fruit of it all in this large and striking volume just published entitled *Gandhi versus the Empire*.

In this unique work he gives to the public much valuable information about Gandhi, chiefly in connection with his historic visit to England in 1931, and important utterances from Gandhi's lips—for the most part addresses delivered at the London Round Table Conference, in Parliament and at the many Assemblies, public and private, where he was invited to speak. The significance and value of the book lies mainly in the fact that this important information and these important utterances of the great Indian leader cannot be found except with great difficulty anywhere else, and can be found nowhere else collected together as Dr. Mozumdar gives them in his impressive pages.

J. T. SUNDERLAND

MAN AND TECHNICS: *A contribution to a philosophy of life, by Oswald Spengler, translated from the German by C. F. Atkinson. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Cloth. Pp. x+104. 6sh.*

Oswald Spengler is a profound thinker of very wide erudition. Compared with his huge work, *The Decline of the West*, the present book is a small one. It is both a summary of his known philosophy and an outline of his history of mankind. Accordingly it deals shortly with the whole problem of civilized man's life on earth today and is essentially necessary for grasping modern thought and modern social problems. It is divided into five chapters: Technics as the Tactics of Living; Herbivores and Beasts of Prey; The Origin of Man, Hand and Tool; The Second Stage, Speech and Enterprise; and The Last Act, Rise and End of the Machine Culture.

MY IMPRESSIONS OF JAPAN: *By Sir Lalubhai Samaldas, Kt., C. I. E.; D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co. Bombay. Rs. 2. Pp. 158. Illustrated.*

The author is a man of business and at the same time a widely read and cultured thinker. Hence, one would expect his book to be both entertaining and profitable reading. It is really found to be such. In it Sir Lalubhai tells us of the national characteristics of the Japanese, their education, factory industries, agriculture and sericulture, civics and

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religion, and describes a hot spring research hospital and some cities and towns. He also gives his impressions of some individuals and associations; and describes his visit to Ceylon, Singapore, Hongkong, etc.

The Japanese national characteristics which struck him were their cleanliness, artistic temperament, politeness of manners, kindness, hospitality and the honesty of the masses.

"Japan is nationalist first, nationalist second, and nationalist last." Japanese education is intended to make the people nationalists and patriots. There were and even now there are factions in the State. But the Japanese have all along avoided foreign aid in internal quarrel and have thus protected themselves from its fatal effect.

"The Japanese are thorough in whatever work or activity they undertake." They understand the value of large combines and refuse to accept defeat. The percentage of literacy in Japan is 99.23 of the total population. In India the percentage of illiteracy is 92!

Those who want to understand why Japan is progressive and efficient and successful in industry ought to read this book.

C.

THE FIRST TWO NAWABS OF OUDH: *By Dr. Asharbadilal Shrivastava, M. A., Ph.D. Professor Maharana's College, Udaipur. The Upper India Publishing House Ltd. Lucknow, 1933; Demi octavo. Pages 300, with a Foreword by Sir Jadunath Sarkar.*

Professor Shrivastava has rendered a great service to Indian history by publishing a full and authenticated account of the careers of the first two Nawabs of Oudh, Saadat Khan and Safdar Jang, covering a period of 34 years, from 1720—1754, that is, the reigns of the two Mughal Emperors, Muhammad Shah and Ahmad Shah, who were mainly responsible for an acute Maratha penetration into northern India. Naturally therefore the historical sources of this eventful period are to be found mainly in Marathi and Persian, each supplementing and to a large extent correcting the other. The credit of first investigating these sources goes to Irvine and Rajwade for the Persian and Marathi languages respectively; but their performance remained necessarily imperfect, as research in many collateral topics had not in their days advanced to that extent which happily we notice today. The Marathi selections published by the Bombay Government out of the Peshwas' Records in their possession have indeed given a fresh impetus to the subject and enabled Professor Shrivastava to test their accuracy or otherwise by dipping into some 50 Persian MSS. and constructing out of both, an accurate and well-sifted account of these 34 years in the form of the careers of the two Nawabs of Oudh, both of whom figured so prominently in the affairs of the Imperial Court. Saadat Khan in the north and Bajirao I in the south, have been exact contemporaries, often opposing each other in war and diplomacy and thus shaping the course of Indian history between them. On this account the task undertaken by Dr. Shrivastava was vast and difficult, wading through an intricate mass of manuscript papers in Persian and the printed ones in Marathi. His acquaintance with the latter is unimpeachable as he has been able to clear accurately and impartially many doubtful points and incidents in which both the Persian and Marathi writers could be reasonably accused of partiality towards their own nationals. The present volume is only a foretaste of what is to come out of his pen in the near future, since he has undertaken to write similar lives of all the succeeding nawabs of Oudh which we are sure will be done in the same critical and penetrating spirit. When he completes this task fully, then will be the time for writing a full and accurate history either of the Marathas or of the later Mughals, with whom the Nawabs of Oudh were closely associated.

The painstaking analysis presented by this author will enable students to realize how the latter Mughal Emperors were utterly devoid of the spirit of valour, decision, and courage in the face of danger which had enabled their ancestors like Babar, Akbar and Shah Jahan to build and consolidate their empire in India. The invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad-shah Abdali were understood to be a repeated effort of the Pathans to restore their rule at Delhi by suppression of the Mughals and compelled the Vazirs, Safdar Jang and Ghaziuddin, to call in the help of the Marathas to put down the Rohilla Pathans. These developments were till now inexplicable to purely Marathi students who will wholeheartedly welcome the perspicuous treatment now presented by Prof. Shrivastava.

Apparently he does not notice some recently published Marathi sources, such, as those from the Purandare Daftar, which would have enabled him to put in a few more minor incidents like the murder of Mahadevbhat Hingne, the first Maratha envoy at Delhi, in January 1744 by Safdar Jang. The incident is well narrated in MS. 154 of Purandare Daftar vol. I and well illustrates the trend of Maratha policy. A similar analysis for the first ten years of Bajirao I is even now necessary to clear the first Maratha entry into Malwa and the struggles waged by the Mughal Viceroys, Giridhar Bahadur and Daya Bahadur. For the history of northern India the labours of Prof. Shrivastava are sure to prove invaluable.

G. S. SARDESAI

INDIA IN THE MELTING POT: *By a "Chota Sahib." Published by Lincoln Williams. Publisher Ltd. London. Price 2-6.*

The inordinately long-drawn considerations about granting constitutional government to India have given the opportunity to various people in England to publish books which are essentially ephemeral productions, but serve to misrepresent the case of India for self-government. The book before us is in one of these. It is a farrago of fact and fiction in which fiction easily predominates. The author's claim to "personal knowledge of India" would not stand scrutiny as would be evident from the following statements chosen at random from the book:

(1) "It will not be amiss to State here that Mr. Gandhi is a Brahmin of the Bunnia (shopkeeper) caste and when he was on his way to attend the Round Table Conference the public were mystified by the reports of his doings on board ship and reference was made to the sacred water and Ganges mud he was bringing with him."

Needless to say that Mr. Gandhi is not a Brahman but a Bania (Vaisya) and he did not take with him a single drop of Ganges water or a pinch of Ganges mud for his own edification or for the purification of men like our "Chota Sahib."

A writer who indulges in such hopeless rubbish is not worth arguing with. And his ignorance of facts equalled only by his aptitude for falsehood.

(2) "Two days after his (Mr. Gandhi's) arri-

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back in India the Bengal Provincial Congress Conference issued the following statement: 'This is an auspicious time for the worship of the Mother Kali and submerge to the bottomless grave by bounds and revolvers the European Association,' which threat they have since essayed to carry out on several occasions with more or less success."

There is no such organization as the Bengal Provincial Congress—the Indian National Congress being an all-India organization and no one in Bengal is aware of any statement like the one manufactured in England having been issued in the Presidency.

(3) "These men and women, (coming from what has been called the 'criminal castes') if not their children, can become very useful tools in the hands of high caste agitators, for although they do not care whom they rob or kill—subject to caste prejudices, they are ready to deal with Europeans, Hindus and Mohammadans alike—the high castes can exercise very great influence over them in person. According to reports the Chittagong District is seething with anarchy and the terrible results of unbridled terrorism."

Not a single recruit from the so-called "criminal castes" has figured in the Armoury Raid or in any other outrage of the kind referred to in Chittagong. If the "criminal castes" can still subsist it is because the British Government in India have not yet made primary education free and compulsory thus neglecting one of the primary duties of a civilized government.

(4) "As an indication of their (the Sikh's) steadfastness it is to be noted that over 80,000 of them served voluntarily during the Great War."

Alas for the veracity of this statement about the Sikhs having served in the British army voluntarily we have not forgotten the statement made in *Truth* by an Englishman immediately after the terrible happenings in the Punjab in 1919. The writer of the article referred to the time when the results of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's recruiting activities were being loudly trumpeted and when he (Sir Michael) was talking publicly of the vast numbers of troops that he still expected to get out of the Punjab and wrote as follows:

"At that period my informant, who has spent the best part of his life in India, came into contact with thousands of the recruits already raised and he was horrified at the unanimity with which they declared that they had not joined voluntarily. The statements of the recruits themselves were confirmed by the conversation with other natives encountered while travelling. It was a common thing to hear them speaking of sons or brothers who had disappeared or were expected to disappear 'without trace' and also to hear discussions as to the best means of thwarting the activities of the native heads of villages or districts. The head men were 'all out' to mop up, by hook or crook, every abler bodied man or boy on their lists in order to earn a public acknowledgment from the Lieutenant-Governor at one of the *durbars* which he held wherever he went."

He added that the term "recruiting" was "only another name for press-gang work so far as the Punjab was concerned" and opposed the proposal to extend Sir Michael's term of office. "Whatever," he said, "may be thought in official circles, the evidence referred to above leaves no room for doubt that the extension of his appointment is bound to create the worst possible impression upon the Punjabis and probably not on them alone."

We are not surprised to find the author being most bitter on Brahmanism and the Bengalee.

"Criminality as a caste is one of the festering sores of Brahmanism"—he says.

In another place the reader is told—"Brahmanism is the most horrible means of political and social degradation left in the world. . . . . Any surrender to it is immoral and would be a huge political mistake, and that is, after all, the alpha and omega of Mr. Gandhi's and his co-Congress Wallahs' machinations and means whereby they have led Western idealists and visionaries into their many traps."

Of the Bengalee the author says—"Nominally Bengal, the house of the arch conspirator, does not contribute a single soldier to the Indian Army during peace time and only contributed 7,000 combatants out of a population of forty-six millions during the war."

Yet Sir Michael O'Dwyer in course of his recruiting tour in the Punjab compared the record of Gujranwala District with that of Bengal and said to the *durbaris*, "If you fail to seize this opportunity you are not likely to have another." The *Statesman* (August 15, 1917) commented thus on his speech:—"Could there be a more remarkable illustration of the revolutionary times in which we live than a comparison between the recruiting record of Bengal and that of a Sikh stronghold, to the very decided disadvantage of the latter?"

"Chota Sahib" has deliberately refrained from disclosing the reasons that are responsible for Bengal not contributing soldiers to the Indian Army. The artificial and arbitrary division of Indians into military and non-military races which the British have made is the chief reason for Bengal's non-contribution to the Indian Army. The persistent refusal of the Army Headquarters to allow Bengalees to enlist as soldiers in the beginning of the War is a fact which does not reflect credit on those responsible for the administration of the country.

As every road was said to lead to Rome so every fact recorded by "Chota Sahib" has been selected or manufactured to lead to the conclusion—India is not fit for self-government and must be governed by the British. He has not profited by the bitter experience the British had with Ireland, because he would still build "his trust on reeking tube and ironstand" and leave out of his calculations the invincible soul of man. He would have his countrymen believe that the Congress party in India "do not want any form of government at all which will interfere with their programme of lawlessness." And though ignorant or deaf about the actual condition of India and the aims of Indians he has made the following assertion:

"Theorizing with the East is a dangerous game and to attempt to impose Western political conceptions on such a fanatical multitude is like applying a torch to a powder barrel. A rude awakening to these constitution drafters and unless our Government disregard silly sentimentalism and apply themselves vigorously to the duty of governing India in accordance with British ideas of justice and fair play we shall be held legally and morally responsible before God for all the anarchy and massacre that has taken place and which will assuredly follow as so plainly and without any equivocation, foreshadowed by Mr. Gandhi."

Yes, theorizing with the East is a dangerous game when the theory has no foundation in fact and to persist in the Western conception of the inferiority of the Eastern people may result in applying a torch to a powder barrel. And it is strange that this is what

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Mr. R. Rickards said in his appeal to 'the constituted authorities in England'—an appeal made or as far back as 1832 when he said:

"Your institutions must be reformed. . . . They (the natives of India) will soon know that rights and duties are reciprocal; that if you assume the right to govern, duty requires that you should do it, first for their benefit, next only for your known, . . . You have a heavy debt of justice to repay. It will be demanded at your hands, and the opportunity is about to be afforded you of discharging it liberally—with equal satisfaction to the claimants, and immortal credit to yourselves. But if you neglect the opportunity. . . . I say, again, beware! The knowledge now diffused and diffussing, throughout India, will shortly constitute a power, which three hundred thousand British bayonets will not be able to control. That government, which have been so often called a government of opinion, must for the future have some better support than the idea of its military superiority. The natives of India are now in a state to desire your protection; and they will gratefully return the boon, if it be granted with real liberality and justice. The groundwork of the future fabric should be co-operation with the natives in the government of themselves; and for which, under due control, they will be found far better qualified than those to whom it has hitherto been entrusted. But . . . if your domestic policy be a system of expedients, and the object of your foreign policy, military supremacy, the day may not be far distant when you shall feel, in disappointment and disgrace, how feeble is physical compared with moral power; and in the downfall of the magnificent empire of India . . . may add one more page to the proofs given by history, that fleshly arms, and the instruments of war, are but a fragile tenure, and 'soon to nothing brought,' when opposed to the interests, and the will of an enlightened people."

This is what the better minds of England and India have realized and are trying to find out the best constitution which would be consistent with the self-respect of India as a willing partner of the British Empire. But the realization is beyond the conception of "Chota Sahibs" who lack the vision of the statesman and do not know that politics should be treated as a gospel and not as a game.

HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE

SANSKRIT

JATAKAPARIJATA: *By Vaidyanath Dikshita with an English Translation and notes by V. Subrahmanya Sastri, B. A. In 2 Vols. Pp. 1360. Published by V. S. Sastri from 50, 3rd. Cross Road, Basavangudi P. O., Bangalore. Price Rs. 13. 2 vols.*

Vaidyanath Dikshita's Jatakaparijata is a well-known treatise on astrology. It may be called a compendium of similar works of earlier astrologers of repute. The original work is in classical Sanskrit, and as it contains many technical terms and aphorisms specially applicable to astrology, it has long been a difficult work for ordinary students of astrology to handle. This difficulty has been reduced to a minimum by the English translation and copious explanatory notes and examples to be found in this edition. The whole work has been divided into two volumes and subdivided into eighteen adhyayas. It first begins with the properties of signs and nature of planets and their properties and ends with the *kalachakra* and *dasas* of human lives. In fact, the work attempts to tackle with every phase of human life and the planetary influences on it and consequent effects. For lovers of astrology this is a valuable work and Mr. V. S. Sastri must be congratulated in bringing out such a good edition of this well-known treatise on astrology. His English translation and explanatory notes will be of great help for a careful perusal of the work and the examples he appends to every section are not only excellent in their character but also assist a good deal in mastering the rules. This edition will prove, no doubt, a helpful and necessary guide to all students of astrology.

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

BENGALI

BANGIYA SABDAKOSHA. *Compiled by Pandit Haricharan Bandyopadhyay and published by the Visvabharati. Price of each part 8 annas and postage one anna. To be had of the author at Santiniketan, and at the Visvabharati Book Depot, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.*

This is an elaborate and comprehensive dictionary of the Bengali language which will be completed in some 4000 pages of demy quarto size. It is being published in monthly parts of 32 pages each, of which 9 have been published. It is the result of thirty years' labour of the author. It contains all words used in ancient, mediæval and modern Bengali books and periodicals and in legal documents, etc., whether Sanskrit or of Sanskritic or Prakrit origin, or taken from Arabic, Persian, Portuguese, English or other languages, with their derivations, etc. The author has given illustrative Sanskrit and Bengali quotations, and, where necessary and possible, Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati and Sindhi equivalents of Bengali words.

When complete, it will be the most comprehensive and authoritative dictionary of the Bengali language. The complete manuscript has long been ready. It is being gradually printed. The University of Calcutta agreed to publish it, bearing all the expenses but could not do so owing to financial stringency. So the author has been obliged to bring it out, depending upon his very limited resources and the expected support of lovers of the Bengali language and literature. Being convinced of the scholarly and useful character of the work, Rabindranath Tagore has helped him by making Visvabharati the formal publisher of the work.

VISVAKOSHA *or Encyclopaedia Indica. Second Edition, compiled by Nagendranath Basu, Prachyavidya-maharnava, with the collaboration of distinguished literati. With maps and illustrations. Published in parts. Priced 8 annas each. To be had at the Visvakosa Press, 9, Visvakosha Lane, Baghazar, Calcutta.*

This Bengali encyclopaedia was completed and published twenty-two years ago. A second edition had long been called for, but could not be undertaken owing to reasons of Mr. Basu's health. But having secured the collaboration of trustworthy scholars, he has at length begun to publish the work in parts. The new edition is a greatly improved and enlarged work brought up-to-date. It must not be supposed that because the work is in the Bengali language and has been named Encyclopaedia *Indica* or English, it therefore relates only to Bengal or India. It is really a universal encyclopaedia in the same sense as the Encyclopædia *Britannica* is one though it is not so elaborate.

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Of course, just as British encyclopaedias give more space to persons, places and other topics in which Britishers take interest, than to others so this Indian encyclopaedia gives more space to Indian subjects than to others. But non-Indian persons, places and things are also treated of. For example, in the first 92 pages of the first volume, forming No. 1 of the second edition, there are 21 non-Indian items dealt with, such as those relating to Achaemenes, Achilles, Akkad, etc.

The population of Indian districts and towns are given according to the census of 1931, and their longitude and latitude are given in order to indicate their exact location. Care has been taken to make the historical accounts accurate.

SASTRIYA BRAHMABAD O BRAHMA-SADHAN, *or an Exposition of Religion according to the Upanishads, Bhagavadgita and Brahmasutra. By Pandit Sitanath Tattabhushan. Paper cover Re 1. Cloth Re. 1-4. To be had of the Author at 210-3-2 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, and of Messrs. Chakrabarti Chatterjee and Co., 15, College Square, Calcutta.*

The author is well known for his annotated editions of the ten Upanishads, the Bhagavadgita the Brahma Sutras, the annotations being in easy Sanskrit and with either English or Bengali translation. He is besides the author of some thirty theological and philosophical books and booklets.

His present work is marked by depth of thought and of lucidity of exposition, and will be found both instructive and insteresting.

RAJARSHI RAMMOHUN. *By Saratkumar Ray, author in Bengali of "Buddist India, "Mahatma Aswinikumar," "Life and Teachings of Buddha." "Sikh Gurus and the Sikhs" "Sivaji and the Marathas" "Sir Gooroodas Banerji", etc. Annas Twelve. Ray & Co., 210, Cornwallis Street. Calcutta. Pp. 112. Six Illustrations.*

This is a well-written popular biography of Raja Rammohun Roy, fit to be read by Bengali children and their elders.

SARIR GATHAN, or *Body-Building, By Praphulla Chandra Sen-Gupta. City Publishing House, Silchar. Re. 1.*

It is a book on the preservation of health and on making the body strong. It devotes some forty pages to physical exercises, with illustrations neatly printed and easily understood directions. In addition there are chapters devoted to *brahmacharya*, food, sleep, bathing, washing the mouth and cleansing the teeth, defecation, cleanliness, dress, dwelling-houses, etc. A useful handbook.

C.

BHARATER RASHTRANAITIC PRATIBHA: *By Sri Aurobindo. Translated by Mr. Anilbaran Roy. Published by the Modern Book Agency, 10, College Sq., Calcutta. Pp. 132. Price Re. 1-4.*

In these days of agitations and cogitations on constitution-making in India it is really a happy sign that Sri Aurobindo should come in with his study on the topic. The book under notice is the Bengali translation of the last few of his essays called "A Defence of Indian Culture" originally published in the *Arya*. In India, politics was not an abstract thing, but an inseparable part of the social and religious system. If we are not to thrust any administrative system from without, we shall have to look for the real problems of India and solve them from inside and this book helps us much in understanding India from inside. There are not a few striking observations made by the author. The power and position of the kings, the king and religion, social organizations and other matters have been considered in a most illuminating way. The author's proposition that India had her own method of unification and that British rule is the *first* foreign rule which has continued in India can not but strike one's curiosity. Before adopting western industrialism and parliamentarism India should pause and think. Mr. Ray's tronslation is commendable.

RAMES BASU

HINDI

GRAM-SUDHAR: *By Pandit Ganesdutt Sarma Gaur 'Indra', Vidyavachaspati. Published by the Madya-Bharat-Hindi-Sahitya-Samiti, Indore. Pp. IV+ 246. 1933. Price Re. 1.*

This is publication no. 41 in the series called "Holkar-Hindi-Grantha-Mala. The subject-matter of the book under notice is the most useful matter of the uplift of rural areas, *i. e.*, rural reconstruction, in modern phraseology. All the various sides of the work have been dealt with in a readable manner. The author has done well in taking up this problem concerning the millions of the agricultural population of India.

BALODYAN PADDHATI KA GRIHA-SIKSHA: *By Mr. Sriram Ramprosad Sarma. Published by Messrs. Jaydev Bros., Aryapura, Baroda. Pp. IV+ 107. Price 13 as. 1933.*

It is surely encouraging that the "Sayaji-Sahitya-Mala" has come to no. 212 by publishing the present work.

This book on kindergarten is based on "Kindergarten at Home" (the People's Books" series) written by two members of the National Froebel Union. The first lessons in the three R's and also manual and musical ones are most interestingly delineated in the small book. This will be welcome both to the parents and the teachers of the youngest of the learners.

RAMES BASU

MARATHI

दीघ निकाय भाग २रा (*Deegh Nikaya Part II. Published by Granth Sampadak Mandal, Bombay. Price Rs. 2-8. Pages 600*).

This book contains the translation of the second and the third parts. This translation was not destined to see the light of the day till 1932. The Marathi translator the late Prof. Rajawade has utilized all the latest research by English as well as German scholars and has added the results of his own knowledge of Vedic literature in the numerous foot-notes. Study of the original with this translation will be more useful than foreign translations, the more so because the Marathi translator can utilize the original Pali words of the cognate Sanskrit and vernacular ones; while this facility is denied to those who translate classical Indian literature into a European language. I heartily recommend this book to those who want to get a first-hand knowledge of the Buddha's gospel. The book contains an introductory note by Prof. Joshi, the successor of the author at the Baroda College.

V. S. WAKASKAR

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GUJARATI

ZARTHOSHT NAMEH, *edited by Mrs. Meherbanu B. Anklesaria and Behramgor T. Anklesaria, of Bombay Printed at the Fort Printing Press, Bombay. Cloth bound. Illustrated. Pp. 16+212+136. 1933.*

A Parsi poet of Surat composed this chronicle in A. D. 1674 in that form of Gujarati which was current at the time. It is based on a Persian poem, written about four hundred years before the date of its composition. This particular poet has composed three other "Namehs" also, and they are all remarkable from an antiquarian's point of view. They show how the Parsi writers of the period had absorbed the spirit of the Gujarati Verse literature being written at the time, without sacrificing their individuality, as to their thoughts and their language. The structure is Gujarati, the building materials to a certain extent alien, extraneous. To the Hindu reader therefore, unless there was some one there to guide him, the poems looked to be rather forbidding : but fortunately for one of the poet's works, the father of one of the present Editors, came to the readers' rescue and for the other work— the present one—the son, Mr. Behramgor, has discharged his self-imposed task in an admirable manner. For correcting the text, he has consulted a large number of manuscripts for explaining the thoughts of the poet, he has gone to the original Persian work on which the poet has based his poem, for elucidating unfamiliar phrases and words he has given ample notes. Mrs. Meherbanu has contributed in sixty-eight pages, a commendable synopsis of the life of the Iranian Prophet. Both the editors have tried their best to illuminate the dark corners of the subject. They have consulted nearly two hundred works bearing on the matter in different languages—European, and Asiatic, such as Pahalavi, Persian, Sanskrit, Gujarati, English, French, German and Latin. The editing is a monume research, and a close scrutiny of the work turned by them shows their great assiduity and laborious with which they have worked for the last s years in bringing about this result. We wish scholars take a leaf out of their book. This branch Gujarati Literature requires development, and i sure to come at the hands of such workers.

SIHOR NI HAKIKAT, *written by the late sankar V. Bhatt and edited by Muni Kumar M. B printed under in orders of the Council of Admini tion Bhavnagar at the Saraswati Printing Press, card board pp. 152. Price Re. 1-8-0 Illustrated (193*

Sihor was the capital of the ancestors of the pr rulers of the Bhavnagar State before it was m to Bhavnagar to escape the tyranny of Mar invaders. It is a very ancient town and its h history goes back to the days of king Mulraj o Seranki dynasty when it was given in gift to B mins by him. There are references to it even works earlier than that. The late Mr. Devshan though a school master by profession, had an quarian's inclination and qualifications. He ther set about collecting materials for a Gazeteer of S and the result is this book. Before he could publi he died, and it fell to the lot of the psesent y editor to edit and publish it. One sees in it touch of the modern writer, the spirit of researcher. Although a part of the subject-mat necessarily folklore and tradttion, Mr. Munik has followed certain principles (See p. 17) in s down or rather settling historical facts con with the town and thus tried to change its backgr from a folk-tale one to a historical one. We wel the attempt and call for repetition of such attempt

K.

LONDON LETTER

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

Political Retrospect and Prospect

THE year 1933 has closed. Everyone is now looking forward to the New Year with hope and expectation of better conditions for trade and employment than in the recent years that have been clouded over by the financial and trade depression. At such a time—one of the most critical in the world's history—one would have thought that Parliament should be in almost continuous session. But Mr. Ramsay MacDonald is never so happy as when the House of Commons is "up" so that he need not be under the necessity of appearing in the House of Commons to answer for his sins of omission and commission. In the old days no one complained more than he of the long adjournments when Conservative Governments were in power. He is now so much one of themselves that he regards long vacations as desirable and the sittings of Parliament as vexations of the flesh to be curtailed as much as possible.

Parliament's Long Vacations

During the last six months of 1933 Members of Parliament certainly could not plain of being over-worked. Parliament adj ed for the summer recess on the 28th July had well over three months' holiday. Parlia did not meet again until the 7th November then only to be prorogued ten days late 17th November. The present session of Pa ment was opened by the King on 21st Nove and went on for exactly a calendar month 21st December, when it adjourned until end of January. Meanwhile there is no M Test for either Ministers or Members and draw their full salaries during the whole of many months they have not been near W minister.

Mr. Lansbury's Enhanced Reputation

It is a calamity, of course, that the Leader the Opposition, Mr. George Lansbury, is

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side for many weeks with a broken thigh and it is not without interest to note that one of the chief political commentators (not of the Labour Party) in his political review of the year, says that the only British statesman who in the past year has enhanced his reputation is Mr. Lansbury 74 years old and now unfortunately incapacitated for months to come."

A No-Policy Government

The same commentator remarks that the Government's policy at home and abroad has been to wait on events in the hope that events will cover up the defects of their statesmanship. In international affairs, he says, "the Government has acted entirely without understanding, imagination or courage; and it has failed (especially in disarmament and in the Sino-Japanese dispute which brought in its train disastrous European consequences) to utilize even once the great authority which still resides in the British nation."

The Government, he continues, is merely nibbling at the urgent problem of re-housing the poor. It has no positive peace policy and appears still to be almost at the mercy of the most influential of its supporters, who are clamouring for re-armament. Its record in 1933 is a dismal one, is his verdict.

The Premier on Providence

The Prime Minister last week attended a meeting of the Scottish Educational Institute and, speaking to the teachers with reference to the "economy" cuts that were imposed on them by him in 1931, he said: "You and I are long sufferers as a result of one of those curious cataclysms which do not belong to governments, but to Providence...We both expect these lean years to go over as quickly as possible, and we both want to make ends meet in a decent and honourable way."

Providence Gets Blame. Government Takes Credit

We had been told before on hundreds of Tory platforms that the financial cataclysm was due entirely to the Labour Government. Now apparently it is Providence that is to be blamed instead of the Labour Government. The unemployment figures in this country reached their highest point in January 1933. That, no doubt, the Prime Minister would say, was due to a curious cataclysm of Providence. In recent months the unemployment figures have been falling in this country—in common with most other countries all over the world—but not to anything like the same extent as in some other countries. That fall, however, the Prime Minister does not attribute to Providence. In a broadcast speech on 8th December, speaking on behalf of the National Government, he claimed that they had reduced unemployment and increased the nation's power to consume. What he did not point out is that the numbers of the *wholly* unemployed have increased ever since the National Government was formed and are *still increasing*.

He did not point out either that in addition to the registered unemployed there has been an increase of nearly 300,000 in the numbers in receipt of Poor Relief since the National Government was formed—and every statement of the Ministry of Health, quarter by quarter, since the National Government came into office, has shown an increase as compared with 1931 when the Labour Government was in office.

Abundance Turned Into Scarcity

I have pointed out time and again that what we are suffering from is a super-abundance of everything that is necessary for human comfort and well-being. The Prime Minister talks of these "lean years." The chief activity of the present Government is to turn the abundance provided by Providence into an artificial scracity of food supplies in order to raise prices. This is a policy that the Prime Minister, in his regenerate days, would have condemned root and branch. Now he advocates it, and the whole energies of his Government are concentrated on it, while he mocks the intelligence of the people by talking of "lean years". On the contrary, the years are so fat that corn is being burned, coffee thrown into the sea, cotton ploughed into the ground—and the latest example is the abundance of the herring harvest in this country which instead of being welcomed as a gift from Providence, is bringing ruin to thousands of fisher folks at home because of the stupid policy of the Government in putting an embargo on Russian trade and so cutting off the best customer for British herrings.

Burdening the Unborn With Debts

On the 18th December—just about a fortnight ago—the Labour Members in the House of Commons pressed the Chancellor of the Exchequer to give some hope to the unemployed that the cuts in their benefit (which have reduced some of them since 1931 to below the level of decent subsistence) would be restored before long. Mr. Chamberlain, in reply, protested vigorously against the assumption that there was going to be a surplus at the end of the year which would allow the restoration of the general cuts. There is a debt on the Unemployment Fund of about £115,000,000. Instead of adding this to the National Debt Mr. MacDonald's Government has saddled the Unemployment Fund with this debt. The result is that every new employee *for the next forty years* will have to pay part of this debt incurred by past Governments and and for which the unemployed are in no way responsible. Mr. Chamberlain proposes to pay off £5,500,000 a year for the next 40 years out of the Unemployment Fund and calmly tells the

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unemployed that it will be impossible to restore the cuts in Unemployment Benefit so long as there is a deficiency in the Fund ! Forty years ! What a prospect for under-nourished unemployed !

Babies Starved—Bondholders Enriched

Sir John Simon, a day or two later, said the nation was £42,000,000 better off at the end of the first half of the present financial year than at the corresponding period last year. And the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself, speaking in Halifax on the day after he had made his House of Commons speach, said he had every hope that at the end of the current financial year we would have a substantial surplus.

But while Mr. Chamberlain and the National Government profess to be unable to give more than 2/- a weak for the subsistence of an unemployed man's child, they quite calmly handed over to Newfoundland *as a free gift* £550,000 to meet their interest charges which fell due in 1933. They go further and promise Newfoundland further sums that may amount to anything from £1,500,000 to £2,000,000 as a free gift by the end of December 1936.

They have undertaken *in addition* to pay 20/- in the £ to Newfoundland's creditors and take over the responsibility for Newfoundland's debt to bond-holders both in the United States and in this country—amounting to some £20,000,000.

A Vicious and Corrupt Political System

We receive not a penny of benefit for this gift or this guarantee, which is added to the responsibilities of the tax-payers of this country. We do not even get a fair share of the Newfoundland trade—nor is it carried in British ships. It is no wonder that the Newfoundland bonds jumped from about £55 to £100 to the great benefit of Stock Exchange speculators ! The people of Newfoundland only hold about five per cent of these bonds and it is really not helping them at all. It is merely helping the speculators and bondholders. It is not even as if Newfoundland had been struggling against adversity and had gone down in circumstances that were too heavy for her or over which she had no control. As the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself said in the House of Commons on December 7th, the Report on Newfoundland "makes very painful reading" and shows that Newfoundland "has been the victim of a vicious and corrupt political system."

Greed—Graft—Corruption

The fishermen in Newfoundland still live under the truck system under which they recieve no wages but are provided with foodstuffs and other necsssaries in lieu of wages. The Report tells us that large fortunes were made by the merchants who employed the fishermen, who were "little more than serfs with no hope of becoming independent." While they were making huge profits the merchants supported the fishermen, but when times were not so profitable the duty of supporting the fishermen was thrown by them on to the State. The words of the Report are very illuminating :

> "Under this system, which has continued, in spite of criticism and repeated warnings, down to the present day, the merchants were given the chances of making a profit, first on the supplies made to the fishermen in the spring, secondly, on the sale of fish to foreign markets, and thirdly, on purchases by the fisherman from his earnings of sufficient goods to carry him through the winter.
>
> "The fishermen, on the other hand, who have never been given a chance of becoming independent, were deprived of the right to look to the merchants for assistance in bad times and were compelled in emergency to seek public charity.
>
> "The evidence tendered to us from all sides and from responsible persons in all walks of life leaves no doubt that for a number of years there has been a continuing process of greed, graft and corruption which has left few classes of the commuuity untouched by its insidious influences."

And now, not to assist the poor people and fishermen of Newfoundled, but to relieve the bondholders who have made their investments with their eyes open, the taxpayers and the unemployed of this country are to have Newfoundland's financial burden transferred to their shoulders.

If the truth of this great financial ramp could be put before the electors of this country, the Tory Government that masquerades under the title of "National" would be swept out of office for all time.

Simon, Mussolini and the League

Meanwhile Sir John Simon, our Foreign Secretary, has been sunning himself in Italy, beautiful island Capri. On his way there he stopped in Paris and we are told that he managed to reassure the French Government with regard to the British policy in connection with the League of Nations. *The New Statesman* very pertinently says that if that is true, and the French Foreign Office really knows what the British policy is, then it is better informed than the British public.

At present the Foreign Secretary is in Rome conferring with Signor Mussolini. Signor Mussolini has publicly declared his intention either to mend or end the League of Nations. By mending it he means having a virtual dictatorship of the Great Powers over the rest of the world. To try to carry that out would certainly be to end the League.

The Only Way—A World Community

One of the Italian newspapers tells us that the object of the Italian proposals for reform is to create two Leagues, one of the Great Powers and the other of the Minor Powers

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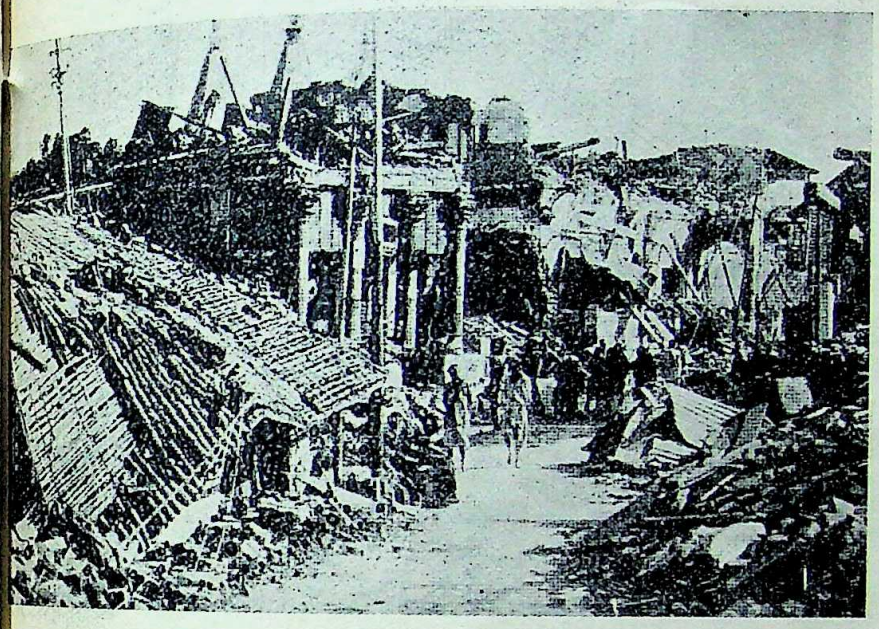
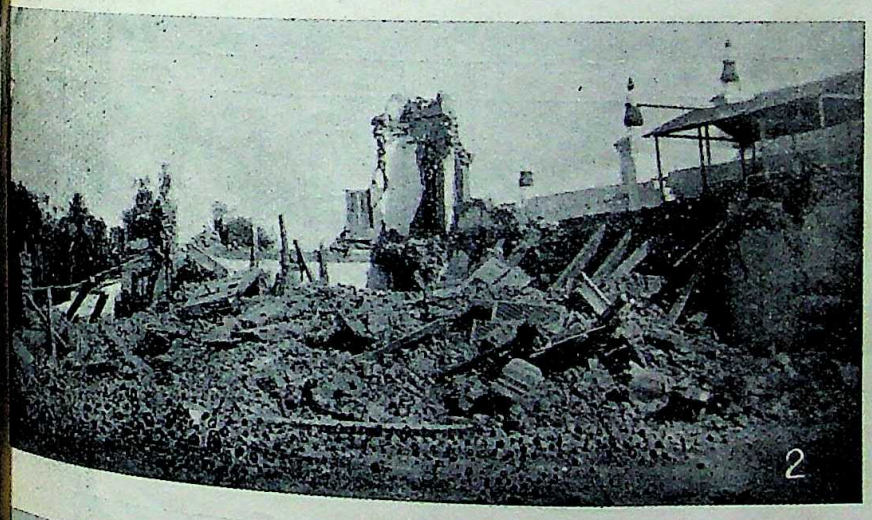
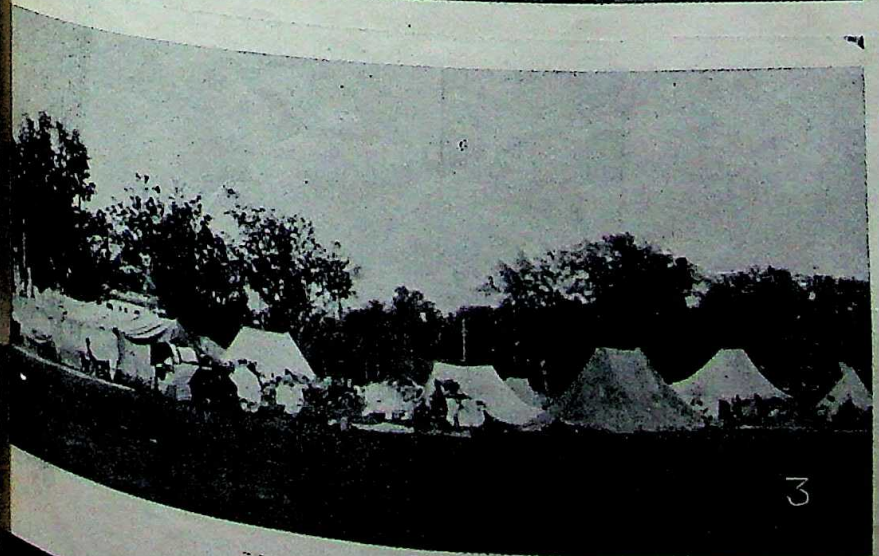
THE EARTHQUAKE DEVASTATION IN NORTH BIHAR







Key to the Pictures

1. Bazar—Monghyr
2. Kumar's Palace—Darbhanga
3. Temporary Camp of Raj Hospital —Darbhanga
4. Muzaffarpur
5. Samastipur
6. The poor people's habitations— Monghyr
7. Remains of the school building —Monghyr
8. Road to Keshabpur—Jamalpur
9. A house near Bazar—Jamalpur
10. Near Burrabazar—Monghyr
11. Road to Keshabpur—Monghyr
12. Patna
13. Raj Hospital—Darbhanga
14. Bridge—Darbhanga
15. Rai Shahib Dr. Sudhir Kumar Sen's House. Laheria Serai
16. Sugar Mills—Samastipur
17. One of the prominent Mosques of Patna.
18. Some officers' quarters after the quake—Jamalpur
19. Art-Studio and Dr. R. P. Lall, Dental Surgeon's Office—Patna.
20. Muzaffarpur
21. Matihari
22. Monghyr
23. Matihars
24. Muzaffarpur
25. Matihari
26. Matihari
27. Bazar—Muzaffarpur

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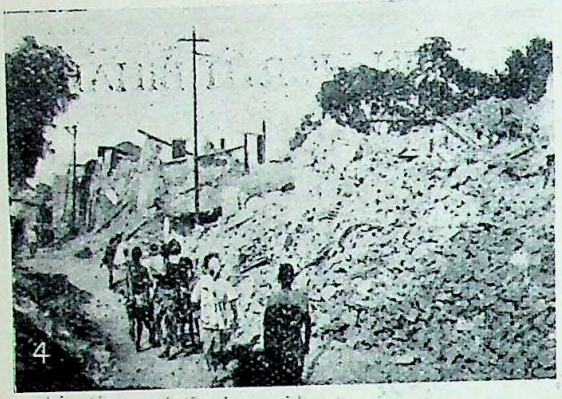
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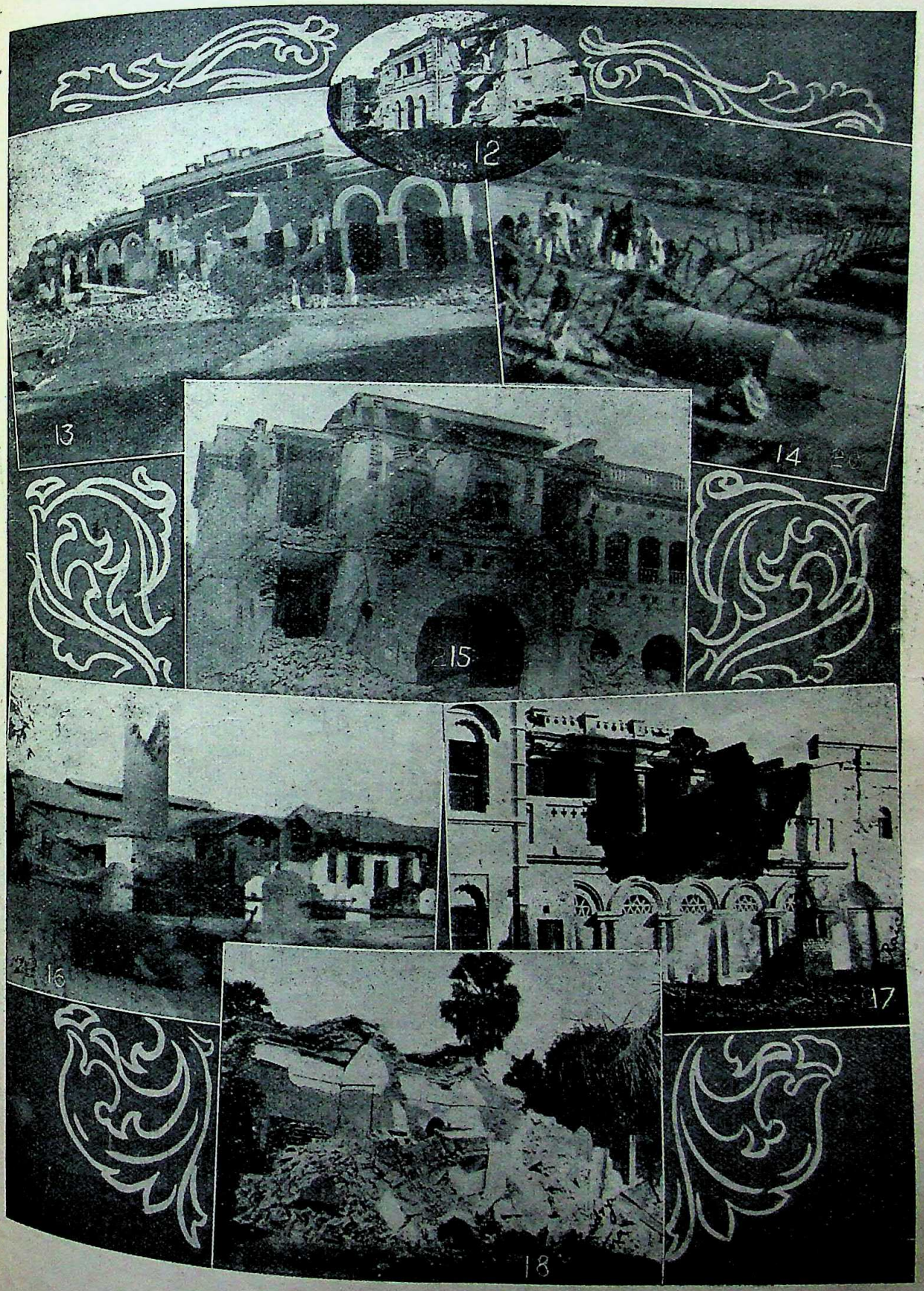

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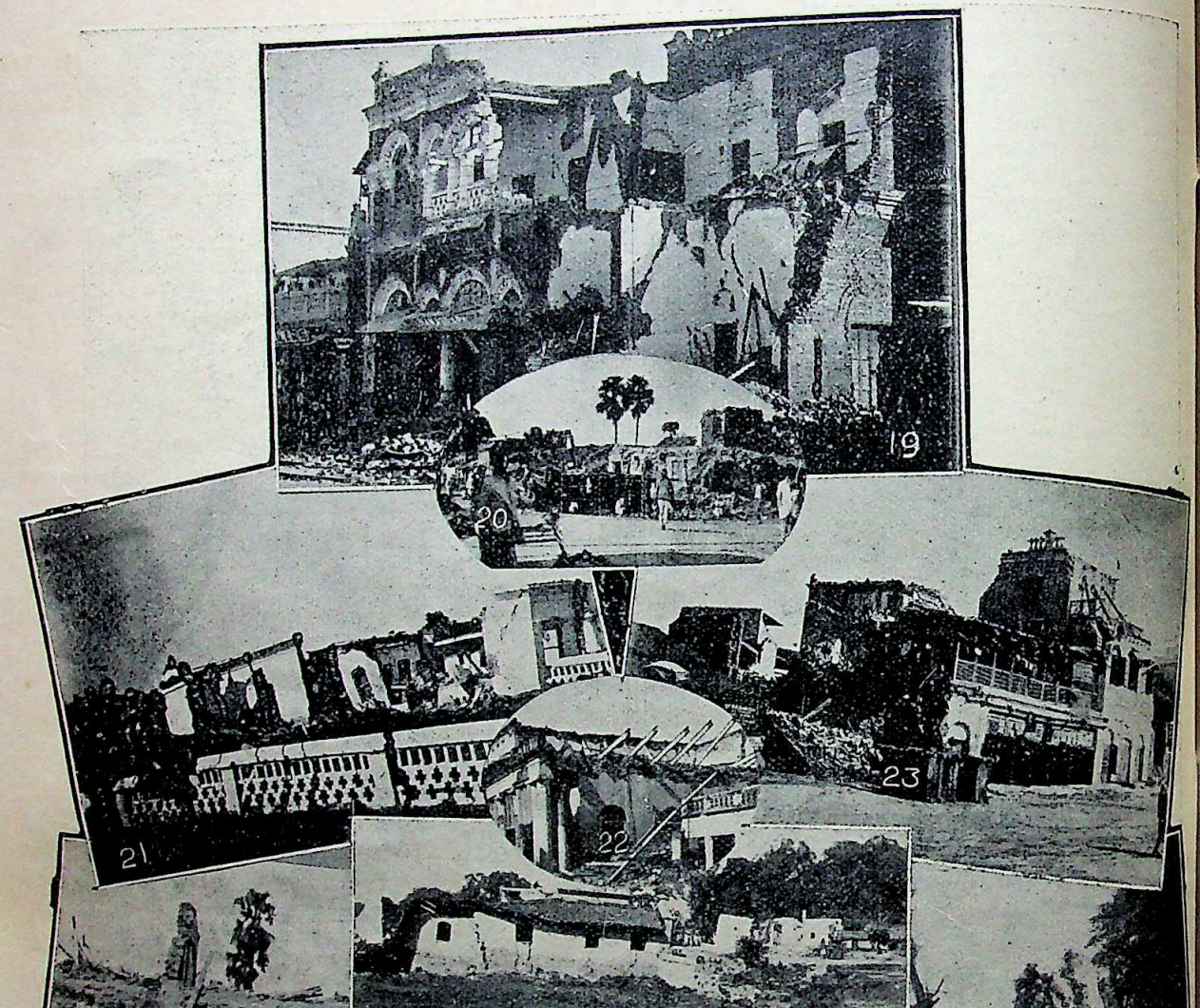

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It is not so long ago that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Signor Mussolini launched the Four-Power Pact, which died a natural death. This seems to be another Pact of the same kind, but with other Great Powers, like the United States and Russia, added.

The only way to make the League really effective is for nations to realize that as individuals give up some of their private rights in the interests of the whole community in their villages and towns, and just as villages and towns give up some of their rights in the interests of the whole national community, so nations will have to be prepared to go to an international court and give up some of their rights of being prosecutor and judge in their own disputes, in the interest of the whole world community.

Times are changing quickly. The world is growing smaller everyday. Telegrams, telephones, and now wireless broadcasting have made the whole world one. A speech, made by the King at Sandringham on Christmas Day, was able to be heard in every part of the world. It seems to be the essence of insanity, at a time of such strides towards world unity, for this and other countries to be erecting more and more trade and other barriers between one another.

The Birthright of Peoples and Nations

The brotherhood of man is a fact. The realization of that fact is slow, but it will come. It must come. And it is that belief that helps some of us to go on working for the under-dog at home, for the freedom and full citizenship in their own country of peoples of whatever race, caste or colour, and for the freedom of every nation to live its own life in its own way—to try to secure, in fact, for every people, the self-determination for which we fought in the War, so that they may have full responsibility for their own self-government, which is the birthright of every people and every nation.

3rd January, 1934.

EARTHQUAKES

By Dr. S. N. SEN

[The terrible calamity that has overwhelmed the sister province of Behar is known throughout the civilized world by now. These awful visitations are all the more terrible because of human inability to forecast them aud thus be in a state of preparedness. There are some who will disagree with this view since there is a claim that an astrologer made a forecast of this particular occurrence. We do not know whether the forecast stated the location, area, intensity, etc., or whether it was one of those vague "hit or miss" predictions of a calamity of unknown character with which our almanacs abound.

As a matter of fact since there are about 10,000 earthquakes every year, (over twenty a day), of varying intensity, taking place all over the world, the mere prediction of an earthquake, without specifying the exact zone, the intensity and the path of the wave, could hardly be said to be of any use.

Science as yet seems to be unable to solve the problem of forecasting earthquakes, as the following notes, kindly supplied by Dr. Sen of the Calcutta Meteorological Office, would tend to show. All that it can do as yet is to record the event together with its various characteristics at the time of the occurrence.—Ed. *M. R.*]

AN earthquake is a result of any sudden displacement of the earth's crust; but the term is usually restricted to movements of natural origin and to those only which take place below the earth's surface as by volcanic operations or by the growth or shaping of the earth's crust. Volcanic earthquakes are those which precede, accompany or follow the operations of a volcanic eruption or are due to displacements within the mass of a volcano. Tectonic earthquakes are the results of the growth or shaping of the earth's crust. There is no essential difference between the nature of these earthquakes save and except that near about the origin, the earthquakes due to former cause are associated with flow of lava, throwing up of ashes, smoke, flame, etc.

The force of attraction exerted by the moon and planets is negligibly small and cannot explain the phenomenon. The occurrence of earthquakes does not appear to be related to the phases of the moon. But it is a fact that earthquakes are more numerous in June and July in India probably on account of heavy rainfall in the hilly tracts which may upset the isostatic balance of the earth's crust.

Probably the Japan earthquake of 1923 was the greatest earthquake ever recorded. Almost similar quakes occurred in Messina in 1908 and in Sicily in 1693.

The maximum speed of the compressional

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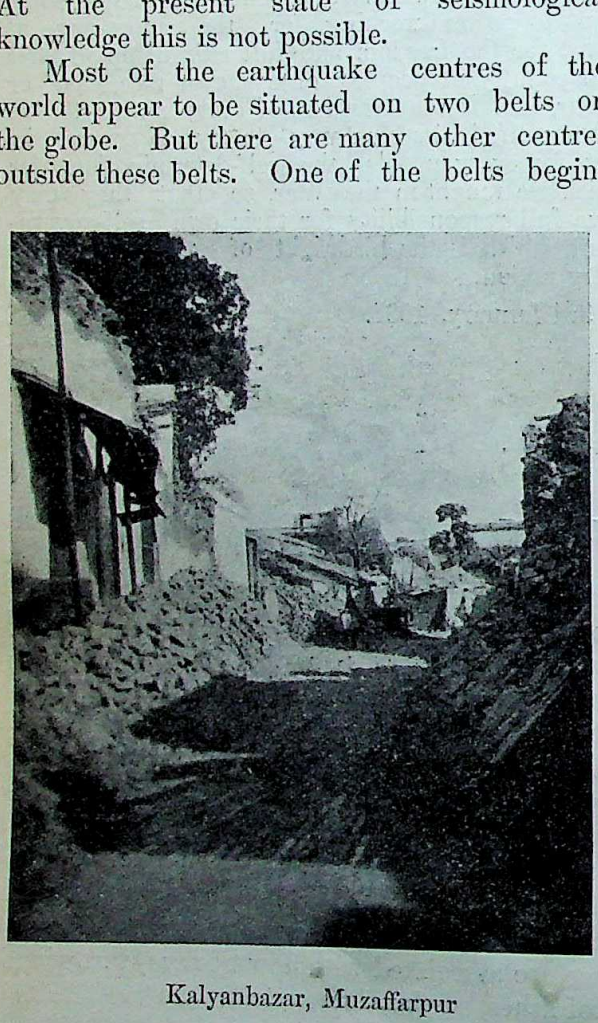
earthquake waves is of the order of 30,000 miles per hour.

If, in remote future, geophysical science can attain such a degree of perfection that man is able to get exact information of the state of the whole of the earth's crust extending to a depth of about 200 miles, the problem of earthquake forecasting may be solved. At the present state of seismological knowledge this is not possible.

Most of the earthquake centres of the world appear to be situated on two belts on the globe. But there are many other centres outside these belts. One of the belts begins



Kalyanbazar, Muzaffarpur

in the south Pacific Ocean near New Zealand, proceeds towards north-west till it comes to the east of China. From here it turns to north-east to Japan and Kamschatka, crosses the Bering Strait and proceeds up to the south-western part of South America, along the western mountain ranges of America. The other belt which is really a branch of the former begins from the East Indies, comes up to the Bay of Bengal and then proceeds over Burma, Assam, the Himalayas, Tibet, Turkestan, Persia, Turkey, the Balkan Peninsula, Italy, Spain and Portugal. It then turns to south-west, crosses the Atlantic Ocean and the West Indies and joins with the first belt in Mexico. Besides these two belts there are important earthquake centres in China and Manchuria, in central Africa, in the western part of the Indian Ocean, in the south Atlantic Ocean and in the Arctic Ocean. The rocky soil appears to be more liable to damage than alluvial soil.

If the intensity at the origin is very great, it can produce disastrous effects at great distances such as 200-400 miles.

On account of the deformation of the earth's crust the subterranean water is sometimes subjected to very great pressure and may be forced upwards. If this water comes from a great depth then its temperature may be high and it may contain sulphur compounds and various other materials locally present in the interior of the earth. Disappearance of water from wells, rivers, etc., may be due to change of level which changes the course of the feeder springs, streamlets, etc. Appearance or disappearance of small islands is due to subsidence or upheaval of the earth's crust.

Sound is produced by the ground vibration which sets the air in vibration.

Deserts and plain tracts of land appear to be less disturbed by earthquakes probably on account of the dead structure underneath.

Duration of an earthquake depends upon the time taken in establishment of equilibrium after a disturbance. The time taken is usually small.

The disturbance produced gives rise to three different kinds of waves which are propagated like the water waves with tremendous velocity. If the disturbance at the origin is very violent, it may be recorded by instruments even in the remotest parts of the world.

The place where the disturbance actually occurs inside the earth is technically known as the focus or hypocentre and the place vertically above it on the surface is known as the epicentre which is commonly described as the origin or centre of the earthquake.

Centre is an area the position of which can be determined exactly by accurate survey after rough seismological determination.

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An earthquake can be localized or be widespread. There does not appear to be any relation between calm periods and earthquakes. There is no truth in the belief that a quake is followed by a storm.

The different kinds of waves of an earthquake are recorded by the seismograph together with some other characteristics.

There are in general three kinds of movement in an earthquake, *viz.*, up and down, to and fro and a twist. All the movements were marked in North Bihar during the earthquake of January 15. The twisting movement becomes feeble as the distance from the epicentre increases. The character of the up and down and to and fro movement varies from place to place.

When the deformation of the crust is excessive, the safe limit of elasticity is passed and fissures appear.

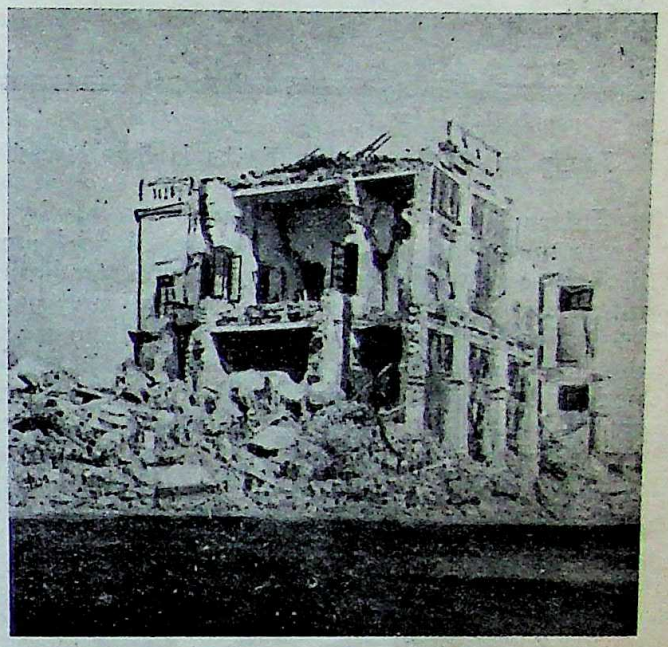
Present Earthquake

Nearly the whole of Northern India and the northern part of the Deccan was shaken by the earthquake of the 15th January, 1934. Probably North Bihar is the centre of this earthquake and the area of greatest intensity lies in North Bihar and Nepal.

Subsidence of the earth's crust probably over a region extending from Nepal to North Bihar, is the probable cause.

Three shocks were recorded at Alipore on the 14th (two of which occurred at night) with epicentral distances 550, 400 and 300 miles. It is not known here whether Madras felt an earthquake shock on this day.

The present disturbance is of tectonic origin. Though it is believed that some portions of the Himalayas and Bihar are really extinct volcanoes, Bihar may experience severe earthquakes from time to time but no assertion can be made as to whether Bihar will ever become a permanent centre of volcanic activity.



Mr. Ashoke Bose's newly-built Bunglow in ruins. Nine miles off Motihari

Feeble to moderate shocks should be felt for some time now and their frequency is likely to diminish gradually. These shocks show that after subsidence internal accommodation to new conditions is taking place.

Volcanic and tectonic movements are the forces that are mainly responsible for most of those wonderful natural sceneries that we admire. Besides a large number of the minerals that are of great economic value to mankind also have their origin in these movements. But all these considerations are poor consolation to those that have suffered, and are suffering, from the results of the recent catastrophe.

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GLEANINGS

Lamp for Internal Sun Baths is Swallowed by Patient

Internal sun baths are made possible by a device produced by Dr. Joseph Mandelbaum, bronchoscopist. It is a tiny gas lamp, radiating ultraviolet rays after it has been swallowed painlessly by the patient. The sun rays may be directed exactly upon the diseased spots for periods up to three minutes. Treatment of this type is expected to be of aid to the medical world in its fight on tuberculosis.

How internal Sun Bath is administered to Patient by means of Tiny Ultraviolet Lamp
—*Popular Mechanics*

From the Archaeologist's Note Book

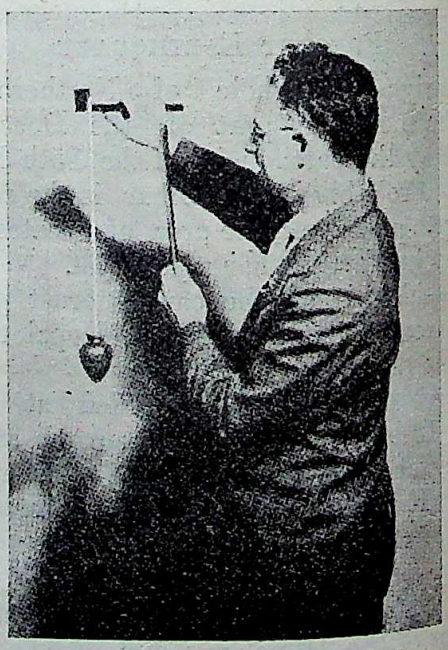
An Uncomfortable Royal Bed

The ancient Egyptians had good furniture, they drank wine and beer, used cosmetics, and were generally up-to-date but when it came sleeping, a contraption that looked like oar-lock was the torturing pillow. The illustrated is in the Boston Museum; it reproduced from the original in the Museum. The bed slopes and a foot board the mattress from sleeping off. The origin cased in gold, belonged to Queen Hetep-He I, mother of Cheops.

Bed of an Egyptian queen 5000 years ago. The pillow called for a heavy coiffure

Astronomy in King Tut's Time

In the Oriental Institute at Chicago is astronomical instrument with which K



An ancient astronomical instrument

Tutankhamen's astronomers, probably priests, observations. The plummet, as mounted, employed in setting the sighting instrum directly over the observer's meridian, presuma a north-south line marked on a pavement temple roof. The observer could then deter when a star crossed his meridian, thus form a crude stellar clock. The inscribed ebony ha and the plummet are ancient. The block cord are restorations.

The Portland Vase's Rival

The Portland vase, one of the world's fi art works, is a celebrated urn found in sarcophagus near Rome. It is of dark transparent glass ornamented with cameos

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opaque white glass, representing what are probably scenes from the legend of Peleus and Thetis. It was broken to pieces by a lunatic in 1845 and has been cleverly mended. At the Toledo Museum of Art, one of the outstanding museums of the Middle West, there is the so-called Libbey-Toledo vase of exquisite workmanship which Dr. Eisen, the great authority on ancient glass, says is superior in design and execution to the Portland vase. This author deduces from the representation of certain features on the Portland vase that the artist who executed

The Libbey-Toledo vase in the Toledo Museum of Art rivals the great Portland vase, one of the world's masterpieces

The Portland vase after restoration, but minus the base that it must have had when originally made

An artist has added a base to the Portland vase so that it assumes the symmetry of the Libbey-Toledo specimen

it had a definite locality in mind, which he identifies as the promontory of La Gaiola in the bay of Naples. It is probable that the Portland vase in its original condition had a base; one of our illustrations shows how such a base would appear.

—*Scientific American.*

Human Bullets Raise speed on Land and in Air

When James R. Wedell flew his racing plane to a new world's record of more than 305 miles per hour at the Chicago air races a few weeks ago, he set a new mark for speed kings of the world to shoot at in their unceasing struggle to go faster and faster on land, in the air and on the water. Human speed today compares favourably with that of a bullet, and there are those who see man winning a race with the sun when he begins to fly in the stratosphere—and France is already building a plane for that purpose. The Italian seaplane which set a record of more than 424 miles per hour—over seven miles a minute—went as fast as some types of pistol bullets, but could hardly keep up with a bullet from a United States army pistol which has a muzzle velocity of 545 miles per hour. Sir Malcolm Campbell has traveled more than four and one-half miles per minute in his racing car and Gar Wood has driven his speed boat more than two miles per minute. If man succeeds in doubling the highest speed he has yet reached—that of the seaplane—he would be in a position to stage a race with the sun. The speed of the sun—actually the earth's rate of rotation—is something over 1,000 miles per hour. If man could approximate this speed, he might start from New York at noon and reach San Francisco at noon the same day—in nothing flat. With the French plane, the backers claim it should easily be possible to attain a speed of 500 miles per hour at an altitude of twelve to fifteen miles, and the more optimistic claim if such a speed is attained with the first stratosphere plane, there is no reason why it cannot be increased through changes learned by experience. Tests have indicated that there appears to be no limit to human endurance in straightaway speed so far as physical injury is concerned. For stratosphere flying, naturally, the pilot would be in a sealed compartment with an artifical supply of oxygen.

—*Popular Mechanics.*

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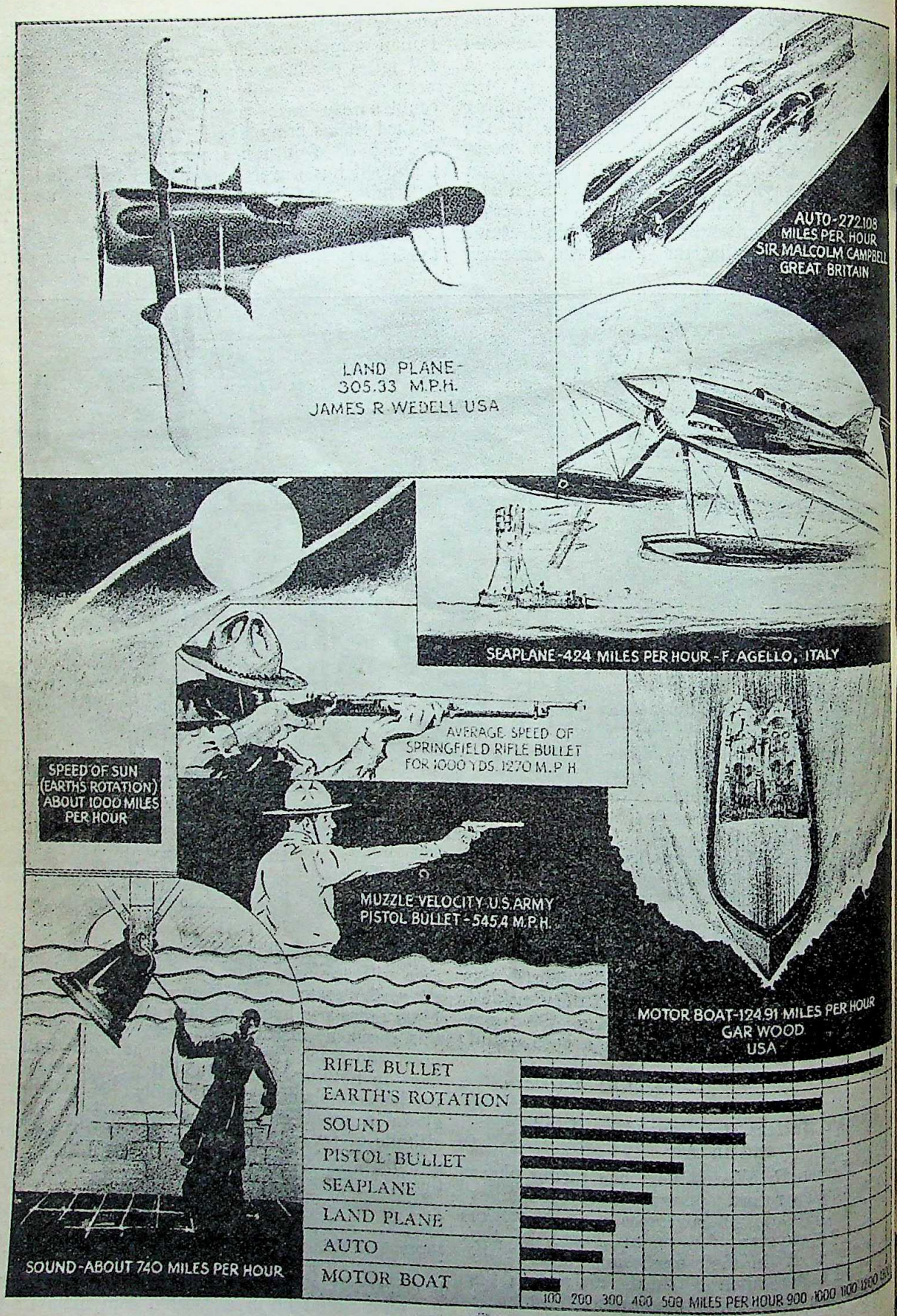

Photo and Drawings Comparing Highest Speed Man Has Attained in the Air, on Land and in the Water with Velocity of Bullets and of Sound, and Speed of Earth's Rotation

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

A Poem by Tagore

The following poem by Rabindranath Tagore appears in *Visva-Bharati News* :

KRISHNAKALI

I call her my Krishna flower
though they call her dark in the village.
I remember a cloud-laden day
and a glance from the eyes of my girl ;
her veil trailing down at her feet,
her braided hair loose on her back.
Ah, you call her dark ; let that be,
Her black gazelle eyes I have seen.

Her cows were lowing in the meadow,
when the fading light grew grey.
With hurried steps she came out
from her hut near the bamboo grove.
She raised her quick eyes to the sky,
where the clouds were heavy with rain.
Ah, you call her dark ! let that be,
her black gazelle eyes I have seen.

The East wind in fitful gusts
ruffled the young shoots of rice,
I stood at the boundary hedge
with none else in the lonely land.
If she espied me in secret or not
She only knows and know I.
Ah, you call her dark ! let that be,
her black gazelle eyes I have seen.

She is surprise of cloud
in the burning heart of May,
a tender shadow on the forest
in the stillness of sunset hour,
a mystery of dumb delight
in the rain-loud night of June.
Ah, you call her dark ! let that be,
her black gazelle eyes I have seen.

I call her my Krishna flower,
let all others say what they like.
In the ricefield of Maina village
I felt the first glance of her eyes.
She had not a veil on her face,
not a moment of leisure for shyness.
Ah, you call her dark ! let that be,
her black gazelle eyes I have seen.

—

Western Tibet

In the same paper Angarika Brahmachari Govind describes his journey to Western Tibet thus :

Though I have been travelling a great deal in my life, I must say that my journey to Western Tibet (Ladakh), from where I returned about two months ago, has been one of the most interesting trips I ever made. Not only the nature of the country and the life of its inhabitants but also the way of travelling was in itself a thrilling experience. In this age of railways and motor cars we hardly can imagine a country in which the wheel, even in the primitive form of the simplest bullock cart, is absolutely unknown because there are neither roads nor bridges on which it could move. There are only small paths, just sufficient for men and horses, so that one can only choose between travelling on foot and horse-back. One has absolutely to rely on one's strength and resources, and to face nature in all its moods. As there are mostly no houses where one could stay at night, one has to make the open sky one's home. In the first month I had not even a tent because I was told that there was no rain in that season and very soon I became so used to the open-air life that even if I got a chance to stay in a house, I preferred to sleep on the roof. Certainly sometimes it was not altogether agreeable : for instance, when crossing the Great Himalayan Range in snow and rain or enduring icy thunder-storms at the shores of the great salt lakes on the Tibetan highland. But such small travails meant nothing compared with the overwhelming impressions of nature. Most people think that Tibet must be a horrible country, because it is barren and desertlike. But they forget that colours can turn the desert into a fairy land, and in fact Tibet is one of the most colourful countries in the world. The lakes are blue and green like saffron and emerald, and the mountains bright as gold and sometimes flaming red of shining amethyst colour.

In such a fantastic setting monks and mystics of olden times built their hermitages, which later on became sanctuaries and monasteries. The study of these places was my main purpose. I visited about twenty monasteries and found a great deal of important iconographical material, specially about the old Indian *siddhas* (mystics) who lived mainly between the 7th and the 11th century A. D. They belonged to the Tantric school of Buddhism. Some of them have been great poets and it was they who for the first time introduced the spoken language into Indian literature. Before that time Sanskrit was practically the only written language. Even the Buddhist [illegible] abandoned Pali in favour of Sanskrit. Thus the *siddhas* were the first Hindu

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poets, the father of modern Hindu literature. Unfortunately India has nearly completely forgotten what it owed to these men, and only a few names like that of Saraha, for instance, had survived. But fortunately while the last traces of Indian Buddhism were swept away by the Mahomedan invasion, the records of the *siddhas* were carefully preserved in Tibet. Parts of their works were translated into Tibetan, their life-stories collected in a special volume of the scriptures, and their pictures engraved on stones or painted on the walls of the monasteries.

The pictures I found were engraved and painted on stone slabs. Mostly the old painting had gone and they had been overpainted in later times. But I was able to trace the old engraving underneath and to restore those parts which have been damaged through the influence of the climate in course of centuries. Thus I returned with a complete collection of pictorial representations of the eighty-four *siddhas*, which I hope to publish soon, under the auspices of Visva-Bharati.

—

Forests in India

On the importance of forests in India Mr. Rabindra Mohan Datta, M. SC., writes in *The Indian Review* :

Forests are the most valuable natural assets of India. Their character depends upon soil, rainfall, elevation and other natural circumstances. But their distribution is greatly affected by action of Man. Man is responsible for the absence of forest trees over enormous areas which have been cleared for cultivation, or more slowly destroyed by reckless feelings.

It has been the uniform experience of all countries that the natural processes of growth and reproduction by which forests are kept alive, are incapable of keeping pace with man's destructiveness; and the State has generally found it necessary to take special measures in the ultimate interests of the country for preserving its forests from reckless destruction. Forests, being valuable national assets, their proper conservation is one of the most important economic functions and duties of the Indian Governments.

The process of reckless and ceaseless destruction of forests went on from time immemorial in India, but its evil effect was not felt because of the thinness of the population, and because the primary forests remained practically untouched and also partly because the Hindus would not cut down certain classes of trees on account of their religious scruples. The effect of the general increase in population first manifested itself during the later Mughal period, but the Mughals, either because of ignorance or being too engrossed with their tottering thrones, did nothing to prevent the destruction of primary forests. In the earlier years of the British rule this destruction became more progressive and rapid on account of rapid increase of population and consequent extension of cultivation. Lord Dalhousie first became alive to the necessity of stopping reckless de-forestation and, in 1855, he laid down the foundations of a definite and far-sighted forest policy, The Mutiny delayed the progress, but from 1860 forest administration was rapidly organized and developed; exploration, demarcation and settlement, followed by efforts to introduce protection and some form of regular management. Work on these lines is not yet complete and the work of replacing destroyed forests is only camparatively recently taken in hand. In 1894, the Government of India laid down a definite forest policy and divided forests into the following four classes :

(*a*) Forests, the preservation of which is essential on climatic or physical grounds. They are usually situated in hilly countries where the retention of forest growth is of vital importance on account of its influence on the storage of the rainfall and the prevention of erosions and sudden floods, etc.

(*b*) Forests which supply valuable timber for commercial purposes, such as the *sal* forests of Northern and Central India, the deodar and pine forests of the N. W. Himalayas.

(*c*) Minor forests, containing inferior timber-producing materials for local consumption—these areas are of great importance to agriculture in the adjoining districts.

(*d*) Pasture and grazing grounds proper which are forests in name only.

The Indian forests play an important rôle as suppliers of the necessary raw materials to various industries, and providers of employment for large numbers of people. Forests products may be divided into two main heads: (*i*) major produce, *i.e.*, timber and fire-wood; and (*ii*) minor produce, such as lac, tanning materials, essential oils, turpentine, resin, etc. The minor products are increasing in importance, and many of them have already established themselves in the markets of the world.

Although the principal function of Forestry is the preservation and development of forests we must never lose sight of the fact that it is also an important vocation as the handmaid of agriculture and industries. It is for this reason the Royal Agricultural Commission recommended (*i*) appointment in each province of a forest utilization officer whose main function would be to develop forest industries—a matter of great importance to agriculturists, especially to those who live in the neighbourhood of forests, and (*ii*) a reclassification of forests into a major division consisting of commercial forests and those necessary on physical and climatic grounds, and a minor division consisting of minor forests, fuel plantations, village wood-lands and waste lands. They also suggested close co-operation between the Agricultural and Forest Departments.

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What is worth Saving in European Civilization ?

Professor Jean Guehenno, the editor of the French International Review, *Europe*, has contributed a thoughtful article on the above subject to *The Aryan Path*. Part of this is quoted below :

Christianity is dying. Let it die, for it has ceased to nourish our souls. Once upon a time it helped us to become aware of our own souls, but now it has degenerated into a second-rate market of passion and self-interest. Too often it justifies the world we live in. Compromises, conciliations are killing it. But even while Christianity is dying, something else is rising in its place, a Religion of Man, every day more demanding, every day more clearly defined. Nothing is more touching than the story of its development. I only know it as far as it has affected the small *canton* in which I live, but I am sure that in all the provinces and in all the literatures of Europe one can find sentiments and phrases akin to those I am about to quote.

I find the first notes of the new faith struck in the writing of Senancour and Benjamin Constant. "In a world of mingled pleasure and pain," declares Senancour, "it is incumbent upon man to increase joy, to fructify expansive energy and to oppose in all sentient beings whatever tends to degrade them or to promote suffering." Thus the man of Europe, becoming aware that he stands upon an earth subject to infinite vicissitudes and beneath a heaven which is deaf to his prayers, realizes that he is alone and that his only resource is within himself. But this very thought gives him back all his courage : Man has no other Providence than man.

In the enthusiasm for their new faith Europeans have not thought that circumstances may be stronger than man. They overlook the insolent manner in which the things go their own way, and they fancy that man is master. But now, intoxicated by our power, we have no longer the capability of regulating it, just as a disordered heart cannot control its pulsations. Thus "things" have taken their revenge. In this disillusionment, the slow conquests of reason do not satisfy us. We demand a miracle ; we want history to read like a novel, and so once more we hand over to some outside agent—some saviour or tyrant—our lives and destinies which at one time we were so proud of ruling.

I cannot here enumerate all the causes of our failure, and I take up once more my main theme. It does not seem to me that our troubles—not even the Great War itself—point to a complete failure. All that is worth saving in Europe, all that she has ever offered that is useful or noble, may be found in the formulæ and examples of a revolutionary humanism, at once humanism, at once clear and bold. But the important question is whether such a humanism will win through or be crushed.

There is no difficulty in classifying the parties and doctrines which actually divide Europe. The great line of demarcation lies between a dream of happiness and a dream of dignity and self-respect. I am not scorning happiness, I am sure that happiness is one of the main pillars of self-respect ; but if Europe is ready to sacrifice her honour to happiness, she will have lost the faith which made her greatness. Even now, our masters, those who hold sway over the material part of our civilization, declare themselves able and willing to furnish the masses, who have so long desired it, with a certain amount of happiness ; they promise a peace and security such as has never before been known, provided the masses hand over absolute and complete control of *everything* to these masters. Europe is full of dictators ready to manufacture happiness for people, but they will do nothing to maintain the people's self-respect. And why ? Because such men are not afraid of happy people, whereas they dread those who are animated by a sense of human dignity.

Which dream will prove the more powerful, that of happiness or that of self-respect. The "masters" are ready to degrade the masses ; they are willing to amuse and to feed them, and so we have Americanism, Rationalization, Fascism,—a return to I know not what dark age. Shall we be content with the lot of happy slaves, or shall we maintain that the only happiness worth having is that which we have won for ourselves ? Are we strong-minded enough to refuse, if we must, the offered *panem et circenses*, for the sake of a happiness and glory that we alone can conceive ? Thus only will Europe be justified ; thus only will she save her faith. Her destiny depends on our courage.

—

The Lancashire-Bombay Textile Agreement

While consultations on questions of trade between India and Japan were being carried on, the Bombay cotton interests rushed into an agreement with those of Lancashire in spite of opposition from other parts of India. Mr. Krisna Kumar Sharma comments on this agreement in the *The Mysore Economic Journal* as follows :

The principle of imperial preference against which Indian opinion is solidly unanimous has been willingly endorsed by the Bombay cotton interests without obtaining any economic concession from the other side. Their own utterances on former occasions have been exactly contrary to what they have accepted now.

On the one side, representatives of Bombay cotton interests are forming currency leagues to

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get the ratio changed and clamouring for more and more protection and on the other, they are lavishly and with a magnanimous and generous hand bestowing concessions upon Lancashire. They favour reduction in wages, grudge a reduction in the working day to the worker and penalize the consumer. Why then should they grant concessions to their competitors without any *quid pro quo*? Either protection is necessary for Bombay cotton industry or it is not. If the former is the case, such concessions are utterly unjustifiable, and if the latter, the Government should in bare justice to the consumer withdraw all protection or reduce duties on goods entering Bombay port only. This agreement has been denounced by nearly all important Chambers of Commerce in all parts of India.

How the Government of India will view an agreement made by a section of the industry in spite of protests from other equally important interests is difficult to forecast. One thing is, however, certain and that is that any step taken by the Government to enforce the agreement will be against the best interests of the country. The production of Indian mills can meet the total home demand and an increase in imports will, therefore, be against the interests of the Indian cotton mill industry itself. It will mean closing down of more mills, increased unemployment and reduced wages. Less of Indian cotton will be consumed, hand-loom weavers will be hit hard by severe competition and it will be extremely difficult for Indian mills to diversify the styles of production, specially those which have to face the competition from Lancashire. An unfavourable move at this stage of India's industrial advancement would be really very unjustifiable.

—

Laboratories of Reconciliation

Mr. Richard R. Wood writes about the function and achievements of the Society of Friends in *India and the World* thus :

With the increasing excitement in European politics, the Society of Friends is facing a heavy task.

The Society of friends is a pacifist Christian sect. The essential feature of its religious philosophy, the feature that set it apart as distinctive in Seventeenth Century England, at its origin, is the belief in the "Light Within." Each human being may enjoy direct immediate experience of fellowship with God. There is in every human being a Divine spark, which can transmit the glory of God to that soul. This spark is often referred to as "the seed of God," indicating the belief that it contains possibility of growth.

Conditions may prove unfavourable to the seed; economic or social environment may be inhospitable; disease of mind or body may check its development; sin and selfishness may hamper it. But in every human being it is present. No matter how unpromising, there is about every person something Divine.

Pacifism is a necessary corollary of this principle. This Divine element in every human being demands respect. You simply cannot respect it while doing to its human container the things that men do to men in war. Therefore participation in war is inconsistent with Quakerism.

It should be noted that this same process of deduction leads members of the Society of Friends to concern themselves with the emancipation of slaves, with justice for American Indians and subjugated peoples generally, with the emancipation of women, with temperance, and with social justice. Rather gradually, as abuses develop and come to be recognized as abuses, Friends grow uneasy about them, and try to correct them. Sometimes recognition is slow. Friends have only very recently come to concern themselves with the question of social and economic justice for the American Negro. For nearly two generations after the emancipation of the slaves, Friends were content to aid in their education, but failed to note the importance of establishing normal friendly relations between whites and Negroes of equal cultural attainments.

At present, one of the tasks of the Society of Friends in Europe is to seek to check the spread of anti-German feeling. There is no hope for Western civilization if we are to blame all our troubles on the Germans, and pummel them instead of setting about correcting the evil. Patience, sympathy, understanding, love for people even while disapproving their views and their actions, are what the world desperately needs. In the past people who have courageously acted on the assumption that the Divine spark resided was present in both sides of a bitter quarrel have accomplished apparent miracles of re-conciliation. We believe that our principles are equally effective today. We do not feel confident of our ability to apply them effectively. Perhaps some young souls will arise to give a lead.

—

The Plight of the Indian Agriculturist

Mr. D. G. Karwe writes in *The Bombay Co-operative Quarterly* :

It is usual with the supporters of the present high ratio [18*d.*] to make out that any downward movement of the rate of exchange will adversely affect the interests of the wage-earners, the salaried and the professional classes and of the public revenues. The actual experience of the last few years constitutes a thorough exposure of the hollowness of those arguments. It is quite true that a scaling down of the ratio would be followed by a comperative rise in prices. But it is wrong to argue on the basis of the supposition that all increments in prices are definitely detrimental to the permanent and legitimate interests of the above-mentioned classes. If the price

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is lowered as the result of an unwarranted heightening of the exchange rate not only the producing but also the wage-earning classes have to bear the evil consequences. If the producers are forced to market their goods at unremunerative prices, they are compelled either to reduce wages or to give up business. In both cases the wage-earners suffer in the end at least as much as the producers. The position of the professional and salaried classes is not essentially different. The demand for their services falls off, and as the public or private employers experience a shrinkage in their revenues they have to resort to curtailment of staffs and retrenchment of salaries. Even the contention that with a lower ratio the Government of India's finances will suffer a net loss on account of an increased rupee equivalent of its home charges is a half-truth more dangerous than a stark untruth. What the Government might lose in increased expenditure on this account it will more than make good on its revenue. A straitened peasantry, an unemployed and impoverished middle class, and a losing industrial and mercantile community are certainly not the best tax-payers. Railways, income-tax, posts and telegraphs, even salt—all these are beginning to yield lesser returns, and the Government has been led on to impose such arbitrary levies as the recent 25 per cent surcharge on all sources of central taxation. There are innumerable avenues of retrenchment in Government expendiure, such as the revision of exhorbitant salaries. Any policy that would sacrifice the first interests of the national producers to the immediate needs of the year's revenue is in a line with killing the goose that lays the golden egg.

The plight to which the nation at large and particularly the agriculturists have been reduced during the last few years is too pitiable for words. It is only the innate passivity of the Indian people and the utter isolation from the life of the people in which supreme governmental authorities live and shape their policies that have prevented the mobilization of social sympathy in support of the great national interest. To the extent to which the agriculturist consumes his own produce and pays for others' services and goods in kind the fall in prices has not adversely affected his lot. The extent of payments in kind is, however, very narrow and even in areas where cultivation is principally for subsistence a considerable portion has every year to be marketed for the purchase of services and commodities, as also for the payment of such fixed dues as interest, taxes and loans. In the case of the growers of commercial crops, *e.g.*, cotton, sugarcane, oil-seeds and jute the fall in prices has hit the producers with special severity. In many parts of the country rents are fixed in money and the leases are executed for a number of years at a time. In these places the tenants find it impossible to meet the demands of the landlord. Arrears, indebtedness and privations are the inevitable outcome of such a situation which is extremely embarrassing both to the tenants and the land-owners. It is well known that the rates of interest are exceptionally high in India and that their level is determined by the customs of the trade and the position of the borrowers. With reduced prices not only does the cultivator find it difficult to meet his old interest and instalment obligations but any new borrowing is well-nigh impossible except at ruinous rates. The co-operative banks which have their dealings with the cultivator members have latterly experienced almost insuperable difficulties in making recoveries. Indeed, there are not a few co-operators who almost fear the worst in many areas. The Government demand for land revenue is theoretically based on averages of prices over a prolonged period and the land revenue codes do not ordinarily allow of remissions and suspensions on account of a fall in prices. We know how very wooden is the system of administration in India. It is extremely difficult to secure for the people even such concessions as have been provided for by law. It would be hoping for a miracle to expect that the Government would run to the rescue of the landholders in an emergency not falling strictly within normal official operations. In fact, in spite of the loud and heart-rending protests of the landholding classes the collections of land revenue have been effected with the usual rigour in almost all parts of the country. Any one who has the slightest acquaintance with country areas, knows full well that while the government caravan proudly passes by as though nothing has happened out of the ordinary, the farmers, the land-owners, the *sowkars* and the co-operative societies are on the brink of an utter collapse. The standard of life in rural areas was never very high; the present conditions constitute a degradation which is beyond parallel.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Why a Federated World ?

For permanent peace, prosperity and security we need a federated world. Mr. Dudley W. Woodbridge explains this in *World Unity* as follows :

First : Security. "It is none of any other country's business how large a navy we have." Is it any of our business how large a navy other countries have ?

In order to be secure in a world governed by force it is necessary for one's country always to have a superior force. It is equally necessary for every other country (if it wishes to be secure) to have a superior force. But this is impossible. However, if there were *one* superior force on a world scale, and that force should be used in such a way as to support liberty under the law for international relations it would then be possible to have a permanent righteous peace.

"Trust in your own right arm." How far would that principle protect an individual ? What is more uncertain than the outcome of a war ? A single diplomatic or military blunder might easily change the result from a so-called victory to an inglorious defeat. Besides, what profiteth a bully to win twenty fights if he loses the twenty-first, and what profiteth a nation to win twenty wars if it loses the twenty-first ?

The world has long taken and should well remember the risks of war and international anarchy. Is it not time to take the risks of peace backed by a righteous superior force ? Could the United States exist today if it had not taken this latter risk ?

Second : Justice. It is unfair to allow each country to determine the righteousness of its own case with the implication always in the background that if the other countries do not like it they can fight. Might does not make right, but right cannot triumph unless it is backed by might. All intelligent people the world over should devise ways and means whereby international right will be backed by might just as every civilized government attempts to do within its own boundaries.

Third : Co-operation. Fighting begets fighting. Mutual co-operation begets good will. Economics, justice, education, art, science, religion—all that is most worth while in life—know no artificial international lines. It is not sentimental twaddle, but basic truth, that mankind as a whole has far, far more in common than it has apart. Those of us who appreciate this fact are building on the rock. Those of us who do not, are building on the sand—and when the storm comes great will be the fall thereof !

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The lot of Newspapermen in the U. S. A.

Under the Roosevelt régime the Press has got a code in the U. S. A. The newspaper interests put up a strong opposition when it was passed. In this connection many things regarding the hard lot of newspapermen in the U. S. A. have come to light. Mr. Chester T. Crowell, himself a journalist, writes in *The New Republic*.

I recall that when I was employed as a cub reporter on The San Antonio Express of San Antonio, Texas, I was informed that my wage would be seven dollars a week and my hours from half-past noon until midnight, with Sunday off. I worked one year without a day off. My hours were from half-past noon until half-past two o'clock the following morning, which is to say fourteen hours a day seven days a week. From time to time I would get so tired that I simply could not stumble down to the office and would spend the day in bed. I was always docked for the lost day. This condition was common among newspapers outside of the very largest cities, and to a considerable extent still is.

Any worker in the editorial department was expected to give two weeks' notice when he wished to resign, and to the best of my knowledge all did during the sixteen years that I spent in newspaper work, but only a very few newspapers ever gave notice when they discharged a man. He simply came to work and discovered that he was not wanted that day or any other day. Some of the more humane publishers had been troubled by the suffering this caused. They were also moved by the annoyance to their other employees when discharged men hung around trying to borrow small sums with which to buy food, and the more progressive discovered a remedy. They would pay a new man his wages for the first two weeks so that when he finally left, usually discharged, he would get the two weeks' wages that had been withheld. This custom was common in the Middle West for a quarter of a century and, I think, still is. I have been told that it was initiated by The Kansas City Star and

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have heard it highly praised by newspapermen unaccustomed to such thoughtfulness from publishers.

The first time my pay was ever cut on account of hard times (and the times really were hard) I walked into the business office and was handed my pay envelope and discovered to my embarrassment that it was 10-per cent short. I mentioned this fact with some trepidation because I assumed it to be a clerical error likely to cause a great deal of trouble. But the cashier calmly informed me that it was no error at all; wages had been cut 10 percent. No one had been told anything about this. The heads of the institution were as gentlemanly a group as I have ever known in the newspaper world. What they did seemed perfectly natural to them because no one had ever heard of such a thing as an editorial-department labourer having any rights. I announced at once and in no uncertain terms that I would have the rest of my money instantly or I would start a campaign of throat-cutting that wouldn't leave manpower enough around the place to get out a newspaper. Then I took my missing 10 percent and went upstairs to gather up my few belongings and go elsewhere to seek a job. But no one was angry with me and everyone who knew anything about what happened was amused. They put me down as a hot-headed kid from Texas who had no idea of the economic and social amenities of newspaperdom. I tried to explain that they would have a perfect right to cut my wage for the following week if they so elected and would give notice, but that to cut for the week already past seemed to me precisely like stealing. Well, that *was* funny.

Nevertheless I declined to get to work until assured that I would receive my full wage the following week. They actually argued with me that to quit then and there was very, very wrong. I should give two weeks' notice. But I wouldn't so they promised that my wage wouldn't be cut, and it wasn't.

Since then my wages have been cut because of business conditions several times and never once with advance notice. I do not know what experience others may have had with wage cuts, but certainly I never have been notified one second in advance. Usually the printers would know what the situation was because the publisher generally made the mistake of going to them and asking them to postpone pay day. They never did. And the result was that the publisher found the money to pay them. I have also seen pay day pass by with no pay envelopes distributed, but I have never been informed of this coming event by a publisher nor have I ever heard from one under such circumstances one word of apology, explanation or regret.

The reader will please keep in mind that none of this refers to New York City, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston or any other of the major cities. If it did, I should not consider it worth writing; I am telling what I know of the general run of newspaper employment where the vast majority of newspapermen in this country are working, in the medium-sized and smaller communities.

I have been managing editor, city editor, chief editorial writer and star staff man repeatedly but I never at any time made the amount of money ordinarily earned by a union printer on those very newspapers at that time. It always amused me when publishers took it for granted that I hated union printers as much as they did. They assumed that I would dislike the printers because they received larger pay envelopes than mine. Well, they were wrong. I didn't. I envied the printers. They, too, had been wondering tramps only a decade or so before I entered newspaper work, but now they could actually buy homes on the instalment plan, while in the editorial department I saw, month after month, the procession of brilliant young men wending their way from nowhere to nowhere, stopping a while but never calling the place home. Those who were going to amount to anything got out.

One more story of newspaper work and wages and I close. This is such high comedy that I should hesitate to tell it if every person involved were not still able to testify. A friend of mine was sent as staff writer to Mexico City to do a series of feature articles, but revolution broke out suddenly so he gave that his attention instead. In the midst of the turmoil he found himself in the cable office with shells exploding all around him and, for that matter, over a considerable part of the city. He couldn't get out, but what a stroke of luck to be marooned in the cable office! He remained there for a week with the artillery busy all that time. No other newspaperman could reach the place. He scooped the world and his paper sold his dispatches to many other newspapers, garnering thereby much profit. It also did a prosperous business in extra editions. On his return, however, my friend found himself unable to make out his expense account because he had sent messengers through shell fire to get food at all hours of the day and night. He had had almost no sleep for a week and he was a nervous wreck. Being a painstaking, meticulous person it grieved him to discover that neither notes nor memory would account for all of his expenditures, so he went to the business manager and confessed that there were still fifty dollars to be itemized, fifty dollars that he had certainly spent, but couldn't remember.

"That's all right, my boy," said the kindly chief executive. "You did a grand job and we appreciate it. We will not take the fifty dollars out of your first week's salary because that might leave you short. We will just take it out five dollars a week, for ten weeks, so you run along and don't give it another thought."

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Japan's Manchurian Blunder

There is perhaps a widely entertained belief that Japan will find in the control of Manchuria an early solution to her most pressing economic problems. But an analysis of the prospects, says Mr. Ben Dorfman in *The New Republic* leads to a contrary conclusion. He writes :

Immediately following outbreak of hostilities in September, 1931, there was fanned into full flame an anti-Japanese boycott of unprecedented proportions and effectiveness. Japanese steamship lines, banks, manufacturers and merchantile houses were forced either to suspend or limit operations in China proper and in regions in the South Pacific where Chinese dominate business. Industry and commerce in Japan were likewise upset.

Japan's international credit rating was lowered, her gold-dollar bonds dropping in New York by almost 50 percent within the first eight months of the conflict. These bonds have recovered considerably, but despite this, Japan's credit abroad remains so bad that she cannot borrow except at ruinous rates. This is particularly significant as Japan has never repudiated a foreign financial obligation, a record second to none in the world.

Within three months after the outbreak of hostilities, Japan was forced to abandon the gold standard. The yen then began to drop until it had depreciated to about 40 percent of its former gold value, a position from which it has not recovered. Even though Japan had not embarked on her continental adventure, she probably would have been forced to follow Great Britain in abandoning the gold standard. It is doubtful, however, that the yen would have dropped so far as it has, had it not been for her military operations in China.

It should be clear that many of the internal and external difficulties growing out of the extremely low value of the yen are to be traced to Japan's military activities in China. The extreme depression of the yen has imposed heavy burdens on Japan in paying for her imports and in meeting the charges on her foreign loans. To an extent it has stimulated exports, but this has not been an unmixed blessing, in view of the general —but not always well founded—charges of "dumping" lodged against her. This is serious, for many of her best customers, China, India, Egypt, Malayasia and sections of Africa, for example, are beginning to restrict imports of Japanese goods. That Japan has not suffered more from her depreciated yen, is due only to the cushioning effects of the depreciated pound and dollar.

As to the costs of Japan's military operations in China, reliable figures are not available—if for no other reason than that the operations have not yet ceased. It is scarcely to be doubted, however, that her costs in "blood and treasure" have exceeded what she has made in Manchuria to date.

From the opening of hostilities in September 1931, to the present, Japan has undergone many hardships and her people have made many sacrifices. These have been offset in part by certain gains, but without question, the aggregate of losses during this period has more than offset the aggregate of gains. I doubt that any Japanese would dispute this.

At the moment, Japanese-Manchukuo trade is exceptionally brisk, but the basis does not promise to endure. Japan is expending and investing heavily in Manchukuo ; her highly depreciated yen is giving her an advantage over domestic and foreign competition ; and the reciprocal trade restrictions between China and Manchukuo are playing in her favour. Once she discontinues making these expenditures, which she can ill afford in her present financial state, and once Manchukuo's economy is adjusted to new local conditions, the present basis for this unusual trade will disappear.

For some time to come Manchuria will be of only slight assistance in solving Japan's population and trade problems. There is no prospect whatsoever for mass emigration ; and Manchuria's resources do not give promise of early or great Japanese industrial and trade expansion along economic lines. Further, Japan's manner of gaining control of Manchuria has injured her trade opportunities and credit standing in certain important areas ; and the costs of gaining this control have seriously threatened her financial stability. With a more judicious handling of the Manchurian problem, Japan was destined to gain much of what she will obtain in Manchuria and *in so far as net economic gain is concerned* she could easily and might wisely have spared herself the cost of the entire venture. She may get more out of Manchuria economically than she otherwise would have, but this possible gain has been bought too dearly.

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The Negro and the Court of Justice

Even a schoolboy knows something of lynching practised on the Negroes in the U. S. A. *The New Republic* (December 13, 1933) comments editorially on the glaring injustices done to Negroes even in the courts of justice. It writes :

The first trials of the Scottsboro cases were conducted amidst such glaring injustices to the defendants that the United States Supreme Court set aside the verdicts. In the second trial, Judge Horton, who presided, also set aside the verdict of guilty after only one of the defendants had been tried, on the ground that the decision of the jury was a palpable miscarriage of justice. When the new series of trials began a fortnight ago in Decatur, Alabama, every honest and intelligent Southerner must have hoped with all his

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that this time the trials would be conducted in such a way that there could be no question of the fairness of the proceeding and that the honor of the South in a question of justice to Negroes charged with a serious crime, which has been so seriously questioned throughout the world, would be vendicated. Unhappily, the conduct and result of the first case have given exactly the opposite result.

Judge Callahan, who supplanted Judge Horton in presiding at the new trials, has seemed singularly insensitive to the fact that the eyes of the world were upon him. He swept aside evidence tending to support the view that the general feeling in and around Decatur was such as to make a fair trial almost impossible. He refused to permit the introduction of vitally important evidence showing that the two young women one of whom has denied that there was any attack) had spent the preceding night in a hobo jungle with two young white men. He flatly asserted from the bench that no Southern white woman, however degraded, would voluntarily have sex relations with a Negro. His attitude toward the chief defense counsel, Samuel Leibowitz, can only be described as one of half-concealed hostility. His mental bias was strikingly revealed when, in charging the jury, he forgot to instruct them how to bring in any verdict except one of guilt. Under the circumstances, it is not surprising that the jury should once again have shut its eyes to the evidence and sentenced the defendant to death. It will be no surprise if similar verdicts are found in the cases of the other Negroes. Appeals will of course be taken ; and it seems reasonable to believe that the miscarriage of justice is again sufficiently obvious to bring the question before the United States Supreme Court. But the real tragedy in the case is still Alabama's.

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Hitlerism and Labour

The same paper writes :

The fight of the Hitler government against what remains of the German labour movement continues. On December 12 the trade-union organizations, which had a formal existence under Nazi directors even after the police had raided their offices, confiscated their treasuries and sent their Socialist and Communist functionaries into concentration camps, will be officially dissolved. On that day the "vertical union," in which not only all workers, irrespective of trade or industry, but also all employers will become members, will take the place of the trade-union organizations, bringing "peace and friendshlp for all those who work in the Reich instead of the frenzy of the class struggle." It requires no particularly active imagination to picture the "peace and friendship" that the new National Socialist "Labor Front," with its power arbitrarily to fix wages and conditions of work, will bring, now that it is no longer hampered in its subservience to capital by the existence of trade-union organizations. Meanwhile, the Nazi judges are undertaking sadistic orgies of persecution. Six Communist workers were beheaded in Köln last week for their participation in a street fight before the accession of Hitler, in which a Brown Shirt soldier was killed. In the same week ten other Communists were condemned to death for a similar offence. Berlin is witnessing the trial of fifty-three Communists for whom the State Attorney demands capital punishment ; in Dresden eighty-nine members of the Socialist Workers' party were sentenced to 200 years in prison. Up to November, 15,600 Communists and Socialists had been charged with high treason in fifty-six cities under the Göring law, which permits the death penalty for those found guilty. Now the government announces its intention of staging a monster trial of more than 1,000 Socialists and Communist "traitors," arrested since that time, to set an example to other rebellious elements in the Reich. In the language of Göring and Hitler this can mean only one thing : the mass slaughter of men and women who dared to criticize the present regime.

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Beware of American Drugs

A drastric pure food and drugs Act has been long overdue in America. Now that an Act on this line is going to be passed there, many shocking irregularities in the food and drug preparations are being revealed. Mr. Jonathan Mitchell writes in the same paper :

In the Federal Food and Drug Administration's building in Washington is a little room lined with exhibits of dangerous and fake patent medicines, cosmetics and foods. The bottles, tubes, jars and food packages are neatly mounted on composition board, with legends beneath them describing the various kinds of death, permanent injury and loss of money suffered by their purchasers. The room is not a pleasant place ; in the Food and Drug Administration it is known as the chamber of horrors. However, it gives you some notion of what the drug interests in fact mean when they speak of property rights and free Americans. What they mean is the right of medicine manufacturers to make 500 and 1,000-percent profits from credulous, ignorant and dying people.

The exhibits in the chamber of horrors fall into a number of distinct groups. First and most important are the patent medicines which are either injurious in themselves or else worthless for the deadly diseases they pretend to cure. A typical example—one cited in a recent newsreel talkie made by Mr. Tugwell in defense of the administration's bill—is Banbar. Banbar is made by the L. B. Barlett Company of Pittsburgh, and sells for $ 12 a medium-sized bottle. Its

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label bears the line: "For the diabetic." It is in fact made from a fairly common weed called horsetail, and its therapeutic value is close to zero.

On the exhibit in the chamber of horrors, beneath a Banbar bottle and a glass jar containing a sprig of horsetail, are two groups of photostats. One group consists of copies of some twenty-five testimonials raceived by the L. B. Barlett Company from sufferers from diabetes. These testimonials were investigated by the federal authorities, and the second group of photostats embodies the results of the investigation. It consists of the death certificates of each of the testimonial writers, recorded within an average of a year from the day the testimonial was written.

Not long ago the federal authorities proceeded against the L. B. Barlett Company in the courts. Dr. Eliot P. Joslin of Harvard Medical School, international authority on diabetes, appeared as a government expert, and testified to Banbar's complete worthlessness. But because of the flagrant loopholes in the existing pure food and drugs law—which has remained substantially unchanged since it was obtained in 1906 by Dr. Harvey W. Wiley after a ferocious fight with the medicine makers—the L. B. Barlett Company was acquitted, and Banbar is still being sold for $ 12 the bottle.

Another exhibit is Marmola, made by the Radalam Company of Detroit. Marmola is a "popular number" in the big drug-store chains. It contains—or has contained—thyroid extract, and is advertised widely as a remedy for excessive weight. According to the legend beneath the Marmola bottle in the chamber of horrors, when taken by normal individuals it may lead to "loss of appetite, nausea, insomnia, palpitation of the heart, sweating, fevers and delirium." A similar case is that of Renton's Hydrocin Tablets, information about which has only recently been compiled by the Food and Drug Administration. Renton's Hydrocin Tablets are made by the Renton Company, Pasadena, California, sell for $ 1.50 a bottle and are advertised for the relief of pain, especially rheumatism and arthritis. The tablets contain cinchopin, the indiscriminate use of which as a drug has been protested by various medical authorities. Taken over a sufficient period of time, cinchopin can bring about atrophy of the liver, and six cases of death from cumulative cinchopin poisoning have lately been reported by the Mayo clinic of Rochester, Minnesota.

The most shameful exhibits in the chamber of horrors, perhaps, are those of poisonous cosmetics. This is the section in which you find photographs of people blinded, and with faces scarred and eaten away. There is a set of photographs of a young Ohio girl, victim of a preparation called Lash Lure, made by a firm in Los Angeles and containing a coal-tar dye. The Food and Drug Administration has a photograph of this girl before her injury; she is unusually lovely. Another photograph is taken in the hospital, her eyes are gone and the flesh around them is a mass of tortured scars. When damage suits were brought by a number of victims against Lash Lure, its discoverable assets were less than a thousand dollars.

The final group of exhibits in the chamber of horrors consists of deceptively packaged and fraudulently advertised foods. The most striking exhibit is Towle's Log Cabin Syrup, two cabin-shaped cans of which are mounted side by side. One can is for sale in those states requiring complete truthfulness in food advertising, and bears the legend, "25 per cent maple syrup and 75 percent cane-sugar syrup." Its brother can for sale over the rest of the country, states simply, "made from cane sugar and maple syrup." Other exhibits display ice cream puffed up to nearly twice its legitimate volume with air, chicken á la King containing just one prominently placed, razor-thin slab of chicken, noodles disguised by transparent coloured paper, fruit jam contaning no fruit.

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NOTES

The Earthquake

The history of India, ancient, mediæval or modern, does not record an earthquake which was more destructive and devastating in its effects than or even approximately as catastrophic as that which shook some parts of northern India on the 15th of January last. North Bihar has suffered most, and the independent kingdom of Nepal next to it; other regions have suffered little or not at all. The loss of life and property in Bihar has been appalling. No exact estimate of the number of persons killed or injured has yet been made, nor all the dead bodies yet extracted from under the debris of the houses which are in ruins. Even an approximate estimate of the number of the dead will never perhaps be made. For no record has been kept of the dead bodies thrown into rivers or burned during the first few days after the disaster. The official and non-official estimates differ very greatly. And as yet even guesses have been made as to the casualties only in the towns. The villages have not yet been systematically visited. Perhaps when the final estimate is made as to the number of men, women and children killed in the urban and rural areas, it would not be a matter for surprise if the total came up to a hundred thousand.

As for Nepal, it is said that more than three thousand persons have been killed and three of the biggest towns, including Kathmandu, the capital, are in ruins. In many cases whole families have been wiped out. In more, some survivors remain to mourn the loss of their near and dear ones. In some cases, persons have been dug out alive from under the debris, which shows that if rescue work had been undertaken promptly and systematically, a larger number of lives could have been saved. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru says it took three days for the terrible news to leak out. The Bihar officials seem to have been dazed and unnerved by the stupendous cataclysm. According to the Pandit, the Government having woken up from their torpor has realized the gravity of the situation three or four days after the event. As regards medical and other relief, his impression was that some officials disliked the idea of any activity that was not completely under them—an attitude which was completely out of place in face of the great disaster. Mr. Nehru also adds that the villages are sadly neglected.

The first thing to do after the calamity was to establish communications. This was not done, with the result that, not to speak of newspapers, even the nearest relatives of persons in the affected areas could not send express telegrams several days after the event. The number of messages held up at Muzaffarpur was 7,000. After the establishment of telegraphic communications, communications by road and rail required to be attended to. Whatever neglect or delay may have taken place at first, it is to be hoped the Bihar Government is now thoroughly alive to its duties.

A regular aerial survey of the whole affected area should be undertaken at once, if it has not been done already.

The careful clearing of the debris under expert supervision and the disposal of dead

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bodies by burning or burial should be completed as quickly as possible, in order to prevent the outbreak of epidemics. A sufficient supply of wholesome, uncontaminated water is also necessary for the same purpose and for the purpose of relieving distress. For in many places, wells and other sources of water-supply have either dried or choked up.

The sufferings of the people whose houses and all have been destroyed or who have lost the bread-winners of their families, are indescribable—nay, unimaginable. Some kind of temporary shelter, in temporary huts or under canvas, must be immediately provided for the homeless. Clothing and blankets have also to be provided. The need of water-supply has already been referred to. Perhaps the boring of numerous tube-wells is the most practicable plan for this purpose. Wholesome simple food, including milk for babies, has to be supplied to tens of thousands.

All this means the expenditure of a mint of money. Of course the Government of Bihar cannot find all the money required. The Government of India must come to the rescue. The Viceroy has opened a relief fund, which is being liberally subscribed to, the biggest donation announced till now (January 27) being one lakh from the Maharaja of Gondal.

But the people of India have not left the work of relieving distress to the rulers. Before any leader had appealed to them, relief had begun to be given, and relief parties had gone from Bengal with money, food, clothing, blankets, medicine, etc. All the other provinces have also joined in this sacred duty. And all leaders, of greater or less prominence and belonging to different religious communities, have issued their appeals, and some have also begun to make collections. The Calcutta Mayor's Fund has been swelling day by day. It is a silver lining to the cloud that this terrible blow of Nature has revealed the fact of the whole of the Indian people being kin. Funds are being raised in foreign countries also. It may not be possible for a subject, depressed and impoverished people like the Indians to display the buoyancy, the energy, the methodicalness, the spirit of brother-help and the team spirit displayed by the independent Japanese people after the earthquake which laid Tokyo and other places low. But it is to be hoped that the achievement of Indians will not be unworthy of the great ancient country to which they belong. Let everything be done according to a well thought-out and laid-out plan.

In this connection, *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* observes in its issue of the 23rd January last :

> His Majesty the King-Emperor's message of sympathy for the distressed people of Bihar has been much appreciated in this country. The calamity which has befallen Bihar is undoubtedly one of the greatest in record in the whole of the British Empire. This being so, the Indian people expected the Royal donation to be much bigger than £150—the amount Their Majesties have contributed. Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Willingdon have started the Viceroy's Fund with a donation of Rs. 5,000. Sir Samuel Hoare was "much distressed to learn of the serious nature of the earthquake disaster." He has made no personal donation yet. One may say in this connection that in the great earthquake of 1923 in Japan the Emperor of Japan gave out of his private purse 10,000,000 yen and the Japan Government 30,780,000 yen from the State Treasury.

Development of Earthquake Centre in Bihar ?

It has been surmised that probably an earthquake centre has been developing in Bihar. It is to be hoped that the apprehension is unfounded. But, if Bihar does become an earthquake region, there should not be any panic and stampede of people from Bihar. The fatalism of the people of India has been a handicap in many directions. But it should be of advantage to them at least in developing the requisite degree of stoicism to dwell in an earthquake region. Japan is subject to not infrequent earthquake shocks. But the Japanese have not left their hearths and homes. Every now and then, there are tremors and volcanic eruptions from Mount Vesuvius in Italy. But the Italians have not deserted its neighbourhood. The sloping sides of Vesuvius are cultivated almost to the vicinity of the crater.

Whatever regions of the earth we may inhabit, we cannot have a permanent lease with corporeal immortality anywhere.

House Building in Bihar & Nepal

Temporary housing accommodation has to be provided immediately for the sufferers from

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the earthquake. But before the construction of houses of a more permanent character, whether inexpensive or costly, is undertaken, official and non-official engineers and architects should publish plans, with descriptions of building materials, of various kinds of houses for the poor, the middle class and the wealthy which are likely to resist earthquake shocks of at least moderate intensity to some extent. Plans and materials followed and used in Japan and other earthquake regions should be considered and adopted as far as necessary and practicable.

Future of Agriculture in Bihar

In many parts of northern Bihar where there was formerly dry land, there is now water, and some tracts of fertile agricultural land have also been covered with sand. A remedy has to be found and the peasant proprietors or cultivators of these lands have to be helped to get land elswhere, or, if possible, to remove the sand from the surface of the sand-covered areas.

Bihar Sugar Mills and Suger-cane Crop

On account of the earthquake several sugar mills in Bihar have been greatly damaged and their working stopped. This means considerable loss to the shareholders or other proprietors. But as they are comparatively well-to-do people, they may be expected to tide over their difficulties without extraneous help. The case of the agriculturists who supply them with sugar-cane is more pitiable and deserves immediate and careful consideration. They have grown thousand of tons of sugar-cane in expectation of sale. But mills which could have purchased them cannot now do so. Other mills, which are in working order, are situated at a distance and have their own sources of supply of sugar-cane, and cannot buy the surplus cane from the villages in the earthquake areas. Even if they could buy, the roads being damaged, there is no easy means of conveying the cane to these mills. Under the circumstances Babu Rajendra Prasad's suggestion seems to us the best, and practicable, too. He suggests that the village cane-crushing mills, put out of action by the establishment of huge sugar factories, be re-started and others purchased, and all the sugar-cane locally crushed. The juice obtained may be turned into *gur* or raw sugar, and this may be afterwards refined and white sugar obtained from it.

Physical and Moral Causes of Earthquakes

Scientists can communicate to us what they know or can conjecture regarding the physical causes of earthquakes. Religious-minded persons also have their theories. They are inclined to say and some of them do say that earthquakes are a visitation for human sins. Our knowledge of the causation of events is so limited that we cannot dogmatically assert either that there is or that there is not any causal connection between cosmic cataclysms and human transgressions and derelictions. But we find it difficult to accept the theory that earthquakes have any connection with human sins of omission and commission. For, taking into consideration the recent earthquake, it cannot be asserted that the people of north Bihar were more sinful than other people, or that the people of the towns and villages which have suffered most were the most sinful, or that in those towns and villages those who were killed or injured or lost their houses and other property were the most sinful.

The lesson which all of us can and should learn from earthquakes and other similar destructive agencies is that, whether sufferers or not, we are all temporary lessees of the earth and may be turned out without even a moment's notice, and that, therefore, we should make the best use of our term of tenancy and be free from worldly attachments, never putting off till to-morrow what good we can and ought to do to-day, and that, as we are or may be in the same sad plight, we owe one another all possible active fraternal sympathy.

New Right Honourables

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and His Highness the Aga Khan have been made Privy Councillors on last New Year's Day. They are henceforth to be styled the Right Honourable so-and-so.

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In the days of the Bengal Partition agitation it was held officially that there was a Right Gh—and a Wrong Gh—. We wonder whether there are any *Wrong* Honourables now !

Except in the case of those who are 'decorated' with titles for literary, scientific and professional eminence—perhaps to make or keep them duly grateful and subservient, which object is not always fully or partially gained, titles are meant as rewards for political services or for abstention from political disservice to the Government. It may, therefore, be inferred that, as both the Aga Khan and Dr. Sapru have been equally rewarded, their services to the British Government in connection with the Round Table Conference, the White Paper and the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee have been considered similar and equal. His Highness the Right Honourable Aga Khan has served his community and indirectly also the British Government by standing up for a communalistic constitution, not a democratic and nationalistic one. The Right Honourable Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has served the British Government by not standing up irreconcilably for a democratic and nationalistic constitution and perhaps also by not insisting on justice to the Hindu community, to which he belongs. For his professional eminence he was entitled to a privy councillorship long ago.

British Peerage and Indians

It is said that there was a talk of raising Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and the Aga Khan to the British peerage, but it could not be done on account of the fact that both the Hindu and the Mussalman can be legally polygamous, whereas British peers must be monogamous. Of course, the fact that a British Christian can be and sometimes is illegally polygamous, does not stand in the way of his becoming a lord and sitting in the British House of Lords. There is no question of ethics involved. Illegal polygamy is worse than legal polygamy —particularly so far as the female partners and their children are concerned. It is no loss, but a gain that Hindus and Moslems cannot become British lords.

Home in Brazil for Assyrians

A *Reuter's* telegram, dated London, January 19, 1934, runs as follows :

The Council of the League at Geneva discus the Assyrian question at some length this after Sir John Simon expressed thanks of the Co to Brazil for the offer to settle on agricultural l in Brazilian territorry the whole of Assyrian Iraq, numbering about 10,000 persons.

Sir John Simon said that it was the first ti in history that an entire people emigrated another part of the world and he emphasized successful outcome of the League's efforts to get problem settled.

Special committees have been set up, one in L and one in Brazil, to investigate the methods migration and the most suitable territory. meet the costs of the enquiry 20,000 Swiss fr have been voted.

Sir John Simon is literally correct in statement. For it is difficult to say whether Assyrians, whose religion is not mentioned, leaving their hearths and homes of their o accord or are doing so because they f it impossible to live in Iraq peaceful honourably and safely in the midst of th Moslem compatriots, who are in overwhelming majority.

History does record other mass transf of people. For example, in 1755 some thousands French inhabitants of Nova Sco were deported and dispersed by the victori English. Readers of Longfellow's *Evang* should know the details. Again, as one of t results of the last great war, Grek inhabita in Turkish territory were transferred to Gr territory. The South African Union w fain expel Indians from South Africa.

The history of this emigration of Assyrians, who are among the remnants of of the most ancient civilized peoples of earth, to the antipodes, is to be found bri stated in the last three issues of *News Overseas* published by the League of Nati In August 1933 we read in the papers the massacre of considerable numbers Assyrians in Iraq. In consequence of event, the Council of the League endeavou to find means of resettling in some co country the members of the Assyrian min in Iraq and set up a committee for purpose.

This decision was taken after a discussi the petition from Mar Shimun, the Patriar the Assyrians, which had been brought befor Council by its Minorities Committee (cons of the representatives of Mexico, the Irish State and Norway). The Council also had it the Iraqi Government's observations on petitions.

The report adopted by the Council and up by the representative of Spain says that :

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"The petitions contain information relating to events which took place last August in the Mosul area, when, it is asserted, some of the Assyrian population suffered treatment which, if these reports should prove correct, the Council could not hesitate to condemn. The Iraqi Government, on the other hand, alleges that the events complained of by the petitioner were consequent upon measures it was obliged to take to put down an armed rising of Assyrian rebels, in which, it suggests, the petitioner himself was not wholly unconcerned, and such an attitude on the part of members of the minority would also, of course, deserve energetic condemnation by the Council. It should also be observed that, until these events took place, the Iraqi Government was carrying on in normal conditions the settlement of the Assyrians."

The Council expressed its regret at having to deal with a case such as this and took note of the assurances given by the representative of Iraq, Yassin Pacha al Hashin, to the effect that his Government were determined to do all in their power to prevent any repetition of such regrettable incidents. It thought no useful purpose would be served by instituting an enquiry, and still less by merely making recommendations to the Iraqi Government. One of the greatest difficulties of the question was that part of the Assyrian population of Iraq would prefer to leave the country if it were given the indispensable facilities and reasonable guarantees that its departure, and especially its resettlement in a country not necessarily adjacent to Iraq, would be effected under completely satisfactory conditions. The Iraqi Government, for its part, had declared itself willing to contribute as generously as its resources permitted to facilitate the settlement outside Iraq of the Assyrians who wished to leave. It had asked the assistance of the League in finding lands for settlement.

When this decision came before the League Council, the representative of Iraq said that the

investigations carried out by his Government had shown that, in the heat of action and in the course of the subsequent pursuit, some elements of the army had acted with excessive severity and certain tribesmen had raided the abandoned villages. There had been innocent victims. The Iraqi Government did not wish to conceal the fact that excesses had been committed, and sincerely deplored them. It thought the only solution, in view of the attitude of the Assyrian minority, was that those elements of the minority who were taking part in or had been influenced by the recent rising should be settled outside Iraq. He deplored the fact that the situation was such as to permit of no other solution.

Sir John Simon, the British Foreign Secretary, said:

It was a profound disappointment that the Council, which had discussed the question of the Assyrian minorities in December 1932, should so soon after have to take it up again in such circumstances. The Iraqi representative had admitted at the Council table that certain parts of the Assyrian population had been treated last August in a way that deserved the severest condemnation. It was true that the documents submitted to the Council showed that a substantial part of the Assyrian population had acted in a reprehensible manner toward the Iraqi Government, but this fact could not be considered to justify the excesses that had been committed. But the Council should look to the future and not to the past. He was in favour of the proposals contained in the Council report.

The French representative, M. Paul-Boncour, was also in favour of the Committee's recommendations and said that conversations were already going on between the Iraqi and the Syrian Governments with a view to settling a certain proportion of the Assyrian refugees. But, unhappily, the power of Syria to absorb immigrants was strictly limited, and the solution could not be reached unless it were possible to settle the Assyrians in countries other than those bordering on Iraq.

In accordance with the Council report, a Committee was set up consisting of M. de Madariaga, Chairman (Spain), and the representatives of Denmark, France, Italy, Mexico and the United Kingdom. Its task is to take, in close co-operation with the Iraqi Government, all such steps as it may think fit to prepare and execute a detailed scheme for settlement outside Iraq of such Assyrians as may express the desire to leave the country. The report stipulates that the Assyrians who remain in Iraq must be regarded as a minority to which the Iraqi declaration would be applicable, guaranteeing full equality before the law, all civic rights and liberties and full cultural and religious freedom. The report also points out that the Assyrians would be bound by the obligations of loyalty to the Iraqi State incumbent upon all citizens of a country.

The Council asked that, in view of the profound anxiety caused by recent events, the Iraqi Government would be good enough to keep its Committee regularly informed, until such time as the expatriation of the Assyrians had been completed, of the measures taken to ensure the safety of the Assyrians in Iraq, to assist the families left destitute in consequence of the events of last August, and to rebuild the villages which had been wholly or partly destroyed at that time.

The Iraqi Government undertook to do all in its power to facilitate the departure of dissatisfied Assyrians and to help the League in carrying out its tasks.

It may be that when the Assyrian emigrants have settled in Brazil, they will lose their individuality, and all trace of this ancient people, who have existed as a distinct entity for so many millenniums, will be lost.

It is a great historical tragedy. But it is better to emigrate in peace than to be exterminated.

The Hindu Mahasabha and the League of Nations

Dr. Radhakumud Mukerji of the Lucknow University has issued the following statement to the Press:

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"The League of Nation's reply to the Ajmer Hindu Mahasabha resolution has been misunderstood by people. It merely states that the League's resolution on minorities does not confer any powers on the League to enforce it. But the League has unanimously and, with India voting for it, re-affirmed that resolution, which was originally passed in 1922. It was re-affirmed in 1933 in October, the very month when the Mahasabha adopted its resolution at Ajmer.

"The League's resolution expects every member to observe the principle of minority protection, as established in the minorities treaties, in the treatment of its respective minorities. The Mahasabha's simple point is that those principles are grossly violated in the Government's communal award. Even the state of Iraq declared for those principles the other day in gaining admission to the League.

"If the League's principles are found to be too high for India, the more honourable course for her will be to resign her membership of the League as being too heavy a cultural burden for her, and to part company with the society of civilized nations. India today, alone among 55 States-members of the League, is flouting the League's decision on minority protection and the minorities treaties, of which she is herself one of the authors, instead of upholding the authority of the League as one of the original members."

"The Mahasabha proposes to submit a last appeal on the subject to His Majesty's Government and to its many ministers who are League-minded and warm supporters of the League."

The Indian Social Reformer of Bombay observes :

> The Mahasabha need not be sorry. Though the League under its constitution cannot deal with the question at its formal sessions, the members unofficially have been made aware of its views. Some one asked the late Mr. Ranade why he took so much pains over representations and memorials, knowing full well that none of them will have any effect on the powers that be. Ranade replied that he had no illusions in the matter, but that his object in drafting these model documents was to educate his countrymen and to train the public to deal with administrative questions. The Hindu Mahasabha has cast its bread on the waters and may console itself with the hope that it will find it after many days.

"The Communal Decision and the Poona Pact" : An Unauthorized Manifesto

We left Calcutta on the 25th December last and returned on the 15th January. On our return we found on our office table some copies of a printed document with the title, "The Communal Decision and the Poona Pact: A Manifesto." It is not stated therein who has issued it, but it is printed at Sree Saraswaty Press, Ltd., Calcutta. It purports to have been signed by 28 persons, one of whom is the editor of this review. As he never signed any such manifesto, we must treat it as an unauthorized document which need not be discussed.

Alleged Excesses in Midnapore Disfrict

The following resolution was passed at a crowded meeting of the citizens of Calcutta held in Albert Hall on January 17 under the presidency of Mr. A. K. Fuzlul Huq, an ex-Minister :

> "This meeting of the citizens of Calcutta feels staggered at the reports relating to the flogging of persons, destruction of property, forcing villagers to salute the Union Jack, and other excesses alleged to have been committed upon peaceful people in connection with the Route Marches of Troops in the Sub-division of Contai and elsewhere in Midnapore, and enters its emphatic protest against the short-sighted policy of repression which is not only uncalled for but is also inexpedient.
>
> "This meeting further resolves to form a committee of the following persons with a view to explore the means of remedy and the measures of securing redresses to the aggrieved people in the affected areas :—Messrs. Fuzlul Huq, J. N. Basu, B. N. Sasmal, J. C. Gupta, B. K. Basu, Satyanand Bose and P. Banerjee with powers to co-opt."

In the course of his presidential address Mr. Fuzlul Huq said that he consented to preside over this meeting,

> because I feel, and feel very strongly, that a discussion of these affairs vitally affects members of the Hindu community of Midnapore exclusively it is very fitting and proper that one of my community should come forward to associate himself with you in order to make it clear to the Government and the officials that although the oppression or excesses, whatever they might have been, have been directed against a particular community, the other communities also have got the full sympathy with the victims of these excesses of oppression, and that in a moment like this the Mahomedan community is perfectly prepared to stand side by side with you.
>
> "Let it not be supposed that on an occasion like this the Hindu community is absolutely isolated. You are not, my dear friends. If you take upon yourselves a particular course of conduct, if you think a particular measure is necessary to voice your protest, you have behind you not merely the millions of Hindus but also 29 millions of Mahommedans . . .
>
> "Gentlemen, I feel strongly that the course of conduct that the Government has adopted with reference to these happenings at Midnapore is absolutely a move in the wrong direction."

Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee read out certain letters in which police excesses have been alleged. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who

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was present at the meeting, said in the course of his speech :

Although he was speaking as an individual he believed that he was representing the feelings of other provinces, especially the feelings of his colleagues in the United Provinces, when he said that other provinces of India were keenly feeling the misfortunes that had overtaken Bengal.

Number of Bengal Detenus and Internees

During interpellations in the Bengal Council on Monday the Home Member (Mr. R. N. Reid) said that the total number of internees and detenus was 1,749.

In reply to Mr. Kishori Mohan Chaudhuri, the Home Member gave the following figures of detenus :

Number in Dentention Camps	766
Number in Jails (including Deoli Detention Jail) under section 2 (1) of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act	625
Number interned in villages	255
Number interned at home	104
Total	1,749

Following the suggestion of Rai S. K. Das Bahadur that with a view to effect economy, the number of village internees might be reduced with a corresponding increase in the number of home internees, the Home Member said that the question being one of public interests and public safety was to be decided by the Government and he was not in a position to give a considered answer at this stage.

He also declined to give the amount of allowances the detenus receive.

It is to be noted that all these persons have been deprived of their liberty without trial, on the suspicion of the police.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on Rammohun Roy

During his recent visit to Calcutta Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was given an address of welcome on behalf of the Students' Rammohun Centenary Exhibition Committee. He made a speech in reply, in the course of which he said among other things :

"I was a school boy in England when we used to read the doings in Bengal. I well remember how I used to be fired up by those acts. Before the national movement grew strong and included all India it was Bengal that really stood for Indian nationalism and Indian freedom."

Addressing the students the Pandit said : "It is you who will form the coming generation. You will function in the public activities. Todays are rapidly merged into yesterdays. Tomorrows are yours. Therefore it is for you to think and make up your mind what that tomorrow is going to be. Bengal has never had to bear a crisis as it has today. But, as a matter of fact, the crisis is not Bengal's monopoly. It has faced all India. It has faced the whole world. Bengal, however, during the last two or three years, had to bear a larger share of the burden. The only other province that might be compared with it in that respect was the North-Western Frontier Province, which had to bear a terrible burden.

Regarding the object of his visit in the exhibition he said, "I have come here partly because it is always a great pleasure to me to meet young men and partly to pay my tribute of respect to him in whose name you are holding the celebration." He was in favour of occupying himself with what he termed aggressive political activities rather than with other activities which, though undoubtedly important, was not the need of the hour. He thought he should not associate himself with what he considered as a side-issue of the moment.

He advocated the use of 'Swadeshi' articles and exhorted everyone to take up its constructive side. But, Panditji added, no reforms, economic, moral or psychological, could take root until the fundamental problem of the freedom of the country is solved.

Pandit Jawaharlal feelingly referred to the "contribution of Raja Rammohun Roy towards India's uplift."

He came at a time when India was in a ferment. It was extremely difficult to get out of the old ruts and it required remarkable wisdom and courage. The Raja possessed that courage and wisdom. "Raja Rammohun Roy," asserted Panditji, "was a rebel. He was no doubt in good terms with the British authorities; and yet, in spite of that, he was fundamentally a rebel. He saw the change coming and did not submit to the conditions simply because they managed to exist. Romain Rolland, the great French savant had said 'thought, if not put into action is abortion.' The Raja translated into action what he thought in his life.

Academic Conference of Bengalis Residing Outside Bengal

A Gorakhpur correspondent of *The Leader* wrote to it :

Gorakhpur, Dec. 29.

The 11th session of the All-India Bengali Literary Conference was held under the presidentship of Mr. A. P. Sen, Bar-at-law, Lucknow.

There were in all eleven sectional sittings with the following as the presiding chairmen over the respective deliberations :—History : Prof. Surendra Nath Bhattacharya (Benares) ; Greater Bengal : Dr. Prasannakumar Acharya (Allahabad) ; Literature : Pandit Rajendranath Vidyabhusan (Benares) ; Philosophy : Prof. C. C. Mitra (Delhi) ; Music : Babu Dwijendranath Sanyal (Lucknow) ; Pedagogy : Prof. Devnarain Mukherjee (Agra) ; Journalism : Babu Ramananda Chatterjee (Calcutta) ; Art : Babu Kusolkumar Mukherjee (Jaipur) ; Science :

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Dr. H. P. Sen (Cawnpore); Economics and Sociology: Prof. Jogeshchandra Mitra (Calcutta).

There was also a special sitting of the women's section, presided over by Shrimati Nistarini Devi Saraswati (Benares).

About 100 delegates from all over India attended the conference. Prominent among the distinguished visitors were :—The Hon. Mr. Justice Sir Lal Gopal Mukherjee, from Allahabad, Shrimati Anurupa Devi and Sjt, Kedarnath Banerjee of noted literary fame from Muzaffarpur and Benares respectively.

The management was in the hands of the reception committee of which Mr. C. C. Das was chairman and Mr. Kshitish Chandra Chatterjee, honorary secretary. There was also a corps of volunteers which included 50 boys and 20 girls, who looked after the comforts of the delegates and the visitors.

All-India Oriental Conference

About 500 members and delegates assembled in Baroda from different parts of India to attend the seventh session of the All-India Oriental Conference held there. It was a complete success. Mr. Kashi Prasad Jayaswal, the distinguished Indologist, presided over the session and delivered an interesting and stimulating address.

His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda and the Maharani Saheba attended the various sectional meetings on all the days. The scholars and authorities were greatly impressed by the Maharaja's familiarity with several abstruse and difficult topics.

The President conveyed the general view of the scholars that the Baroda session was unique in itself and a landmark in the history of the All-India Oriental Conference. "The arrangements made by the State and honorary workers," said Mr. Jayaswal, "will be long remembered. The invitation of the Hindu University of Benares for holding the next session has been accepted."

Mr. Jayaswal and others expressed satisfaction for the beautiful art-collection of the Hon. Col. Wier. One of the remarkable results attained by the Conference is the general view that the limits of Ancient Indian History must shift back by centuries, and that the time was ripe for undertaking the task by Indian scholars.

His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda gave a garden party to the visitors.

Dr. P. C. Bagchi, delivered a very interesting lecture on "Cultural relations of India with Central Asia," illustrating various relations with lantern slides.

In short, the conference did most useful work on a constructive basis. His Higness the Gaekwar of Baroda gave an inspiring impetus to the whole session by taking a very keen and sincere interest in all its activities. Baroda has enhanced the importance of original oriental research.

The food exhibition was inaugurated by H. H. the Gaekwar of Baroda, and people were taking keen interest in looking at the various items, and especially the products of "Soya Bean."

Chittagong Magistrate's Drastic Orders

An Englishman's house is said to be his castle. On reading the orders printed below people might think that a Chittagonian's house was his prison.

Chittagong, Jan. 1

The District Magistrate has issued an order directing all Hindu "Bhadralok" males in eight thanas adjoining the Kotwali of Chittagong up to the age of 25 to remain indoors for one week.

Another order prohibits (a) for 48 hours the running of trains on the main line to and from Chittagong with the exception of the Calcutta Mail and Assam Mail. These trains are not to stop at any place within the District to pick up or set down passengers, except at Chittagong, (b) prohibits for 48 hours on Chittagong-Nazirhat line trains except 47 Up and 42 down from stopping at any place between Chittagong and Hathazari, (c) prohibits for 48 hours on Chittagong-Dobazari line trains except 55 Up and 52 Down from stopping anywhere between Pativa and Chittagong. A third order prohibits for 48 hours the Barisal and Coxbazar steamers from taking up or setting down passengers until they passed the outer bar at Chittagong fort entrance.

The fourth order prohibits for 48 hours the plying of passenger launches on Karnafuli river.

The fifth order directs all the courts and offices under the control of the District Magistrate, Chittagong to be closed for 48 hours.

The sixth order prohibits for 48 hours motor traffic on Jularhta-Chittagong-Dacca road and Sholasahar crossing on Chittagong-Mathara road.

The orders were enforced from 10 this morning.—A. P. I.

Chittagong, Jan.

It is understood that the District Magistrate's notice ordering home internment for one month from January 25 has already been served on 3 persons, including 100 students of the Chittagong College.

Armed pickets still continue to guard six crossings—"Associated Press."

In a recent speech of his the Viceroy has declared that all the resources of the Government would be used to crush terrorism. Such declarations, taken with orders like those printed above, might give those who do not know the facts, the exaggerated impression that large areas in India were up in arms against the British raj.

Village homes and small-town homes in Bengal in numerous cases, perhaps in most cases, are not self-contained as regards water-supply, bath-rooms and privies.

People have to resort to rivers and tanks and fields for various essentially necessary purposes. When this is borne in mind,

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xtreme hardship of being compelled to live ndoors for a week at a stretch will be easily nderstood. There are many homes where he bread-winners and the purchasers of food nd other supplies from the market are young en up to the age of 25. These homes, too, ill be very seriously inconvenienced by the agistrate's orders. It should be noted that most all, if not all, the persons who are being t to trouble are perfectly innocent. Yet the agistrate appears to think that, in order to nt terrorism and to prevent the terrorists om getting new recruits, it is indispensably ecessary to pass orders which cannot but ve the effect of irritating large numbers of nocent persons and inducing in them a mood desperation.

ience Congress at Bombay

According to *The Bombay Sentinel*,

A striking discourse lasting for 90 minutes on the riddle of the universe was delivered by the President, to eminent scientists and scholars of India gathered at the 21st Indian Science Congress which was inaugurated by the Governor of Bombay at the University Convocation Hall on Tuesday afternoon.

Prof. Meghnad Saha, President of the Congress, said that it was impossible to have a complete grasp of the cosmological problems, unless one had some idea of the geography of the universe about us. "Travel with me through space," he said, "with the velocity of light and survey the heavens."

"In a second and a half, the moon is reached which is the nearest neighbour, in eight minutes the sun is passed, which is the source of light and life to us, then in a few hours' time, the last neighbour in the solar system Pluto is left behind and for four years we shall wobble in dust and cosmic radiation."

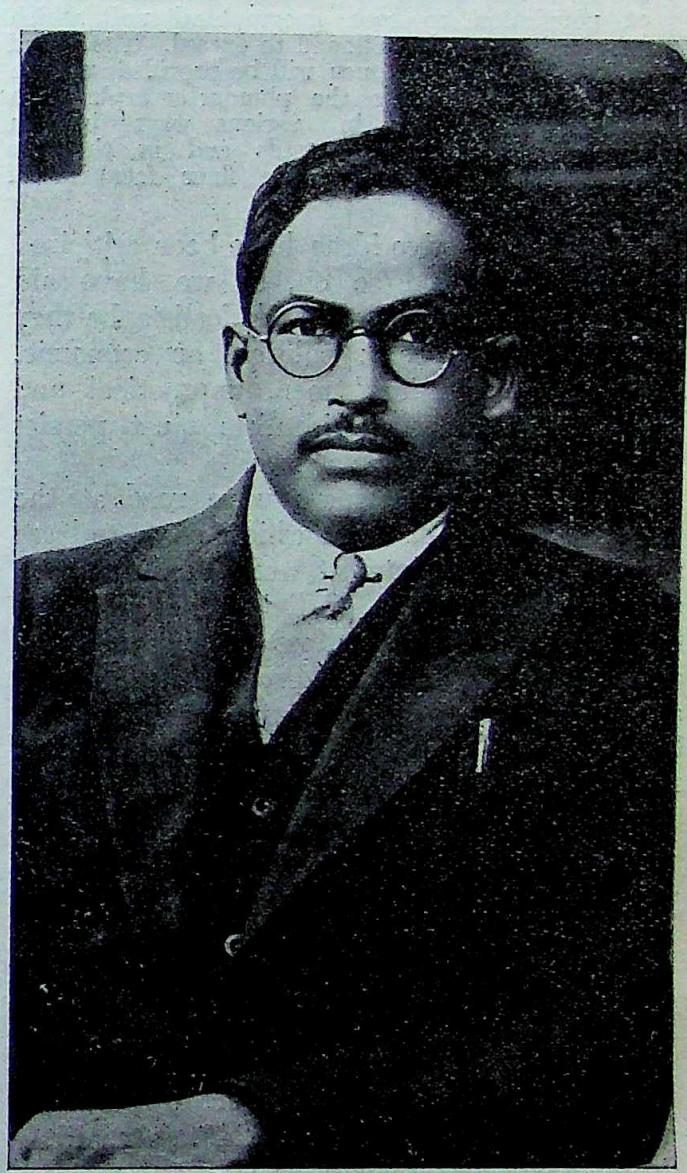
"From thence it takes eight years to make the acquaintance of Sirius, the wonderful companion of the heavens whose bright brilliancy—twenty-nine times the light of the sun—has given rise to innumerable stories and myths in the minds of all nations from the times of the Egyptians. A 135 years' cruise through the rich fields of luminaries and then a time may come when we shall reach the limit of the universe; then nothing but void will remain."

The same paper observes:

The presidental address was an eloquent plea for a closer co-operation between the workers of the scientific services of the Government and professors in universities. He urged that the State must awaken to the need for a proper organization of the scientific brains and pointed out that in other countries the co-operation was so complete that it was not unusual to find universities and services very often exchanging their workers to the mutual advantages of both. Here in India he failed to see that co-operation.

He suggested the formation of an Indian Academy of Science for the proper control and direction of scientific research in this country.

Elsewhere in this issue of *The Modern Review* we print an article on the proposed Indian Academy of Science.



Dr. Meghnath Saha

The following passage in Dr. Saha's address has been criticized in some quarters as being utopian and unpractical:

Owing to improved methods of communication and to much better contact between different parts of the world, the world is fast becoming one economic and cultural unit. But the politicians still persist in their Olympian attitudes.

Economic and scientific studies show that the world has resources enough for her whole population and if there be a rational programme of production and a programme of judicious and equitable distribution, nobody should suffer from

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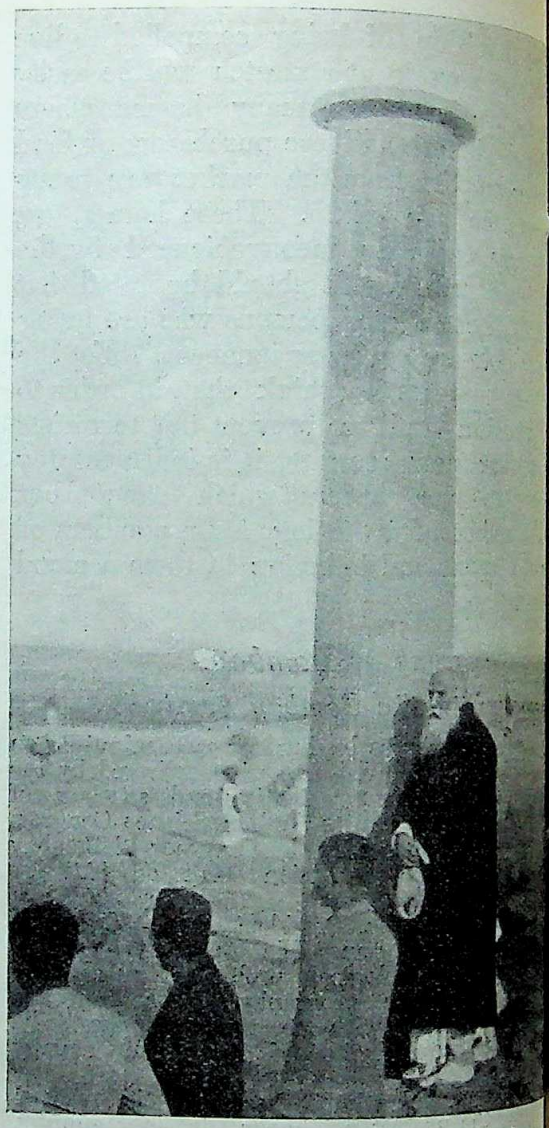
hunger and privation and everybody can afford to have much better amenities of life. But for this purpose rivalry amongst nations and communities should give way to co-operative construction and the politicians should hand over many of their functions to an international board of trained scientific industrialists and the distribution should be supervised by economists. The eugenists should devise means for assigning a fixed quota of population to each geographical unit, which it should not be allowed to exceed. The joy of life for the grown-up men will be provided not in designing means for the plunder or exploitation of our fellow men in various ways but in administering to their needs and in the free development and display of the finer faculties of mind.

These suggestive ideas have been criticized as unpractical and so on, as we have said above. But the idealism of all idealists, be they spiritual, moral, social, political or economic, appears to "practical" men, unpractical and utopian. Nevertheless, idealists must persist in disturbing our complacence.

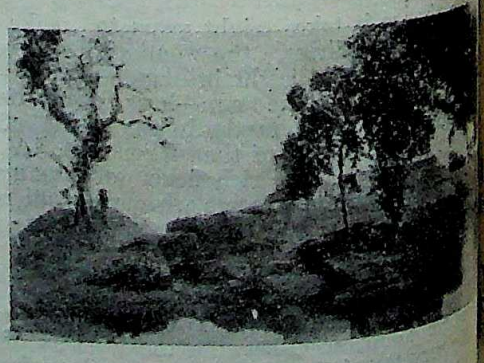
Many interesting papers were read at the Congress. Some of those which seem to have awakened public interest were Prof. Dastur's address on the nature of living matter, Prof. Sisir Kumar Mitra's address on broadcasting as a means of education, Prof. A. C. Banerji's address on the expanding universe, Lt.-Col. S. S. Sokhey's address on the relation of research to teaching in medical schools, etc.

Asoka Pillar at Lumbini

We took advantage of our recent visit to Gorakhpur to see the Asoka pillar at Lummini (Lumbini), now called Rummin Dei, which marks the spot known as the birth-place of the Buddha. It is in the independent kingdom of Nepal. The pillar was set up by the Emperor Asoka about B. C. 249. According to Mr. Gokalchand Nogratha, assistant engineer in charge of archæological works in Nepal Terai, it measures 25 feet from the upper portion of the base to the top. "It tapers slightly with a circumference of about 8 ft. 8 in. round the base, 7 ft. 5 in. near the inscribed portion and about 6 ft. 6 in. at the top. It is slightly leaning to the west at present, though it is not known since when it is so." It has a crack right down from the top straight to just below the inscription, but there is no trace of the same downwards. Mr. Nogratha told us that the crack might have been due to the monolith having been struck by lightning on some unknown date. The inscription remained intact. It records the fact Asoka visited and worshipped the spot after the 20th year of his reign and caused



Asoka Pillar at Lumbini. Editor of *The M Review* standing on one side.



General view of Lumbini

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Sculpture within the temple representing Maya Devi, her sister and infant son, etc.

Temple of Maya Devi

r to be set up, because the Buddha was
n here (*"hida Bhagavam jate-ti"*).
Near the pillar is the temple of Maya
i (Buddha's mother), containing her image
elief, holding the branch of a *Sal* tree, with
mages of her sister and the child Buddha,

oj Nalini Dutt Association

The Saroj Nalini Dutt Association for
en's welfare which held its annual meeting

last month, was founded by Mr. G. S. Dutt to perpetuate the memory of his departed wife, the late Srimati Saroj Nalini Dutt. According to an article in *Advance*,

> The Association which started only with 7 or 8 Mahila Samitis can now boast of nearly 450 such Samitis which are rendering valuable work to better the economic condition of our womenfolk. The members of these Samitis number more than 10,000. The Mahila Samitis are purely women's organizations composed or managed entirely by women and they afford ample scope for bringing out and developing their spirit of social service and capacity for organization. The Association has introduced into the hitherto stagnant life of the women of Bengal a magnetic force which is galvanising them into activities for the acquisition of a knowledge of domestic science, hygiene, the science of maternity and child welfare and for receiving training in various cottage industries.

Srimati Hemlata Devi

One of the most brilliant achievements of the Association has been the establishment of an industrial school in 1925. It was started with only 30 girl students on the rolls and now it claims more than 200 women, nearly half of which are widows and married women. The school, which is located at 60B, Mirzapore Street, Calcutta, teaches sewing, cutting, embroidery, chikon work, lace making, carpet weaving, cane work, drawing, literary education and music. The school has also opened a class of general nursing under the

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supervision of Dr. H. N. Ray, M.B. Dai training classes have been started in different districts in Bengal and several hundred professional dais and ladies have been trained and have been carrying on maternity work. Through the benefactions of the late Basanta Kumari Devi, wife of the late Sir Pratul Chatterjee, the Association has established the Basanta Kumari Bidhabasram at Puri where widows above the age of 16 are given an industrial and literary education under the supervision of Srimati Hemlata Tagore.

Srimati Hemlata Tagore is also one of the Secretaries of the Association and editor of its Bengali monthly organ "Bangalakshmi," and is usefully connected with some other philanthropic institutions.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on Work for "Old Ladies"

We find from the papers that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has issued the following statement:

> I find from some newspapers that I am supposed to have recommended social and village uplift work to my colleagues and that I myself propose to indulge in this activity. I have no such ambition, nor have my colleagues of the U. P. This kind of safe and pious activity can well be left to the old ladies. My colleagues and I work for the freedom of India and for ending all political and economic domination of Indian masses and we are prepared for the consequences of our action. We do not believe in safety-first.

If Pandit Jawaharlal had simply stated that his colleagues and he were working for the freedom of India and for ending all political and economic domination of the masses and not merely for social and village uplift, that, we think, would have quite sufficed to satisfy public curiosity regarding their plan of work. He need not have slightingly referred to social and village uplift work as "safe and pious activity" fit for "old ladies." To be an unflinching fighter when fighting is necessary is praiseworthy, but uncalled-for combativeness is waste of energy and merely irritates.

For more than a quarter of a century Rabindranath Tagore has been so convinced of the vital necessity of village revivification that his Visvabharati has a rural reconstruction department. Social and village uplift work is included in the Congress constructive programme and has been and is being done by young ladies and old ladies as well as young gentlemen and old gentlemen. The sight of decaying villages all over India led Mahatma Gandhi to declare that "to serve our vil... is to establish *Swaraj*. Everything el... but an idle dream."

There are literally old ladies in Con... ranks who also "do not believe in safety f... They have gone to jail as civil resisters, s... more than once.

It is not true, too, that social and vi... uplift work is safe. We do not refer m... to the fact that village workers in mala... or otherwise unhealthy areas may, and ... unoften do, fall ill and become invalid... also refer to the fact that social and v... uplift work is politically risky. For d... Bengal's long period of tribulations ... young men have been interned who inc... suspicion because of doing such work. ... of them fell seriously ill while under res... or confinement as detenus or internees ... few have even died in consequence. Of c... they were deprived of their liberty oste... as actual or would-be revolutionaries. ... they were never brought to trial, and n... has ever been proved against them.

Social and village uplift work is nec... for winning freedom, though it may be ind... ly, and should not, therefore, be referr... contemptuously. But even if such work ... not of indirect use in the struggle for fre... it ought to be done, because of its own ... sic value and necessity. When India be... politically free, our villages will become ... places to live in from all points of vie... society will also be more equitably ... humanely organized and freed from ... evils. But it is uncertain when the d... freedom will come. In the meantime ... our villages to continue for an indefinite ... period to be the undesirable places th... are? And is society also to continue ind... ly to labour under various curses? If n... social and village uplift work is fit ... undertaken not only by "old ladies" b... others also.

We recognize that political freedo... lead to village uplift but village uplift ... will not lead to political freedom. It ... true that village uplift work and social ... and reconstruction cannot be done satisfa... until and unless India is free. But th... not mean that such work cannot be d... some extent, or is unimportant or unnec...

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"Kulabhaskar Ashram" in Allahabad

Munshi Kaliprasad, the founder of the Kayastha Pathshala in Allahabad, was honoured by the Kayastha fraternity by the title of "Kulabhaskar" ("Sun of the caste") being conferred on him. A students' hostel connected with the Kayastha Pathshala has been named "Kulabhaskar Ashram" after him. We had occasion to visit this hostel in October last year. It is meant for very poor self-supporting students. Two of the houses in which they live are mere huts with mud walls, mud floors and roofs covered with country tiles, like the dwellings of the poorest. The boys themselves repair and whitewash the houses when necessary. Their expenses are met from the income of a dairy and a kitchen garden, of which they do all the work themselves without the help of servants. They are inspired with an admirable spirit of self-help.

M. C. C. Matches

The English lady who met all the expenses of the last British expedition to conquer the heights of the Himalayas took the world into her confidence as to her motives in doing so. By the achievement of the British expedition she wanted to show the Indians who were struggling to throw off British domination that the Britisher still possesses indomitable courage, grit and endurance. Who knows whether the M. C. C. have not been touring India to give an exhibition of British superiority in another way?

It were much to be wished that Indians could similarly tour Britain to give a demonstration of their manhood by playing some national game of their own. But even in a game like hockey, which is an exotic, Indians have shown that they can beat all the world.

As for cricket, it was only the enterprise of the Maharajkumar of Vizianagram which has enabled an Indian team to prove once at least at Benares that it can stand up to the visitors, who have carried the day everywhere else.

Nobody will contend that the regeneration of India depends on her sons shining in cricket—*mens sana in corpore sano* is possible without it. But why cannot those in India who are born with a silver or a golden spoon in their mouths, who have enough of nourishing food and plenty of leisure and can afford to keep trainers and who do nothing useful—why cannot they specialize in manly games and show the world that it is easy for Indians to excel in them? Big land-owning idlers all over India can render at least this service to their country.

Mr. J. N. Basu's Presidential Address

In his presidential address at the last session of the National Liberal Federation of India held at Madras, which was commendably brief, businesslike and to the point, Mr. J. N. Basu has shown that what the White Paper scheme offers is neither Dominion Status nor anything approaching it, that it is "overweighted with a tendency to keep back the progressive elements in the State by giving power and prominence to elements that lag behind in experience of work for general welfare and progress in various spheres of life," and that it merely "attempts to tone down some of the aggressive features of an autocratic State." Says he:

> The White Paper cannot be described as a document intended to bring about peace and contentment. It is aggressively reactionary in the matter of communal representation. It goes very much further than either the Minto-Morley scheme or the Montagu scheme in accentuating and elaborating separate communal electorates and seats in the legislatures. It sub-divides the Hindus. There is no recognized principle behind the scheme. What has been given to one community in one province has not been given to another community occupying the same position in another province. Instead of framing a constitution suitable for a modern government facing the future the White Paper seeks to drag us backward to earlier centuries.

Resolutions of the National Liberal Federation of India

The principal resolution or resolutions passed at the last session of the National Liberal Federation of India related to the White Paper scheme. Its criticism of that scheme is comprehensive and cogent. As pointed out by Mr. S. G. Vaze in *The Servant of India*, the Liberal Party's resolution goes much beyond the demand contained in the memoranda of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and the British Indian "delegation" to the so-called Round Table Conference.

"For instance, the Liberal resolution lays down that 'no scheme of reforms can meet India's require-

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ments or satisfy national aspirations or allay political discontent which does not confer the full power and status of a Dominion on India within a short period fixed by statute.' This is a very radical demand which neither Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru nor the British Indian delegation deemed it expedient to make. Perhaps they thought it rather extravagant to prefer such a demand. What the Liberal Party wants is not merely constitutional arrangements which, by their own momentum and in the natural course of development, will tend to bring about Swaraj at an early date, but an express provision in the constitution prescribing the establishment of Swaraj at a specified date, which must be sufficiently in the near future."

Mr. Vaze gives other examples also.

It must have been noted by everyone that the memoranda of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and the British Indian delegation have alterations to suggest in the White Paper only in so far as it affects the British Government ; they have none to suggest in so far as it affects the States. The Round Tablers say in effect : We accept the Princes' conditions, but we don't accept the British Government's. The Liberal Party repudiates this position. It sees grave danger in the attitude of the Princes as well as of the British Government. If we get the latter to relax or even eliminate all the safe-guards mentioned in the White Paper, even then the terms on which the Princes are willing to come into the federation will destroy both self-government and poular government. This is the plain meaning of the resolution the Liberal Federation has adopted. See how heavy are the demands it makes on the Princes. It asks that—

(*i*) all the representatives of the States in the Assembly be elected members, indirect election being permitted in their case as a transitory measure for a fixed period ;

(*ii*) that fundamental rights of citizenship be guaranteed to the subjects of Indian States in the federal constitution ;

(*iii*) that the Crown's rights of pramountcy over the States be exercised by the Government of India as at present, and not by the Viceroy, as proposed in the White Paper ;

(*iv*) that, under suitable safe-guards, the federal legislature itself be given the power to amend the constitution, the consent of individual States not being required for such amendment to take effect in any constituent unit of federation.

An Attempt to Meet Criticism of Liberal Party's Position

According to Mr. Vaze, the Liberal Party's resolution might or would be criticized as follows :

The resolution itself leaves very little to be desired. It embodies demands to which the most extreme politicians can subscribe with little scruple. But how are Liberals going to follow it out? What will they be doing to implement it ? What in other words, are the sanctions which they will apply if the improvements which they recommend are not given effect to, as they themselves know and say will not be given effect to ? And what are these resolutions worth, if they have no force at the back of them ?

His answer is :

The Liberal Party has no convincing reply to make to it. But this is not the fault of the Liberal Party, but the misfortune of every single party in the country. For the Liberal Party may address the same question to other parties including the Congress, and none of them will be able to return a satisfactory answer. The fact is that we are all in the depths of political depression and it will serve no useful purpose for one party to be twitting another with inactivity and impotence. The wiser course will be for all of us to put our special gifts in the common pool and thus help, each in its way, to fill the deficiencies of the other and make the country at least a little stronger than it would be with our isolated efforts in different and even opposite ways.

This reply is good so far as it goes. But it cannot conceal from public view the fact that the Congress cannot be charged with "inactivity" in the sense in which the Liberal Party has been inactive. Congress activity has involved much sacrifice and suffering ; Liberal activity, if any, involved none. Congress will not work but will oppose any unsatisfactory constitution framed for India. The Liberals are expected to work any constitution, however unsatisfactory. We do not mean merely that they will enter the councils—some Congressmen may also do so to be in opposition to the Government ; we mean also that the Liberal Party will supply men to hold office as Ministers, etc., in order to derive advantage, if any, including *personal* advantage, from even a very retrograde constitution.

Therefore there is an essential difference between Congress and Liberal principles and practice.

Mr. G. K. Devadhar's Presidential Address

The revival of the annual session of the Indian National Social Conference in December last at Madras is a matter for congratulation—particularly as it could secure so able a person as Mr. G. K. Devadhar, who is both a thinker and a worker, to preside over its deliberations. In the course of his thoughtful address, he observed :

Social Reform so far in this country had naturally to direct its attack against the citadel of orthodoxy and conservatism in which all reactionary and one-sided factors of the so-called national advance remained perched but now, in my opinion, the time has arrived when social

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reform could be freed from that narrow rut and placed on a wider and more constructive and less critical plane of social reconstruction in which several have been labouring without much moral support from the politicians. But luckily the spirit of the age and the shrinking of distances have caused even involuntary changes of heart and outlook, which would facilitate the work of amelioration of the society as a whole. In the past it was quite necessary to deal with elementary problems of social reform such as sea-voyage, women's education, abolition of caste, stopping of infant marriages, promotion of widow marriages, and of post-puberty marriages, and furthering the age of consent, interdining and even intermarriage, etc.

The bogey of untouchability and unapproachability still haunts us, but its days are numbered, as its foundations are unmistakably shaken by the most powerful influence of Mahatma Gandhi, whose work in this connection, I have always likened to that of a powerful and tremendous blast.

PROBLEMS OF WIDER AND BROADER SOCIAL REFORM

While, therefore, not neglecting work in these above-mentioned directions, we must now begin to concentrate our attention on problems that embrace wider fields and touch the bottom and the top of the society. The justification for such widening of the outlook of Social Reform work lies clearly in the imperative necessity of flowing with the world currents of the rapidly advancing tide of what we call civilization—not necessarily a disease according to Edward Carpenter.

He proceeded to dwell on the failure of science to supply guidance as to the principles, methods and lines of social advance, on social experiments, on women's problems, on the need of bringing politics and social reform in line, on the problem of caste and creed groups, on Japan's anti-caste noble action, on rural reconstruction, etc. Of Japan's noble action he said :

> There was in Japan a class in existence called "Ita and Hinins" whose degraded social position was considered so low in their social polity that even a different set of numerals was used in counting that class corresponding to some such phenomenon in our part of the country in counting units of indigenous sports and games. But Japan woke up more than fifty years ago to this enormity of great scandal perpetrated on human nature and abolished all those barbarous distinctions among human beings by an edict in a moment. Cannot India do any such thing under the new Reforms now by state legislation ?

Social Reform Legislation

The resolutions passed at the last session of the Indian National Social Conference ranged over a large variety of subjects. They included untouchability, the temple-entry Bill, voluntary welfare work, social programmes, study of social science, age of marriage, age of consent outside marriage to be raised to 18 years, unequal marriages, marriage expenses, widows' rights on re-marriage, woman's rights in property, Purdah, domestic science in women's colleges, suppression of immoral traffic, temperance, poverty and unemployment, vocational education, labour legislation, cruelty in the name of religion, divorce Bill, civil marriage Act, enforcement of Children Act, and birth control clinics.

Indian Women's Conference

At the All-India Women's Conference held in Calcutta last December Lady Abdul Qadir dwelt in her presidential address at some length on the unsuitability of the present system of education to the needs of women. She urged that the education that is to be imparted to Indian girls should be such as will fit them for their duties as wives and mothers, besides giving them some general knowledge which would widen their vision. That is true. But it is to be hoped that it will never be lost sight of that women like men are also citizens and members of society who require a liberal education.

The Conference did well to pass a resolution asking that every child should be guaranteed free primary education as a matter of right and that compulsory physical training by qualified instructors be provided for all children from the primary stage onwards. Other resolutions related to labour legislation, factory labour, maternity benefits, minimum age of employment in factories, unemployment, child marriage, indigenous industries, beggar problem, women's franchise, legal rights of women, immoral traffic, untouchability, birth control, capital punishment, rural uplift, and the Indian Women's University.

It is noteworthy that the leaders of the Indian Women's Association have all along clearly demanded a system of joint electorates at their annual conferences and in their representations to the Government and to the Lothian and Joint Select Committees.

It is greatly to be regretted that the Indian Women's Conference did not discuss and pass a resolution on crimes against women, though urged to do so. It is not a communal

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question. For both Hindu and Muslim girls and women require protection from scoundrels, who, whatever their names may indicate, are miscreants of whom all religious communities have reason to be ashamed. It is some consolation that the Bengal branch of the Indian Women's Association has taken up the question.

The late Prof. Chablani

The death at a comparatively early age of Prof. Chablani of the Delhi University has deprived Sindh of one of her ablest and most brilliant public men. He was a scholarly economist who had rendered signal service as head of the Indian economics department and the first secretary and organizer of the Board of Secondary Education. He was throughout consistently opposed to the separation of Sindh from the Bombay Presidency and had all the facts, figures and arguments against such separation at his finger-tips. He was an able and eloquent advocate of the causes he took up and was always calm and self-possessed, never losing self-control in spite of causes of irritation and excitement. His death at this juncture is a great blow to Sindh—particularly to the Hindus of that region.

Untouchability in India and South Africa

Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh, practically the Government of India's envoy to South Africa, has told the white ruling people of that Dominion some home truths, however unpleasant they may be to them. According to *Indian Opinion*, published in that country, he recently observed in the course of an address on "Untouchability" delivered to the Wesley Guild in the Wesleyan Church Hall, Boksburg:

> "We Indians form one per cent of the total population of the Transvaal and you speak of us as a 'menace.' How can one person in a hundred be a menace? You say that the Indian is a trader. Of course he is. What else can he be? He cannot be an engine driver, or own land as he can in his own country. There is no country in the world—and I have travelled myself in over 30—where there are so many restrictions against Indians as this great country of yours."

After explaining the untouchability question in India and the great strides made within the last few months in abolishing the evil by the great reform work done by Mahatma Gandhi, the Kunwar went on to say:

> "We are doing something for our untouchables, and the work which is being done in India will never go back. The reforms being carried out can never be negatived in the future. But what about untouchability in this country? In India untouchability has a religious sanction, and you know how difficult it is to remove anything with religious sanction.
>
> "But what have you done in your enlightened and progressive country, for it is truly progressive? I believe I have many sympathizers in this country but they keep their sympathy hidden. I need open sympathizers. You are too timid, you have to take a little more action, a little more courage and you will find that what was bitter is sweet and what was sweet bitter.
>
> "Teach your children not to despise people because they are five shades darker in colour. Everyone of the religious teachers of the world were men with dark skins, Moses, Jesus Christ—I have seen and known the classes from which they were born—Buddha, Confucius, who has many millions of followers in China. What was his colour and what the shape of his eyes? Mahomed and all the great religious teachers were Asiatics, and—forgive me if I say it—were born and lived among the dark-skinned nations, the Asiatics.
>
> "How can you say that progress or culture depends on the colour of a man's hair or how his eyes slant? I do not know if there are any Municipal Councillors here to-night, but I would ask them to spend a few hundred pounds—no one gives more than a hundred pounds or so to the Asiatic—on the improvement of the Asiatic bazaars. We have some very decent fellows living in them. All Indians are not bad lots. And let us do something to help this untouchability in our midst."

Russian Winner of Nobel Prize in Literature

According to the American *Tribune*, although the 700,000 francs which the Nobel literature prize brings him is no small addition to his resources, Ivan Bunin, Russian writer whose works have been translated into almost all Eurapean languages, does not intend to make any changes in his manner of living. He will continue to reside at his Villa Belvedere in Grasse, surrounded by the little coterie of disciples who have joined him in this sunny city on the French Riviera.

In spite of the unexpectedness of the announcement Bunin has said candidly that it was not a surprise, since he knew that he was being considered, but since it was the first time a Russian had ever won the award he considered it a particular honour.

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"I think the prize was awarded to me particularly for my latest book, *The Life of Arseniev*, which has been translated into Swedish," Bunin said.

Ivan Bunin, who was born at Voronezh in 1870, is known in England for translations of his novels "The Gentleman from San Francisco," "The Well of Days," and "The Village," and of his short stories. His work is notable, in the case of "The Gentleman from San Francisco," for its indictment of modern civilization; and in the case of other works for what he himself has called a depiction of "the Russian character without adornment, the Russian soul, its peculiar complexity, its depths, both bright and dark, though almost invariably tragic." Since the Bolshevist Revolution he has lived in exile.

Nobel Prize in Physics

The 1933 Nobel Prize in Physics has been awarded jointly to Professor P. H. M. Dirac, of Cambridge, and Professor Erwin Schrodinger, of Magdalen College, Oxford, for having furthered a new and fruitful development of the atom theory.

The prize for physics for 1932, not hitherto awarded, was given to Professor W. Heisenberg, of Leipzig, for his discovery of allotropic forms of hydrogen. The prize for chemistry for 1933 was reserved.

Nobel Prize in Medicine

Dr. Thomas Hunt Morgan of the California Institute of Technology at Pasadena has been awarded the Nobel Prize in Medicine. He is the first to receive the award in medicine who is not a physician. He is a Professor of Biology and is reputed to know more about what makes the human body tick and how it got that way than any other living researcher. Like all of the really great, Dr. Morgan is modest.

Among notable achievements of Dr. Morgan and his associates recently was the compilation of a chart that sheds new light on the exact locations in the germ cells of the hundreds of microscopic units, or genes, reactions of which determine an individual organism's inherited characteristics. A possibly fantastic dream of science is that this and similar discoveries some day may give man power to control heredity at will by altering certain genes by treating them with X-ray beams.

That scientists are now approaching the point in which humans may be able to lift themselves to a higher plane "by their own bootstraps" is revealed in recent comments and addresses by Dr. Morgan.

Great Japanese Endowment for Scientific Research

In announcing the gift of 30,000,000 yen (£3,000,000 at par) to establish a foundation for public purposes the Mitsui family state that cultural and welfare institutions in town and country are to be supported, but the first place is to be given to scientific research and technical experiment.

The Mitsui family, the wealthiest in Japan, are the owners, after three centuries of trade, of one of the largest business aggregations in the world, including trading, banking, mining, and insurance corporations. The object, according to Seishin Ikeda, the present managing director, is to develop essential industries, such as aeronautics, where private enterprise is insufficient.

A Foreign Tribute to Rammohun Roy

We print below the greater part of a letter on what the followers of Rammohun Roy are doing in India, which recently appeared in *The Manchester Guardian.*

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian.

Sir,—It is surpising that your correspondents who have lived in India seem to know so little of Rammohun Roy and the Brahmo Samaj (Society of God), which he founded more than a hundred years ago. The centenary of his death has recently been celebrated in all parts of India, and he is universally honoured as the Father of Modern India.

A few years ago I visited twenty-two of the centres (founded by his followers) which exist in all parts of India. In Lahore a conference on social questions would have given points to many such held in England by the enlightened views expressed. In Indore the up-to-date High School for Girls, organized by the Director of Education for the State, was doing remarkable work. In Cocanada orphanages and Rajamundry Homes for Widows (those unfortunate creatures cast out by their orthodox relatives) were doing a truly Christian work; in Pithapuram was a hospital for women, supported by the Rajah and staffed by Canadian medical women; in Bengal the fine work done in the villages by the school and college founded by Rabindranath Tagore. In Darjeeling are Girl Guides and an up-to-date High School; in Calcutta a Home for Destitute women and a most remarkable Social Service League, whose teaching by posters and diagrams might well be imitated by us for the ignorant voters in our large towns. All this work and

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much more is initiated and supported by members of the Brahmo Samaj.

Highly educated and enlightened men and women free from all restraints of caste and creed and working only for the uplift of their fellows should not be ignored by those who desire the best for India and for the British Commonwealth; but, alas! there is so much British racial and caste prejudice.

It is so true what Mr. Nevinson said in his article of the civil servants' "un-selfish consideration of the people's welfare, as they understand it." Alas! they understand so little and ignore the best work that is being done in India by educated Indians themselves.—Yours, &c.,

ANNIE BEARD WOODHOUSE.

25, Broadway, Withington,
Manchester, December 3.

Hindu Mahasabha's Reply to League of Nations' Letter

The following is the full text of the letter sent from the Hindu Mahasabha head office to the League of Nations, Geneva, in reply to their letter of the 1st December, 1933 :

I have the honour to acknowledge your esteemed letter No. 1-2216-2216, dated the 1st December, '33, (together with annexed documents) and am directed to reply as follows :

The Hindu Mahasabha acknowledges the courtesy of your letter and the consideration you have bestowed on its communication to you. It is fully acquainted with the fact that the League is not empowered to enforce the Minorities Treaties and Stipulations except against those States who have signed them.

But the point of the Mahasabha is that though India is one of the originators and authors of the Minorities Treaties, the British Government of India is itself violating the principles of those Treaties in the treatment of Indian Minorities in a manner which is subversive of the State itself and of its solidarity. The British Government's scheme for the protection of Minorities in India seeks to protect them by means of Separate Electorate and Representation, and in some cases even by giving them, at the expense of the majority community, a weightage of representation out of proportion to the natural weight in number or influence of the Minority concerned. There is even a proposal to protect a favoured Majority by establishing for it a statutory majority in the Legislature. You will agree that if this system of Minority Protection finds its way into Europe, it may lead to a serious conflict between its more militant communities with all its evil consequences and ultimately to a general war which the Minorities Treaties were framed to prev... It is because the system is a menace to Pe... that the Hindu Mahasabha invoked Art... XI of the League Covenant in its le... under reference.

Again, although India was a party to ... and had voted for it, the British Governm... in India is flouting the special Resolut... meant for the non-signatory members of t... League which, as you point out, was f... passed in the Assembly of 1922 and ... affirmed in that of 1933. This is show... scant courtesy to the League and its w... and the ideals it stands for, on the part of ... great State which is an original member ... one of the founders of the League itself, ... as such is expected to be the custodian ... its authority and prestige. No member ... the League can deny the moral obligati... which the Resolution in question was adop... and repeated to establish and empha... Mr. Arthur Henderson, presiding at ... League Council meeting of January, ... went so far as to declare that "This sys... of the protection of Minorities was no... part of the public law of Europe and of ... WORLD."

The object of the reference of this m... to you by the Hindu Mahasabha was ... seek your good offices in suggesting ... securing ways and means by which it may ... brought up for discussion by the Le... Council. Such a discussion, the Mahas... trusts, will not be discouraged by ... British statesmen who represent the Governm... of the United Kingdom on the League ... are sufficiently League-minded to lead on ... expect that they will recommend the adher... to the aforesaid Resolution by the Gov... ment of India, which is subordinate to ... Government.

I am to add that the Mahasabha wi... glad to send a delegation to confer with ... informally and quite un-officially on ... whole subject sometime in summer.

I am directed to submit to you a ... brochures issued on the subject by Pro... Radhakumud Mukerji, M.A., PH.D., Prof... of History at the University of Luck... and one of our Vice-Presidents, and ... literature of the Hindu Mahasabha on ... subject, which is being forwarded by ... ordinary mail.

The Mahasabha confidently hopes that ... will give this matter the consideration ... deserves.

Thanking you again for the courtesy ... fulness of your reply,

Yours faithfully,

GANPAT RAI, B.A., LL.B.
Hon. Secy.

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Bill for Fighting Terrorism in Bengal

Before these lines meet the eyes of the reader a Bill will have been officially introduced in the Bengal Council the statement of whose objects and reasons says: "The Bill seeks to supplement the existing criminal law so as to enable the local Government to grapple more effectively with the terrorist movement." This is what has appeared in the daily papers. The Bill with the statement of its objects and reasons, as officially published, is not before us. But even if it were, it would be futile to criticize it in great detail, if the object of such criticism were to influence the Government. It appears from what has been published in the papers that

> Clause 3 of the Bill proposes to inflict death sentences for manufacture, possession or sale of arms ammunition or military stores but this will be confined to offences committed in circumstances indicating that the offenders intended to use the arms for the commission of murder or abetment or knew it likely that the arms would be so used. The necessity for this provision will be found in the fact that several cases of use of country-made arms by terrorists have recently come to the notice of Government.

On whom will lie the burden of proof of intention and likelihood?

There is a widespread movement in the civilized world for the abolition of capital punishment even in cases where murder has been actually committed. But in Bengal death penalty is going to be provided even when murder has not been committed or attempted, on the ground of "intention to murder," which is difficult to prove, or of knowledge of likelihood of murderous use!

It is stated that the necessity for this provision will be found in the fact that *several* cases of use of *country-made* arms by terrorists have recently come to the notice of Government. Were such arms used for committing murder? Was murder actually committed? Is the illicit use or possession of *country-made* arms a more heinous offence than the illicit use or possession of foreign-made arms? It may be argued that if the illicit manufacture of arms in India and their subsequent unlawful use be not stopped by drastic punishment, such malpractice will increase. But country-made arms are not more destructive than arms made abroad. So, it is not clear why the use of foreign arms by terrorists in *many* cases did not necessitate the provision of the death penalty, whereas the use of country-made arms in *several* cases proves the necessity for the provision of such penalty. The illicit manufacture and use of country-made arms and the illicit smuggling and use of foreign arms should have been treated alike.

> The Bill seeks to make the existing temporary Criminal Law Amendment Acts of 1925 and 1930 permanent, as in the opinion of the Government "Terrorist Conspiracy has unfortunately gone past the stage when it can be regarded as an ephemeral movement, and temporary legislation keeps alive the hope in the minds of those concerned in the revolutionary conspiracy that Government will before long be deprived of the power to continue against them the special measures which they from time to time put in force."

Severe punishment is provided in the *permanent* penal laws of all civilized countries for heinous offences like murder, robbery, etc. Yet the mere fact that the laws are permanent does not prevent or diminish these crimes, or increase the efficacy of those laws. Murders, etc., continue to be committed in full knowledge of permanent penal laws. Moreover, before making these laws permanent, Government ought to consider, whether they have been efficacious in suppressing terrorism, or have rather caused irritation, thus indirectly facilitating the recruiting work of terrorists.

Governors-General and Governors have occasionally said that the root causes of terrorism must be removed, if the movement is to be crushed. But in practice little has been done in that remedial and constructive direction, so that Government appears to depend for success entirely on enacting more and more drastic laws and on prolonging or perpetuating the life of such laws.

> Dealing with the Press the statement says that since the passing of the Press Act of 1931, direct encouragement of murder or violence has perforce been abandoned, but recourse is still freely had to indirect methods, such as the expression of undue concern and sympathy for detenus in the Detention Camps and convicts in the Andaman Islands, commemoration of terrorist convicts and detenus and the publication of laudatory accounts of revolutionary movements in other countries—all of which are bound to have the effect of putting revolutionary ideas into the susceptible minds of the young.
>
> The Bill proposes to amend the Indian Press Act relating to Bengal empowering Government to demand security or forfeit security or forfeit the Press for publication of prohibited information. The Press is also made liable for publication of

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identity of witnesses before special courts when this is forbidden.

Though the detenus were never brought to trial and their guilt established, journalists are required to take it for granted that they are criminals. Even if there is reason to apprehend that they and convicted criminals are not receiving such treatment as they are legally entitled to, no concern or sympathy is to be expressed for them. The Executive Government, that is, practically the police, are to be the judges of what is due and what undue concern. It is idle to expect that the prevention of the printed expression of concern and sympathy will kill such concern and sympathy when they are natural.

The police and the executive are also to be judges of the character of the changes of government described in history, past or contemporary, and the damnatory name of revolution given to any such movement must be considered sufficient for preventing the publication of an account of it *in Bengal newspapers*, not in other Indian newspapers. All revolutions are to be held to have been bad. The super-historians or critics of history in police offices are also to be judges of what is or is not a laudatory account of such events. Bengal newspapers are not also to publish prohibited information—what is to be prohibited being apparently left to the discretion of the Government. Fine newspapers they would be which could not publish news of all kinds which are usually published. The fetters on the Press are going to be tightened, made heavier and more galling.

> There is also a clause in the Bill which makes a person liable to imprisonment for three years and fine, if he has in his possession any newspaper, book or other document which had been prohibited under Sea Customs Act, declared forfeited to the Government, etc.

This is not the first time that legislation of this description is being attempted. On previous occasions, such attempts were baffled or given up. But the present Bengal Council is such that no such result can be expected.

Few there are, if any, who can remember the names or contents of all proscribed, prohibited and forfeited books, pamphlets, leaflets, etc. Hence, on the passage of the clause described above, it should be incumbent on the Government of Bengal to publish a consolidated list of such publications for free distribution and issue supplementary lists from time to time. The Postal Department of the Government should also be bound not to deliver to anybody such publications sent by post. In newspaper offices many packets remain unopened for a long time or, if opened, unread for days, weeks and months. It would be unreasonable and unjust to punish persons to whom the Government's post office has delivered such packets unasked and who are unaware of their contents.

Magistrates are proposed to be given many powers of the Provincial Government. The superiority of governance by definite and uniform law to governance according to the will of one or more individuals lies in this that the former ensures equality of treatment to a greater extent than the latter. But even where a Government has some discretionary power there is some equality of treatment for the time being. When, however, discretion is given to District Magistrates, they being not one but many, there is likely to be little of the reign of law, of which civilized rulers are or should be proud.

But enough.

Salt Industry for Bengal

At a public meeting held at the Albert Hall, Calcutta, under the presidentship of Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, the following resolution moved by Mr. B. N. Sasmal, urging the Government to continue its policy of protection in the interests of the nascent salt industry, was unanimously adopted.

"That this meeting of the citizens of Calcutta and the people of Bengal resolves that in the interests of the national salt industry the present policy of protection be continued for a sufficiently long period to enable the indigenous salt industry to grow and prosper and that it also urges upon the Government to give all facilities and assistance pecuniary (out of the provincial additional import duty fund) and otherwise for the growth and development of all Bengal salt concerns."

Moving the resolution, Mr. Sasmal said that much had been said about import of salt into Bengal before the advent of the Britishers in India, but that was a myth. Salt was

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factured in Bengal and other provinces and it could now be manufactured. He urged that money be paid out of the additional duty to Bengal concerns for experimental purposes, and if then they failed to produce salt commercially, they would then have the consolation of having tried their best without effect.

Mr. Sarker said that, "so long as we, Bengal Salt Industry, are not self-supporting, let the protection continue ; but we should realize that the prosperity of the industries of other provinces would not solve the burning question of Bengal's unemployment. Nobody could render better help in this direction than the joint efforts of the people in organizing the thousand and one small industries which would throw open their doors for the unemployed. He also warned the authorities concerned not to send somebody of Karachi or elsewhere to Bengal when the question of local distribution of agency came in.

Bhai Parmanand and the White Paper

As president of the recent All-Bengal Hindu Political Conference, Bhai Parmanand tried to explain why at the Ajmer session the Hindu Mahasabha did not condemn the White Paper as a whole but only the Communal "Award" which forms a part of it. Said he :

> "We are opposed to the White Paper just as much as anybody else, but our reason for specially protesting against the Communal "Award" is that while the safeguards and powers that are reserved to be used by the Viceroy and the Provincial Governors in the White Paper could only be used in times of emergency and were in a way to serve as the last line of defence by the Government, we have got in the very nature of the Communal "Award" the first line of defence which could be of service to the Government in normal times."

We do not think this explanation will bear scrutiny. For even *for normal times* and as part of the first line of defence of the British imperialistic citadel, the White Paper provides complete reservation of Defence and Foreign Relations, financial and commercial safe-guards, the supremacy of the British Parliament and the impossibility of amending the constitution without its sanction obtained every time, safe-guards for the Services, etc.

Bengal Hindus and the Poona Pact

The following resolution was passed at the All-Bengal Hindu Political Conference :

> "This Conference of all sections of the Hindu community of Bengal is of opinion that if the Communal Award is thrust upon the Hindus of Bengal, then in the interest of the political progress of this Province, the Poona Pact, so far as it relates to Bengal, should be revised so as to provide a system of joint electorates with reservation of seats proportionate to the population strength of the sub-castes which might ultimately be scheduled as 'Depressed.' This Conference appoints the following committee (with power to co-opt) to bring about such revision of the Poona Pact (preferably by amicable settlement among the different sections of the Hindu community of Bengal) in consultation with the Bengal signatories of the Poona Pact."

This resolution is quite reasonable and worthy of support.

The committee includes members of both those castes which are considered high and those which have been officially scheduled as "depressed" provisionally.

Crimes Against Women

Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra, than whom no prominent public man in Bengal has laboured more earnestly and unremittingly to safe-guard the honour of womanhood, presided over the recent All-Bengal Women Protection Conference. In the course of his presidential address he said that during the six years from 1926 to 1931 there had been 7,000 cases of abduction and other crimes against women in Bengal. Of the women victimized 3,513 were Muslim and 3,495 Hindu. "People say," he observed, "that it is only Mussalmans who commit crimes against women ; but that is not correct. About a thousand Hindu women were victimized by Hindus alone."

The conference passed several resolutions, one demanding the sterilization (by vasectomy or castration ?) of the men proved guilty and the condign punishment of men and women who aided and abetted such crimes, another requesting the Government to amend the penal laws "to exonerate from criminal liability women who may chance even to kill their assailants to save their honour," and a third thanking the Governor of Bengal for the active interest he has been taking for the suppression of crimes against women.

Extravagant Educational Expenditure !

The Viceroy's reply to the address presented to him by the Benares district board contains the following amazing passage :

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"While I give way to none in my desire to promote the growth of learning, I have noticed that the cause of education sometimes flourishes at the expense of other equally deserving objects."

If His Excellency had been bound to answer questions, we would have asked him where in India generally and in the United Provinces in particular had he noticed education *flourishing* and that at the expense of other equally deserving objects. We are afraid his desire to promote the growth of learning has been largely an unfulfilled desire, and, therefore, he may have to give way to numerous persons in that desire against his will. Further comment is unnecessary.

Prospects of Peace in Eastern Asia

A *Reuter's* telegram, dated Moscow, January 28, runs as follows:

The phantom of war revenge overshadowed capitalist countries, declared M. Stalin, who in a report submitted to the Communist Party Congress predicted another world war.

The Sino-Japanese war in Manchuria and Japan's advance in North China had aggravated the position, while the growth of military and naval armaments in Japan, United States, Britain and France was a result of the struggle for possession of the Pacific Ocean.

M. Stalin denied that the Soviet was responsible for the breakdown of negotiations for the sale of Chinese Eastern Railway and stressed that the Soviet would strive to obtain improved relations with Japan.—*Reuter.*

Just a month ago, on December 28, 1933, M. Litvinoff delivered a speech at a meeting of the Soviet Executive Committee held at Moscow. In that speech he stigmatized Japan's policy as the "darkest and most threatening cloud on the international political horizon." He referred to "the impudent and provocative activities" of the Japanese authorities in Manchukuo, and added:

We had no recourse except to strengthen our frontier, transferring there necessary forces and taking other military measures. But while we take exclusively defensive measures Japan feverishly prepares for a war which can only be offensive, because no one threatens the safety of Japan.

When he concluded his speech with the following militant note, he received a great ovation:

We will strengthen still more our Red army, fleet and air force. In the defence of every inch of Soviet land will participate not only the military forces but the peoples of the Soviet Union, who under the leadership of the communist party and its leader Stalin, will certainly win military victories equal to their peace-time victories.

There may be a blaze in the Far East any moment.

Independence Day Arrests

Independence Day, January 26, does not seem to have been widely celebrated this year. Arrests are reported in papers in provinces other than Bengal in a small number of places, *viz.*, New Delhi, Allahabad District, Bombay, Lucknow, Poona, Lahore, Cawnpore etc.

150th Anniversary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal

The hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was an event of outstanding importance. A remarkable feature of the occasion was the collection of spontaneous unsolicited congratulatory messages from 36 learned institutions from 15 different countries. The Society has a considerable amount of antiquarian and scientific research in various fields to its credit.

The conversazione held in this connection in the Indian Museum on the 15th January last gave an opportunity to the public to get acquainted with the harvest of research and exegesis reaped in India by numerous scholars in different branches of knowledge. Exhibits were sent by departments of the State, the University and individuals.

Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, Imperial record-keeper, has lent a number of documents which students anxious to follow the thread of the British period of the Indian history may with advantage utilize, *e. g.*, under the head 'The Dewanny and Administration' there are on view amongst other documents three copies of *Firman* for the *Dewanny* of the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa (dated September, 1765).

The Botanical Survey of India have sent some of the original paintings of William Roxburgh, who was a surgeon in the Company's Medical establishment and was the first superintendent of the Royal Botanical Garden (from 1793-1813).

Prof. S. K. Chatterji has sent a number of relics of Indian civilization collected by him from Siam and Java; while the departments of Chemistry and Physics of the Science College, Calcutta University, have also lent a number of scientific exhibits.

One of the most important and interesting groups of exhibits is those lent by Mr. K. N. Dikshit, superintendent of Archæological Survey, eastern circle. They consist of finds from Mysore Palæolithic and Neolithic sites in Mysore, Hyderabad and Madras presidency. There are also exhibition pottery from the graves at Jutthanahalli, Bangalore. They belong to the Early Iron-

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and the most remarkable feature in one of them is the incised lines round the neck produced by thread and the four small jugs like those of late Bronze Age pottery of Central Europe. Another interesting point is that most of these bear potter's marks. Antiquities from Satyapeerer Bhita, Paharpur, Bengal, where the biggest Vihara in India has been excavated, will interest many.

To the students of the social history of the mediæval period the copper-plates on view at the exhibition will appear to be of exceptional importance as it proves the hollowness of the tradition that there were no Brahmins in Bengal before Adisura who is credited to have imported into Bengal five Brahmins and Kayasthas from Kanoj. There are a copper-plate in Brahmi inscription from Mahasthan, Bogra, and antiquities from Mathura also on view.

The Geological Survey of India have sent a number of Palaeontological specimens, including an exhibit of giant pre-historic Rhineceros of India and Beluchistan. The exhibits consist of the casts of the skull and jaw of Beluchitherium, which lived in Oligocene-Miocene times and outrivalled the elephant in size, being one of the largest known land mammals that inhabited the earth. Among others the fossilized remains of giant reptiles called Dinosaurs that lived in India during the Cretaceous period about 70 million years ago, are also on view.

Many beautifully coloured Arabic and Persian manuscripts from the Asiatic Society's library are also exhibited.

Dr. Satya Churn Law has sent some birds of Habitat group and some colour drawings of some Indian birds.

The School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene has sent among other exhibits samples of indigenous drugs.

The Anthropological section of the Zoological Survey of India, have sent the personal attire and ceremonial objects of the Kaffir tribes of the Hindu Kush mountains, which are very interesting. These objects were procured from the Kaffir tribes by Dr. B. S. Guha of the department, in 1929, in connection with the scientific expedition sent there by the Government of India to work in collaboration with Prof. G. Morgensteierne of the Norwegian Institute of the Comparative Research in Human Culture.

There is exhibited the Termite Queen, which is pointed out by the experts to be a characteristic species possessing an enormous size of abdomen. It hardly moves and all its needs are attended to by other members, which are known as soldiers and workers. Its function in the colony is to produce young ones and even its nursing is done by the workers. There are on view Cicadil Bugs, which are well known for having voiceless wives. Only the male insect of this group can 'speak.'

The means of defence adopted by insects against the attacks of their enemies is exhibited in another section. Of these, mimicry and having warning coloration are profoundly interesting. Many palatable insects, it is pointed out, avoid the attacks of enemies by resembling other and biologically distinct kinds which are distasteful on account of their possessing a sting or bad taste or smell. Many distasteful insects warn their enemies of their being such by having very conspicuous colour or type or colour markings. Several insects showing the phenomena of mimicry and warning coloration are also exhibited.

So-called All Parties Conference

In a circular letter signed by Sir C. H. Setalvad, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the (so-called) All Parties Conference it is stated that "at this conference, the Communal Award and the questions arising therefrom will be excluded from consideration. Similarly, what action should be taken, if the minimum political demands on which there is general agreement are not conceded, will also be outside the purview of this conference." It is said that "the Executive Committee decided after great deliberation to exclude these questions from the agenda. . ." That may be. But it is obvious that, if the White Paper scheme as a whole or any part of it is considered sacrosanct, there cannot be a real *All* Parties Conference. There are very many Nationalists in India who are convinced that the White Paper can be usefully improved only by being rejected lock, stock and barrel. Apart from the fact that the Communal Decision is a fundamental part of the scheme, it does great injustice to the Hindu majority, reducing it to the position of an impotent minority. Therefore, the Hindu Mahasabha and those who see eye to eye with it in this matter cannot take part in a conference which takes it for granted that this iniquitous decision cannot be scrapped or changed. There may be and are those who think that the Mahasabha is a small and weak party. Assuming the truth of that view, it must be conceded that the Mahasabha *is* a party, and, therefore, a conference in which it cannot take part cannot be an *All* Parties Conference either in name or in reality. Again, the Communal Decision goes against all ideas and ideals of nationalism and democracy. Hence, no one who is a nationalist or democrat of any sort can have anything to do with a conference which treats the Decision as sacrosanct.

The Conference can only do some tinkering. But no amount of tinkering can convert the White Paper scheme into one for giving India even the constitution of a British Dominion, not to speak of one which would make her free like the free and independent countries of the world. Hence, genuine seekers of Dominion status or of independence can have no use for the proposed conference.

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Nevertheless, it may serve the purpose of ascertaining and telling the world what changes in the White Paper scheme are desired by those very accommodating politicians of India who can put up with the Communal Decision and a constitution which transfers no real power to Indians in their and their ancestors' motherland. But this is a small purpose. And the gaining of this object loses further in importance when it appears almost certain from the circular letter that, even if the British Government did not concede the minimum demands of the conference, there would be many among the promoters and adherents of the Conference who would work and accept office under the new constitution, whatever it might be.

The Indian States' People and the White Paper

As president of the Rajputana States' People's Conference Mr. Amritlal Sheth has appealed by telegram to Mr. George Lansbury, leader of the opposition in the British parliament, and Sir Herbert Samuel, the Liberal leader, to try to defeat the White Paper Bill, on the ground that "the White Paper refuses elective representation and fundamental rights to the States' people and increases the power and influence of the already autocratic Princes." The appeal is quite just. Throughout the constitutional inquiry, ending with the proceedings of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, the people of the Indian States have been treated by the British Government as non-existent and the Princes as all in all, though these people number twice as many as the inhabitants of the British isles.

The Princes' Protection Bill

The States Protection Bill now before the Legislative Assembly is really a Bill for conserving and increasing the autocracy of the Princes. In the Indian States there are not and cannot be any newspapers which enjoy even the little freedom which Indian newspapers in British India can exercise. So within their States the Princes cannot be effectively criticized. The Bill seeks to protect the Princes from effective criticism on the part of newspapers in British India too. Perhaps this attempt to safe-guard and increase the autocracy of the Princes is offered as a further inducement to them to join the so-called Federation. And they are wanted in the Federation to check and counteract the forces of nationalism in British India.

The special session of the Indian States' People's Conference which is proposed to be held early this month in Delhi to protest against the retrograde Bill will be most timely. It ought to be very largely attended by influential representatives of all the States and also by leading citizens of British India.

Mahatma Gandhi and some Provincial Governments

Mahatma Gandhi has been touring India for the uplift of the depressed classes. Government professes great concern for the welfare of these classes. But as the Mahatma is the greatest political leader of India and not in the good books of the Government, there must not be any co-operation between him and Government servants even in a movement meant for the social and educational advancement of these classes. That is the plain meaning of the Madras Government's circular to public servants for their guidance in connection with the Mahatma's tour, telling them in effect not to participate in meetings and demonstrations connected with his visit. It is some consolation, however, that they appear to have been told that "they need not put obstacles in the way of Mahatma Gandhi's tour, or do anything which would be construed as an interference."

In the Central Provinces also "public servants," which means Government servants not necessarily servants of the public, have been enjoined to non-co-operate with the Mahatma in his humanitarian work.

Social Legislation in Baroda

Recent legislation in Baroda intended to secure to Hindu women their just rights in property and the right under some circumstances of asking for a divorce, conferred by the Hindu Divorce Act, which has been in force in that State since 1931, will place women there in a far more advantageous position than in British India.

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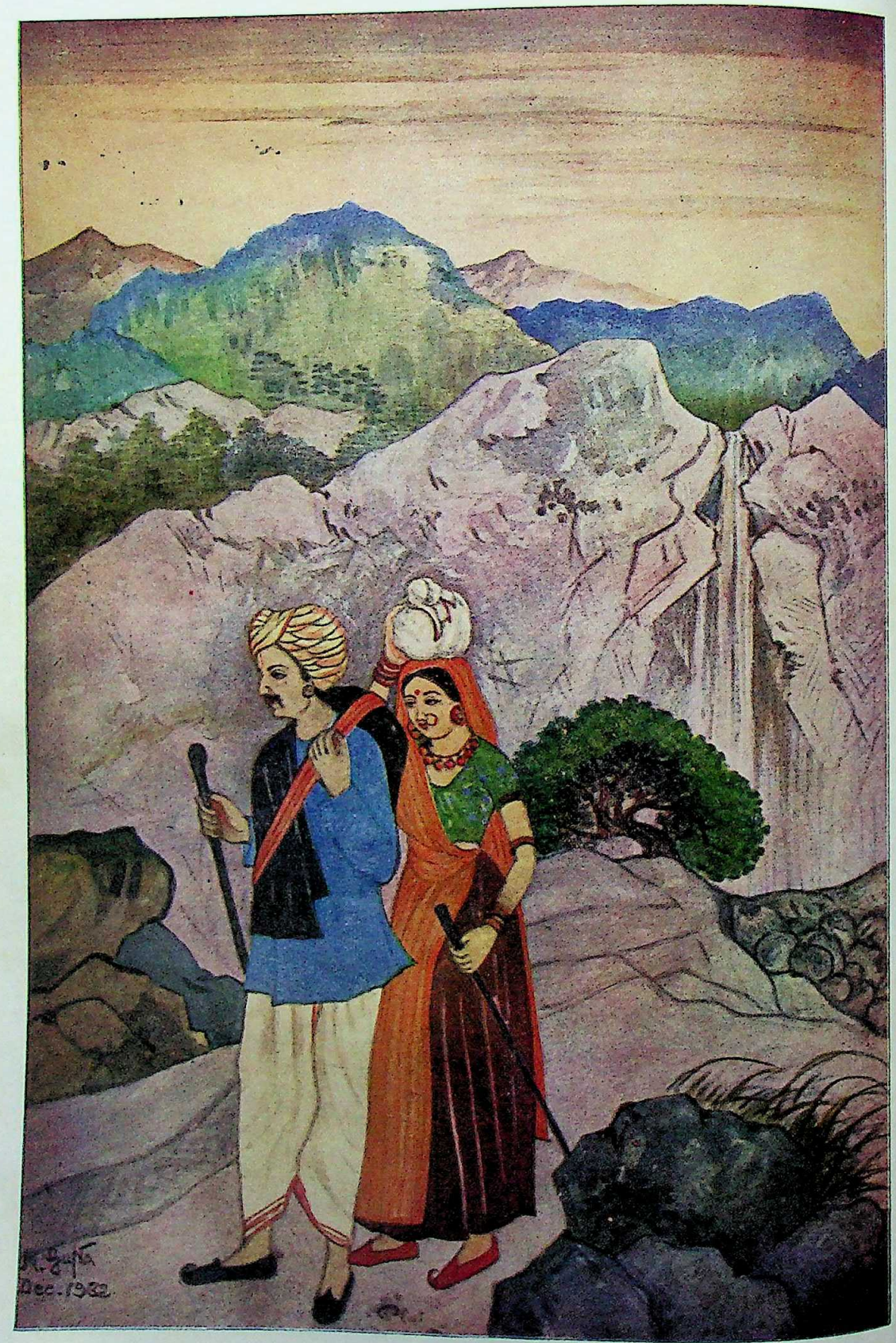

THE PILGRIMS

By Manindra Bhusan Gupta

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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LALA LAJPAT RAI

III. Discussions Regarding Indian Reconstruction

BY ST. NIHAL SINGH

I

LALA Lajpat Rai returned from the United States of America, at the beginning of 1920, a far different man from the one who had gone there some five years earlier. The change loudly proclaimed itself the moment I set eyes upon him and heard him speak.

He looked different. Ten, probably fifteen years, seemed to have been taken off his face and figure. There was spring in his step, vigour in his movements and vitality in his voice and gesture.

The tired, pale look that I had noticed on the eve of his departure in 1915 had disappeared. What was even more remarkable, the feeling of depression that sometimes swept over him had left him. He was cheery—not in a forced sort of way, but genuinely.

"The United States has certainly agreed with you, Lalaji," was my greeting when we met for the first time after years of separation.

"It did indeed," he replied. "The climate was invigorating. The food was good. The people were cordial. I thoroughly enjoyed myself."

II

Not only were his looks different, but so also was his speech. He had picked up the Yankee twang that one associates particularly with people from the Eastern States comprised in the American Union. He seemed to talk through his nose rather than through his mouth.

His speech had changed in other respects. He had fallen victim—a willing victim, it seemed to me—to Americanisms.

Phrases such as "I guess so" or "I guess not," frequently fell from his lips. He spoke of a "block" of paper instead of a "pad," as the English would put it. He had learnt to call the chemist a druggist, and the chemist's shop a drug-store.

I particularly remember his asking a maid at 29, Rollscourt Avenue, Herne Hill, in south-eastern London, where we then lived, to bring a vase. He pronounced the word in the American way—to rhyme with "lace," and not "vaaz," as the English articulate it. The poor servant—an English woman who had come down in life—was puzzled. But only for a moment. She saw that he was carrying a bouquet of flowers in his hand and being intelligent, brought the best looking vase we had in the house, which she had, of her own accord, filled with water. She took the flowers from Lalaji's hand and neatly arranged them in it.

The English do make marvellously good servants!

In using American slang Lalaji, I soon found, occasionally "slipped up." I remember, for instance, hearing him say: "You are *a*

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limit." An American would have said: "You are *the* limit."

I told Lalaji that his Americanisms carried me back to my early days in America. I, too, had found the American atmosphere exhilarating—intoxicating. When I called upon Lord Morley at the India Office early in 1910 he, perhaps taken aback at my manner and matter of speech, remarked:

"You speak, Mr. Singh, what our cousins in America call English." Lajpat Rai heartily enjoyed the joke directed against myself.

III

Nor were the changes merely of a superficial character. The secularist tendencies of which I wrote in the preceding article had, for instance, become very much more pronounced. He was quite definite in his opinion that religion, as it was professed by our people, was the root cause of the trouble in our Motherland.

The Arya Samaj phase had ended. Between his life in India prior to 1915 and his return there in 1920, his stay in the States constituted the "great divide."

Difficulties did not seem to daunt him. Obstacles stood in the path of political progress, he recognized. Many of them were formidable, he admitted. But he felt certain that they could be moved out of the way—could be blasted away if necessary.

The five years that he had spent in the New World in association with people filled with optimism had given him a feeling of confidence of the kind that works miracles. In all the talks that I had with him—and there were many of them, even though his stay in England was brief—that note was unmistakable.

IV

He would come down to Herne Hill late in the afternoon by when I would be free—or would make myself free—from my journalistic work. We would sit in the study in the back of the house, opening directly on to a piece of ground enclosed by a high brick wall, in front of which stood a row of tall, slender, graceful poplar trees. The house to which we had shifted from East Dulwich during his absence was somewhat larger and more easy of access. But it did not command the lovely, long, widespreading vista that had opened out from my study windows in our former residence.

He generally came about tea-time and stayed to dinner. Sometimes between the two meals we would go out for a ramble. There were several parks and open spaces in the vicinity, loved by Ruskin and Mendelsohn. Not far from our home there were lanes that still preserved a countrified aspect.

Whether we stayed at home or walked during a part of the time, we spent hours together, chatting and chaffing. Almost every phase of India came under review—the political phase, being the key phase, more than any other.

V

Now that he is gone, I am happy that I had all those talks with him at that time. He had just returned from his long exile in the United States of America. There he had deeply pondered Indian problems and debated them with men and women of high intellectual calibre who had no selfish interests at stake in our country and could therefore take a dispassionate view of men and matters. His views were so broad and refreshing that I wished that every Indian who aspired to be a leader could be compelled to live away from India for a time.

The determination to engage in the reconstruction of India had driven everything else from Lalaji's mind. He did not think very much of the Government of India Bill that Mr. Montagu had, with great exertion, got through the two Houses of Parliament. The opportunity it afforded for creating a new order in India was, he felt, very limited. He had however made up his mind, without taking much time to deliberate over the matter, to make the fullest possible use of every opportunity that that Legislation provided.

VI

Howmuchsoever we might regret the limitations and shortcomings of that Act, we must, he said, recognize that the war made it necessary for us to change

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attitude—our methods of work—our entire life. We must take the maximum advantage of every opportunity that had been given to us, no matter how small it might be.

I asked him what he would have our countrymen do. He replied in one word—"Organize—Organize!"

"How?" I enquired.

"Most important of all in organizing at the present moment," he replied, "is for the leaders to get down from the pedestals on which they have been standing. They must identify themselves with the people—the common people—the commonest people. They must talk to them as if they were ordinary people themselves—not talk *at* them—not preach to them in pretty platitudes. This was no time for sugary talk. The people must be approached in their own language. The profoundest principles of political economy must be stated in the homeliest phrases—in Indian similes and metaphors."

His stay in the States had democratized him. The common people—a phrase often in Abraham Lincoln's mouth—mattered to him more than the intelligentsia.

"Our countrymen and countrywomen are uncommonly shrewd," he said. "Only we have shown them the cold shoulder. When we have tried to interest them we have forgotten that they—and we, too, were Indians and therefore the figures of speech and the illustrations that we employed should be Indian—not Addisonian English. If we are to make a success of the new era in India we must 'come down from our perch,' as they say in America. We must learn the language of the electors and give them political economy in a form that they can digest and assimilate.

"The centre of propaganda must be the village, so long as the village remains the unit of life in our land. If I could have my way I would have the so-called 'educated Indians' settle down in villages and take up agriculture and crafts.

"I would not draw the line even at boot-making. It would, in any case, pay them far better than clerking and they would be healthier. Even when I left the Panjab in 1914 it was very difficult to get a carpenter at one rupee a day, while educated young men found it difficult to secure work in office at a salary of fifteen rupees a month."

Lalaji emphasized the fact that he did not wish educated men to settle among the villagers because it would help to raise their financial status. That was merely by the way. On the contrary, he would have them do so in the interest of nationhood.

Only by some such sacrifice could the general level of intelligence in India be quickly raised. And our future could be safe-guarded only by a rapid rise in the general level of intelligence. He would even say that this was more important than all the other factors put together.

VII

He placed great emphasis upon the economic development of the country.

"The importance of the economic factor must never be permitted to be obscured," he warned me. "India is poor—horribly poor. So long as she remains horribly poor we cannot expect to succeed politically or in any other way. We must somehow manage to raise the general economic level of the people. That can be done only by means of intelligent and vigorous organization.

"Providence has richly dowered our land. We have large deposits of minerals. We have extensive forests containing almost every variety of wood. Our soil is rich as a rule and even when it is not, it yields large crops if properly fertilized and irrigated. We have plenty of materials with which to feed the soil and great resources for irrigation. We are so rich in all kinds of raw materials that foreign countries look to us to supply them with the means to accumulate vast wealth. We have abundant labour which, when trained, will not be inferior to labour elsewhere in the world."

Lalaji was happy that the development of industry had been made a "transferred subject" in the provinces. He feared however that the interested Britons would use their influence to have that provision whittled down in formulating the rules.

VIII

In his optimism he had not lost sight of the difficulties with which we would be confronted. He, on the contrary, warned me that

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we would find ourselves terribly handicapped by the amount of illiteracy existing in India when we attempted to organize to raise the economic—or even the general—level of our people. He said:

"Life is, in the last analysis, indissolubly one. When you come to tackle the economic problem in India, you will find that you must have more and better education. When you endeavour to provide more and better education you will find that you must have more money. It is necessary for us therefore to organize all along the line—giving each department of life its due share of attention and starving none.

"More than likely we shall find, when we come to tackle the business of reorganizing life in India, that we shall need many foreign advisers. Japan found that she had to import them.

"She however never brought in a foreign expert when a Japanese could be found who would fill the requirements. Japan moreover always secured the services of a foreign expert on the tacit or distinct understanding that the most important part of his duties would be to eliminate himself as soon as possible by teaching a son of the soil to take his place."

IX

Lalaji agreed with me that India's future was entirely in Indian hands, to make or to mar it as they might choose. He declared:

"I have felt for many years that real reform must come from within—not from without. The only progress that can be abiding is progress that is built upon our national characteristics and traditions. Only by being true to ourselves can we possibly become a great nation—a nation that will make original contributions to the progress of other nations and not be a mere parasite upon others.

"I would have the best brains in the country take up research work of every description. I would have them burrow deep into the past—give us reliable history. I would have them study economic and social problems. I would have them thrust the probe deeply into disorders of every kind and discover and apply remedies that will cure those disorders.

"Indians alone can have the requisite interest to make a thorough investigation and to puzzle out the right solutions of Indian problems. First and last, the responsibility is ours. The honesty and vigour that we put into the discharge of that responsibility will decide the rapidity and character of our progress."

X

Lalaji had, at that time, great hopes of help from the Labour Party. Its star was then in the ascendant.

During the war many things had happened to give that Party prestige. Members of it who had begun their life at crafts regarded as humble had served as Cabinet Ministers. Labour had had representation even in the War Cabinet that controlled affairs during the most critical period of British history.

Lalaji had had the far sight to realize that the day was probably not far off when this party, composed of workers—mostly manual workers—would come into office. He also saw that the Liberal Party was doomed and that many Britons who had been proud to wear the Liberal label would join the Labour Party.

For these reasons he believed that it would be politic for Indians to cultivate the Labour Members of Parliament. In this matter his views coincided with those of Vithalbhai Javerbhai Patel, as I noted in another article.*

Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak was of a similar mind and had made a contribution from the Congress funds to the Labour Party's chest.

XI

I felt that in this matter Lalaji had been carried away by the emotional appeal made by Colonel Josiah Clement Wedgwood. The Minority Minute that that redoubtable fighter, whether with the guns in Gallipoli or with only verbal ammunition on the floor of the House of Commons, had insisted upon appending to the report made by his colleagues of the Commission that enquired into the Mesopotamian *debacle*, had created a profound impression upon Lajpat Rai's mind.

* This article was entitled: "A Fearless Fighter for Indian Freedom: A Pen-Picture of Vithalbhai Javerbhai Patel," and appeared in *The Modern Review* for December, 1933.

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From what he or Wedgwood—I now forget which—told me, the two had got into correspondence soon after the publication of that document which, it will be remembered, shook the entire Governmental structure of India to its foundations. Mr. (now Sir) Austen Chamberlain resigned his post as Secretary of State for India, as a point of honour, so I believe, he put it. His place was given to Mr. Edwin Samuel Montagu, who, from the Opposition Benches, had delivered a withering attack on the Government of India, describing it as "too wooden, too iron, too inelastic, too antediluvian, to be of any use for the purposes we have in view." (I quote from memory.)

The pronouncement of August, 1917, followed. Since it was not known, except to a small coterie of persons whose lips were sealed, that this declaration had been in hand before Mr. Chamberlain left the India Office, it was credited to Mr. Montagu, who, it was expected, would usher a new heaven and a new earth into India. The report that he issued in collaboration with Lord Chelmsford and others, belied those hopes. The Government of India Bill as Sir James (now Lord) Meston, Lord Sydenham and other friends of India, permitted it to be placed on the British Statute Book, proved to be an even greater disappointment.

But the impression prevailed that a beginning had been made by Mr. Montagu. Later, when Labour came into power, as it had been confidently expected it would before long, India would be given the opportunity at long last to manage her own affairs.

Wedgwood, who had become a recent convert to the Labour cause, certainly held such views. He often talked to me in that strain, sometimes at our house, sometimes at his flat and more often in the House of Commons. He must have poured the same tale into Lajpat Rai's ears.

Only those who know Colonel Wedgwood can form a correct estimate of his ability to infect others with his enthusiasm. He can be—and often is—very eloquent. If one attempt fails, he will make another and yet another until he has scored success. He will wait until he catches a person in the right mood.

I always have had an idea that Wedgwood had had no difficulty in making Lajpat Rai feel that Labour, when it ruled, would give Indians all they desired in the way of power to manage their own affairs in their own way. He would have found his Indian friend, after his return from the United States, in the right mood for it.

XII

Ben C. Spoor, too, would have exerted himself in the same way had he been in London. He had, however, gone to India accompanied, I seem to remember, by Holford Knight and one or two other near-M. P.'s, soon after the passage of the Montagu-Chelmsford Bill. "Uncle Arthur" Henderson, the Secretary of the Labour Party, had appointed him a sort of ambassador. He was to attend the Indian National Congress and there was some talk of the Congress making a considerable contribution to the political funds of the British Labour Party. I have a recollection that he secured the promise of a large sum of money: but the actual contribution was disappointingly small.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald had not yet come out of the valley of the shadow of ignominy into which his pacificism had plunged him during the War. His trouble seemed to have made him kin to sufferers in every part of the globe.

Of the disabilities of our people he appeared then to be more acutely conscious than at any other period of his life. I remember his taking down from a high shelf in his study a dust-covered sheaf of manuscript one day when I was calling on him in his modest home in Belsize Park in north-west London, not far from a house I had once occupied there. It contained such caustic denunciation of the bureaucracy in India that when it was published the book was proscribed by the Government of India; and the ban was not lifted until Mr. MacDonald had for months been the Prime Minister of Britain.

It was therefore not at all presumptuous for an Indian publicist to feel that if Ramsay MacDonald should dominate the Labour Party instead of Henderson and the other Labour leaders, who, during his fall, had risen to heights theretofore unscaled by men of their party, he would befriend India. Lala Lajpat

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Rai certainly expected that he would do something if he ever came into power to rid the Government of India of the shortcomings with which he charged it and assist Indians to reach their political goal.

XIII

Probably journalism pursued for many years in Britain had made me *blasé*. By bringing me into intimate contact with many persons who were making history, it had taken away from me the capacity to become enthusiastic about them or their performances. Having seen how the Liberals behaved towards India when they came into power, I feared that Labour might do no better when it got the chance to implement the promises freely being given to Indians by men who could rightfully speak in its name.

I put this point of view before Lalaji : but he appeared to be completely under Wedgwood's spell.

I admitted, for the sake of argument, that if the Labour Party were composed entirely of Wedgwoods, and that Party were in power, the problem of Indian Swaraj might no longer be a problem. But that Party was not composed of Wedgwoods—unfortunately both for Britain and India. That I had cause to know.

Lalaji talked a great deal about the vested British interests in India. The owners of factories in Lancashire and other industrial counties of Britain had built up a large and paying business after their people gained political power in our country. They were naturally anxious to preserve it as long as they could.

He seemed to forget however that if a factory in Britain had an owner, it had workers, too. There were a hundred and perhaps a thousand workmen for each owner. They were as much interested in the Indian market as their masters. For these reasons, when the time came to give India self-government they might be as much opposed to doing so as the capitalists. They would fear that Indians might use the power given to them to put tariffs on British goods—to alter the exchange ratio between the rupee and the pound. When the time came for action the Labour Party might hesitate as much as the Liberals and Tories.

XIV

Lalaji found it impossible, upon his return to India, to put into effect the ideas and schemes that he and I had discussed in my study at Herne Hill. Our people were disappointed and enraged at the way His Majesty's Government had permitted the officials implicated in the Panjab horrors to escape almost scot-free. The special session of the Indian National Congress held with him as its President decided to non-co-operate with the authorities.

Lajpat Rai felt that the British Government had committed a great blunder. In more than one letter that I received from him from Lahore he urged me to exert myself to secure justice for the Panjab.

He started a newspaper from Lahore and called it *Bande Mataram*. It was to be conducted in Urdu. Some of his Arya Samaj friends must have been disappointed that he did not choose Hindi as the medium for the purpose. Others may have felt that a paper in English would have been of greater utility.

He had other views however. A paper conducted in Urdu, he felt, would enable him to reach the masses in the Panjab more effectively than one printed either in Hindi or in English.

He had meant, in any case, to have also an English organ. *The People*, which he started a little later, was to be a high class weekly which, like the *Nation* of New York or its namesake in London, would play an important rôle in moulding Indian opinion in the cause of freedom. He expected to receive literary support from his friends and make it into "a first class periodical." That he gave me to understand, was his ambition.

XV

In one of our numerous conversations I had told Lalaji that it was ridiculous that editors of newspapers in India should depend upon non-Indians for their London letters. "How are we to convince the British of our ability to run our own affairs in India," I asked, "if we cannot be self-sufficing in a matter like this ?"

There might have been some excuse for hiring non-Indians to do work of this description a generation or more ago, when the

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were few Indians in Britain. But this was no longer the case.

And where are we to find a man like William Digby in this day and age?

I recalled to his mind Japan, where he had spent some time. "Would the editor of a newspaper of any importance in that country delegate such a task to a non-Japanese in Britain or the United States of America?" I asked him.

Lalaji agreed with me as to the incongruity of hiring non-Indians, however sympathetic they might be, to select and to purvey news affecting India to the Indian public.

The talk ended there. I forgot all about it the next moment.

Not so Lalaji however. As soon as he had started the *Bande Mataram* he asked me to be his London correspondent.

I found myself in a difficult position. I was up to my eyes in work—much of it of a highly remunerative character. Yet how could I refuse my friend's request, especially when he reminded me of what I myself had said on this subject some years earlier.

XVI

I kept up the connection as best I could, until I pulled up stakes in London in the autumn of 1921, to set out on a comprehensive tour of Ceylon and India. I got to Lahore about the middle of the following February, by when Lalaji was behind the bars.

Through the courtesy of Sir Edward Maclagan, the then Governor of the Panjab, I was enabled to see him in prison. I had known Sir Edward for many years and liked him so much that I had used all the journalistic influence I possessed through the columns of British newspapers to counter a sinister move that was directed against him in 1920. Some powerful British reactionaries had suggested that he was too weak a man to be placed in charge of the Panjab so soon after the terrible events of 1919. They insisted that Sir Michael O'Dwyer's term of office must be extended to enable him to deal with the delicate situation there. I was very happy that Mr. Montagu refused to listen to such perverse counsel.

Sir Edward readily acceded to my request. I was lunching with him and Lady Maclagan at the Government House in Lahore at the time. He rose from the table, went to the telephone and personally arranged for me to meet my friend.

When my motor drew up outside the jail gate, the Assistant Jailor met me and conducted me to Lalaji, who had been told that I was coming and was expecting me. I spent the best part of the afternoon with him.

His cell was small, bare and uncomfortable, though quite clean and rather well lit. He had some books to read: but so far as I can now recollect, no newspapers.

Before I left, the afternoon meal was served to the prisoners. The *roti* issued to even the "political prisoners," judging by the specimen I was shown, was coarse and poor. I should not like to feed it even to cattle.

I was so shocked that I took a bit of the leather-like bread away with me to show to Mr. Montagu when I returned to London. Alas! that object was never fulfilled. Before I returned he, poor fellow, had fallen out with Mr. Lloyd George and had been hounded out of office.

So far as I could learn, Lalaji was treated well in jail. The prison officials were all deferential in their attitude towards him. He told me that he received every consideration and that the jail regulations were administered with leniency so far as he was concerned.

But he complained that he was not officially recognized as a "political prisoner." He felt that as a matter of principle, he should have been. And above all he was a man of principle.

He told me that the "inside knowledge" of prison life that he had gained from imprisonment in the Central Jail in Lahore was most revolting to him. He gave me this bit of information in front of the Assistant Jailor who was acting as my escort and added that when he was released he meant to work for prison reform. This he did.

XVII

This proved to be my first and last meeting with Lala Lajpat Rai in India. I had to depart almost immediately for western and southern India, where work was waiting for me. By the time it was finished, my health was completely undermined. I was practically

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carried on board the S. S. *Morea* bound for England, in June, 1923. My continued ill-health kept me travelling here and there until 1926, when, upon a flying visit to London, I found Lalaji was also there for a few days.

He had by this time changed his policy of non-co-operation to the point of going to Geneva as a Labour representative at the International Labour Convention. His action gave umbrage to many of our people. Strongly-worded protests were made. They cut him—ever hypersensitive—to the quick.

One evening we dined together at the National Liberal Club. My wife told him that we were contemplating going to Ceylon, where friends were trying to persuade him to take over the editorship of a daily paper.

Lalaji chided me in the strongest terms for even contemplating such an idea. He could, he said, quite conceive my remaining away from India for the sake of engaging in "foreign work," in behalf of the Motherland, as I had been doing for so many years. He attached great importance to that work, he said. But if I had grown tired of world-wandering I should, he insisted, settle down somewhere in India, and not in Ceylon. He always spoke of that land as "Ceylone," as if the last syllable was the same as the English word "tone."

"India has the first claim on you," he scolded. "You must not think of going to Ceylon, and assuming an editorship there. Promise me that you will not go. Give me your word that you will withdraw from any arrangement that you may have made."

He proceeded to enlarge, in his inimitable way, upon the opportunities for service to our country that would be open to me were I to settle down in India after my many years of journalism in Asia, America, Europe and Africa.

"Why," he declared, "you could have as many newspapers in India to edit as you might wish. If you tell me how many lakhs you would need to start a paper of your own, or a string of papers, I will guarantee to collect the money for you without any delay. Not that you stand in need of such help from me or from anyone else."

Even now, eight years later, I still feel the power of his appeal. I felt like saying: "All right, my friend. I will give up all the plans for touring America and the Far East and go straight to India."

The commitments that I had made however steadied me. I told him that I had gone too far with my plans to cancel the tour on the spur of the moment. But while I was on my way to Ceylon I would think over the matter in the light of what he had said and if conditions in Colombo did not please me upon my arrival, I would not permit myself to become entangled in editorial responsibility there.

"That is a promise, then," he cried. In his emotional way he held out his hand and shook mine with great warmth in token of the bargain. He was not through with the subject however. He referred to it again a little later and made me give him my word that if, perchance, I took up the editorship in Colombo, which he was now convinced I would not, I would let him send one of his men to me to be trained in journalism. "You will have to pay at least that price for your perverseness," he said, laughing. I readily assented.

As matters turned out, I perceived, on reaching Colombo in March, 1927, that I would be making the mistake of my life if I accepted the editorship that I had been persuaded, against my better judgment, to consider. The friend who had been so determined that I should take up the work kindly released me. Lalaji's will prevailed in the long run.

XVIII

Lajpat Rai was as fond of ices as a school-boy. He had, in fact, managed to retain the enthusiasm of youth despite his detention in Mandalay, his incarceration in the Lahore Jail, his continued ill-health and his great responsibilities as a publicist. He tried to tempt me to have a third ice—with some strawberries—or at least to share another one with him. Suddenly he remarked:

"In one way I am glad that you are going to Colombo. That will give me an excuse to visit Ceylon."

My wife immediately extracted from him a promise to come and visit us as soon as we had settled down there. We three, she declared, would set out on a journey of exploration—in the footsteps of Sita, Rama and Lakshmana.

Ceylon had interested me for a quarter

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a century. I had for years wished to study the people who, with a few exceptions, were of Indian descent. I was anxious to discover what use they had made of the cultural nucleus they had received from Mother India. There were nearly a million Indians in the Island, mostly engaged in work for which the indigenous population had no stomach. Or was it that they lacked the backbone for it? I desired to learn all there was to know about them.

Constitutional changes were, moreover, impending. I wondered if Ceylon would fare better than India in that matter.

I decided therefore to remain for some time in the Island and make a thorough study of it and its inhabitants, be they Indian or the near-Indian Sinhalese. I found the country so lovely and the people so ingratiating that I actually stayed there a little more than three-and-a-half years.

Lalaji repeated his promise to come to us for a visit. When he went to Malabar in 1928 Mrs. St. Nihal Singh and I fully expected that he would fulfil that promise. It, however, was not meant to be. He wrote me a letter in which he explained:

"I do plead guilty to the charge you have brought against me of not having visited Ceylon while I was so near it in April last. The fact is that it was so hot that I repented having ever accepted an invitation to visit (the) Madras (Presidency) in those days. I am very much desirous of coming to Ceylon for a few days, if not more, and of course your presence there is an additional attraction. But I do not know when I will be able to do so, as I am always busy in something or other."

Not long after that letter was received, the *lathi* blows fell upon my dear friend, hurling him into eternity many years before his time. Five years have come and gone. His place in my heart and in Indian public life is still empty.

How lavishly he gave of his best to Mother India!

POST-WAR CHANGES IN ENGLAND'S FOREIGN TRADE

By SASADHAR SINHA, B. SC., ECON., PH. D. ECON. (London)

ENGLAND'S economic crisis today is in many ways unique. Although its high watermark has coincided with the present world depression, it should be borne in mind that her economic malaise has been more or less persistent for the last ten years. The presence of unusually heavy unemployment, which since 1922 has never fallen below a million and which recently reached nearly three millions, is the most striking indication of the seriousness of Britain's economic ill-health. A fact of equal importance is the gradual shift of her economic centre of gravity from the North to the South. The decline of the industrial North, the backbone of England's prosperity in the nineteenth century, is a clear warning that her economic structure is in the grip of a radical transformation. A glance at the distribution of unemployment among the various industries during the last decade will bear testimony to this fact. Between 1925-30, for example, a typical northern industry, coal, which represents about one-tenth of the insured population, was responsible for nearly one-sixth of the total unemployment. It is well to remember that since the War the character of international demand for manufactured goods has undergone an important change. The tilting of the balance in favour of the South partly illustrates this shift in demand. It is the home of England's modern industries like automobile, electrical engineering, etc. Indeed, it is one of the reasons why throughout the depression the South has been relatively prosperous and the number of unemployed in this region is the lowest in England. None the less Britain's chronic unemployment not only shows that her new industries have failed to compensate for the losses of her older industries, but that their progress has not been commensurate with the

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progress made by similar industries elsewhere. "Today what is really important and significant in England is not the depression of the depressed industries, but the relatively small progress made by the relatively prosperous."*

It is necessary to go back a little in history to realize the real nature of the change that has overtaken the internal economy of England. Until the War, England's industries were unsurpassed. Although her visible balance of trade continued to be unfavourable, it was the natural consequence of her prosperity, for as the largest investor of capital abroad she held the world to fee; but her industrial pre-eminence was still the basis of her economic strength. Already before the War there appeared causes for anxiety—the growth of rival centres of industry was one of them, but as long as she continued to prosper these were not taken seriously. The advent of the War and the post-War industrial boom by affording false security only served to postpone the inevitable day of reckoning. The following figures (*cf.* Macmillan Report) will show that the volume of England's foreign trade, far from making any progress, has even failed to retain its pre-war level.

	1913	1930	precentage increase (+) or decrease (—) in volume
Imports	£659 millions	£958 millions	+ 18 p. c.
Exports	£525 „	£571 „	— 32 p. c.

Since the War England has reached a new economic equilibrium. The prosperity of her export trade has been replaced by adversity. Almost imperceptibly she has become dangerously dependent on her shipping, overseas investments and other commercial and financial operations. "Invisible" exports now occupy greater prominence in Britain's trade balance-sheet.† Thus, although her incomes from the "invisible" items have e... abled her to finance her imports and undoub... edly contributed to her economic stabili... this has been possible only at the expen... of the total credit balanee available for r... investment. Furthermore, with the shrinkag... of the export trade, industrial profits hav... steadily decreased; consequentiy contra... to the pre-war practice, for capital devel... ment Britain's domestic industries f... themselves at the mercy of the financiers. T... has involved a corresponding decrease ... investments overseas. The pre-war positi... has been exactly reversed.* Indeed, t... direct monetary liability undertaken by t... financial interests in the industries at ho... is a significant post-War development. Th... is little doubt that the recent fiscal chan... in England have been considerably facilita... by this circumstance. Self-interest h... driven the City, proverbially free-trade, i... the arms of protection.

"One cannot help remarking" says ... Siegfried "that England usually looks abr... first for the cause of her difficulties—alw... they are the fault of someone else. If ... culprit or that would reform, then Engl... might be able to regain her prosperity." T... attitude lies at the root of the tardy and c... grudging recognition of Britain's unsu... economic condition. After the War it w... for a time the fashion to ascribe all ... difficulties to the collapse of Eur...

* Loveday: *Britain and World Trade*, Longmans, 1931.

Between 1925-28, for instance, British exports of artificial silk increased by 13 p. c. only, whereas those of the Continent by 150 p. c. In the same period British exports of radio apparatus increased by £90 thousand only, while those of Holland by £1,800 thousand.

†

	1929	1930	1931
	(in millions of pounds)		
Due to U. K.			
For exports of goods	730	571	389
For exports of bullion	87	90	140

	1929	1930
	(in millions of pounds)	
For shipping	130	105
As net income on overseas investments	250	220
As short interest commissions, etc.	80	70
As excess of receipts from other Governments	24	19
Total ...	1301	1075
Due from U. K.		
For goods imported and retained	1112	957
For bullion imported	71	95
Total ...	1183	1052
Net Balance due to (+) or from (—) U. K.	+118	+23

(Cf. *Tariffs*: *The Case Examined*, Longmans, 193...

* *Issues made on the London Market*

	1913 (in millions of pounds)	1923
English	£ 35 (18 p. c.)	£264 (7...
Colonial & Foreign	£161 (82 p. c.)	£105 (2...

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Subsequent events, however, showed that she had maintained her position best on the Continent. Her greatest losses were sustained in Asia and America. The continental currency depreciation was the whipping-boy for a time, but this also proved illusory. According to Mr. Loveday, since the War England has lost everywhere, "to the great and the small, to the financially pure and the financially reprobate, but primarily to the United States."

In any true estimate of the causes of Britain's industrial changes the fortuitous must be separated from the permanent. Among the latter the first place must be given to the fact that she no longer occupies the unique position she once held. The supremacy of her coal, Britain's largest export in bulk, has been challenged by oil and hydro-electricity. Rival centres of iron and steel have sprung up in three continents. Her cotton and woollen industries have been similarly assailed. The world's productive capacity has enormously increased, but not so the population of the world. England finds herself faced with younger rivals everywhere.

The rigidity of her economic organization too must bear its fair share of blame for the arrested economic development of England. Her major industries are old-fashioned. Coal is a classic example. Its scale of production is often too small to be economic.* Even at this late hour the short-sighted individualism of the coal-owners makes a thoroughgoing rationalization of the industry impossible. In the second place, the overvaluation of the pound in 1925 impaired England's competitive position by increasing the cost of production. But, as Professor T. E. Gregory has pointed out, it would be misleading to hold the exchange position as directly responsible for all her difficulties since England's return to gold. "A most complicated economic and political situation cannot be so simply explained." (*The Gold Standard and its Future*, Methuen, 1932). Finally, the rigidity of wages in face of falling prices further handicapped the British employer. The "defeat of the cheaper by dearer peoples, the victory of the man whose food cost four shillings over the man whose food cost four pence," as Dilke wrote nearly forty years ago, is only partially true of England today. By a curious irony, in the twentieth century, his own country has lost ground to countries belonging both to dearer and cheaper peoples. England's industrial efficiency has no doubt improved, as the Macmillan Report has noted, but clearly it has neither been uniform nor has it always kept pace with the rise of wages, though the balance has been partly restored since England's departure from gold in 1931 combined with the policy of retrenchment.

In recent years the growth of economic nationalism has added to England's embarrassment. The multiplication of tariff barriers by cramping the free movement of international trade has jeopardized her economic recovery. England is on the defensive. The dream of Joseph Chamberlain has at last come true. She has turned to protection. Instead of overhauling her economic structure to answer present-day needs, by substituting flexibility for rigidity, she has deliberately set her face against the world outside the Empire and entered upon a phase of Imperial co-operation based upon mutual reciprocity. But the absurdity of the situation is obvious. For, "statesmen who describe the pouring in of foreign goods into Britain as if the goods were a destructive pest to be kept out by defences, and in the same speech urge development of imperial trade as a mutual enrichment, may not be conscious of how much mental agility they have." (Tariffs, etc., *op. cit.*) To the degree that the self-governing Dominions themselves are developing their own industries under protection, they cannot, indeed will not, grant any real preference to England; nor can England forgo her trade outside the Empire unless she is convinced that her losses outside will find adequate compensation within the Empire. England knows only too well that the Ottawa Agreement with the Dominions has been a costly adventure. England's huge international trade ill goes with whole-hog protection, nor is her internal market large enough even partially to compensate for her loss of markets abroad. The reaction of tariffs on England's shipping and entrepôt

* Compare England's 1400 independent undertakings working 2000 or more pits with a dozen companies controlling 90 per cent. of the production of Westphalian coal.

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trade, affected as they already are by the decline of her foreign trade and the post-war tendency for manufactureres to deal directly with the producers of raw materials, on the other hand, will deprive her of huge incomes and further dislocate the labour market.

With the passing away of the world-wide depression England's economic position will gradually improve in common with the rest of the world. But for the present purpose the symptoms of a more permanent disease, which has afflicted her, even during the relatively prosperous period ending in 1929, are more important. It is possible, indeed probable, that certain industries, notably textiles, will never see the return of their hey-day. Coal also is not expected to regain its former prosperity. The almost national jubilation over the recent plan for production of synthetic petroleum from coal is thus due as much to the desire to find an alternative use for coal to compensate for its loss of market abroad as to the desire to see the country independent of foreign supplies of oil in times of war. To more discerning observers it is already clear that the future of England as an industrial nation is bound up with the fortunes of her newer industries—automobile, electrical engineering, etc. True, in her desperate desire to protect her declining industries against foreign onslaughts she has sought the remedy of tariffs, but with the departure from gold there has ceased to exist even a theoretical justification for this step. England's greatest need today is greater flexibility of economic organization—greater sensitiveness to world demand. "Protection is at bottom always a policy of resisting change, of accepting and condoning rigidities." In the long run it will make the process of readjustment all the harder for England.

RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY

By Sir BRAJENDRANATH SEAL

In the panorama of modern culture and civilization three peaks stand out prominently. The first is represented by Rammohun Roy. He was the harbinger of the idea of Universal Humanism. Though Voltaire and Volney had a glimpse of the rising sun of Humanism, they distorted the view by pitting the East against the West, and minimizing and traducing Christian culture. Theirs was a militant humanism, as opposed to the Rajah's synthetic and universalistic point of view. It is interesting to note here that a third stage was reached on this line in the creed of Neo-theophilanthropy conceived as a new love of God and man. The second peak is represented by Tolstoi and Gandhi with their gospel of passive resistance and non-violent non-co-operation. The third peak in this panorama is represented by the modern movement of scientific humanism leading to cosmic humanism.

Let us take these movements in the order just mentioned. The first is represented by Rammohun Roy's idea of Universal Humanism. As I have said elsewhere, Raja Rammohun Roy was a Brahmin of Brahmins. He was also a Muhammadan with Muhammadans and a Christian with Christians. He could thus combine in his personal religion the fundamentals of Hindu, Christian and Islamic experiences. In this way he was, strange to say, multi-personal. But behind all these masks there was yet another Rammohun Roy, the humanist, pure and simple, watching the procession of Universal Humanity in Universal History.

He strove to reconcile opposites. In the sphere of speculation he sought to reconcile individual reason with collective wisdom and scriptural authority, while in the sphere of social construction he aimed at the reconciliation of the good of the individual with the good of the greatest number. Thus he tried to harmonize individualism with socialism. This harmonization, which is a necessity of life, has been attempted in different cultures in different ways. I may mention, *en passant*, that this balancing of what may be termed in a general sense individualism and socialism was a fundamental note of certain ancient civilizations, for example, the Dravidian and the Aryan. In the former, an original leaning towards socialism was corrected by a counter-emphasis on individualism, while in the latter a radical stress on individualism was tempered by socialism. The same process of counter-balancing is observable today in the capitalistic and socialistic polities of the West, where capitalism is being corrected by socialistic legislation and taxation (as in Britain and America), and on the other hand socialism, where it has been adopted as the basic principle (as in Russia), is being tempered by individualistic principles.

While Rammohun Roy was thus laying the foundation of the comparative method as applied to the study of Religion and Culture history, he made two profoundly original contributions of high practical import:

(1) He helped to establish public education in India on the basis of real and useful knowledge, more particularly of science and the application of science to industry.

(2) He made a forecast of the future political history of India and her relation to Great Britain on plantation (or, colonial) lines. Indeed he would even welcome high-grade European settlements in certain parts of the country as a tentative measure to hasten this consummation. But the march of history has another

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the practicability as well as the value of this suggestion.

The second peak, as I have said, is represented by Tolstoi and Gandhi (though Shelley had anticipated them). Here the fundamental principles are Passive Resistance, *Philosophical* Anarchism and Non-violent Non-co-operation. It was Tolstoi who interpreted Christ's teachings as embodying the quintessence of passive resistance as applied to the whole of life. This has been followed by the concept of philosophical anarchism which rejects the very idea of government, and it does not merely confine itself to Herbert Spencer's principle of mutual non-interference as the basis of legislation, but is so interpreted as to imply a total rejection of all legislative authority and sanction. Gandhi rejects this philosophical anarchism and has crystallized passive resistance into non-violent non-co-operation, rejecting all use of force and preaching the doctrine of suffering as the only means for the conversion of the resisting factors. Thus, it is claimed on behalf of this triple movement that it has promulgated a new gospel of deliverance for Universal Humanity.

I may here note that the Rajah's survey of religion can find an easy place for all these later varieties of belief and experience.

We now come to the third peak. This represents a new religion—the Religion of Man. Here (as for example in Julian Huxley's attempted rehabilitation) we shall find the usual paraphernalia of religion with divers symbols, rites, observances and dogmas, replacing the existing religious institutions and codes. It aims at placing the internal relations of society on a positive scientific basis, ousting the Gods of the extant credal religions ; and it is confidently asserted that it will form the creed of a universal humanism based on Science. Eddington, Jeans, Bertrand Russell and Whitehead are the British protagonists of these movements of thought which seek to liberate man from the dominance of the old creeds and dogmas.

Here also it may be noted that the Rajah's survey of religion can find an easy place for all these varieties of belief and experience.

But Science is not the whole of life : other phases —the emotional, the socio-ethical and the spiritual— must also be given a proper foundation and structure in the organization of life. Thus, scientific humanism is only the vestibule of the cosmic humanism of the future.

Such would be the outcome of the Rajah's survey of human history. And it was Rammohun Roy who had a glimpse of this rising sun. It was he indeed who viewed from dizzier heights the procession of universal humanity in universal history.

And in the end, as I have said elsewhere, there came to this prophet of Humanity on his death-bed the vision of a free, puissant and enlightened India, the civilizer and enlightener of Asiatic nationalities, a golden link between the Far East and the Far West, a vision as emblematic of the past, as it was prophetic of the future history of humanity.

But the old order changes and the race grows evermore. Yet Rammohun Roy shall be honoured as the prophet and precursor of Universal Humanism.

Retrospect And Prospect.

Retrospect.

But there are deeper reaches than all this. For, what enters into the norm of modern life is not merely emotional exaltation, not merely imaginative transfiguration, not merely a disinterested criticism of life, but also, in and through them all, the creation of a personality with an individual scheme of life, and an individual outlook on the Universe. And it is only faint streaks of a new light that we see on the horizon.

The Coming Order

The individual personality will grow more and more multi-personal. The hero indeed will be transformed. In this process, the idea of mass-consciousness will be the first stage, wherein everything in life and art will be evaluated in terms of the mass life. In other words, the needs of the masses, and not of the individual, will be the primary and guiding concept and measure of value. In the next stage this will develop into the concept of the Community-consciousness, wherein the life of the community will be the guiding principle of all life constructions. This community-consciousness is the consciousness of a more organized body than the masses. The next stage in this development will be the concept of Race-consciousness, in other words, the idea of the race as the centre of all values and organic constructions. The final step will be reached when all these elements will be synthetized and concretized in the concept of the Age (and the march of ages) as embracing the whole field of life. This will transform the entire panorama of life and art, bringing on a transvaluation of all values and elevating art to new heights and undreamt of altitudes. *

* This Address was delivered at the last Centenary Celebrations of Raja Rammohun Roy.

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THE PROGRESSIVE UNDERSTANDING OF POETRY

The Spiritual Shelley

By ELIZABETH GILLESPIE

IT is not only on the physical globe that a Columbus in the Middle Ages, a Shackleton in the nineteenth century and a Piccard in the twentieth, can discover new worlds. In the universe of literature also adventurers essay voyages of exploration in the world of song created by master minds.

When artists are recognized as having been born "before their time," it is reasonable to expect that their works will reveal their true value increasingly as time passes by. The expectation has been abundantly fulfilled in the history of literature. One especially expects to find still unsounded depths in the concentrated, almost cryptic, art of poetry.

Leaving aside Shakespeare, whom the world has been exploring for three hundred years, Blake, Browning and Whitman are still subjects of research, and repay their investigators with "re-visions of the ruby and the rose."

Percy Bysshe Shelley, however, has been more thoroughly spurned and more heartily loved than probably any other English poet. Yet, from his entrance into publication in 1812 right up to today, there has been a distinct evolution of understanding and knowledge of this master poet, a process of unfoldment of his meaning and message parallel with the growth of higher consciousness in the reading public, and with increasing freedom from prejudice in the critics and a finer quality of literary criticism.

Shelley is, in an even larger sense than Edmund Spenser, a "poet's poet," and needs a true poet-critic as his exponent. But, with a couple of inadequate exceptions like Matthew Arnold and Stopford Brooke, his outstanding critics and commentators have not in the past been themselves poets. It has remained for an Irish poet resident in India to discover to the world a new Shelley in the book which has inspired this article. In "The Work Promethean" Dr. James H. Cousins shows Shelley as himself the Prometheus of his great drama, the bringer of illumination and warmth into the darkness and cold distrust of his time. In view of the high place that this new work is sure to take in the world of literature, it is a matter for gratification to Indians that its author has elected to give it to the world through an Indian publishing house; and a novel feature of the interpretations and applications of Shelley's poetry which Dr. Cousins makes is the constant reference to Indian lore and experience of things of the spirit.

Shelley himself realized that one aspect of the work Promethean would be a growing capacity in humanity for interpretative exposition of symbolism in nature, art and literature. "The progressive understanding" of any great creative artist or work of art is in itself an alluring theme apart from the specific personality chosen for study. Can one read more into a creation than its creator knew? There has recently been much exploration into the "fountains" (AE's phrase) of literary genius. There is still a school of English literary thought which does not consider it "the thing" for a poet to be a philosopher, to have a message or a vision or a mission. "Art for art's sake" is not yet an out-of-date slogan. It is "bad form" in European society to wear one's heart on one's sleeve, to speak of God or the soul, or to plead guilty to possessing a spiritual ideal. In the sessions of the League of Nations such words as spiritual, religious, eternal, are taboo, and if used exceptionally are translated as moral or ethical. But the major artists are always true fundamentalists—probers into problems, philosophers and preachers, like Wordsworth, Francis Thompson, Dickens, Wells, Shaw, Leonardo, Wagner, Scriabine, Tagore. It was Shelley who claimed for poets as "the unacknowledged legislators of mankind." He felt that his own poetry

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Might shake the anarch Custom's reign,
And charm the minds of men to Truth's own sway.

It has been the happy fate of Dr Cousins to discover, and to display in literary criticism of the rarest quality, what Shelley took to be Truth. The Irish poet-critic uses the X-ray apparatus of his own intensive knowledge of every line that Shelley wrote, operated by his own spiritual wisdom and intellectual culture, not merely to lay bare the significance of Shelley's poetry, but to trace back through the foliage of beauty to the root-Shelley, Shelley the Thinker. Through his own sight of that root each reader of Shelley may realize from what essential Being have come forth the immortal flowers of lyric and drama which now command a premier place in English poetry, though they were truly valued by perhaps fifty people at his death just over a century ago.

Dr. Cousins has made a character in his own lovely drama, "The King's Wife," exclaim: "Only a poet is jealous of a poet." But that must only hold true in the case of poets contemporaneous in place and language. One remembers, on the other hand, the enthusiasm of Yeats for Tagore, of Shelley for Keats; and it is the enthusiasm of the poet Cousins for the poet Shelley that gives the bright energy which pulses through a literary study which might easily have been heavy or dull.

The richness of Dr. Cousins' own mystical, poetic and creative nature enables him to bring to view the hinterlands of thought behind the words used by Shelley. Many a lover of Shelley may realize and rejoice in Shelley's affirmations of "the vision splendid" and yet not be able to express that appreciation. To such this volume will be a God-send, for the critic brings to the life-work of the poet the searchlight of his careful, thorough study of materials, his intuitive flair for interpretation, his mystically endowed mental equipment, his own wealth of wisdom and beauty of expression, all expressed in choice language and vivid and epigrammatic style.

Literary criticism is by its nature derivative; yet its subject may set up such an induced current of inspiration that the critique itself becomes a piece of creative literature. This will certainly be the verdict passed by all but those who are bound to the vested interests of traditional criticism, on this always profound and often dazzling interpretation of the basic Shelley.

The vast allegorical poem-drama, "Prometheus Unbound," was the flower of Shelley's genius into which he put the very essence of his life; and Cousins wisely bases his analysis of the fundamentally spiritual Shelley on this work, with reinforcing cross-references to others of Shelley's great poems. Mary Shelley had given the clue to the drama by writing of it: "It requires a mind as subtle and penetrating as his own to understand the mystic meanings scattered through the poem. They elude the ordinary reader by their abstraction and delicacy of distinction, but they are far from vague."

Dr. Cousins is the proverbial fighting Irishman in this new elucidation of the supreme genius of Shelley and interpretation of his major works. He tilts at high and low among the former evaluators of Shelley. He marshals his men in chronological orders from Thomas Carlyle to Sir Henry Newbolt and Aldous Huxley. He proves by convincing quotations how the passage of time raised Shelley from being the expelled Oxonian "atheist," then the "ineffectual angel," later the "hectic, shrill and pallid being," after that the writer of "romantic love affairs," until W. B. Yeats, a true interpreter of the spiritual Shelley, closes "Prometheus Unbound" as a "sacred book." Having put the critics in their ascending grades of inadequacy, Cousins himself starts off from Mary Shelley's clue and piles up evidence and interpretation which cause Shelley to emerge as one of the order of world-liberators with a gospel that "Love, not man, is superior to law, and only when Man-in-the-highest, Man Promethean, is governed solely and completely by Love can he safely be set free from Law (Jupiter)."

Shelley is disclosed in "The Work Promethean" not as a visionary, but as a man with a vision, a seer, a prophet, a preacher, clear and plain to his own mind, capable of being seen equally, clearly by readers of the calibre of his latest eulogist and interpreter, and by lesser minds who now have this "open sesame" in their hands. Not only so, but Shelley is shown as his own ideal of Prometheus in his exposition of how his formula of regenerated society would

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act, and so we are guided to the Veda of Shelley in its application to aspects of life—love, thought, freedom, will, equality—by this Irish-Indian Upanishad.

The unique chapter of interpretation, cosmic general and individual, of "Prometheus Unbound" is so closely knit, so intellectually presented, so beautifully expressed, and goes so much deeper than previous expositions in its masterly interpretation of the ancient Promethean myth as resung for the modern and future world by Shelley, that it must be read as a whole at one sitting, and no student of Shelley or of the advancement of humanity can afford to remain without knowledge of it.

Shelley is shown by Cousins as a worshipper of a Being

> Which wields the world with never wearied love,
> Sustains it from beneath and kindles it above,

and later in the poem that Being is definitely called "Almighty God" and "Merciful God." Thus falls away the label "atheist" which so long damned Shelley. The label "pantheist" is also removed by quotations which show that Shelley clearly voices the retention of individuality after death even when he sings of Adonais as being "a portion of that loveliness once he made more lovely" but immediately follows it with the assertion that

> he doth bear
> His part, while the One Spirit's plastic stress
> Sweeps through the dull dense world.

As a thinker, even in the realm of physical science, Shelley is shown to have been a pioneer of the scientific doctrine of evolution, ante-dating Darwin by thirty years; stating, as Cousins says, "the clearest science, but stating it gloriously, on the wing." The discovery of evolution in "Adonais," of the three *yogas* of India in "Prometheus Unbound," and of the Shelleyan aesthetic in an "unrhymed sonnet" in that same poem, are proofs of literary and philosophical acumen of a unique kind.

It is part of the charm of this new way in literary criticism that over and over again we see the working poet of today with all the experience of a creative artist making us realize the importance of each word, each nuance of expression, in Shelley. "In the realm of poetry," Cousins writes, "whose appeal is less to the emotions and more to the mind than music, clarity of statement is essential quality. Yet there is a stage beyo which the demand for clarity in poetry may a demand for something other than poetry stage where external expression is incapable carrying the whole offering of inner meanin and words have to bear on one shoulder th image immediately invoked, and on the oth the sometimes shadowy, sometimes shinin shapes of thoughts and feelings seekin incarnation in the always inadequate bodies speech."

Poets crowd whole realms of thought i single words in special connotations. Thi is a more synthetical art than the musician The latter is inspired with a seed melo and unfolds it by sequences and contras but the poet keeps pressing the *multum* i the *parvo*: his is the art of literary synthe

> Compacting to an instant's glance
> All that through sight the senses stirred
> Hushing life's myriad utterance
> Back to the all-enfolding Word.

It is only those who realize this by ex cising the poet's craft themselves, or by be in close contact with poets, who can m valuably interpret the words and expressi which Shelley economically and eclectic chose.

"At the stage of interpretation," s Cousins, "verbal sounds take on overtones intuitive assumption, tinctures from a myr forgotten feelings, memories of long-dismar edifices of thought, undertones of unrecog experience." Shelley himself expected future to expand to an adequate understan of the implications of closely packed thou He spoke of the augmentation of signific which would accrue to high poetry. wealth of original exposition which Work Promethean" contains proves the cor ness of Shelley's prophecy. A sp instance of this is the discovery of the alm mentioned "unrhymed sonnet" in "Prometh Unbound" as the chalice holding the expression of Shelley's ideas on the arts origin, their function in the cosmic opera their relationship with humanity, and conditions of their progress." The transl tion of this "scanty plot of ground" Cousins' Japanese miniature garden exposition, is an act of literary magic allurement all its own. And closing it i

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explanation of the æsthetical pleasure of creative literary analysis: "There is a special joy of the spirit in mentally separating the apparent complexity of the garden into its several plots for the fuller enjoyment of each, and for attaining through this analytical process the paradox of an ultimately simple and radiant understanding."

It is appropriate that India should be the place of birth of this new discovery of the essential Shelley, for Shelley knew the spiritual stature of India, and knew also of its characteristic doctrines, such as rebirth, the world of the celestials, the One Life, etc. It will be a novel experience for Western students to find India elucidating and corroborating the English poet. Dr. Cousins is uniquely equipped for such hemispherical cross-references by his Celtic nature, which delights in myth and its interpretation, and by his long residence in India and his "identity of spirit" with India and Shelley. Perhaps such an exposition of the progressive understanding of poetry as is this volume is just the kind of world-service that this deeply spiritual country can make as an aspect of its spiritual leadership of the world.

THE PROBLEM OF IRRIGATION IN BENGAL

By SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS, M.A., PH. D.

In describing the present condition of Bengal villages Deshbandhu Chitta Ranjan Das once remarked:

"Today that peasant is gone—his breed extinct; gone too is that household with its ordered and peaceful economy of life. The granaries are empty of their golden wealth; the kine are dry and give no milk; and the fields, once so green, are dry and parched with thirst. The tanks have dried up; their water has become blackish and unwholesome and the peasant has lost his natural freshness and gaiety of temperament."*

Such is the condition of health and agriculture of Bengal villages. The problem of their reconstruction is enormous and complex. They were not unhealthy half a century ago. They were prosperous and held a high position in agriculture, trade and commerce. The main cause of this deterioration is the insidious attack of Malaria.

"The excessive prevalence of Malaria as a whole can be attributed to the great facilities afforded to the breeding of mosquitoes, by the perseverance in and around the villages of dirty tanks, ditches, marshes and canal water in every direction, and to the *Bils* and dead rivers acting in the same way in some cases. In its turn, the presence of so much water is due to the want of natural drainage in the country, owing to its position in a deltaic tract, where the process of land-building is still going on. The rivers are gradually heightening their banks and beds, until the drainage is away from instead of towards them. The sub-soil water is unable to drain away rapidly, remains long at a high level after the wet season, and prevents the soaking in of rain-water resulting in casual collection of water remaining for long periods in every hollow, natural and artificial. It is the combination of these two factors, the high sub-soil water and the jungles and insanitary condition of the villages, that results in so high a Malaria rate. The pits, hollows and jungles in villages would in themselves be insufficient to account for so great a prevalence of the disease, were they not combined with lack of natural drainage, which allows the surface collection of water to remain for so long a time."†

The means advocated now, draining and filling up the cess-pools which are the haunts of Anopheles, are like treating symptoms of the disease, the root cause of which is not being tackled. Some of the experts say that the time of the beginning of E. I. Railway lines synchronizes with the beginning of the epidemic breaking out in an explosive form, that railway lines and high roads have obstructed drains and unless there are remedies for that it is wasting money and energy in solving the question of Malaria. These experts also say that the mighty rivers of the Gangetic system are gradually getting silted

* Deshbandhu Chitta Ranjan Das's Presidential Address at the Bengal Provincial Conference in 1917.

† *Vide* Drainage Committee Report of 1909.

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up and a large number of them have become already silted up, and that these are contributory causes of Malaria. Unless these are put in order, no amount of effort spent on village improvement will do any good. There is not the least doubt that a good amount of harm has been done by obstacle to drainage by high embankment and also due to shallow borrow-pits excavated all along the railway lines. In most cases, it is due to the ignorance and negligence of the railway engineers of the elementary laws of sanitation. Again there is not the slightest doubt that the deterioration of the river system is a predominant factor in producing Malaria.

There is a considerable amount of evidence to support the view that railway construction has been largely responsible for the disastrous change that has come over many parts of the delta in the last seventy years. Before the advent of railways, there were few roads and although river embankments existed in certain districts they were rarely efficient in preventing inundation, because breaches were common and more often than not the embankments were deliberately cut to let river water into the *bils* and on to the fields. As there were few roads to impede the free passage of the floods across the surface of the country, the water flowed from field to field, choosing the natural lines of drainage, and eventually made its escape through the network of *khals* and channels that existed in every part of the delta. But this natural process of flood and flush was destroyed by the advent of railways, which required embankments for their tracks and a system of feeder roads to convey passengers and produce to their stations. For, the periodic inundation of the country naturally tended on occasions to destroy the continuity of the road and railway communications and it became necessary therefore to make the river embankments secure against breaches; and in consequence flood water was shut out from the country, the natural system of deltaic irrigation was interrupted, drainage was impeded and the natural network of channels which used formally to be fed by the spill water from the great rivers became silted up and in many cases entirely destroyed, rendering boat traffic difficult and in many cases impossible. The embanking of the coun and the shutting out of river water from surface of the delta was further marked the simultaneous occurrence of appalli epidemics of Malaria, a serious decline agriculture and the progressive depopulati of the affected areas. There are grounds believing that the multiplication of roads railways has been a cause of land actu going out of cultivation. The effect embankments upon the fertility of cultiva land has to be considered in this connecti and a passage quoted below from the Ben Census Report of 1911 has special bearing this question :

> "There is no doubt that in areas liable inundation the embankment does frequently the drainage of the country. On the one floods are deeper and last longer than before, the soil becomes water-logged; on the other, land does not receive the same amount of moist or the same fertilizing deposit of silt."*

In the deltaic portions of Bengal, cultiva land, ordinarily subject to inundation river water, never requires to lie fallow whe as other lands do. Fallows, therefore, may taken as an index of soil impoverishment. proportion to the cultivated area, fallow la is five times as common in both Western Northern Bengal than in Eastern Bengal, in Central Bengal the proportion of fal land is just ten times as great as that Eastern Bengal.† From a comparison railways, roads and fallow lands in the ab four parts of Bengal, it is clear that multiplication of railways and roads in deltaic portions of Bengal is to be regard with grave misgivings. The embankme exert a most baneful effect upon the ferti of the soil, thus causing a serious decline the agricultural production of the areas serve. Roads and railways afford, no do excellent facilities for the transport of go and the rapid transit of passengers. But the construction of necessary embankm brings about in course of time enorm reduction in the agricultural outturns of w districts, and turns healthy areas into hotb of Malaria and eventually leads perhaps

* C. A. Bentley, *Malaria and Agriculture in Bengal*, page 33.

† A comparative statement is given in Ben work, page, 34.

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the destruction of a large percentage of their total population, then the advantages must necessarily be said to be most dearly purchased. Says C. A. Bentley:

"Recent observations have shown on numerous occasions that, following the construction of embankments, there is a very great local extension of Malaria on both sides of the embankment, accompanied by a rise in the local mortality, an increase in the proportion of fever cases and fever deaths and a rise in the spleen index. Changes of this kind have been noted and specially reported on in detail in the case of the railways from Katwa to Sahibganj, in Birbhum and Murshidabad, in the case of embankments connected with the Sara bridge and in the case of the Sara-Serajganj Railway. A considerable rise in the fever-index has also been noted in the case of railway construction in Mymensingh."

Prior to the shutting of the Damodar floods, the condition of the affected area in Bengal was one of almost unexampled prosperity. In 1760, Burdwan which then covered an area of 5,174 square miles and included the present districts of Hooghly and Howrah, was described by the officers of the East India Company as the most productive districts within the whole province or Subah of Bengal. It was also spoken of as "a garden in the midst of a wilderness." But within a century and a half the population in Burdwan and Hooghly has fallen, according to Lt. Col. Crawford, by about 50 per cent, and the decline still continues, not only in these areas but also in many other parts of Bengal that have been similarly affected, and the Census of 1911 revealed the fact that during the previous decade depopulation had taken place in many *thanas* in different districts. The decline of population is most extensive in Western and Central Bengal, where there are most embankments and where agriculture has suffered the greatest deterioration. In almost every case also the decline of population is associated with the extensive prevalence of Malaria. It is significant that the decline is the least in Eastern Bengal, which is not so well provided with embanked roads and railways and where the country has not been protected from inundation by marginal river embankments. Where in a few areas depopulation is occurring in Eastern Bengal it is associated with the embanking of the country, a local decline in agriculture and a coincident increase in Malaria.

This decline in agriculture and increase in Malaria can be checked, according to Sir William Wilcocks, by the restoration of the ancient system of overflow irrigation of Bengal and also, according to Dr. C. A. Bentley, by canal irrigation along the embankment lines of the railway. How this old system of irrigation came to be neglected in Bengal has been described at length by Sir William Wilcocks and this description bears repetition here. By 1815 the zamindars and tenants of Central Bengal had neglected the clearing of the canals and the repairing of the banks with the silt so cleared, a work known as "Pulbandi." This negligence began in Bengal in the troublous Mahratta-Afghan wars, and the early English who were traders and sailors knew nothing about irrigation. Seeing many waterways neglected and unused after the wars, they thought the canals were meant only for navigation and they left them alone. This negligence made Central Bengal in 1815 cede the place of honour it held in 1660 to Burdwan whose river, the Damodar, was much better placed for irrigation than the Ganges. Decay had begun in Central Bengal, and it began later in Burdwan where the canal clearances were neglected on the canals which took off from the river, and there remained nothing but filling up of the breaches made in the banks of the Damodar itself. As the uncleaned canals took less and less water, more water remained in the Damodar and it became a menace to the country. The Damodar banks now assumed a fresh importance. These banks were known as "Zemindari banks." They were breached by the peasantry when the fear of an inundation had passed or a breach had occurred elsewhere; and in this way the old canals, now called definitely "dead rivers," were filled with water and the country irrigated more or less perfectly. Then it was imagined by everybody that these "Zamindari banks" were only flood protective works, and that they were kept up solely for that purpose. The "Zamindari bank irrigation" which was practised when the breaches or "Kanwas" were made and the canals or "Kanas" were filled with water, was considered as non-existent. The "overflow canals" were called "dead rivers" in places and "drainage lines" in others, but the word "irrigation" was never mentioned. Irrigation still went on, however,

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because the zamindars and tenants made secret breaches in the banks and irrigated their lands when they could. These breaches were considered by the authorities as breaches made by the uncontrolled floods of the rivers and the Government set itself to put an end to such discreditable occurrings. It never seems to have struck anybody that the breaches were made secretly by the peasantry for irrigation. And yet it ought to have been evident that 40 or 50 breaches in a heavily embanked river of inconsiderble length in a single year could not possibly have been made by the river itself.*

The meteorological conditions in Bengal render irrigation necessary. The chief characteristics of the rainfall here are its unequal distribution throughout the seasons and its liability to failure or serious deficiency. This province, indeed, presents a greater variety of meteorological conditions than any area of similar size in the world. The second important characteristic of the rainfall is its unequal distribution throughout the seasons. By far the greater portion of the rain falls between June and September. During the winter months the rainfall is comparatively small, while the hot weather is practically rainless. Consequently it happens that in one season of the year the greater part of Bengal is deluged with rain and is the scene of the most wonderful and rapid growth of vegetation; in another period the same tract becomes a dreary sunburnt waste. Hence sometimes in the year, cultivation without irrigation becomes practically impossible and agriculture consequently ceases to depend upon the rainfall and relies wholly upon water obtained from other sources; again sometimes without proper aqueducts agriculture becomes impossible in the same tracts which are flooded with water and become the breeding places of mosquitoes and other worms. Therefore, something needs be done by the construction of reservoirs, to conserve the monsoon rainfall and extend its benefits over the other seasons of the year.†

An adequate supply of soil water for the plant is the first condition of success in crop production. Without this the plant cannot make full use of the natural fertility of the land. Hence is the dependence of the crop of India on the monsoon and the importance of a well-distributed rainfall to the country. The monsoon is the dominant factor in rural India. The well-known uncertainty of the monsoon produces other effects besides limiting the annual harvest. The character and outlook of the population have been affected. The people feel that the monsoon is in command. The villager is convinced that he has to accept what Providence has seen fit to provide. Hence comes the well-marked fatalism of the people, the general stagnation of village life and the absence of any desire on the part of the cultivator to improve his condition. The Bengal monsoon has produced two other results besides influencing the outlook of the people and often reducing the supply of moisture for the crops. In the first place, the heavy falls of rain, which often occur, lead to constant erosion and to the loss of the most fertile portion of the soil. In the second place, the duration of the monsoon is so short that only rapidly-maturing varieties of low potential yield can be cultivated. The annual loss of soil which takes place in India by erosion is immense and is an important factor in reducing the annual harvest. Except in the rice-areas soil-erosion takes place all over the country. In these tracts, the scientific control of surface drainage does not yet exist. Much of the rain is received in heavy fall; a large portion of the water runs off the surface towards the drainage lines, carrying with it the most valuable portion of the soil—the fine particles and a large part of the organic matter. Sometimes this drainage from the higher land leads to the water-logging of low areas before it reaches the rivers. In other cases the surplus water runs to waste so rapidly that there is no time for it to soak into the soil. The crops then suffer and the reserve of water in the sub-soil is not replenished. All these adverse factors—soil-erosion, water-logging and a shortage of soil moisture—occur because there is no control of the rain after it reaches the ground. Examples of the evil consequences which result from the want of control of the surface drainage are unfortunately only too abundant

* Sir William Wilcocks, *Ancient System of Irrigation in Bengal*, pages 21 & 22.

† *Irrigation in India* by D. G. Harris, pp. 2 & 3.

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Thousands of acres of valuable land have been destroyed by the formation of a network of ravines which produce little more than a crop of grass in the rains. These gullies have been carved out of the soft alluvial soil by the uncontrolled drainage in the past. Every year they extend further and further from the river, until they measure many hundreds of yards in length. Villages, which at one time were surrounded by fertile fields, now lie in a network of useless ravines. The real remedy for such damage is prevention by irrigation—the control of the drainage in the first instance. In matters like this, little can be hoped from individual cultivators, as they are too intent on their small areas of land besides being so poor and so ignorant that they cannot execute a drainage scheme for the country-side.*

Hence all efforts to effect agricultural improvements will be fruitless if facilities for irrigating the land are not forthcoming. In the old rural economy of Bengal, there was a carefully planned system of regulating the rain-water so as to lead the water from lands on a higher level to a lower level, but owing to the construction of railway and road embankments and the neglect of the water channels, these have disappeared in many cases, with the result that water-logging takes place in some parts, while soil-erosion occurs in others. During the monsoon season the rainfall in the Gangetic Valley is fairly heavy and this water, if it is not properly controlled, has a tendency to run off the surface without percolating into the soil after washing away the most valuable part of the soil. The result is loss of moisture in the soil and gradual permanent loss of fertility. The left bank of Jumna has lost thousands of acres of fertile land owing to the formation of ravines as the result of erosion.

"These ravines," says Howard, "have been carved out of the soft alluvial soil by the uncontrolled drainage in the past."† Every year the damage is greater and greater and unless some remedy by irrigation is at once effected, most villages in Bengal will more and more lose their fertile fields and will be surrounded by useless ravines in the near future.

Water control must be carried on with a view to economizing the volume of water supplied to different crops according to their necessity. Dry crops like wheat, cotton and maize do not require much water, while rice and jute are in need of a large volume of water for quick growth. There are some varieties of rice which require a larger amount of water than others. The wants of these different crops and their varieties will have to be studied and water is to be regulated accordingly.

Irrigation will increase soil fertility by silt deposit and improved drainage, thus encouraging cultivation of the land, increasing the food supply of the people, and promoting the prosperity of the country as a whole. Under the system of land tenure common to the greater portion of Bengal, whereby most of the land is held by small tenant cultivators, irrigation will tend to check decline of population and will increase especially the prosperity of the agricultural classes, who form the bulk of the rural population. In the conditions peculiar to deltaic areas and which exist in the greater part of Bengal, irrigation and the wet cultivation, including the cultivation of rice, promise to reduce the number of Anopheles mosquitoes and thus lessen the prevalence of Malaria.* In other words, as Dr. Bentley says, "Irrigation must be the watchword of Bengal."

The ancient kings and peoples of Bengal knew the advantages of irrigation and constructed a system of irrigation the distinguishing feature of which was that: (*i*) The canals were broad and shallow carrying the crest waters of the river floods, rich in fine clay and free from coarse sand; (*ii*) the canals were long and continuous and fairly parallel to each other, and at the right distance from each other for purpose of irrigation; (*iii*) the irrigation was performed by cuts in the banks of the canals, which were closed when the flood was over, these artificial cuts are today called "Kanwas" in Bhagalpur. The irrigation of Bengal was done principally by rainfall and the river water was used to manure the

* *The Development of Indian Agriculture* by A. Howard and G. C. Howard, page 16.

† A. Howard, *Crop Production*, page 12.

* C. A. Bentley, *Malaria and Agriculture in Bengal*, page 174.

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rainfall and kill the mosquitoes or deprive them of their malignity.*

While trying to tackle the irrigation problem of Bengal one has to admit that no general survey of the irrigation possibilities of Bengal has yet been made. The Linlithgow Commission rightly pointed out that "the problems that await solution in Bengal, if, indeed, all the problems presented can be completely solved, are thus complex in the extreme." The complexity of the irrigation problem in Bengal has been admitted on all hands. First, there is the question of rainfall and conservation and regulation of both surface and sub-soil water; next is that of the effect of embankments on irrigation, drainage, sanitation and public health; then that of the condition and behaviour of deltaic rivers; then follows that of navigation.

The necessity for irrigation in Bengal is self-evident. The manifold advantages of irrigation can very well be summarized by concluding that irrigation means better economic conditions; means small farms with greater productive power, and ensures homes with greater comfort and health for men of moderate means. It means more intelligence and knowledge applied to farming,—more profit from crops, more commerce—because special products of higher grade and better market value will be enhanced. Irrigation will finally solve the great labour question and fortify against the alarming increase of city populations.

* *The Overflow Irrigation of Bengal* by Sir William Wilcocks, pages 5 and 6.

ABOLITION OF THE "SUTTEE"

An Unknown Tract of Rammohun Roy

The tract reproduced below was written by Raja Rammohun Roy and published by him in England in 1832. It has not so far been found in any edition of his collected works. It was discovered by Prof. U. N. Ball of Lahore in the library of the Forman Christian College, Lahore. The story as to how it came there has been told in the January number of this Review (p. 110), where the inscription on its cover in Rammohun's handwriting presenting it to Lady Johnstone was reproduced.

This unknown tract on the "Suttee" will be included in the Collected Works of Rammohun Roy shortly to be published by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat. The Editor of the "Modern Review" will act as General Editor to the Parishat Edition of the Raja's Works.—Ed. *M. R.*

SOME REMARKS
In Vindication of the Resolution passed by
The Government of Bengal
In 1829
Abolishing The
Practice of Female Sacrifices
In India

—

Remarks, etc, etc.

THE practice of burning Hindoo widows, on the funeral piles of their husbands, was abolished by the Government of Bengal, on the 4th of December, 1829, in consequence of which these unfortunate and deluded persons have been completely saved from destruction, for a period of two years and upwards. Certain Hindoo inhabitants of Calcutta, who find this humane measure detrimental to their own interests, have under the advice of an attorney of the Supreme Court, at the Presidency of Fort William, thought proper to bring the subject before the Privy Council, with the view of having the Regulation rescinded and the practice renewed.

2. Par. As to the propriety, or justice, or humanity of re-establishing such a cruel usage, it may safely be left to the wisdom and discretion of exalted individuals, before whom this Christian country and enlightened age, the subject is to be discussed.

3. Par. With regard to the question of policy, which to many statesmen seems paramount to justice, humanity, conscience, law and religion, it might have been alleged that the abolition would be an interference with the religious rites of the Hindoos, and would cause insurrection, perhaps revolution in the country, and terminate in the loss of the British possessions in India. On this point I beg to offer a few remarks.

First. If there had been any chance of popular commotion being excited by such an abolition, it might have been expected immediately after the measure was adopted in the latter part of the year 1829. About two years and upwards

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however passed, and no accounts have been received that any widow has been burnt, in opposition to the regulations of Government, or even that any attempt at commotion has ever been made.

Secondly. From a reference to the printed official returns, (laid before Parliament) of the number of Suttees within the territories of the Presidency of Fort William, from 1815 to 1828, inclusive, it appears that within the province of Bengal, including the city of Benares (to which place an immense number of the Bengalees, male and female, retire, from religious prejudices, to end their days,) and Patna, which is adjacent, and has been long united to Bengal, by political connection as well as by close and constant intercourse, the number of female sacrifices has mounted to 7941, whereas in the whole extent of the upper provinces, classed under the head of Bareilly, we find only 203 in a period of 14 years, (on an average about 14 in each year): consequently had there been any chance of popular commotion, it might have been dreaded in Bengal particularly, where the practice chiefly prevailed. But it is well known that from education and want of physical energy, the natives of Bengal are the last persons in the world to be expected to rise against public authority.

Thirdly. Even in Bengal a greater number of the most intelligent and influential of the natives, landholders, bankers, merchants, and others, felt so much gratified with the removal of the odium, which the practice had attached to their character as a nation, that they find united in presenting an address of thanks and congratulation, on the subject, to the Governor General, Lord William Bentinck, on the 18th of January, 1830,* and in like manner, when his Lordship, in his progress to the upper provinces, arrived at Buxuar, (situated between Patna, and Benares,) persons of the highest rank and respectability, supported by numerous inhabitants, presented another address, expressive of their satisfaction at the abolition of the horrible custom, as will appear by the *Calcutta Government Gazette* of November 15th, 1830.

Fourthly. It was not religious devotion alone which prompted the generality of the natives of Bengal, who carried on the practice of widow burning to such an extent; nor is that their motive for wishing its re-establishment. But it is their wordly interest, which many wish to serve under the cloak of religion. Since according to their law of inheritance (the *Dayabhaga*) a widow is entitled to inherit the property of her deceased husband, without regard to his condition in life, and therefore is a complete bar to the claims of the father, mother, brothers, sisters and daughters of the deceased, who have all consequently a direct interest in the destruction of the widow. But in the upper provinces where the *Mitakshara* is respected as the law of inheritance, according to which the rights of the surviving wife are more circumscribed, the relatives of the husband are not much interested in her death; and in these provinces it is found that the Suttees are comparatively very rare.*

Fifthly. Hence, it is obvious, that as the adherence of the Bengalees to this practice generally springs from selfish considerations of a wordly nature, the abolition of such a fertile source of intrigue and calculating cruelty cannot excite any apprehension of religious enthusiasm in those persons who are conscious of the unworthiness of the cause they advocate; even if the Bengalees had possessed physical energy, and a war-like education. These considerations (and many others might be added) are sufficient to shew, that policy by no means requires the re-establishment of the open perpetration of suicide and murder.

4 Par. It might be alleged, that the British Government has pledged itself not to interfere with the religious rights of its Indian native subjects; but, it must not be forgotten, that according to common sense, as well as from a reference to precedent and the dominion in India, it is clear, that this rule was always unequivocally meant to apply to religious observances which are considered incumbent on the people, according to the principles of their own faith, and which are not a nuisance and outrage to public feeling. On this principle, the Government, from time to time, prohibited various practices performed in the name of religion; such as the perambulation of the streets by Nagas, (or naked devotees), infanticide and suicide under the car of Jagganauth, the self-destruction and public burning of lepers, human sacrifices, etc. etc.; it being found that these practices were only partially observed and consequently merely optional, not incumbent, since their omission involved no less of civil rights, nor did it bring reproach on those who failed to observe them; while their ohservance was highly offensive, a nuisance to the public, and a reproach to a civilized government. The case is precisely the same with respect to widow burning. For, first, in regard to the

* *Vide* the *Bengal Hurkaru*, or the *India Gazette* of the 18th of Jan. 1830. "The whole wealth of a deceased husband, who has no male issue," shall belong to his widow, though there be brothers of the whole blood, "paternal uncles, (daughters) daughter's sons, and other heirs." Celebrook's translation of the *Dayabhag*. Chap. 11. sec. 1. Art 3rd.

* A wife being chaste takes the whole estate of a man who being separated from his co-heirs and not subsequently reunited with them, dies leaving no male-issue. Colebrook's translation of the *Mitakshara*. Chap. 2. Sec. 1. Art 39. It should not be overlooked that amongst the Hindoos, brothers very generally, or almost always, live in joint families, and very often first and second cousins also; consequently the qualification of non-separation has almost annihilated the rights of the widow.

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number of widows burning in the province of Bengal, only one widow out of perhaps thirty, and in the upper provinces, one out of nine hundred and ninety-nine could be prevailed on to perform this horrid sacrifice; while all the rest lived in the enjoyment of their civil rights and social respect (as shewn by thousands of judicial decrees): and again, on the score of nuisance, it is a source of greater offence and disgust to the public than the rest, from its being performed of human beings expiring under the greatest sufferings. Therefore, a regard to consistency and its own character compelled the government to deal with this practice as they had done with the others before mentioned.

5 Par. In addition to its local observation of the option exercised by widows, of either living an austere life, or of burning themselves with the corpse of the husband, Government was furnished with the verdicts of the Pandits of the Sudder Dewanee Adawlut, and of the Supreme Court of Calcutta; who, notwithstanding their enthusiastic zeal in favour of the practice of concremation, felt compelled by the force of truth to acknowledge, that at most it was entirely optional; nay, that an austere life was more meritorious.

First. In reply to the question submitted to the Hindoo Law Officers of the Sudder Dewanee Adawlut, in March 1817, it was stated (p. 174), that "the woman who wishes to accompany her deceased husband, let her ascend the funeral pile." In some cases, the widow may be laid on the funeral pile, before it is lighted, by the side of her husband. But, (p. 175) if she be then destitute of the wish to perform the act of *sahagaman* (concremation) she must be lifted off." Again (page 175), "If having arrived at the place of burning, she determine to burn, the ceremony of depositing the widow must be again gone through." "If she afterwards express a wish to rise, she must be lifted off."

Second. The Pandit of the Supreme Court (Mrityoonjay) states, (p. 178) that according to the *Jutta Mala Bilas* "ascending the funeral pile is a voluntary act, and not an indispensable one" (p. 182). The alternative of leading an austere life being mentioned and "any objection adverse to it, being removed by the comparison cited in the text, this alternative seems evidently to be recommended by the favoured side of the argument" (p. 182). "In a person who is careless about absorption and desirous to obtain a paradise of temporary and inconsiderable bliss the act of "anoogaman (following the husband) is justifiable, but from this "reasoning it appears evident that the leading of a virtuous life is preferred as the superior alternative, and that the act of 'anoogaman' is held to be of inferior merit." (p. 182). No difference prevails with regard to the propriety of leading a life of "austerity" (p. 183). "Not the slightest offence attaches either to "the women who depart from their resolution (of burning) or to those who persuade them to relinquish their intentions" (p. 183).

6. Par. If we look further into the consequences arising from the successful exertions of European Orientalists, in translating Sanscrit works, in various branches of literature, into the English language, of the Brahmans, in the interpretation of the Hindoo law, and Religious doctrines. For example, the translation of the institutes of Menu, by Sir William Jones, which is before the public, and which work, is a system of duties, religious and civil, and of law, in all "its branches, which the Hindoos firmly believe to have been promulgated in the beginning of time by Menu the son or grandson of the older only, but the holiest of legislators, a system so comprehensive and so minutely exact, that it may be considered as the institutes of Hindoo law." (Sir W. Jones's works, Vol. VII, p. 7, Preface.)

7. Par. This great legislator, in prescribing the duties of widows, thus ordains: "Let her (the widow) CONTINUE TILL "DEATH, forgiving all injuries, performing harsh duties, avoiding every sensual pleasure, and cheerfully practising the incomparable rules of virtue, which have been followed by such women, as were devoted to one only husband." (Chap. V, Verse 158, p. 7). "And like those abstemious men, if after the decease of her lord, she devote herself to pious austerity (Ver. 160.) But a widow "who from a wish to bear children, slights her deceased husband, by marrying again, brings disgrace upon herself here below, and shall be excluded from the seat of her lord." (Ver. 161).

8. Par. Here Menu by the expression "let her continue till death," imperatively commands all widows to live a life of virtue, piety and austerity, discountenances her marrying again, and does not admit the idea of any such alternative as that of burning with the corpse of the husband.

9. Par. It cannot be alleged that the Veds have justified the practice and superseded the authority of Menu; since the Ved itself declares that "whatever Menu pronounced, was a medicine for the soul." (*Vide* Sir W. Jones's works, Vol. VII, p. 83, lines 21 and 23.)

10. Par. Nor can it be alleged, that Usanas and some other legislators who recommend widow burning, and also profess to found their doctrines on the Veds, should be considered of equal authority to Menu; since on the Ved itself, the text above quoted, the authority of which we acknowledge to be supreme, sanctions only the precept of Menu, and in addition to this Vrihaspati declares, that "Menu held the first rank amongst legislators; because he has expressed in his code the whole sense of the Veda; that no code was approved which contradicted Menu." (Sir W. Jones's Vol. VII, p. 83, line 25.)

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11 Par. Therefore any quotation from other authorities or detached passages attributed to Menu, but not to be found in his code, and inconsistent with it, cannot be considered as of any validity. Then, whence, it may be asked arose a practice so repugnant to reason, and so contrary to the most ancient, and highest legislative authority of the Hindoo? Only (I reply) from the jealousy of their Princes, who were unable to tolerate the idea of their wives proving forgetful of them, and associating with other men after their deaths, and their dependants were induced to follow their footsteps, actuated by the same motives, and also by the influence of example; while their surviving relations did not fail to encourage the practice, for the reasons above explained, to promote their own interests, and literary men of similar feelings have not been wanting, to support their views, by interpolations and inventions, under the name of traditions, and quotations, from the Poorans and Tantras, which all acknowledge to have no limit, or certain standard. But unfortunately it is an established rule, that every doctrine founded on these, is to be rejected, when on a fair critical examination, it proves to be inconsistent with Menu, the only safe rule to guard against endless corruptions, absurdities, and human caprices.

R. M. R.

FINIS

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APPENDIX

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It cannot, I think, be irrelevant to the subject, to bring under the notice of the British public, that the abolition of the practice of burning Hindoo Widows alive, on the funeral pile of their deceased husbands, was a measure not indiscreetly or rashly adopted by the Governor General of Bengal, but it was recommended and officially suggested to Lord William Bentinck, by the members of the Supreme Council—by the judges of the Sudder Dewany, and Nizamut Adawlut, who are most deservedly entrusted with the power of life and death, over the millions of the Natives of India,—by the officers of Government, holding responsible situations, and possessed of the best local information,—as well as by the long-resident Europeans of the first intelligence and unquestionable respectability; with the exception of six individuals out of the whole British public living in India.

AUTHORITIES FOR THE ABOLITION

1. Members of the Supreme Council
   1. Lord Combermere, Commander-in-Chief
   2. The Hon. W. B. Bayley.
   3. Sir Charles Metcalfe.
2. Judges of Nizamut Adawlut, or Supreme Criminal Court
   W. Leycester, Esq., Chief Judge
   A. Ross, Esq., Second Judge
   C. F. Sealy, Esq., Third Judge
   R. H. Rattray, Esq., Fifth Judge
3. Officers of Government holding responsible situations, Military, Judicial and Revenue, and long-resident Europeans of high respectability.

1st. Those of persons in favour of an immediate and total suppression of the Rite by the authority of Government.

1. Lieut.-Colonel Richard Audree
2. Major W. S. Beatson
3. Colonel R. H. Cunliffe
4. Major R. L. Dickson
5. Lieut.-Colonel J. Doveton
6. Brig. General F. Duncan
7. Lieut.-Colonel W. Dunlop
8. Lieut.-Colonel C. Fagan
9. Lieut.-Colonel W. C. Faithful
10. Lieut.-Colonel J. Kenedy
11. W. H. Macnaghten, Esq
12. Lieut.-General G. Martindell
13. Captain J. B. Neufville
14. Lieut.-Colonel C. Povolen
15. Brig. General W. Richards
16. Captain S. Riley
17. Captain D. Ruddell
18. Major General Shuldham
19. Lieut.-Colonel E. Simons
20. Lieut.-Colonel H. T. Tapp
21. Captain C. Thoresby
22. Lieut.-Colonel L. H. Todd
23. Major F. Walker
24. Captain G. Young
25. J. Young, Esq.

2nd. Recommending the immediate suppression of the Rite by the authorized interference of the local Magistrates.

J. Dunsmure, Esq.

3rd. Persons who recommend a total and immediate prohibition of the Rite by Legislative enactments, as expedient, safe, and practicable.

1. W. W. Birs, Esq.
2. R. M. Bird, Esq.
3. G. F. Brown, Esq.
4. James Calder, Esq.
5. W. Ewer, Esq.
6. Robert North Collie Hamilton, Esq.
7. A. Stirling, Esq.
8. A. Trotter, Esq.

4th. Persons who recommend a gradual abolition of the Rite by the authorized interference of the Magistrates.

1. Major H. Hall
2. Major A. Hardy
3. Lieut.-Colonel W. H. Kemm
4. Major L. Land
5. Lieut.-Colonel J. H. Litter
6. Brig. General James Price
7. Lieut.-Colonel J. Skinner
8. Lieut.-Colonel B. Rope
9. Lieut.-Colonel E. F. Waters
10. Lieut.-Colonel E. P. Wilson

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5th. Persons who abstained from giving any opinion on the subject at large, but apprehended no danger from a prohibition of the Rite, as regards the Native army.

1. Major T. Palmer
2. Brig. General R. Patton
3. Lieut.-Colonel W. Wilson

Parties who entertained sentiments moderately or directly different from those above stated.

1st. Persons adverse to a direct prohibition of the Rite by Government.

1. Brig. General J. W. Adams
2. Major General J. Arnold
3. Major Thomas Barron
4. Lieut.-Colonel Wm. Casement
5. Major C. Frye
6. Lieut.-Colonel C. P. Gilman
7. Captain J. Nicholson
8. Brig. General J. O. Halloran
9. Lieut.-Colonel T. H. Paul
10. Lieut.-Colonel W. D. Playfair
11. Lieut.-Colonel H. Roberts

2nd. Persons adverse to a total prohibition the Rite as being premature.

1. W. Blunt, Esq.
2. H. Douglas, Esq.

3rd. Persons adverse to every species of offi interference with the Rite of Suttee.

1. H. H. Wilson, Esq.
2. Captain J. Cowslade
3. Brig. General J. R. Lumley.

4th. Persons adverse to a prohibition of Rite, as being a departure from the princi of toleration, but who conceived it would safe though productive of dissatisfaction.

1. T. Packenham, Esq.
2. W. Wilkinson, Esq.

Abstracted from the Appendix to the St ment submitted by the East India Compa to the King's most Honourable Privy Council.

Nichols and Sons, Printers, Earl's Court, C bourn Street.*

* This tract was to be reproduced in the Febr number of *The Modern Review*, but for want of s we had to defer it to this issue.—Ed., *M. R.*

THE ORIENTAL STUDENTS' CONGRESS AND THE THIRD CONVENTION OF THE INDIAN STUDENTS IN EUROPE, ROME, 1933

By AMIYANATH SARKAR

On the occasion of the inauguration of the Italian Institute for the Middle and the Far East, which owes its existence to the indefatigable efforts of Prof. Tucci, Senator Gentile, Consul Scarpa and Baron Ricciardi,—a Congress of the Oriental Students in Europe was invited at Rome during the last Christmas Week. Students from the different university towns of Europe representing Japan, China, Siam, India, Afghanistan, Persia, Arabia (including Palestine, Syria, Leffanon) attended the Congress and their number was six hundred in all, the Chinese alone were 150 in number including many girls. The number of Indian delegates were 86 and they came specially to attend the Third Convention of the Federation of Indian Students in Europe. More than 30 Indian Christian students attended the Congress from the Pope's Propaganda College.

For the first time a Congress of this nature was organized and much credit is due to the Italian Students Association and the Hindusthan Association of Italy who jointly took the initiative in organizing the Congress. The Italian authorities granted second class return railway tickets to the delegates within the Italian frontiers and the delegates were the guests of the Italian Stude Association of Rome.

The authorities were lavish in their hospita towards the delegates. In successive days were received by the Oriental Institute, Rector of the University, University Fe Group, His Holiness the Pope and some in duals. Moreover, visits to important pla exhibition, and opera had also been arran To crown everything, Signor Mussolini him came down to address the Oriental students the opening day of the Congress which held in the historic Julius Caesar Hall on Capitoline Hill.

Though unfortunately there was no men in his speech about India and China, and attention was given to the Mediterranean A a few lines quoted from Mussolini's remarks speech might help us to follow the trend of whole speech as well as to understand Ita attitude towards the East. Mussolini in co of his speech said that he considered the saying

"East is East and West is West
And never the twain shall meet."

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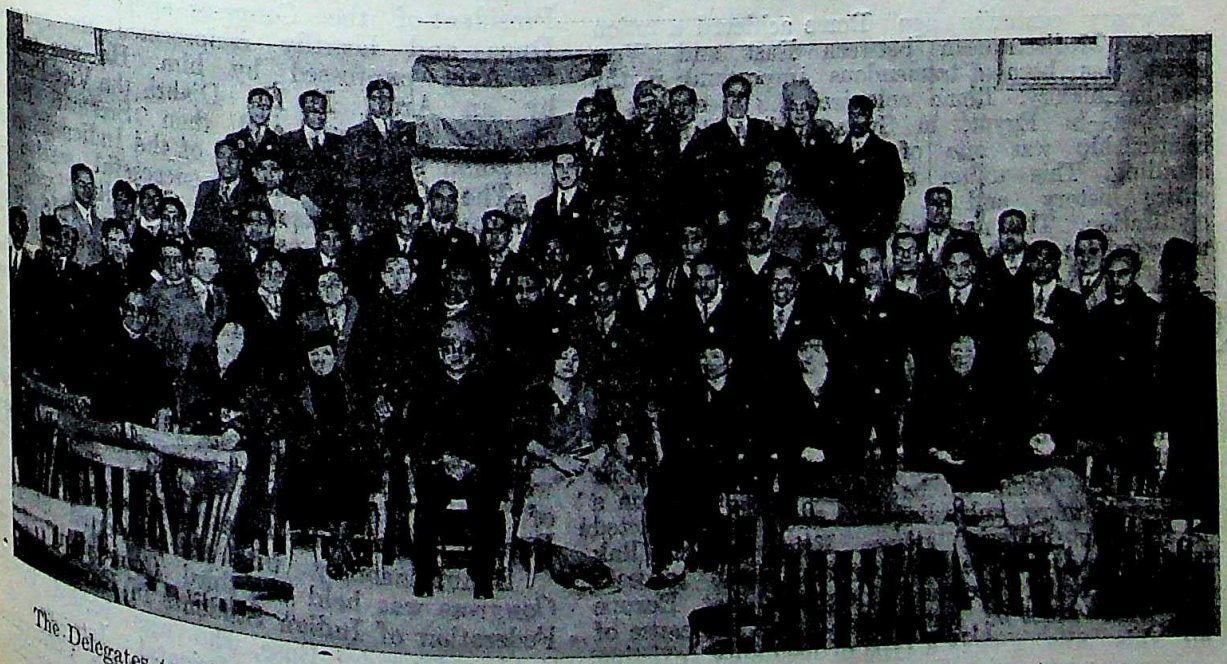
Oriental Students laying the wreath on the Unknown Soldier's Grave.
The Indian delegates are following the National Flag carried by Dr. J. B. Singh of Frankfurt-A-Main.



The Delegates to the Third Convention of the Federation of Indian Students in Europe, Rome, 1933.
Inaugural Meeting in the Hall of the University of Rome.

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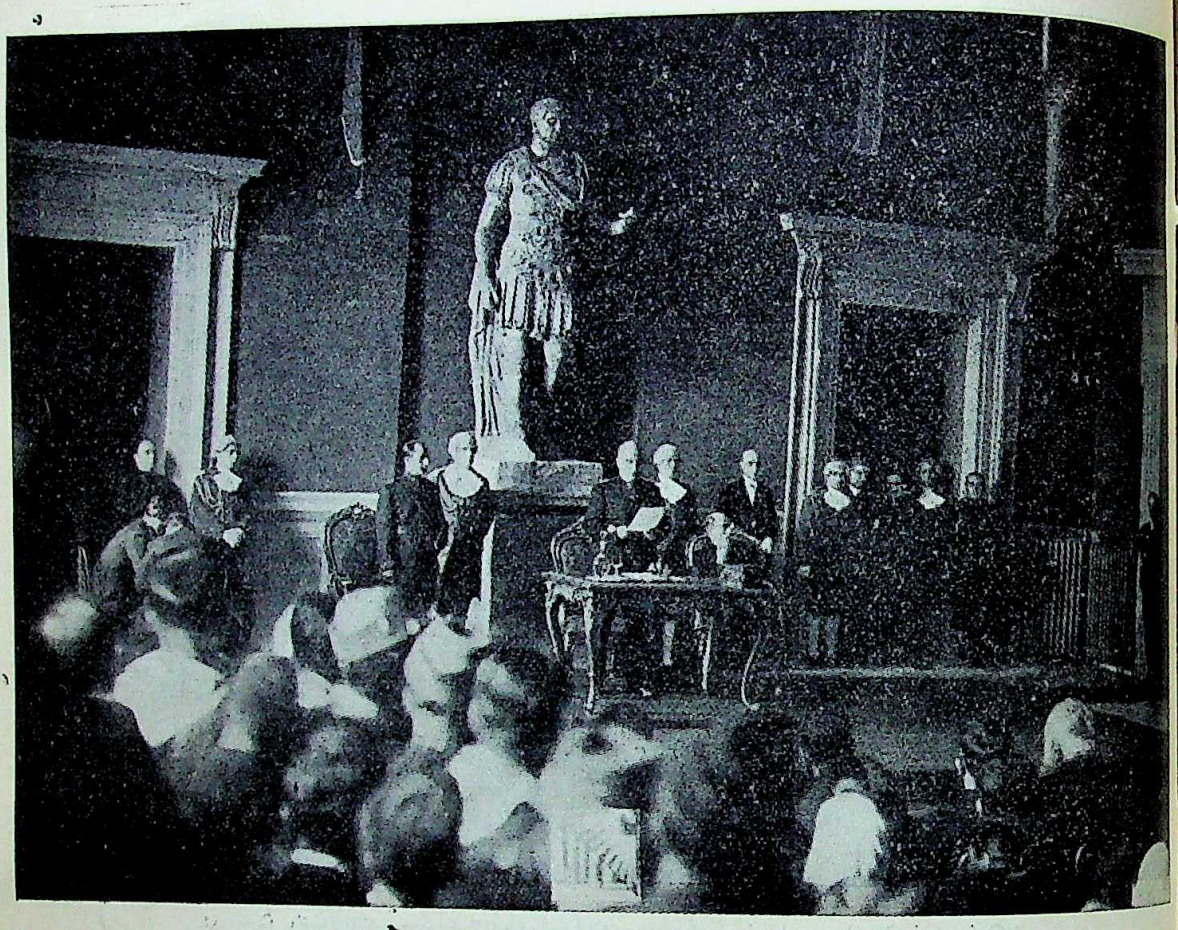

Mussolini addressing the opening meeting of the Congress of the Oriental Students in the Julius Caesar Hall on the Capitoline Hill. Rome, December, 1933.

to be historically "nonsense." He continued :

"Twenty centuries ago Rome achieved a union in the Mediterranean between East and West which has been of tremendous importance in the world's history. Rome colonized the West, but in the East—in Egypt, in Syria and in Persia, the relationship was one of mutual creative understanding. This union was the corner-stone of our entire history and it gave rise to European civilization. This must now become universal once more or else perish."

* * * *

" . . . the new currents of traffic, the increasing flow of gold, and the exploitation of rich and distant countries gave rise to capitalism as the basis of a new civilization of a materialistic and exclusive character, with its seats far from the Mediterranean.

It was then that all intercourse between East and West came to be placed exclusively on a footing of mere subordination and was restricted to a purely material sphere. Every spiritual link tending to a creative collaboration came to cease and the belief became widespread that Europe and Asia must be antagonists. And the cause of all this was merely a type of mentality existing in some parts of Europe which was incapable or unwilling to understand Asia, which considered Asia as a market for produce and as a fountain-head for raw materials."

At the close of Mussolini's speech t President of the Congress spoke thanking Duce and heartily reciprocated the sympa for Asia expressed by him. He was follo by an Arab, M. El. Djabri, the Vice-Presid of the Congress, and then Sreemati Bha Sarabhai spoke on behalf of the Indian delega

The Congress had a successful session it formed its Executive Committee with delegates from each nation and Mr. K Jehanghiani, an Indian, was appointed J Secretary to the Congress. Before disper the Congress resolved to start a perman bureau in Rome for continuing the us work done by the Congress for one ye An Indian student, Amiyanath Sark and a Chinese girl student, Mlle. Suzanne L were appointed Joint Secretaries to the Bur of the Federation of Oriental Students. T Bureau has already started to function.

Simultaneously with the Oriental Stud Congress was held the third Convention of Federation of Indian Students in Europe. Sr Subhas Chandra Bose, who was invited to inauguration of the Oriental Institute, unanimously elected President of the Conventi Sj. Bose's presence in Rome not only contribu

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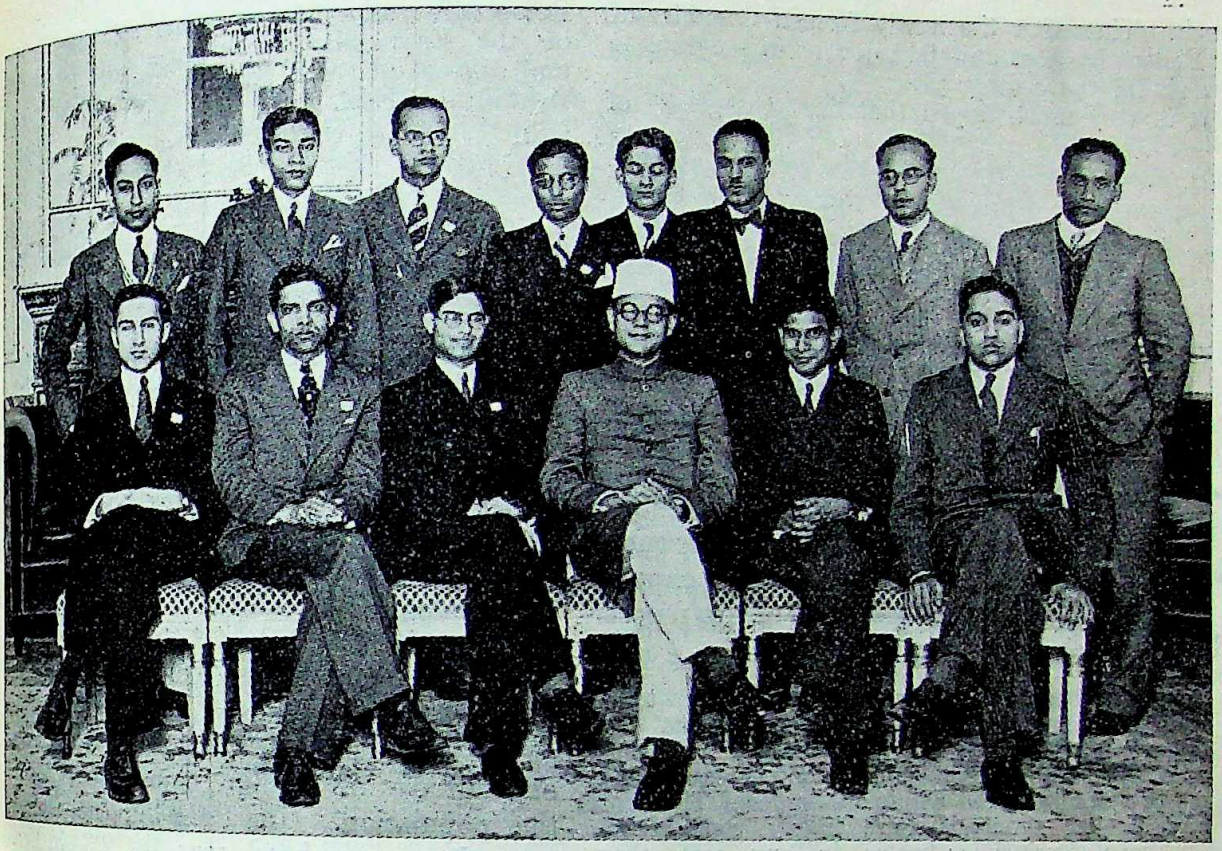

Photograph of the Council of the Federation

Sitting from Left to Right: Messrs. Jaikumar Atal (Vice-President, Oxford), Gairola (Treasurer, Vienna), Khanna (President, Munich), Sj. Subhas Ch. Bose (President of the Conference), Dr. Katyar (Secretary, Vienna), Ali (Member, London).

Standing Left to Right: Amiya N. Sarkar (Convenor & Secretary to the Convention), Asoke Bose (Member, Munich), Pardhy (Member, Birmingham), Mathur (Member, Vienna), Kamdar (Member, Dramsdatt), Sing, P. N. Roy (Member, Rome), D. N. Das (Rome).

very largely to the success of the Indian Students' Convention but it also had a benign influence on the work of the Oriental Students' Congress at moments of disagreement amongst the delegates of the different nations.

The Convention was inaugurated by H. E. Prof. Destefani, President of the Faculty of Political Science of the Rome University and Member of the Fascist Grand Council, who welcomed the delegates in very cordial terms. The meeting was also addressed by the Secretary of the University Fascist Group. Many useful resolutions, including one admiring the Congress for its work and another condoling the deaths of Sj. Sen-Gupta and Patel, were discussed and adopted. Mahatma Gandhi was elected the Honorary Life President and Sreejuts Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Bose were elected the Honorary Vice-Presidents of the Federation.

It was decided to reorganize the central office of the Federation for this purpose and it was decided to hold the next Convention in Vienna. It was also shifted from London to Vienna.

In course of his presidential address in which Sj. Bose dealt at a great length with the various problems of Indian students and suggested some solutions requesting the Indian students to come to continental universities and industrial centres instead of crowding in particular countries. The continental universities are as good as those of any other country and they are producing remarkable men. He also said in connection with the student movement in India.

> "The Student Movement in India is intimately connected with the larger national movement in the country. I have seen the same manifestation in Germany and in Italy. Nevertheless, the task of the Indian students is much harder than the task of students in other free countries, because our students do not get the support of their Government—I mean, of the Government of India."

At the close of the Convention the delegates to the Indian Students' Convention were entertained at a tea party by the Hindusthan Association of Italy and the function was attended by many Italian personalities. During tea, a debate was held under the presidency of Sj. Bose on the subject "What Indian students have learnt in Europe." The function was highly enjoyable and Sj. Bose wound up the debate with a nice little

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speech. Thereafter the newly formed Council of the Federation met and laid down the programme of work for the coming year.

It is very much hoped that this Congress of Rome will really bring together all the students of the East who by their mutual co-operation and *camaraderie* will advance the cause of the re-awakened East.

THE EXPORT DUTY ON JUTE BENGAL'S CLAIM TO IT

By ABANI MOHAN KUSARI, M. A.

THE Federal Finance Committee (1932) of the Indian Round Table Conference dismissed Bengal's claim to the export duty on jute in para 83 of its report which runs as follows:

> "Bengal has frequently put forward a claim to a share, in some form, of the proceeds from the taxation of the export of jute. Assam, too, has recently claimed the excise duty on kerosene and motor spirit produced within its borders. These or any similar proposals raise highly controversial questions of principle; but as, in any case, they could only result in delaying *pro tanto* the provincial contributions, we have not felt able to take them into account for the purposes of our scheme."

It is apparent that the Committee did not go into the question of the justice or otherwise of Bengal's claim to the duty but dismissed her claim on the ground that it would delay the remission of provincial contributions.

Apart from the question whether or not the system of provincial contributions proposed by the Committee is a reversion to the iniquitous Meston Award, the following considerations may be urged on behalf of Bengal. First, the remission of the contributions will take place after a long period of ten years following the introduction of a federal system of Government in our country. Secondly, the contribution on the part of Bengal proposed by the Committee will be much less than Bengal's contribution to the Central Government in the shape of the duty on jute. In 1928-29, out of the total jute-tax of nearly 422 lakhs of rupees, Bengal contributed about 399 lakhs, whereas the proposed contribution of which Bengal will be relieved is only 205 lakhs. Bengal will be thus clearly a loser if she acquiesces in the Percy Award. Thirdly, between 1916 and 1930 the export duty on jute contributed nearly 50 crores of rupees to the Central Exchequer which must have lightened the burden of taxation in all provinces. But since the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms have been introduced Bengal has compared most unfavourably with the other provinces in regard to her deficits in budget, severity of retrenchments and unusual lowness of the scale of expenditure of public money per head of the population. (In 1931-32, the estimated expenditure per head was Rs. 2.3 in Bengal, Rs. 7.4 in Bombay, Rs. 7.5 in Burma, Rs. 5.1 in the Panjab and Rs. 3. 8 in Madras).*

It is necessary to point out that the assignment of the power of taxing jute to Bengal does not conflict with any essential principle of federalism. In the same vein is that of the Federal Finance Committee with a well-known Indian constitutionalist: "... the receipt from the export duty on jute ... credited to Bengal, Burma's claim to ... proceeds from the export duty on rice exported from it will be almost irresistible."† He also quotes Seligman in support of the ... that customs duties are almost everywhere kept for national or federal use. It is scarcely necessary to point out that Burma will comfortably enjoy the duty on rice as she is likely to remain outside the Indian Federation. But it is more significant to point out that the term 'customs duties' admits of various interpretations. Sir P. C. Mitter draws attention§ to p. 139 of Mr. Donald Kerr's book, *The Law of the Australian Constitution*

* Report of the Bengal Retrenchment Committee (1932), para. 7, page 4.

† D. N. Banerjee: The Indian Constitution and Appendix U, p. 616.

§ Proceedings of the Indian Round Table Conference (2nd Session), Vol. II, Appendix IV, p. 1...

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in which is to be found the following quotation from Prof. Moore's opinion on the subject: "'Duties of customs' mean duties imposed upon the importation of goods into the Commonwealth from parts beyond the Commonwealth." Export duties are expressly prohibited in the constitution of the U. S. A., sub-section 5 of section 9 of which runs as follows: "No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State." So in the case of the U. S. A. the question whether or not export duties should be assigned to the centre does not arise at all.

It must also be said in all fairness that the present assignment of the duty on jute involves discrimination against Bengal. It can be safely assumed that most of the duty on rice will go to Burma when she will be separated from India. The remaining two export duties, namely, those on hides and skins, and that on jute, amounted to Rs. 499.2 lakhs in 1929-30, to which the duty on jute contributed Rs. 463.67 or over 92 per cent. It is thus apparent that at least 90 per cent of the export duties will be collected from Bengal for the benefit of the whole of India, including the Native States, when a substantial part of this sum is, as will be argued in a moment, paid by the tax-payers of Bengal and not by the foreign buyers of jute. That it is the duty of a federation to avoid discrimination between its units may be judged from section 51 (II) of the Australian Constitution: "The Parliament shall, subject to the Constitution, have power to make laws for peace, order and good government of the Commonwealth with respect to . . . taxation, but so as not to discriminate between States or parts of States." It is true that a much too provincial outlook is a bane to the spirit of federalism. But jute being almost a monopoly of Bengal on the production of which the wealth and welfare of the majority of the Bengalees depend, to retain the present allocation of the duty on it would be sacrificing one unit at the altar of others; and this in a federal constitution has no meaning "except the meaning of exploitation."* It is undoubtedly true that the claim of Assam to the excise duty on kerosene and motor spirit is a strong one. But, as Mr. Ghuznavi has pointed out, the claim of Bengal cannot be nullified by pointing to other similar claims because mineral products, such as oil or petroleum, do not stand on a par with jute, which is the main staple crop of Bengal and with the fortunes of which is bound up the prosperity of millions of her peasantry.*

The argument that jute is a monopoly of Bengal and hence the duty on it is paid by the foreign purchasers of jute has been pul forward many times. Yet even the Fiscat Commission (1921-22) and the Taxation Inquiry Committee (1924-25) had to admit that "an absolute monopoly for which there is a stable demand is of rare occurrence and it may, therefore, be taken as the general rule that some portion, if not the whole, of an export duty falls on the home producer." Attempts to produce synthetic jute have not been very successful; but bulk-handling and the use of paper bags have diminished the demand for jute to an appreciable extent. Moreover, in the post-war days jute has not been a monopoly in the sense that its producers have been able to control its price. The total demand for gunny or hessian or loose jute has often been less than the amount manufactured or produced in Bengal, so that the foreign buyer has been able to dictate the price for them.† Even when the demand for jute has been large, the exporter or manufacturer of it has not raised its price by the full amount of the tax because it has been possible to buy jute very cheaply from the unorganized ryots who are ignorant of the conditions of trade. It is not difficult to see that Bengal has borne a heavy burden of taxation for the benefit of the centre.

That Bengal can claim the duty on jute, whether in the form of an export duty or a provincial excise, needs no further emphasis. The production of jute is, to a great extent, the cause of malaria in Bengal. But compared to other provinces the expenditure per head on medical relief is very low in Bengal. The Primary Education Act has not been given effect to for lack of Bengal's resources. Bengal

* Speech of Rai Bahadur K. C. Banerjee in the Bengal Legislative Council on August 10, 1932.

* Memorandum by Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi to the Indian Round Table Conference (3rd Session).

† Sir N. N. Sircar's Note on the Percy Report, submitted to the Third Round Table Conference (3rd Session).

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stands very low in the scale of expenditure per head on education in comparison with the other provinces.* She is threatened with a minimum budget deficit of Rs. 2 crores each year in the immediate future.† We have already seen that Bengal stands very low in the scale of expenditure of public money per head of the population. The relatively backward financial position of Bengal does not improve substantially under the Percy Award. The approximate figures of revenue per head under the Percy Award stand at 2.5, 7.3, 4 and 2.7 rupees for Bengal, Bombay, Madras and U. P. respectively. The White Paper promises to Bengal at least half of the duty on jute collected within her borders. But this minimum of 50 per cent will, it is feared, tend to become the maximum for a long time to come. If that is so, the revenue per head for Bengal will be only 2.9 rupees. It is only the whole of the duty on jute together with the distribution of the income-tax on a suitable basis§ that can make Bengal approach the level of income and expenditure of other provinces, if not reach it.

* Hartog Committee's Report (1929), *passim.*

† Report of the Federal Finance Committee, para. 11, p. 5.

§ The Percy scheme of distributing a part on population basis and the remainder on the basis of the amount of personal income-tax collected within the provinces gives Bengal a fair share.

JOHN DAVISON ROCKEFELLER

American Multimillionaire and Philanthropist

By P. GOPALA KRISNAYYA, M. A., M. SC.

To be not only the richest of nearly two billion living human beings, but the richest human being of all time, is quite as phenomenal as to be the Himalayas or the Great Canyon.

No one but his own book-keepers and advisers—probably no single one of them—knows how big the Rockefeller fortune is. Probably no one else but Rockefeller's son will ever know, because he has parted with great shares of his wealth to his children. No law compels him or them to confess the site of their fortunes to the rest of the world. His last will and testament will not solve the riddle because it will not specify fortunes transferred during his lifetime. The fortune is partly in lands and buildings, partly in shares of railroads, oil companies and other business, partly in tax-exempt bonds. However uncertain we are about the fortune of Rockefeller, we know he and his foundations have till now given over $1,000,000,000* in charities.

John Davison Rockefeller of formal reference and John D. of popular parlance, the world's champion fortune builder and champion money giver, was born in an humble cottage, near Harford Mills, a village in the State of New York on July 8, 1839. His father was a sort of quack doctor and a "resourceful, active, aggressive all round man of affairs." His mother was a very pious and capable woman. "The result of her training and discipline is seen in the achievements of her children." John was the second of five children who lived. William joined him in business. Two sisters became Mrs. Rudd and Mrs. Briggs. The younger brother Frank did not seem to have got on well with his famous brother.

His boyhood was better calculated to create a village store-keeper than the world's richest man and "one of America's four greatest men" according to Ludwig, the famous biographer. He was born and reared on a New York farm and did what most village boys still do, milked cows and picked potatoes for a dirt farmer. He had very little education, attended a district school about a stone's throw from his home spasmodically until he was sixteen years of age. He was a cautious boy. He was not quick at school—rather mediocre. One thing he was good at was mental arithmetic. He tells of an occasion in the 80's when his proficiency in the subject saved him several thousand dollars as he computed while engaging the seller in a running conversation on various subjects.

Rockefeller's boyhood gives few keys to later success, though it does help us to understand

* $1 is approximately equal to about Rs. 3-8-0

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why there was so little joy in his fortune building. Born and reared in stern reality, he started with a nature that easily became fixed in secretiveness and self-restraint. Hills shut him physically. The life around him and loyalty to his father shut him in morally and physically. As the eldest son he had not only to "mind" but to help to train two younger brothers to mind. The instinct of self-preservation, as well as family discipline, made him as secretive of his father's business as he was ignorant of his father's whereabouts. Undoubtedly he felt his mother's sufferings and appreciated her necessities. Religion played a prominent part in his life. He was a conformist. He believed in what was taught. He practised what it preached. Rockefeller believed that you had to be either for a habit or against a habit, for or against a social practice, just as his Bible and his preacher said you were either for the Lord or against the Lord.

Though the tallest business ladder of all time up to his final retirement in 1911, Rockefeller's business ladder really had but seven rungs.

September 26, 1855, when as an youth of sixteen he became an errand boy and clerk in a retail and wholesale firm in Cleveland, Ohio.

In 1858, at nineteen he bought a half partnership in a produce business that combined retailing with buying and selling on commission for out of town sellers and buyers. An old advertisement says it dealt in 'grain, fish, water, lime, plaster, coarse fine solar and dairy salt."

In 1862 when twenty-three he branched into oil refining and marketing as an experiment but without burning his produce bridges behind him. Oil refining was but three years old. "Almost every one" was trying it. Rockefeller believed in taking the waves ankle first instead of head first.

In 1865 when twenty-five he went into oil for all he was worth and stayed there for the rest of his business life. To extend his businees he borrowed with new capital he took in his backer's representative, Henry M. Flager, and later the backer himself, S. V. Harkness. He concentrated on oil. No other business took his thought. Not until the late eighties did other enterprises take any of his money. He was not a speculator. He invested in various industrial enterprises as an outlet for a surplus income not needed to expand the oil business.

In 1870 when thirty-one he organized the Standard Oil Company of Ohio, combining several Cleveland partnerships, with himself as president and master mind. He was undisputed oil king within two years. When absorbing competitors he scrapped unnecessary plants, but retained and enriched brains and executive ability, making every leader rich who went with him.

In 1882 when forty-three he organized the Standard Oil Trust with nine trustees and himself as president and master mind. He was now world emperor of oil. For thirty years his oil trust was the dreadnought of the oil trade, the black devil of politics, the envy of predatory business, model for good and bad trusts, and stimulator-in-chief of punitive and remedial legislation. His trust was intangible, unlocatable, unarrestable, owned nothing, made nothing, sold nothing, told nothing and trusted almost nothing to paper. Yet for a generation it ruled the oil world, the railroad world and much of the banking world, political world and newspaper world.

It was a point of view, a gentleman's agreement, "many souls with but a single thought." It evaded and broke old common law and specially made statute law like the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, but so subtly that even a trust busting era almost failed to prove its illegality. The same men owned many oil companies—usually but not always called standard—each of which had its own officers. They centralized vision, finance, policy. They decentralized execution. The power was central, the blame was local, the profits went to all stockholders. "It accomplished by strategy what could not be accomplished by assault··· It did indirectly what it was prohibited from doing directly."

In 1894 when fifty-five and about to retire from active business he annexed a second huge fortune by extending his ownership of iron mines in Minnesota until his holdings became necessary to the success of the mammoth steel trust organized by J. P. Morgan in the twentieth century. In this master stroke Rockefeller did the final selling himself despite his alleged complete retirement.

In 1895 when fifty-six he tried letting his business ladder stand without his constant attention. He withdrew from active control of business affairs without, however, advertising the fact to the business world. He retained the presidency.

In 1911 when seventy-two after hearing the United States Supreme Court rule that he had been an unfair business builder for forty years he formally retired from even nominal contact with his business ladder.

Rockefeller's business ladder grew like Jack's bean stalk and carried him with it. There was no toilful climbing round by round up a ladder all pitched and spaced when he began his climb. He started as Henry Ford did a half century later on a business ladder which mankind's demand for a simple utility rapidly pushed to the skies. Rockefeller like Henry Ford kept his balance at the top of this ladder.

How he became oil king and the symbol of predatory business is a fascinating study. It is important here merely to record that his ladder was not made of silk and sprayed with the odour of rose leaves. On the contrary his road to riches and fame was thorny and malodorous. Few men in all history have weathered such storms and suffered such hatred as did Rockefeller while riding with his business ladder. From 1822 before

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he was thirty-three until he was seventy-four in 1913, when the American Congress refused to charter his $ 100,000,000 foundation, he was dreaded and condemned more than probably any citizen in America. He was investigated, reinvestigated, investigated again, "dared" to "show his face" in the oil fields, treated with fear and respect when he did show his face, indicted for conspiracy and almost tried, but always "went along about his business" as his father had disciplined him to do. He did not defend himself. He did not carry the war into the Press. He kept still but kept right on making money and getting his fist around the world's oil trade. Those were sagaciously silent and widely opulent days.

What kind of man is Rockefeller? What is he like? What is his personality? Is he "taciturn and mysterious" as Emil Ludwig told the Press after a short visit in 1928 and after deciding to write a biography of Rockefeller. His deeds are a better personality sketch than any impressionist can paint or mould.

At ninety-four he is physically what you have seen filmed at the movies and photographed in newspapers. Many have been surprised that one who looks so old is really alive, playing golf, giving away new dimes* and telling stories with swear words in them. One American editor wrote recently that "John D. must have started to be a tremendously old man at a very early age; he looks like a mammified hold-over from pre-historic times compared with nis looks when he first got the world by the tail."

The following is today's Rockefeller's time budget or daily routine, carefully scheduled in advance:

6-30 A. M. gets up
7-8 reads morning papers
8 breakfasts
8-30—8-45 plays numerica or chats
8-45—10 attends to business affairs
10-15—12 plays nine holes of golf
12—1-15 takes bath and rest
1-15—3 lunches, plays numerica
3—5 takes auto ride
5—7 rests, is read to or chats
7 dines
8—10 plays numerica, visits, listens to music by his valet or house guest, sometimes has radio or moving picture show.
10 retires.

Other Rockefeller characteristics are told in many tales scattered through articles and biographies of him. His first personal biographer, a woman, sets the pace. His severest biographer, another woman, lauds his business characteristics. Friends, strangers and foes unite in photographing, painting and cartooning him as the following kind of man.

Rockefeller is extremely simple in his living and travelling, for a millionaire with homes scattered nearly all over the United States. Able to have anything in the world that money could buy, he leads an extremely simple life.

Rockefeller is thrifty but not stingy. "Were I a smoker I could not afford that" he told a wealthy friend who had just thrown away half a cigar. His economy is that of the conservationist, not the miser. He hates waste as nature abhors a vacuum and idealism a sterile life. He refuses to be imposed upon even in small purchases not because he cares for the money, but because his "money's worth" is as sacred as a moral principle.

Rockefeller is courageous and self-confident. It has taken courage to live his simple life, to give in the way he believes best, to flock by himself and to live his businesss life believing in his own uprightness and idealism as he says he always did. He rivalled Walt Whitman in being "a simple separate person . . . ultimate in his own right."

Rockefeller is unexcitable, incapable of surface agitation. His emotions knew no freshets or spring floods. He inherited a poker heart and face. At over ninety he has a heart beat of fifty-four. This psychological endowment he conserved, for it gave him control of himself and leadership of others. His partners "seldom knew what he was thinking but he always knew what we were thinking."

Rockefeller is not intimate. If he ever had talent for intimacy he curbed it. Intimacy means dependence and reciprocation. Neither could have built his fortune the way he built it.

He is persistent. Once having tasted railroad rebates, he never gave them up. Once having decided that he would change world hate to world adulation he "turned the trick" in little ways and big ways as thoroughly as he won in business deals. Told that he must play golf or die, he played golf and stopped doing or thinking or feeling whatever did not contribute to prolonging his life.

Rockefeller is punctuality itself, because, he says, "a man has no right to occupy another's time unnecessarily."

Rockefeller is politeness personified. Politeness was a system, an asset and a necessity in his case. Many a time his apple cart could easily have been kicked over by an absence of superlative politeness, while bad temper would have lost his leadership entirely. When pressed unsuccessfully for his trusts' minutes in 1883, he did not refuse or look ugly or snap satire. He graciously said:

> "It seems to me, Mr. Chairman, there could be left some little thing that you did not expect of us; it would leave a lasting and pleasant impression of this day's experience!"

Rockefeller is innately refined. He likes nice clothes, nice manners, nice language, nice habits, nice relations even among intimates, all the

* A dime is equal to about 4 annas.

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niceties of courtesy. He dislikes vulgarity, including the vulgarity of display.

Rockefeller is loyal and inspires loyalty. His old gate-keeper and his secretaries are devotedly loyal. His path to glory has not been strewn with scapegoats. His loyalty, however, was to co-workers who acknowledged his leadership. He felt no loyalty to oil pioneers and inventors. He never went to the oilmen's reunion.

Rockefeller is dutiful. From his first earnings he gave duty pennies to his church. He reiterated to his Bible class that it was "religious duty to earn all we can and to give all we can."

Rockefeller is convincing. He was a superior salesman, so obviously superior that he forces his extreme modesty to concede it.

Rockefeller is generous in spots with small as well as large sums of money. His giving dimes seems stingy and silly, but giving gold eagles from his fortune would be almost equally stingy, more silly and socially injurious to boot. But any way year after year since 1913 his public charities have on the average exceeded $ 2,000,000 a year. They say in addition he does private charities, unknown even to his publicity agents on an average of $ 100,000 a year. He has lacked the social sense and demonstrativeness to show where he might have been generous oftener without violating his own standards of justifiable giving.

Other characteristics of him are as follows. He is above social posing. His home has never been a scene of revelry and he is perhaps the one American man of wealth who has not 'hob-nobed' with the titled and great of Europe. He is naturally militant. He wants what he wants, when he wants it but he does not want it until it can be had safe and sure. He can wait. His militancy is not violent. He is modest, retiring, almost self-effacing, by nature and by training. "Just a plain ordinary man," oil pioneers say. According to Joe Davison, the great sculptor for whom the oil magnate posed once, he is "sympathy compelling, a good listener and companionable once he admits companionship, not at all gloomy or uncheerful." He is optimistic by nature and by training. He calls optimism "seeing opportunity in every disaster" and pessimism "seeing disaster in every opportunity." He is exceedingly tolerant. He is "passionately fond" of music. He is an American first and last. World merchant, world benefactor, he nevertheless has remained surprisingly provincial and in Wall Street lingo, a "bull" on everything American. He is open-minded and progressive. He is a strict teetotaller and a prohibitionist. He is serious by nature, playful by cultivation. He learned to play after he retired from managing a world trust. He is honest-minded about his own greatness. He is self-disciplined, self-trained to stand without hitching. He is keen of wit, though not witty in the popular sense of the word. He is Emersonially as "harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice."

Having dilated upon all the worthwhile characteristics of this really extraordinary man, let us see his other side. He is above all "a lone wolf." He is disingenuous, furtive, evasive, slippery, truthful in words but untruthful in meaning. He evaded legal perjury, but used moral perjury to get the same result. He is secretive and stealthy. "He would talk about anything except business," said an old associate, "business he would never discuss." He is inculpable, unmistaken and unrepentant. Never once has he publicly acknowleged a business wrong on his own part. In the American Senate enquiry, unperturbed he answered that he sought his country's greatness as well as his own. "Let none presume to measure the irregularities of Michael Angelo and Socrates by village scales." He is neither educated, cultured nor studious. Walter Page said "lacking in social versatility." If he has read little he has thought less. It is hard to understand his imperviousness to what goes by the names of "academic education" and "culture." Carnegie died of a broken heart because after all that he had done and hoped for peace, the civilized nations, including his own, had gone into a devastating and brutal world war. It is inconceivable that even Rockefeller's extremest eulogist could suspect him of ever suffering for an ideal or for other's suffering in any such way. He is essentially unimaginative, but yet creative in this sense, that out of other's imagination he has fashioned history-making organizations.

Master promoter of co-operation in business and philanthropy, he himself remains the spiritual catalyst,—he enables millions to co-operate but himself remains unchanged, unassimilated, a foreigner.

He is pathetically alone among his foundations and monuments. He even shuns the thought that his giving has earned for him and for mankind. He ends his life as he began it, in isolation, four miles from the City of New York.

Rockefeller is a symbol of modern life's routines and extremes, its rules and its exceptions. Every little village has a Rockefeller all its own; for Rockefeller is the full length mirror of his time. He symbolizes American opportunity. He represents America's rapid growth and its inability to improve its co-operation through governmental machinery rapidly enough to prevent a few men from gaining disproportionate unearned increments for their business skill and prowess.

Rockefeller symbolizes above all

Succes a l'American.

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BOOK CENSORSHIP IN AMERICA

Ban On Naughty Volumes

By SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A., Ph.D.

UNDER the American system, where the Constitution guarantees freedom of speech, freedom of Press and freedom of conscience, no individual or government has in theory the right to dictate to the adult what he shall read any more than what he shall think. One of the most familiar sayings attributed to Lincoln was that no man is good enough to be another man's master. Yet censorship, which has always been the tool of some sort of tyranny, is in full swing in America.

The United States Congress recently passed a law authorizing censorship of obscene or seditious literature by Customs officials. It prohibits importation into the United States from any foreign country of "any book, pamphlet, paper, writing, advertisement, circular, print, picture or drawing containing any matter advocating or urging treason or insurrection against the United States or forcible resistance to any law of the United States or containing any threat to take the life or inflict bodily harm upon any person in the United States, or any obscene book, pamphlet, paper, writing, advertisement, circular, print, picture, drawing, or other representation, figure, or image on or of paper or other material, or any cast, instrument, or other article which is obscene or immoral, or any drug or medicine, or any article whatever for the prevention of conception or for causing unlawful abortion, or any lottery ticket, or any printed paper that may be used as a lottery ticket, or any advertisement of any lottery." Thus America is saved again !

Under the new law over 700 books have been refused admission, 400 Spanish, 200 French, 100 English and a dozen in German and Italian. They include many of the classics of Europe. Defending the exclusion, an officer of the Customs Department said :

> "In passing upon such literature the bureau of customs has considered, primarily, its evil influence upon the impressionable minds of those persons the statutes, according to the courts, aim to protect—*i.e.*, the young and inexperienced. In examining the text it is sought to determine if the psychological effect of the language would be to create in the mind of the individual libidinous thoughts, and unduly excite the sexual functions or arouse the animal passions."

There is much difference of opinion as to what is obscene and what is not. Morality is relative. The Roman Catholic Church ordained in 1633 that Christendom should not take the moral risk of thinking that the earth revolved round the sun. Therefore, Galileo was censured and condemned. Some years ago the short clothes now worn by American women would have been considered obscene. Nearly all of the movies would have been considered obscene. Many books that now pass muster would also have been considered pornographic.

What is an Immoral Book ?

That customs officials should have authority to exclude from the United States any publication which seems to them of immoral character is preposterous. The principal weakness of censorship is that its limits are very difficult, if not impossible, to define so as to prevent abuse of power. There is a "twilight zone" in which opinion sharply differs as to what is censorable and what not. Many of the fights over censorship occur in this zone. Narrow persons would hang the charge of obscenity upon books, pictures, movies and plays which do not deserve it. Moreover, it seems rather foolish to be so concerned about keeping foreign obscenity out. The home product is worse—and there is more of it here in these United States. The plain truth is that foreign countries have not much on Americans in the way of indecent literature.

Hon. Bronson Cutting in a speech in the United States Senate declared that the American people should be trusted to take care of their own moral welfare and that no

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bureaucratic guardian is competent to decide for them what they shall or shall not read.

"I admit that there may be those among us who will occasionally abuse those privileges," said Senator Cutting, "but I insist that the same men who would abuse those privileges would abuse the privilege of franchise. If a man is not capable of deciding what he may or may not read without injury to himself, then that man is not fit to be intrusted with the right to select his own representatives in the government. Some believe in the principle stated by Edmund Burke that the people have a right to be protected from themselves by the superior members of the community That is the theory which is adopted by the government of Mussolini and the government of the Russian Soviet at the present time. But it should not be adopted by the United States as a governmental policy."

The late D. H. Lawrence's booklet "Pornography and Obscenity," which has just been published, is a treatise of power and passion on censorship. The brochure roundly denounces the American and British censorships and derides their conception of pornography. Why is pornography disliked? Is it because it arouses sexual feelings? Lawrence dismissed such a reason as canting hypocrisy. "Half the great poems, pictures, music, stories of the whole world are great by virtue of the beauty of their sex appeal."

The court has held that any book is obscene which is unbecoming, immodest." This throws open the door to endless imbecilities, for it merely begs the question. Almost any printed allusion to sex may be argued against as unbecoming in this moral Republic, and once it is unbecoming it is also obscene. But "sex appeal" has become so much the commonplace of conversation that the sophisticated school and college girls in the United States refer to it as "S. A."

Protecting Plastic Mind

The moral gladiators of this country have not yet been able to answer adequately as to when a book is pure. It seems that most of the great literature of the West, with of course some exceptions, is "unbecoming and immodest." One can easily find naughty passages in Aristophanes, Lucretius, Petronius, Chaucer, Ben Johnson, Swift, Sterne, Fielding, Byron, Boccacio, Rebelais, Voltaire, Zola, Maupassant, Belzac, D'Annunzio, Provst. Isn't there a good bit in Shakespeare's "Venus and Adonis," "King Lear," "Hamlet," and "Romeo and Juliet" that won't do for the squeamish?

The Puritan gladiators full of characteristic pecksniffery swallow a camel, but strain at a gnat. I have not known any Puritans, even of the purest ray serene, to admit that the great classical offender against obscene language and improper stories is the King James version of the Holy Bible. There are many odd tales in the Book of Judges as there are in Chaucer. The story of Ruth, much quoted in the evangelical churches, is certainly spicy. And how about the voluptuous strophes of the Song of Solomon? In 1895, one Mr. Wise, of the State of Kansas, sent a quotation from the Holy Writ through the United States mails, and was found guilty of mailing obscene matter.

Professor Harry Elmer Barnes, author and sociologist, in his important work *Twilight of Christianity* has included an anthology of scriptural obscenity, a few samples of which are reproduced below:

Genesis 19 : 30-38. 2 Samuel 13 : verses 12 and 14. 2 Samuel 16 : 21. Genesis 30 : 15, 16. Genesis 38 : 14, 18. Leviticus 19 : 29. Ezekiel 16 : 15. Genesis 38 : 8, 10. Genesis 12 : 15, 18, 19. Ezekiel 14 : 9. Jeremiah 20 : 7, 4 : 10. Deuteronomy 14 : 21. Luke 1 : 5-25. Esther 2 : 12-17. Judges 19 : 24. Genesis 19 : 8.

I do not believe that there should be censors to act as watch-dogs of our morality. But the moral experts, the professional sin-hounds, have not yet seriously advocated censoring and sterilizing the Christian epic. Perhaps the lascivious portions of it are too gross to be very dangerous to "civilized" Westerners. Anybody can borrow an unabridged and unexpurgated Bible, or go to a Y. M. C. A. lamasery and read the Word of God, and verify the above references for himself to be convinced of the essential soundness of my observation. But why are the Christian theologues, generally loud in their demand for censorship, so magnificently silent on these points?

An important feature of the new censorship law is that it prohibits the importation of radical literature. There are many foreign books and pamphlets which for the most part contain elaborate discussions of far-reaching social and economic changes, which it is very desirable to read. Here and there the author

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is so impressed with the hopelessness of legal change in the present system that he advocates resort to force, if nothing else serves. That alone will render importation of the whole book impossible.

"Many of the classics of modern economics will be put on this new index expurgatorious," points out Professor Chaffee of the Harvard Law School. "The law will prevent a loyal citizen from obtaining from abroad the works of Marx, Proudhon, Bakunin, or Stirner. Even if we could wisely dispense with these left-wing books, much less radical publications will be excluded." For example, one of the sanest discussions of contemporary political social thought which has had a large sal the United States is Bertrand Russ *Proposed Roads to Freedom.* The fur importation of this book from England wo be forbidden because of its extracts f Communist Manifesto of 1848 and f anarchist songs. Manifestly, the censor law assumes that the American people so stupid that it is unsafe to let them anything about revolutions, because would immediately become converted. seems a sad state of affairs.

A PLANET AND A STAR

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

XLIII

IT was incredible, but it was true.

As the aeroplane shot up high into the heavens the first rays of the rising sun appeared in the east, the rosy mist curtain of Raba being in the distance and the glory of the sun-rise was before our eyes. But we had no eyes for any of these. We were looking at Narga. She was a little out of breath, her lips were slightly open, and her bosom was heaving gently. She must have come away in a hurry for the great wealth of her hair was loose and fell in a cloud over her shoulders and bosom. There was a look of fear, now passing in her eyes, mingled with an expression of relief. For the moment she was not the high priestess gifted with almost miraculous powers, but all woman, beautiful beyond the most wonderful dream of loveliness yet weak and timid as becomes one of the gentle sex. We knew that the priestess had been left behind at the monastery of Opi and we were carrying with us a fair woman who had sacrificed everything at the altar of love.

Maruchi and I exchanged a look and our lips simultaneously formed the words, 'The living evidence!'

There was not the slightest doubt about it. It was now quite clear what Ashan the Master had meant when he had told us that we would carry with us a living evidence of our visit to the planet we were now leaving behind us. His prophetic vision had foreseen what was now an accomplished fact.

Narga was the living evidence!

If the Master had told us that Narga join us when we left Opi on our homeward it might have led to unexpected complications. bewildered astonishment might have found in some indiscretion, either of speech or a The Master knew what was going to happen he would express no opinion nor would anything to interfere with the freedom of Na choice.

We might have searched every country in and we might not have found another Narga. She was not only incomparably beau but she had attained a wisdom and a know which placed her on a level higher than our while her psychic powers were beyond comprehension.

Narga, who was sitting on a low cane stood up and stretched out her hands. 'Raba! Raba!' she cried, 'Thy handm bids thee farewell for all time, for she will again set eyes upon thy glory or be fit for service.' The last words came as a of despair and she burst out in a passion of

We were very much surprised and distressed. We had never thought that was like other women, or could be easily to tears. We had seen her in her cr strength, in her queenly imperiousness and possession of her strange power. Her mood seemed quite inexplicable and we know how to comfort her. Orlon, who was quite aback, blunderingly said, 'If you having come away with us—'

'I regret nothing that you can think of,' rupted Narga, wiping her tears, 'I have no

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it can cause me any pain in breaking them. e wrench is in giving up all that seemed to after so long, the higher life which alone seemed me to be worth living. How can I help getting what I have lost? Yet if I had the ce I would not go back to Opi. It has been ggle that has torn me for months and my t has conquered. And that heart is yours, Orlon.'

She looked at Orlon with infinite tenderness Orlon took her hand and pressed it.

Ganimet brought in some cups of tea and e and crisp biscuits. Our larder was well ked and besides the large supply of specially pared food we had originally brought with and which was in perfect preservation we had nished our stores with large quantities of fine ts, nuts, beans and other wholesome food ht in the places we had visited. Maruchi ught some fruit and offered it to Narga who ked him and took one.

Maruchi's little cabin was the best on board ship. He took out from it everything that nged to him and placed all his things in n's cabin which would be shared between m. Narga's bag was taken into Maruchi's n which was quite comfortable. There were rewed down bed and an easy chair, a small stand and a mirror. Narga, who was now composed and had recovered her self-possess- was invited to have a look at her room and was quite pleased with it.

oming out to what I may call the common g room Narga invited me to sit by her side. r, my brother,' she said 'sit next to me.' or the first time she called me brother and very happy. Maruchi and Orlon sat on ther side of her.

arga raised her eyebrows and smiled archly. you still angry with the spy, Jomel?'

We laughed. 'No,' I said, 'we are very much ful to him He was of great help in hasten- our departure.' And then I told her of all had happened after I had caught the man ng in the wood and how Karos had been ed when he endeavoured to take Jomel away our company.

arga was greatly amused and next wondered would happen to the monastery. 'Karos good man,' she observed, 'but he is not very or strong,' and the other monks may not him. The women will refuse to stay there unless the Master puts some one else in e the affairs of the monastery will not be erly controlled.'

said, Narga, the Master knew you would away with us.'

arga did not look surprised but she appeared y perplexed. 'Did he tell you in so many d?' I answered, 'what he actually said was we carry with us satisfactory proof of our visit to Heperon, but he refused to tell us anything more and left us wondering.'

'The master knows anything that he wishes to know, for nothing is hidden from him. He has even told me how it is done but I cannot explain it. There is some subtle power possessed by the higher adepts of throwing light into the darkness of the future and foreseeing events still to happen. What seems strange to me is that I have had no message from the Master, and I don't know what he thinks of me.'

'So far as we could understand the Master knew of this step that you have taken but he expressed no opinion and merely said events cannot be diverted from their appointed course. But how could the Master send you a message?'

'That is beyond your knowledge and your understanding. You know the Master possesses several powers for which you cannot account.'

'So do you.'

'Well, there are spirit and soul messages as well as those you send through ether.'

I asked no other questions and Narga became silent. She cupped her chin in her hands and gazed at the planet which we had left a short while ago and which was rapidly receding in the distance. The sunlight was now flooding the sky all around.

The veil of rosy vapour which hung over Mars was thick in certain places and thin in other places. The geographical features of the planet could be sometimes clearly and again dimly distinguished. We could see the mountain crests, white in some places with the snow flashing in the sunlight and red in others. The placid stretches of sea and lake were visible as through a pink glass, while the outlines of large cities could be made out.

Maruchi handed Narga a pair of powerful field glasses and Narga continued to watch the planet she had left through them. The aeroplane was travelling at a tremendous speed. Gradually the view of Mars became blurred and we saw only a large mass about which hung a rosy haze.

Narga sighed gently and put down the glasses. She looked at me and said, 'We are moving very fast. It must be very cold up here. How is it that I don't feel it?'

'The cold outside is so great that we should be frozen to death in a short time if we had no equipment for the production of artificial heat. Come and see.'

I first showed Narga how the airship had been made impervious to the cold surrounding it. The machine was in fact hermetically closed except for the aperture through which the air that we breathed was allowed to escape. This worked automatically and was so arranged that the cold could not enter the machine. I showed Narga how the heat was generated by electricity and how easily it could be regulated. We maintained a uniform temperature which was comfortably cool. I told Narga that we had not only to

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keep out the cold but to produce air artificially so that we might breathe and live. Narga saw everything with the greatest interest and then spoke to Maruchi, 'You are a great and a wonderful people.

Maruchi shrugged his shoulders. 'Yes, we are great as mechanics and inventors of machines but what do we know of the higher things, what do we understand of the powers that you and the Master possess ?'

'True, but if it had not been for your marvellous inventions we would have never met,' and she smiled at us graciously.

After some time Narga retired to her own room. Ganimet, who had passed more or less a sleepless night, went to sleep as he would have to relieve Nabor in a few hours. Maruchi, Orlon, and myself discussed the extra-ordinary events of the last few days.

Maruchi said, 'Orlon, I have not yet congratulated you. Indeed, I find it difficult even now to believe that Narga is in this ship travelling with us to our own planet.'

'I can scarely realize my own good fortune. Narga is so far above me that I cannot understand how she has come down to my level and agreed to share my humdrum life.'

'What strikes me as most wonderful,' I said, 'is that in his distant hermitage Ashan knew everything and yet he made no sign. He regrets this decision of Narga to come away with us for you will remember that when he spoke of a living evidence of our visit he said he wished it were otherwise, but he would do nothing to prevent things taking their course.'

Maruchi said, 'The Master must have had his reasons. We cannot conceive what they were, but the fact that he sent no thought message to Narga is significant. There is undoubtedly some great purpose behind this new turn in Narga's life.'

'You, Maruchi,' I said, 'dreamed of a marriage of the planets and your dream has been fulfilled.'

'I am delighted beyond words,' answered Maruchi. 'When Orlon marries Narga the two planets will be united in holy wedlock.'

'I pray I may prove worthy of her,' said Orlon.

When the day passed Narga sat with us watching the stars and peering into the blackness of such a night as is possible only in space. She spoke mostly to me, though her eyes occasionally strayed to Orlon. These two exercised complete control over themselves. There were no furtive glances, no whispered endearments, no squeezing of hands. They knew that at the end of our long voyage they would become man and wife and that knowledge was sufficient. Of course, the love-light sprang to their eyes when they looked at each other, but they were lovers who kept a strong hold upon themselves. Narga had demonstrated the greatness of her love by her unparalleled sacrifice. She had bidden farewell not only to Raba but to the planet on which she was born. Love had conquered all but Narga was far greater than a mere love-sick wo and there were years of stern self-discip behind her.

For a long time Narga remained silent then she spoke slowly and thoughtfully wit addressing any one in particular. 'The se called boundless because its shores cannot be when one is on the high seas, but what are seas compared with the sea of space? We of a drop in the ocean but a world is than a drop in this ocean. It is space that us a definite idea of the infinite. We may be able to compass space but we can compre it and that is our first claim to the higher of intelligence. To be able to navigate th without getting lost was regarded as a triumph, but what words of praise are ade for the navigators in the sea of space ? Do think we might get lost in this real sho sea, my wise brother ?' concluded N turning to me with a smile.

'We certainly would lose our way if had been no landmarks. But infinite as i sea through which we are passing it is over with floating and flying islands for we can steer when we seek a port. In one that part of space in which the solar syst whirling is a known sea for there are the p we know and they may be worlds like your ours. If it could be possible for us to go be the solar system then we would find our in an unknown sea, though even then would be no question of losing our way.'

'That is the wonder of it all. Even in fearful darkness you cannot get lost. There lighthouses everywhere in this infinite se as warnings of danger but as harbour And while everything else moves space al at rest.'

It was fairly late when Narga retired for night. Besides the pilot we had settled that three of us should keep awake by turns, t a watch of two hours each. We were a that one of us should be waking and at hand case Narga should feel nervous or want any in the course of the night.

XLIV

The night passed uneventfully. Narga a very early riser and she came out of room after her morning ablutions and pr She greeted us cordially and then looked through the closed mica panes.

In the growing light Mars, now a mass dull red, was vanishing from sight. The planets and stars were also becoming in and the light of the morning sun was spread through the clear ether.

After a light morning meal Narga took her near me and said, 'You have learned our lan but I do not know yours. Please teach me so that I may be able to speak it by time we reach your country.'

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'Would you like to learn to read our language?'

'Certainly. But let us begin with the names of objects and simple sentences. Teach me first by word of mouth and then we can take up a book.'

And so the lessons began and Maruchi and Orlon watched Narga's progress with much interest. As we all expected Narga proved to be an apt and a quick learner. I pointed out the objects lying about us and she learned their names at once. At first I avoided long words as she naturally felt some difficulty in acquiring our way of pronouncing these words, but she learned a large number of words and several easy sentences very quickly. It was not merely by repetition which is the usual method of memorizing that she learned new words and sentences. She had an extraordinary power of concentration. Whenever I mentioned a new word and explained its meaning she would listen with close attention and then fix her mind upon it for a moment. She knew and remembered the word at once. As we went on I tested her occasionally by putting a question about some word or sentence I had taught her a little while ago and her answer was invariably correct.

I expressed astonishment at the ease with which she was acquiring a new language and Narga smiled.

'You mustn't forget,' she said, 'that I was taught by the Master for five years and he has his own method for cultivating the memory. He despises all mechanical systems and he is not content by merely stimulating the intellect. In his eyes the mere repetition of words is nothing more than a parrot's education. He taught us wisdom and we read several books dealing with very profound problems. The only memory which the Master values is the memory of past existences, but this is possessed by very few.'

'Does the Master believe that this particular phase of memory can be cultivated?'

'To a very limited extent. It is in reality an individual gift. It is not an intellectual possession, for a person with intellectual powers may not have even rudimentary very high spiritual powers. The Master does not accept a merely clever or intellectual disciple. He has some means of forming an opinion of the past lives of the persons that approach him to seek instruction and he selects only those that appear to him to be the fittest by the trend of their previous lives.'

These were deep waters and in another moment I might find myself floundering beyond my depth. So I gave another turn to the conversation by saying to Narga, 'If you have no objection, we should very much like to hear all about yourself. We met you at Opi and we know that you studied with the Master. But tell us about your people and your life before you renounced your world.'

Narga laughed pleasantly. 'Since the rest of my life is to be spent in your land it is but right that you should know about me the littlle there is to tell. There is an ancient town, at one time the capital of a powerful kingdom, between Opi and Sipri. It is now a small town with many magnificent ruins all around it. My ancestors were allied to the royal family and had a great reputation for learning. They were in easy circumstances but not particularly wealthy. My father specially was greatly respected for his learning and wisdom. I was an only child and was brought up with great care. My mother who was a very beautiful woman and of a very gentle disposition, died when I was twelve years of age and I was left wholly to my father's care, and he treated me more like a son than a daughter. I was a very serious child and spent most of my time studying with my father. Children of my own age did not attract me much. Perhaps I was somewhat precocious for I remember that even as a little girl I used to ask my father many questions on intricate subjects and he seemed to be pleased that I had inherited the family tradition of a desire for knowledge. When I was about sixteen years old my father suggested that I should be married so that I might not be left unprotected when he was gone. I vehemently protested saying I would never marry as no young men attracted me and I had made up my mind that I would devote my life to the pursuit of knowledge. My father was somewhat surprised but he did not insist on my marriage and left me free to follow my own inclination.

It was about this time that Ashan, who in those days used to travel occasionally, came to our house and stayed some time with us. You have seen him and you know how great he is. He looked then as he looks now for the passing years appear to touch him very lightly. I was not only deeply impressed by his personality but I was also astonished by the reverence shown him by my father who himself was not an ordinary man. I learned from my father that Ashan was one of the great teachers who appear among men from time to time and he possessed miraculous powers. I felt strongly drawn to the Master, who at first looked upon me as a child, but was greatly interested when he found out that I was studious and thoughtful. He told my father that he was greatly pleased to find that I had made such good use of my time, though so young. After questioning me as regards the range of my studies he spoke to me on higher subjects and I found to my delight that he had a solution for the problems that so often perplexed me. I listened to him for hours with rapt attention for I had found a teacher whose wisdom was unbounded and to whom the deepest mysteries were like an open book. The doctrine of past incarnations fascinated me strongly. When I asked questions about the Master's possession of strange powers, he said they came only to the

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initiated and the adept, but they did not form the primary objects of knowledge.

While the Master was staying with us my father suddenly died after a very brief illness. Before his death he consigned me to the Master's care. I was overwhelmed with grief for I had lost both my parents and was left alone in the world. For a day or two the Master left me to my grief and then he spoke to me such words of consolation as helped to withdraw my mind from despair and set it thinking on the problem of life and death apart from my personal loss. I understood there is no such thing as death and relationships are casual. Some days later the Master said I should go and live with some relations as he was about to return to his hermitage. I said I would go with him as I wanted to be initiated as his disciple.

The Master was taken aback and tried to dissuade me on the ground that it would be a very hard life, that I was a girl and should be married and settled in life. But nothing would turn me from my resolve. I said there was no absolute law that all women should be married any more than all men, and a woman has as much right as a man to aspire to the fulness of knowledge. This the Master could not deny but he spoke of my personal attractions and pointed out that some one might fall in love with me. I was a rather petted and pert girl and told the Master that it required two whether for a quarrel or for love, and I knew perfectly well that I would love no man. I grew so bold that I rallied the Master saying that he was a very handsome man but he had not permitted any woman to fall in love with him.

The Master laughed and was then lost in thought for some time. Then he said slowly with great deliberation, and I remember his words to this day. 'Perhaps you are right. It may be quite possible that you may love no man here. But who can tell what the future may hold in its closed palm ?'

The Master yielded to my earnest entreaties and I accompanied him to his hermitage. He was like a father to me and treated me with the greatest kindness. But as he told me there was no royal road to knowledge and after my initiation I had to undergo a very severe course of discipline. So great, however, was my desire to learn that I was never discouraged and my enthusiasm never abated. I forged ahead of the other disciples and needed no pressure of any kind to pursue my studies and subject myself to the rigorous self-discipline necessary for the cultivation of psychic powers. The Master was both surprised and pleased, and seeing how apt a pupil I was gave me more time than to my other fellow-disciples. He spoke to me at great length about the earlier teachers of our race and how they had advanced in knowledge from birth to birth, and how the past and the future were revealed to them like a book one has already read. I applied myself assiduously to develop the spirit force inherent in us and in the course of three years the Master admitted me to the first degree of an adept and imparted to me more esoteric knowledge. Then he took me to Raba and I passed through the secret passage without help, following the Master with ease over the open chasms and going the round of Raba through the air. Two years ago the charge of the monastery and convent at Opi fell vacant and he sent me to fill the vacancy. The monks were at first somewhat surprised to find that a young woman had been placed in authority over them, but they afterwards approved the Master's selection.'

We had listened to Narga's narrative with great interest and when she had concluded I ventured to ask whether the Master had told her anything when she departed for Opi.

'Yes,' she answered gravely, 'he said I was more gifted than any one else he had taught but I was impetuous and impatient by nature and he was not certain about my future. He refused, however, to make any attempt to read my future saying it must be something quite out of the common and there was nothing to be gained by finding out what could not be prevented."

We remembered that this was precisely what the Master had told us also. I felt doubtful whether this subject should be pursued. Noticing my hesitation Narga said, 'Ask me anything you will and I shall tell you all I know. Between us there can be no reserve and no secrecy, and I have nothing to keep back from you.'

Still I hesitated but Narga evidently waited for more questions. Then I asked, 'Have you any idea now as to what was at the back of the Master's mind when he spoke of your future ?'

'I had no idea then, but is it not now evident what he was thinking of ? But he resolutely refused to turn over the page of the future because what is written cannot be wiped out.'

I would not ask any other question, but Narga looked at Maruchi and myself, and she blushed as her eyes met Orlon's. If she had been an ordinary woman perhaps she would have felt shy and turned the conversation to some other topic. But Narga was accustomed to analyse her own thoughts and was quick to read the thoughts of others and we knew that she was frankly outspoken. She went on quite dispassionately, 'You are loyal-hearted gentlemen and you naturally feel this is a delicate subject since it refers to my present position. I am not sure what must be the thoughts of the Master but Karos and the others must be thinking me a shameless, fallen woman, and if they could get at me they would stone me to death without pity.'

Maruchi protested vehemently, saying that we held her in as great honour now as we did at Opi.

Narga smiled and said, 'Yes, because I am the living evidence of your visit to Heperon.'

We started. She was repeating the Master's

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own words. Had she overheard our thoughts or caught the words as our lips formed them without uttering them? Narga went on as if she had not noticed our movement of surprise. 'How was it possible to foresee the future in my case? In our own town I had seen many young men, some of them quite good looking and had noticed the admiration in their eyes when they looked at me. But my heart was never stirred and love seemed to me to be a silly thing. What had I to do with love when I thirsted only for knowledge? When I had passed through the period of probation under the tutelage of the Master I was firmly convinced that the world held no bonds for me and my emancipation was complete and it remained only for me to advance along the path of wisdom and knowledge until the goal was reached. How could I dream for a moment that my fate was linked with another, a being from another world? When I gazed at night at the starry heavens, and I did so every night, I wondered what sort of beings peopled Lamulo and the other planets, but how could I imagine that men living up there would come down to our planet, or that the future course of my life was bound with one of them?'

A look of great tenderness came into her eyes as she looked at Orlon, but she was not an ordinary woman whose lips could be closed by any notion of false modesty. She was no more ashamed of her love than she was of her wisdom and she proceeded calmly with her argument as if she had been discussing the affairs of another person. 'I do not for a moment doubt that what has happened to me is most wonderful, I know that much of what I have attained will be labour lost and the powers I have acquired will vanish. At the same time, I feel that a complete life is a rounded whole and there must be some gap which has to be filled up and I have to retrace my steps in the long journey from life to life in order that the gap may be closed and I may start afresh on my interrupted progression. When we renounce the ties of this life it means that those obligations had been fulfilled in some other life. There can be no hiatus, we have to tread every step of the road that stretches before us in life after life; there are no shortcuts and we cannot jump over any distance. The wonder is that the fulfilment of my destiny should be divided between two worlds.'

Narga ceased and fell to silent musing. We held our peace.

(To be concluded)

DISASTROUS TWILIGHT

By VERRIER ELWIN

I sat beside the river bank,
Where the great waters silently
Flowed from the forest, silent, dank,
The trees bent over me.

Across the sky there crept the night,
And in the little village there
They had not even candle-light,
So very poor they were.

Then through the darkness distantly
A song of women came to share
The burden of their poverty,
The measure of their care.

They should have sung of royalty,
Lordship of elephants and gold,
Of lands that broadened as the sea,
Hearts that were true and bold,

Of the great forest's liberty,
Kingship of forest free and proud,
Strong pride as of the tallest tree
Lifted above the crowd.

They should have sung such royalty
As gave their fathers wings
To rise from dim antiquity
Into a race of kings.

And yet those unseen women sang
Only a tale of poverty,
And all the darkened village rang
With that strange tragedy.

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Book Reviews

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ENGLISH

THE WORLD CRISIS AND THE PROBLEM OF PEACE: *By S. D. Chitale. International Book Service. 1933. Pp. 230. Poona, India.*

I have not read from any source a more clear, concise yet comprehensive, interestingly told, scholarly and fair-minded account of the world's present economic and political crisis (crisis as regards world-peace) than I find in this attractive book from a scholar in far-off India.

The claim is made by the author that the present crisis, the impending danger of another world-war, is the result of imperialism, or imperialism linked with capitalism. Given the imperialism and capitalism of the preceding half century, and the great war of 1914-18 was inevitable. Given the continuation of imperialism and capitalism as they still exist, and another world-war is certain to come. The author traces the origin of imperialism in its four most important modern developments—those of Great Britain, France, Germany and Russia. In other words he traces the acquisition (theft) by those nations of vast territories in Asia, Africa and the islands of the sea, and the domination of those territories as "possessions" or "colonies."

The cause of the thefts was capitalism, or national greed. The instrumentality by means of which this national greed was able to attain its ends—that of stealing territories and thus obtaining colonies and foreign possessions was militarism—which means the creation of great armies and navies. The danger that all this would create wars between these imperialistic nations was not very great so long as the thieving "was good," that is, so long as there were fresh possessions to be acquired. But when all the territory was appropriated (stolen), then the inevitable crisis came. Each nation was dissatisfied at not having obtained more. Each was envious of the other. Each wanted a larger place in the sun. Of course, this meant that they all must have bigger armies and navies to protect their loot, and to be ready to avail themselves of any possible opportunity to grab territory from the others. Thus it was only a question of time when they would fight one another. Hence the Great War.

When the war of greed was over, of course, the settlement—the Versailles Treaty—was one of greed; how could it be anything else? The idea that such an imperialistic war, capitalistic war, greed war, war caused by thefts and waged to protect thefts, could "end war," could bring "protection to small nations," could "make the world safe for democracy," was the sheerest idiocy. That America could ever have been made to believe it, is one of the most amazing facts in all history.

After telling excellently well the story of all this the author tells equally well the stories of the "Reparations," of "Lausanne," of the "Tangle of War Debts," and of the effect of all these in creating the world catastrophe, the world collapse, from which all nations are suffering, and which he believes is certain to bring on another World War, unless some new way out can be found.

Where can another way out be found, and the another war be prevented? Not by capitalism; not by imperialism; these will only plunge the world into deeper and deeper ruin.

He has no faith that the League of Nations can help, because that was created by the capitalistic and imperialistic nations; and is controlled by them, he believes, for their own ends.

He believes that in one direction and one only there is light. What he proposes is a world-wide organization of *peoples*, for world-justice and world-peace. It should take the form of a *popularly elected World Peace Committee*. Its members and managers must not be chosen by the nations as such, that is, by national governments, because all governments in the world, except that of Russia, are largely if not wholly controlled by capitalists, imperialists and militarists. They must be chosen by the peoples of the world themselves; because as he believes, the vast majority of the world's peoples do not want war, but do sincerely want world-peace and such world-justice as will maintain world-peace.

In addition to the World Peace Committee, as its constant practical Executive, or Working Body, the author would have a permanent *World Board of Judges* (from ten to thirteen in number) chosen by and by the World Peace Committee, whose duty should be to work constantly, in such ways as shall

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seem to them wisest, to promote the interests of peace everywhere. If differences arose anywhere between nations, or between parties or factions in any single nation, which seemed likely to lead to war, the matter should be taken up at once by the World Board of Judges, or if necessary by the World Peace Committee itself. If the contending nations or factions refused to heed the verdict and insisted on going to war then a world-wide economic-political boycott should at once be set in operation against them.

Such is the author's plan for preventing wars. Of course, the question arises at once: Is the plan practicable? Can it be made to work? *At least, is it not worthy of careful consideration?*

One of the unquestionable valuable incidental features of the book is that it points out the important place which India holds, and must hold, in the economics and the peace of the world.

J. T. SUNDERLAND.

INDIA IN TRANSITION: *By D. Graham Pole. Hogarth Press. London.*

The English voters, it is often claimed, are the ultimate rulers and controllers of the destiny of 350 million people of India: viceroys, governors, and the rest of the political office-holders in India are merely the agents and emissaries of English citizens. As "trustees," so runs the story, it is the English electorate which is finally responsible for what happens to India's "voiceless millions." Yet the great mass of the English electors are either stupidly ignorant or cynically indifferent to Indian affairs, except on those few occasions when some sensation-alized news of the so-called religious feuds or political murders in India find their way to the Londonese press and it starts its bellowings. It is under this sad conviction that D. Graham Pole has written *India in Transition* and Wedgewood Benn, ex-Secretary of State for India, has contributed a Foreword. But I suspect that not many English voters will ever look into the book.

The author, however, has done his best. He has made a historical survey of recent political events and has also given an outline of the more important social and economic conditions. He tells about the machinery of Indian government, the workings of the recent political reforms, the results of the Round Table Conferences, the demands of the Indian National Congress, the Simon Report or rather the Simon travalogue.

The material is drawn largely from official documents. The book lacks an index. Though somewhat sombre in tone, it is free from obfuscation and is quite readable. It is a straightforward account of Indian affairs and how they came to be in such a tangled mess. It reflects, on the whole, the viewpoint of the civilized minority of the British Isles. I cannot, therefore, undertake to say how long the book will be allowed to circulate unmolested either in India or in England.

The main thesis of Mr. Graham Pole is that the London Parliament should come to honourable terms with India without further delay and give the Indian nation a real self-government while there is yet time, and not "try to hold on until we lose everything, even respect." For nationalism, as is suggested, has already sounded the death-knell of imperialism. The situation calls for a new moral order.

Truth will prevail, all obstructionists to the contrary notwithstanding. That is the one reason why I believe that the domination of one people by another cannot last for ever. At its core festers a cancerous lie. It gnaws at one's moral and spiritual tissue. A mind that does not see it is beyond the reach of reason and humanity. The mind of D. Graham Pole does see it; but most of his fellow-countrymen in their island home seem to have taken a moral holiday, and are apparently even unaware that their holiday has become a sadist debauch.

It is a pleasure to commend Mr. Graham Pole's *India in Transition* to students of the Indian problem.

SUDHINDRA BOSE

THE INDIAN THEATRE, *its Origins and Later Developments under European Influence, with special reference to Western India. By R. K. Yajnik, M. A., Ph.D. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1933. Pp. 284.*

The full descriptive title of the work is given above in order to indicate its object and scope, but one might complain after reading the work that the title is somewhat misleading. It is true that Part I of the work deals with the question of Sanskrit origins, but the author appears to be more concerned with its later developments, by which again is meant exclusively the modern vernacular theatre of the 19th century, produced almost entirely under the influence of the European rather than the Sanskrit theatre. But the author makes ample apology for this procedure. The Part I of the work is to be regarded merely as preliminary, for the book really attempts a fairly wide, if not exhaustive, survey of the activities of the modern vernacular theatres of India. As the modern Indian theatre has developed, at least in its earlier stages, somewhat artificially under direct European influence, the question of borrowing, adaptation and imitation of foreign models naturally receives the largest attention. The problem, however, is approached more from the point of view of its theatrical bearings than from its strictly literary aspects. The author has claimed that no relevant matter of importance has been overlooked. Judged with reference to the limitation which he has himself set to his task, it is possible to allow his statement. But his strictly limited point of view has naturally obliged him to give a rapid survey more of stage representation than of the drama and omit a detailed study of individual works and authors of importance. He has again placed a greater emphasis on the problem of direct translations, adaptations and borrowings, especially of Elizabethan in general and Shakespearean plays in particular. But the larger and more important problem of the assimilation of Western dramatic ideas and ideals does not appear to have received the attention it deserves. The question is not merely one of contact but of the moulding as much of literary form and expression as of its inner spirit and outlook. The earlier vernacular productions, to which the author has devoted the greater part of his work, contented itself with direct and obvious imitations, but when we come to later plays the influence is more subtle, because it is no longer a matter of mere borrowing but of deeper assimilation. It is nevertheless a question of much greater interest and undoubtedly deserves more careful study.

The author himself admits that Part I of the work, which deals generally with Sanskrit theatre and dramaturgy, is of different value, but it is retained for a certain continuity of treatment which involves an introductory exposition of the theory and

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practice of the Sanskrit theatre. To the Sanskritist this part may not appear to have maintained a high level, but it is obviously meant for the general reader. But, even admitting this, its connection with the author's particular theme of the modern vernacular theatre has not been made very clear. It is given more as an historical introduction than as an historical background. It is true that the conditions of growth and expansion of the modern Indian theatre under direct foreign inspiration were entirely different, but a certain measure of the influence of the older Indian theatre, both popular and literary, still persisted and shaped some aspects of its form and substance. This phase of the problem does not seem to have received its proper treatment; and the connection, direct or remote, of the new theatre with the old should have been more clearly indicated in order at least to justify the inclusion of Part I.

The work is one which it is hardly possible to review in detail, especially when the reviewer's knowledge of vernacular productions other than Bengali is limited. As a pioneer work opening up new ground of considerable interest, the reviewer has, however, no hesitation in extending to it a hearty welcome. It is impressive by reason of the large mass of scattered material examined and the amount of labour and skill that it has involved. Even if there are inaccuracies, which may be remedied, and gaps which may be filled in time when the vast subject is more completely examined, we have in this handy and well-printed volume a wide and intelligent survey which is undoubtedly full of interest.

S. K. De

INFLUENCE OF RELIGION ON HISTORY: *By C. Narayanswamy Mudaliar, Deputy Assistant Controller of Military Accounts (Retired).*

The book is misnamed. It is neither a history nor a study of religion, nor does it say anything as to how history has been influenced by religion. It is at best a summary of the author's readings about religious ceremonies and practices in different lands.

The present volume is only part I. Other parts are perhaps in the making. It has no chapters and no headings. It flows on like a great river with occasional bends, *viz.*, sections. But even there, there are no headlines to tell of the subject-matter. And within the sweep of 154 pages, we have excursions into the religions of the Zulus and the Egyptians, the Babylonians and the Romans and what not.

The language of the book is florid but not perspicuous. We are told of a "mundane world" (p. ii), of "dumping ground of travellers," who see with "travelling vision" (p. 75), and of how "vegetation supplied the prolific imagination to ply its own presageful trade" (p. 127), and of "a very grand, sublime, pathetic and tragic spectacle" (p. 140), of "indecent morality" and "true perspectiveness vanished" (p. 146), and we are also told of peoples who "left an indelible mark on the pages of the history of the world by their sanguine hopes in after-life" (p. 88), and last but not least, of how functionaries arose in Egypt "to guide the laity through the difficult mazes of life successfully and to carry the ship of state sublimely to the shores where breathes a balmy breeze of sweet morn and eternal peace" (p. 93).

Words and phrases are hurled at the reader with a merciless rapidity.

U. C. Bhattacharjee

THE GOLDEN BOAT: *Rabindranath Tagore. Translated by Bhabani Bhattacharyya, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Nov., 1932. 4s. 6d.*

More than thirty selections appear in this volume culled with taste from the writings of Rabindranath and rendered in English with skill by Mr. Bhattacharyya. The translator is a close student of Tagore's and it may be hoped the book will find its way to the lovers of the Poet. Some of the selections appear to be of the very best; such are "The Strange Beggar," "Path Way," "Farewell to Heaven." The prose is rhythmic, simple and terse.

GITA EXPLAINED: *By Dnyaneshwar Maharaj. Translated into English by Manu Subedar, B. A., B. Sc. (Econ.) London, Bar-at-Law. Published by M. Subedar, Palli Hill. Bandra. Price Rs. 2 (Paper bound), and Rs. 2-8.*

Dnyananath, a disciple of Matsyendranath and a scholar of vast erudition born in the thirteenth century, wrote what is believed to be the first commentary on the Gita in Marathi, consisting of about nine thousand couplets. This standard work, one of the most prominent contributions to old Marathi, has been put into new garb by Pandit Govind Ramchandra Moghe and then Englished by Mr. Subedar.

It is a pleasure to read the English translation in the volume under review; we are at once introduced to a work which is comparatively unknown outside Maharastra, and realize what excellent treatises we have in the Indian vernaculars, awaiting translation and publication either in English or in Hindi. The wealth of examples is one of the glories of Dnyaneshwari, and the present version opens our eyes to the richness of the book from this view-point. The publication will be enjoyed by those who are interested in the Gita and its teachings.

Priyaranjan Sen

WHAT EVERYBODY WANTS TO KNOW ABOUT MONEY: *Edited by G. D. H. Cole. Published by Gollancz. Pp. 544. Price 5s.*

For the small sum of five shillings one can buy over five hundred pages of matter dealing in simple plain language, with the different problems of money and the financial system. Mr. Cole himself begins with a chapter on the definition, forms, and functions of money, and then in a second chapter proceeds to discuss the part played by money in the present World Crisis. Afterwards there are chapters by "nine economists from Oxford" dealing with Central Banking, Credit and Joint-stock Banking, Foreign Trade and Exchange Rates, Capital and Investment, Money and Prices, Public Finance, and International Debts. Finally Mr. Cole sets forth the case for the Socialist solution of Banking, and sums up the discussion in a concluding chapter.

The book might almost be described as a text-book if it were not for Mr. Cole's final chapter, since it is, generally speaking, non-contentious—that is, it deals with matters from an "orthodox" standpoint. That "heretics" exist is however admitted, and one chapter in the book is devoted to discussing the views of four of the leading "heretics," Major Douglas, Professor Soddy, Dr. Gesell, and Dr. Hobson. Since however the present economic structure is largely the result of "orthodox" economics, and since people are generally beginning to realize that something is wrong, it is questionable whether the non-contentious statements of the orthodox are not really extremely contentious. Take, for example,

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...ring passage in the chapter on "Money and ..." by Mr. E. F. M. Durbin :

"We want to discover in this chapter what mone... policy ought to be pursued in the long run. ... the answer, in the broadest outline, is that the ... policy, whatever it may be, will maintain full ...yment. Beyond this contribution and no one ...deny that it is a very important contribution, ...r can do nothing to solve the real economic ...lem. The real economic problem is to raise the ...dard of living, to give people the things they ...ally want." (Page 314.)

Then he goes on to enumerate these wants as ..., clothing, houses, etc., and then proceeds to say ... in these days of machine production we are apt ...exaggerate the extent to which the problem of ...duction has been solved, and that even if all our ...chines, and men were fully employed the output ...consumption goods would only be increased about ...per cent.

Now practically every word of this is challenged ...the 'heretics.' To begin with, they deny that the ...ect of a monetary policy is, or should be, to ...tain full *employment*, since employment is not ...end in itself but merely a means to production ...l as has been frequently pointed out, few people ...e thought of what is going to happen when the ...ientists achieve their dream of being able to ...ness the rays of the sun to aid production, so that ...e or two men can do all the work that needs to ...done. When that occurs it would seem that the ...t of mankind would be expected to stand quietly ...de, and starve through Unemployment! It is ...portant then to realize this simple fact that the ...ect of an economic policy must be to obtain a full ...tput of goods; and in a machine age such an ...tput can be maintained *without* full employment. ...ll employment is impossiple, and payment (distri...tion) *should not be made conditional upon the ...formance of worth*. Then again, it is generally ...mitted that the world today is suffering from ...ver-production," and the problem is not to distribute ...cient but to distribute what is actually produced. ...w people seem to realize the fact that today a ...eat many things are created which cannot be ...nsumed, that is, which people cannot sell, because ...hers have not the money to buy. This is one ...ason why a war is good for trade, since both sides ...e busy presenting free gifts to their opponents, and ...erefore everything that is produced can be consumed, ...d so everyone is happy—except possibly the ...dinary soldiers! This does not mean that at present ...e are producing as much as we really need as ...y visit to an Indian village would show, but at ...esent production is being slowed down deliberately ...o try to equate itself to effective damand. Mr. ...erville Chamberlain, the present Chancellor of the ...chequer, put the matter clearly in a recent speech ...n the solution of the World Crisis.

"There is no method so certain and so rapid in ...s operation as the control of production, and the ...proper adaptation of supply to demand."

Mr. Durbin has estimated that there can be only ...20-25 per cent increase, but Lord Melchett in his ...book "Modern Money" has clearly shown that in ...some industries a 10 per cent increase in employment ...would result in a 50 per cent increase in production.

Again Mr. Cole in his chapter on money is ...equally questionable. He includes bank credits (created out of nothing) in his definition of money but he denies that cheques are money, though it is only in the form of cheques that the non-existent bank credit takes upon itself what he declares to be the function of money—that is to say, becomes available as purchasing power. Even more questionable is his statement that velocity of circulation compensates for deficiency in the quantity of money, because the given quantity of money can thus do more work in a given time. This is due to the "orthodox" habit of thinking in terms of money, instead of in terms of goods. In real terms it is the velocity of the exchange of goods that causes the money to circulate more rapidly, but even this does not mean very much. For example, if a person buys eight seers of *atta* at the beginning of the week his rupee circulates more rapidly than if he bought his daily supply each morning, but his cosumption of *atta* remains the same. No one can make a limited income buy more by spending it sooner. The "heretics" of course argue that money can cancel costs only once and it is the cancelling of costs that is important.

There is hardly room to deal with the "heretics" view point which has been referred to but roughly speaking the argument might be put as follows :

1. Before the Industrial Revolution people produced by using their physical powers to control the forces of nature. In those days what was produced was consumed, or exchanged by the producer for something that he wanted.

2. As a result of the Industrial Revolution people now produce by using *machines and their physical powers* to control the forces of nature. Therefore, what is now produced must be divided between the machine and the producer.

3. The machine itself does not consume and therefore the share which falls to the machine is used for producing more, and ever more machines which can produce but which cannot consume.

4. The machine displaces certain men, and since these men are displaced, and cannot work, therefore they cease to be able to buy, and therefore work has either to be created for them (i.e., luxury trades) or else the demand falls, due to decreased purchasing power, and production has therefore to be limited to a like extent! In short the position is similar to that of the python which began eating its own tail, and so tried to swallow itself.

The above is a very generalized statement, and so is very open to criticism but it will give readers who do not know any of the "heretical" views, some idea of their arguments which are that the economic system is at present based on money which is supposed to represent goods, and a true economic system would be based on the goods themselves.

CHRISTOPHER ACKROYD

TARIKH-I-ILAHI : *By Mr. V. S. Bendrey. Poona 1933.*

Mr. V. S. Bendrey, author of *Sadhana-chikitsa* (Marathi), and the editor of *Rajaram-charitram* (a contemporary account of Rajaram's famous journey to Jinji), has done a service to history by publishing in book form (pp. 46) his learned paper on the *Ilahi Era* of Akbar. Mr. Bendrey's study is a distinct advance on previous efforts to solve the difficulties

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which beset the calculation of the true solar months and years of the Ilahi Era, and the conversion of the dates of this Era into those of the Christian Calender. He has for the first time utilized a valuable Sanskrit work, *Parsi Prakash*, written by one Vedangarai under the patronage of the Emperor Shah Jahan. The authors of the history of the Hindi Literature in Hindi (*Mishra-bandhu-binode*) mention Vedangarai as a *Hindi* poet in the court of Shah Jahan, who wrote *Parsi-prakas* about the year 1707 Samvat (pp. 502). Mr. Bendry who has examined three MSS. of *Parsi-prakas* of Vedangarai adds the following note on its author : "Vedangarai was a title given by Shah Jahan to one astrologer named Maljit, son of Tiggalbhatta, a resident of Shristhali in Gujarat—*vide* his son Nandikeshwar's account of his father rocorded in his book *Ganaka-mandanam*—a small treatise on astronomy. Vedangarai wrote this *Parsi-prakas* to explain the terms, technical words, etc., which may in the ordinary life, present a difficulty to an astrologer for want of sufficient knowledge of Persian. The work appears to have been written in 1549 A. D." (Note 13, p. 7.) We do not know whether the authors of *Mishra-bandhu-binode* came across any translation in Hindi verse of the *Parsi-prakas*, which seems to be doubtful.

However, it must be admitted that *Parsi-prakas* of Vedangarai was the first attempt to solve the difficulty of accurately calculating the dates of the Ilahi Era. Mr. Bendrey has given in an appendix some valuable extracts from this book. We recommend the use of *Tarikh-i-Ilahi* to students of history for checking the conversion of dates in the English translation of Abul-Fazl's *Akbarnama* by H. Beveridge.

K. R. QANUNGO

THE TWO INDIAS : *By B. P. Beotra, B.A., R.S., Chief Secretary, Suket State. Pp. 124.*

This is a handy little compendium of treaties concluded from time to time between what are now known as the political halves of India, *viz.*, the British Power and the States. The principal drawback of the work is that it does not attempt to reason out the justice or otherwise of the policy which led to those engagements or to trace the circumstances under which the political situation of India came to be developed. But the mere enumeration of facts and dates contained in this sketchy volume is in itself a great help at the present moment when the future constitution of India with the States as federal units is being forged. It amply proves that England subjugated India by diplomacy and not by the force of arms. It also brings out prominently how even the most solemn engagements and permanent bindings were quickly set aside as soon as the exigencies of the situation required a change. One realizes how futile is the claim so often put forth that the privilegs, rights and dignities of the Indian Princes would always be maintained unimpaired. In politics as in other mundane affaris of this world there is nothing permanent or fixed. The volume contains here and there inaccuracies of dates and circumstances, which however do not mar its value, as it does not profess to offer any historical treatment.

G. S. SARDESAI

THE CHILD IN THE MIDST: *by L. Wi... Bryce, M. A., with a Foreword by Lady Abdul Qa... published by Y. M. C. A. Publishing House, 5, Ra... Street, Calcutta, pp vi+136, price cloth bound Rs. ... paper bound Rs. 1-8.*

The book under review is a praiseworthy att... to guide the parents in the numerous problems t... confront them in the task of training up child... Almost all the problems have been mentioned ... practical advice based on facts of child psych... has been given in plain and simple language. It ... almost become a truism now that unless the ... train themselves, it is hopeless to expect that ... would be able to train their offsprings. And in ... task of training themselves the book will be a ... introductory study for the parents.

The period upto adolescene has been treated in ... book and when one remembers that this is the ... critical period of mental development, because ... habits of thought and deed formed at this period ... one's life. may make or mar his future, one can ... congratulate the authoress on the simple way in wh... she has been able to express valuable truths. ... practical advice regarding how and when child... should be given information on sex matters is use... though one may not agree with all that she has s... Other important chapters of the book are those deal... with the Emotions of children, Fundamental ha... Family relationships, etc.

The value of the book has been enhanced by ... Questions and topics of discussion that are given ... the end of each chapter and the Diet sheet in ... Appendix.

S. C. MITRA

THE TRIBES OF THE NILGIRIS: *by N. ... Ranga, B. Litt (Oxon). Published by G. L. Narayan... M. A., Manager, Andhra Economic Series, Bezwad... Price As. 12, pp. IV+75.*

This pamphlet contains a general, but rath... scrappy, description of the economic condition of t... Badagas, Chetties, Kotas and Panniyans of the Nilgi... hills. It forms interesting reading on account of ... apparent sympathies of the author, but the value ... the book would have been considerably enhanced ... the author had followed some consistent scientific pl... in his observations. As it is, it ought to have be... published in some popular journal, rather than ... part of an "Economic Series".

HANDBOOK FOR VISITORS TO KASHMIR ... *By J. L. K. Jalali, M. A., Srinagar, 1933. Price Paper ... Cover, Rs, 2—4. Cloth-bound Rs. 2—12. Pp. vi+180.*

The book under review gives datailed information ... regarding all that an average visitor might like ... know about Kashmir. A complete list is given ... the halting places on each road and of the ... veniences available there. Lists are also given of the ... usual charges of house-boats, permits for shooting ... and fishing and so on.

We trust the book will prove helpful to those ... whom it is intended.

NIRMAL K. BOSE

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SANSKRIT

GHERANDA SAMHITA :

The Review of Gheranda Samhita at pages 82-83 of the Modern Review for January, 1934, needs correction in one or two particulars.

Between 1895 when the work was first published, and 1933, the year of its reprint by the T. P. H. Adyar, Madras, there have been two more editions of the work. It was included in volume XV of the Sacred Books of the Hindus along with An Easy Introduction to Yoga Philosophy and Siva Samhita (both text and translation) by the same learned author and practical Yogi. A second edition of the volume was brought out in 1925. For these publications the thanks of scholars and the general public are due to the Panini Office, Allahabad,—that original and enterprising publishing house which has to its credit the publication of so many of the ancient scriptures of the Hindus and of several other valuable and indispensable works of linguistic, historical, economic and educational importance. The Panini Office has also published the text and translation of Hathayoga-pradipika directly to popularize the original Yoga texts.

The learned reviewer again sets it down as the definite conclusion of Mr. Vasu that Gheranda was a "Vaisnava of Bengal." This is misleading. Mr. Vasu's exact words are: "The directions regarding food are peculiar for the people of Bengal, the author of this treatise being apparently a Vaisnava of Bengal."

BENGALI

BANGIYA NATYASALAR ITIHAS: (*Sahitya Parishat Series No. 83*). *By Brajendra Nath Banerji. With a Foreword by Dr. Susil Kumar De, M. A., D. Litt. Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, 243-1, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-4 for members and Re. 1-8 for others. B. S. 1340.*

The book gives the history of the Bengali stage as adapted to the European stage and covers a period of about one hundred years (1795-1876). It is divided into two parts. The first part in seven chapters deals with a period when public theatres had not developed and amateur parties busied themselves in supplying amusements to selected invited guests and creating their own pleasure. The second part in five chapters furnishes a history of the public theatre up to the passing of the Dramatic Performances Control Bill into an Act in the beginning of 1876. There are two useful appendices at the end of the book—one (which is highly important) giving a chronological list of the dramas staged on the boards of different public theatres; the second giving a list of the works of the early and well-known playwrights of Bengal. The account given in the book is primarily based on reports contained in contemporary newspapers, the results of a thorough ransack of which have already been published by Mr. Banerji in the form of extracts from them arranged under various heads. The account is therefore more accurate than some of the similar other accounts based on heresays and reminiscences. It is only to be hoped that Mr. Banerji will be able in future to discover from old records some accounts of the Pre-European stage in Bengal and thus supply us with a missing link between the Sanskrit theatre and the modern Bengali theatre.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

MARATHI

लाला लाजपत राय (*The Life of Lala Lajpat Rai or the commencement of the new era.*) *Price Rs. 2. Pages 296.*

The author has dealt with the life, work and sacrifices of the hero critically. The history of the Indian national idea is described in this book and it is very thoughtful and appreciable. The book would have been very useful had it contained Lalaji's original thoughts.

सह्याद्रीच्या पायथ्याशी (*At the foot of the mountain Sahya.*) *Price Re. 1. Pages 150.*

The author Mr. Sukhatanakar has published this collection of eight stories of realists, which delights in provincial details and local colouring. Almost all the stories take their life, colour and language from Goa and as such they are the best representation of Goanese culture.

शिक्षणविषयक नवे विचार (*Modern thoughts on Education.*) *Editor Mr. B. D. Karve. Price Rs. 3. Pages 273.*

This book contains an account of the lectures delivered by experienced educationists like Prof. V. M. Joshi. It is divided into six parts. The whole field of education is traversed by instructive lectures in these six parts. This is a unique publication dealing with educational problems.

V. S. WAKASKAR

GUJARATI

KALAPI CHITRADARSHAN: *Published by Chandrakant Brothers, Bombay. 1933.*

The eleventh session of the Gujarati Sahitya Parishat was held, during the Christmas holidays (1933) at Lathi in Kathiawad. Lathi has been immortalized in Gujarati literature as the place where the Prince-Poet Surshinji, whose *nom de plume* was Kalapi, reigned and wrote his poems. Taking advantage of this event, the publishers have brought out this sumptuous volume of Kalapi Album, containing excellent illustrations of the life and life-work of the poet, both of them being romantic in so far as he married his wife's maid-servant, and made her the Queen of his Heart. It contains 30 photos from life, 15 pictures depicting Kalapi's poems and scenes from those poems, 6 illustrations of places of interest connected with him, an appendix containing the letters of the Prince to his wife and friends, and an introduction in English from the pen of the well-known writer, Kanaiyalal Munshi. The get-up of the work is excellent from an artistic point of view, and the publication furnishes a landmark in Gujarati literature in this direction.

KATHIAWAD MAN SARVABHOWM SATTA AND GAEKWAD MAJMUDAR: *By Nayansukhrai Vinodrai Majmudar. B. A., LL. B., of Amreli. Printed at the Arunodaya Press, Amreli. Thick card-board. Pp. 464. Price Rs. 2. 1933.*

The writer of this book,—a sort of family history of the Majmudars who served the Gaekwads principally

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in Kathiawad during the period of the Maratha sovereignty in that province, belongs to the family of that great Bhakta poet of Junagadh, Narsinh Mehta. The book is replete with first-hand information about those ancestors of the compiler, who in various capacities, as fighters and as administrators, contributed their share in the bringing about of orderliness out of the chaos that reigned there in those stirring times, between Samvat years 1780 and 1890. The narrative comes as far as Samvat year 1941. Every statement is supported by documentary evidence which is interesting from a historical point of view. Besides being State servants the writer forbears even great Vaishnav Bhaktas and poets. Altogether the book is sure to prove helpful as shedding some light in the later history of the province.

NARSAYYO BHAKTA HARINO : *By Kanaiyalal M. Munshi, B. A., LL. B. Advocate, Bombay; printed at the Khadayla Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Illustrated. Cloth bound. Pp. 114. Price Re. 1-8. 1933.*

Narsinh Mehta known generally as the Adi-kavi of Gujarat has, of late, assumed prominence, once again, by certain questions raised as to the exact year of his birth. The subject has been named the Riddle of Narsinh Mehta, and several Gujarati scholars have tried their hands at solving it, one of them being the writer of this dissertation, Mr. Munshi. The controversy is still raging, and hence it is difficult to [illegible] anything definitely one way or the other. Mr. Munshi places it between Samvat years 1530 and 1580, not earlier than 1530 and not later than 15[illegible] The generally received year is Samvat year 14[illegible] Besides this controversy, another one has attached itself to the poet; it is this: whether the celebrated work called Harmata is written by Premanand or Narsinh: On a consideration of various reasons, Mr. Munshi comes to the conclusion that it cannot be the work of the latter: he also says that he is prepared to revise his opinion on getting additional material. In later chapters he has tried to spell the life of Narsinh out of his verses, that is, he reads into some of them the narration of incidents and events in his own life as set out by the poet, a piece of autobiography. It is an interesting piecing together of isolated fragments, and reads like a rhapsody composed under the influence of the enforced rest enjoyed (?) by him in the Bijapur jail. The work bears the stamp of the impetus or impulse of the dynamic personality of the writer. The illustrations are based on imagination.

K. M. J.

RUSSIA TODAY: CHILDREN'S HOMES, PALACES, AND SEXUAL RELATIONS

By NITYA NARAYAN BANERJEE

IN the playing room of the Children's Home which I visited there was a big piano to the accompaniment of which the grown-up children sing and dance and thereby have their daily exercise. There are toys—everything materialistic—aeroplane, ship, torpedo, pump, engine, soldier, not a bogey or a fairy; they do not celebrate the marriage ceremony of daughters and sons, as children in Bengal do, or worship dolls of mythological gods and goddesses. Every boy is given the chance to play with anything, and it is noticed what play he likes. If he likes painting, in his future studies he is encouraged on that line; if he shows a tendency towards engineering, the army, agriculture, art, he is given all facilities to develop on those lines. From their very childhood Russian children are observed and regular records about them are kept. They are not pressed in the same mould—the dictators of Russia realize that there are different materials in different individuals and they should not be moulded in the same press.

According to age children are classified and taken care of. In one room about thirty babies were sleeping—the attending nurse was preparing her report of all the children under her care. She has to note daily the temperature, the stool and urine, times it cries and such other technical points. Every baby is given individual attention, every one sleeping with hands up, the scientific position. If anything is wrong with any child it is segregated and sent to the doctor—his mother may not take her child home, but if necessary she may stay there. Probably the richest man of our country would envy the scientific and hygienic care taken of and attention given to the Russian workers' children. Finishing my visit, I was requested to put down

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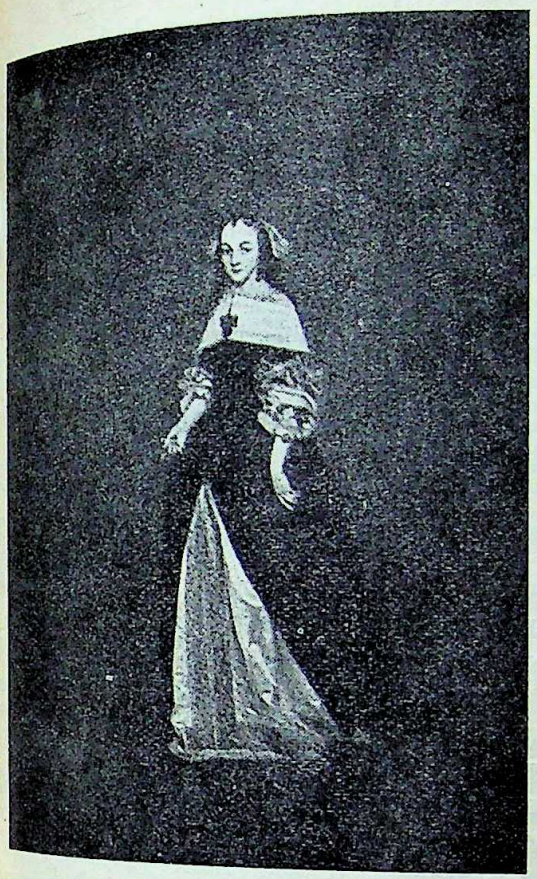

A painting in Hermitage—Leningrad

opinion in a visitors' book which I did very gladly.

The Intourist sent the taxi and it was ready at the door. We drove out to see the whole city.

Soon we came beside the Neeva river. Its dancing sparkling waves were frozen white, as if under the spell of some magician's wand; a vast sheet of wavy snow stretched between the wide banks. We came across many important buildings, among which mention may be made of College and Office of Navy; Bureau of Labour on the bank of the Neeva, where formerly political prisoners were imprisoned and tortured; the first Residence of the Central Committee of the Communist party, formerly the private residence of Kshesinskaya, from the balcony of which Lenin after his return from foreign lands, where he was exiled, made his first public speech before thousands of his followers; the Red Army Arch, a colossal yellow-coloured building made by the famous architect Rossi in 1819-25, which was and still is the seat of the army, just in front of the well-known winter palace of the Tsar, which has now been converted into the Museum of the Revolution. Beside this huge ornamental building is the world-famous Hermitage, the favourite picture gallery of Tsarist times which was built by Gerard Terborch in 1617-81 and which still contains beautiful original paintings by well-known Italian aud French artists. The palaces of the Tsar's sons, daughters and relations are worth seeing. Before one such building, "Panti Palace," is a nice park having the sickle and hammer, the emblem of the Communists on its bed. In this park, not very far from the Tsar's palace, thousands of revolutionaries died. So it has been named "Square of the Victims of Revolution."

After visiting the important buildings and parks in the city, we took a long drive to the outskirt of the city, where the summer palace of the Tsar stands. This beautiful three-storied building stands the same as it used to do in the Tsar's time; the pieces of furniture are kept as they were, just to show the people how lavishly the king used to spend at the cost of the poor people's labour. It was

Red Army Arch and the office of the Army —Leningrad

already too late for lunch. We came back to the hotel in the afternoon and, finishing lunch as soon as possible, went to see a "zag" or marriage and divorce registration office. This was on the second floor of a huge building, a small office having two clerks and several benches for the couples. We were given a seat near the Registrar's table; the

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guide interpreted to me the questions and answers of the registrar and the couples.

The willing couple have to deposit only two roubles in the office in the morning, for which they get a number. During the registration hour the registrar calls out the number serially and the couples come before her, produce their passports, which according to the new Russian law everybody has to obtain from the local police as proof of identity. The registrar takes down the names of the bride and groom in her book and the couple are requested to put their signatures in the book. That finishes everything—they are married. The only questions they are asked are, if that was the second marriage of any of the party and their age. Couple after couple

Park of Victims of Revolution (Paul's Palace) —Leningrad

came and got married; there was no ceremony, no priest, no friend or bride's maid on the occasions. Probably it takes five minutes to be married in Russia and much less time to be divorced. Any one of the couple may come to the office and say, "I want to be divorced." That is enough to get a divorce. If the other party be present, so much the better; if not, he will get a post card from this office that he is no longer married, his partner has divorced him, and he will be requested to have his passport endorsed to that effect. The registrar will not ask, why they are divorcing, would not disallow a prayer for divorce for want of any proof about adultery. She may request them to settle the differences, but even that the law does not require. I was shown the books in which notes on marriage and divorce are kept, but could hardly understand anything. Pages of both the book were almost full. I asked the registra "What is the percentage of divorce?" S said, "About fifty per cent."

"So much," exclaimed I.

"But that is a smaller percentage in com parison with America," added my guide.

An eager couple came and asked something which I could not understand. M guide answered him and smilingly said me, "He asked our number." It was amusing

I asked, "What did you tell him?"

"Numberless," was her reply.

A young couple took their seat before th registrar. They seemed to me quite young just about eighteen, the marriageable age Russia. Another couple came who seem quite aged. Both of them were marryi for the second time. So they were aske if they had any children. The answe was in the negative. If there be any childre by the first marriage, parents have maintain them, but, unlike other countrie the burden of maintenance is not only the father; if the father does not care the mother has to bear the burden of maintenance. The amount of alimony varies accord ing to the earnings of the parents, but if ei party is totally incapable of earning, he m claim one-third of the other's earnings. a rule, in case of divorce, the children st with the mother, but if she ill-treats them is a drunkard or moral reprobate, the fath may claim the children. Whenever there a divorce, the parents try to come to mutual settlement regarding children and th maintenance; if they fail to do so, they ha to go to court. Registration of marriage not absolutely necessary by law in Russ If a male and a female so like, they can li together as husband and wife, neither the sta nor society will condemn it. But this fr mating sometimes causes much trouble wh there is litigation for alimony. In suc difficulties fathership is determined on t evidence of friends and relatives. If they s that the man used to live with her and m probably the son is his, he has to pay for h maintenance. This may be one of the ch reasons why Russia in spite of so much laxity relations between the two sexes has not turn into a land of debauchery. When one hea

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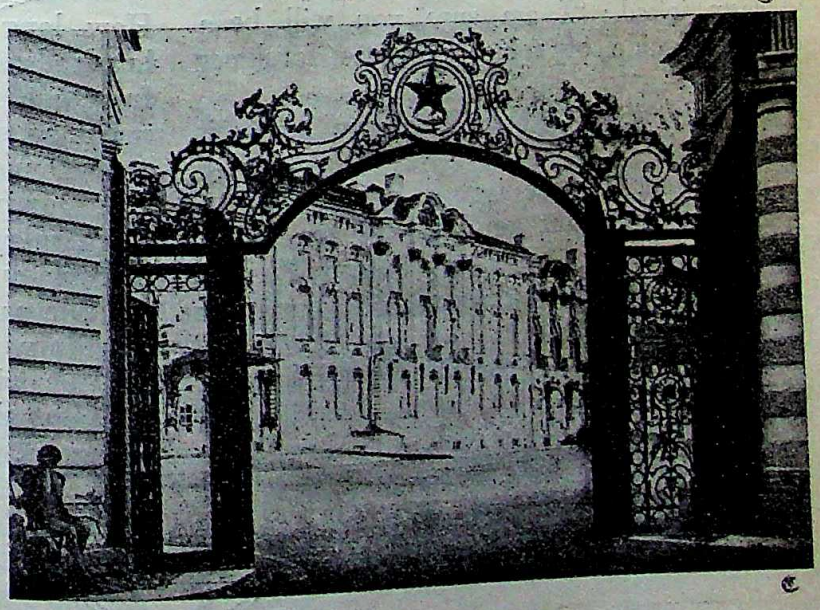
Tverskava-Yamskaya Road : one of the main streets—Leningrad

that in Russia male and female can live together without any restriction, he naturally thinks the females in Russia are so many prostitutes and males are debauches of the lowest grade. But in fact it is far from so. To me it seemed the Russians were much more moral than other nations of the continent. What do we see in Europe? In all civilized countries women dress themselves in such a fashion as will readily attract the attention of men; in society dinner and dances both men and women try to make themselves prominent, not among themselves, but before the eyes of the other sex; but in Russia this sex suggestiveness is totally absent. Men and women travel together in the same compartment of the train in day and night, they have their sunbath in summer on the river banks side by side with scanty bathing costume or with nothing on at all; in processions male and female march side by side without the slightest sex sensibility. Seduction is a great offence in Russia—to Russians it is exploitation of sex. One must be true and sincere in his love life. One may divorce and get married at his will; but if it be proved that it is his nature to do so, he is sentenced to imprisonment. Amongst the youths of the universities and colleges sex life should be more complex. The male and female students eat, sit, sing together, live in the same dormitory, though in separate rooms. But they can go to each other's room, may fall in love, even mate and have children. Neither the authorities nor the fellow-students will frown on it. If two students want to live a married life, registered or not, they are allowed to do so. If they have a child, the mother may still proceed with her studies, leaving the child in University nurseries. But if it is proved, that any student, male or female, enjoys sexual life casually, where there is really no love but the desire of satisfaction stands prominent, he is disciplined and reprimanded. Love has got all licence but seductiveness is banned. If anybody infects his mate with any venereal disease, even if they be husband and wife, he is punished with one year's imprisonment.



Summer Palace of Tsar—Leningrad

An old woman came to assist the registrar as she could not cope with the heavy work. We were sitting just beside the table and probably looking to be a couple. The old woman gravely asked: "Yes, your number please?"

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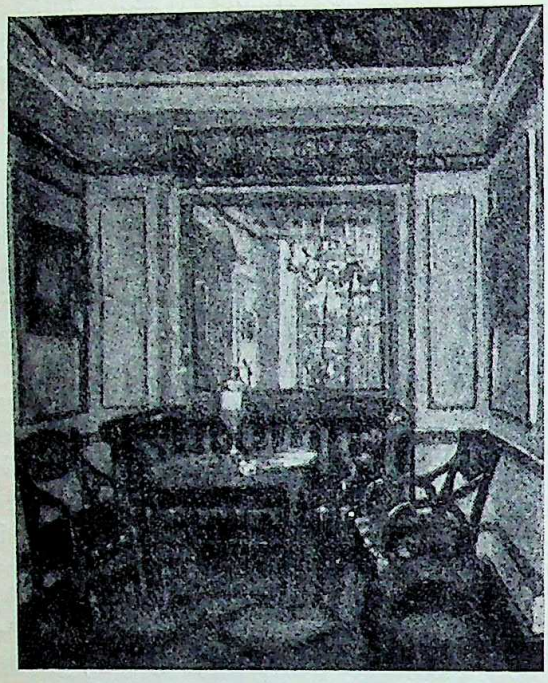


The Primrose drawing-room at Summer Palace

My guide burst into laughter this time and interpreted to me her question. The registrar, too, began to laugh and explained to her assistant that we were mere visitors. The old lady joked: "I am sure you will be a permanent guide of some fortunate foreigner one day."

My guide said: "Why one day, make it today."

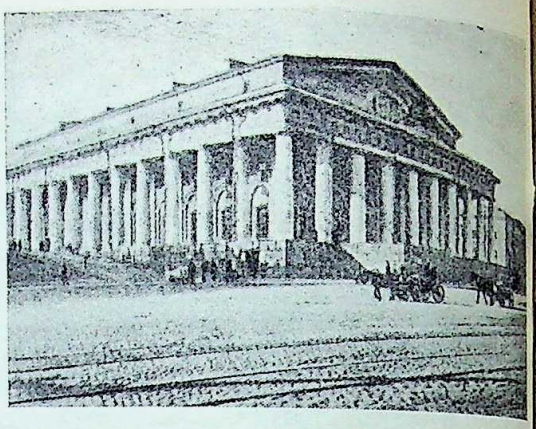
I objected, "But we have no number."

The old assistant replied, "Never mind. We can number you right now. Ready ?"

I said, "I am yellow coloured, so your white friend will not agree."

My laughing guide exclaimed: "If I agree, are you ready ?"

This time I was cornered. The registrar



Bureau of Labour
Formerly the Prison for Political Prisoners
—Leningrad

intervened and said, "Last year I married an Indian with a Russian girl."

I murmurred: "But I am already married."

My guide burst into surprise: "Are you really ?"

We came out into the streets but my guide would not let me stop about my marriage. She showered questions after questions. "How many years ago were you married ?—What is your wife's age ? Is she beautiful ? How long did your courtship last ?" and a hundred more such other questions. Hearing from me that we have no courtship before marriage, she gasped with surprise.

"How do you marry then ?"

"Our parents choose the bride—"

"And you marry ?" Her eyes were about to come out in surprise.

She paused. "It is shocking to imagine how do you do so ?"

"That is our custom—"

"But that's a rotten custom, you should change it. Should'nt you ?"

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THE INDIAN RESERVE BANK

Its Powers and Responsibilities

By H. SINHA, Ph. D.

THE present monetary organization of India loudly calls for reform. In the first place, credit and currency are unrelated. Government have the sole rights of the issue of notes and of rupees, which, although tokens, are unlimited legal tender. Credit, again, is controlled or sought to be controlled by two separate agencies,—the modern joint-stock banks and the old indigenous bankers without much cohesion between them. In the second place, banking is very imperfectly developed. Cheques are practically unknown except in big cities and ports. Branches of banks are few and far between. In the third place, a vast agricultural country like India must necessarily present credit problems, which are difficult to be solved even with a highly organized banking system. At the time of each harvest, whether of jute, cotton or rice, considerable funds have to be moved from the ports to the remote growing regions to pay for the crops raised there by the cultivators. Thus there is a temporary shortage of legal tender and therefore of credit in the banks in the big cities and ports. The cultivators cannot, of course, keep the money with them for any length of time. They have to pay rent; they have to repay their debts; they have to purchase those necessaries of life, which they do not produce themselves. The money thus released comes back to headquarters in driblets and the process is unduly long. In the meantime, the exporters of crops present their bills drawn on their buyers abroad for discounting. Thus the banks with their depleted cash resources are called upon to meet an increased demand for credit. It is no wonder, therefore, that there are all the possibilities of a serious crisis every year,—or rather several times every year. The seasonal fluctuations noticed in small manufacturing countries with highly organized banking system are mere ripples compared with the seasonal waves found in India.* There are other problems, such as the vagaries of the monsoon and the "hoarding" habit of the people which further complicate the situation. The Indian Reserve Bank should assume unitary control of credit and currency and alleviate all these evils as far as possible "through suitable contraction and suitable expansion . . . aiming generally at stability."*

This of course is admitted on all hands. But it is not always made clear what is meant by suitable contraction and suitable expansion. We may however hold that the amplitude not only of seasonal swings but also of trade cycles should be narrowed down as far as possible, with a view to stability.

Now, what exactly does this stability mean? Does it mean, as it certainly did in pre-war days, stability in exchange? Or does it mean stability in the general purchasing power of money? Or, again, does it mean stability in the general economic activity of the country? The last has all my theoretical sympathies. Our aim should be to keep production going and maintain the volume of the output. But let us analyse the practical implications. To start with, it is a very wide term, embracing as it does, not only production of goods, but also services of various kinds, making up in the aggregate, the entire national income. To compile a satisfactory index for this is extremely difficult, the new "Economist" index of business activity notwithstanding. There are some, who would seek to represent it by just a few measures,—possibly by only one,—by the consumption of lubricating oil for instance. On the other hand, there are some, who would try to find out a satisfactory index for each separate item of economic activity, whether direct or indirect, and weigh each such separate index according to its importance in national economy,—in other words, by its net output as determined by census of production. I am not competent to speak about this country,

* See *Bankers' Magazine*, London, for October, 1924.

* See Mr. Montague Norman's evidence before the Hilton Young Commission.

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but I am sure it will be impossible to compute such an index for the whole of India including Burma, which, possibly separate constitutionally, will be financially a unit of India. Even if it is compiled, it will have hardly any statistical significance. For, unless there are a number of groups of about equal importance, accounting for a predominant proportion of the whole economic activity, the average must be merely an arithmetic abstraction.

If the aim of the Indian Reserve Bank is stability in the general purchasing power of money—I am not talking about the present time or even the immediate future, when conditions all the world over remain abnormal, —even if we take a distant view, the position is not without difficulty. The agriculturists, who form the bulk of the population, have different standards of living as revealed by village economic surveys during several years past. In some parts of India, again, money economy has not fully penetrated even now. In Bengal, for instance, "paddy loans," that is, loans incurred and repaid in terms of unhusked rice, are not infrequent and have proved a blessing in disguise during the recent fall in the price of crops. Even in the case of urban wage-earners, where there should be better standardization, there is a wide disparity in the cost of living in different parts of India, and even in the same part of India for different communities. The four index numbers published for the four communities of Rangoon work-people offer an interesting study in themselves, baffling all attempts at a satisfactory common figure of cost of living for that city alone.

Thus we are left with stability in exchange as the chief objective of the Indian Reserve Bank,—in terms of sterling for the present and of a world standard, not necessarily a gold standard, when such a standard is set up by common consent, when all agree "to play the rules of the game." This calls for two sets of considerations, (*a*) adequacy of reserves and (*b*) adequacy of control. The latter is, of course, the chief problem, for if that can be satisfactorily solved, a small reserve will be sufficient. I must confess I do not sometimes understand what is meant by "adequate reserves." I am not unmindful of what has been said about this in the White Paper on Indian Constitutional Reforms as a necessary preliminary to the establishment of the Reserve Bank. Possibly, one will be called a theoretical visionary, when one points out that when all the central banks move in unison there is no limit to the volume of credit which can be made available for each by the Bank for International Settlements, properly reconstituted for the purpose. But, surely, one may adopt some better criterion for judging the adequacy of reserves than the standard set by other central banks, on historical, social and political, but not certainly rational grounds. May we not consider it from the point of view of the maximum adverse balance of payment, leaving sufficient margin for factors unknown, possibly unknowable? On that criterion, India may regard herself as perfectly safe, her present volume of short-term debt notwithstanding. I do not forget that she is a debtor country; that her exports consist of a few commodities exposed to world competition; that her market has been narrowed down, specially after the Ottawa pact, which has secured confidence for the present but may impose undue restrictions in the future. I do not base my optimism on jute being a monopoly, for I recognize that being largely a packing material it must feel the first brunt of depression and must remain moribund so long as world trade remains moribund. I have in mind the vast manpower and the almost unlimited resources which India possesses, and which, properly employed, may form the basis of any credit she may require.

This brings me to the question of the adequacy of control secured by the Indian Reserve Bank over the Indian money market which is thus the essence of the matter. The Reserve Bank will, of course, have the sole rights of note issue, of the output and issue of legal tender currency, of the holding of Government and bankers' balances, and of the management of all financial operations on behalf of Government. In view of the primitive monetary system,—if you prefer, the lack of system, in India, it is doubtful even if these valuable privileges will be able to secure sufficient control for the Indian Reserve Bank at least for some time to come.

In moving the Reserve Bank Bill in

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Indian legislature on 27th November last, the Hon'ble Sir George Schuster stated that over 90 p. c. of Indian banking was in the hands of indigenous bankers, who had no effective contact with the organized banking system. They have been sought to be attracted by the offer of the same privileges as the modern "scheduled" banks, *viz.*, remittance and rediscount facilities and the protection afforded by the Bankers' Books Evidence Act. The latter is of no practical importance, for the indigenous banker has no books requiring protection. If remittance can be made as cheap in India as in other countries* he may find it worth his while to be associated with the Reserve Bank. It may be recalled in this connection that the first rudimentary central banking of a sort started by Warren Hastings as early as 1773 but wrecked in 1775 chiefly owing to the unworthy jealousy between him and Francis was almost wholly concerned with remittance operations on behalf of the East India Company through the branches and correspondents of the "general bank."† Apart from this, to the extent remittance charges are reduced, there will be a better utilization of the monetary resources of India and a corresponding lowering of the interest rate.

The chief inducement that can be offered to the indigenous banker for joining the organized banking system is easy rediscount facilities. Again, through these alone, can the Reserve Bank make its influence felt as "the lender of last resort." Unfortunately, there is no bill market worth the name in India at present. Most of the external trade is carried on with sterling bills, for they ensure low interest rates and adequate discount facilities. This cannot be altered until the Indian money market is equally well organized. As regards internal trade, it is carried on through cash credits and not by bills. It is not merely the high stamp duty, nor even the multiplicity of vernaculars, which stand in the way; it is appalling illiteracy of the country as a whole, which is on the increase as revealed by the last census.

It may be urged that there are two important Stock Exchanges in India, one in Calcutta and the other in Bombay, where the Reserve Bank may have open market operations. It is doubtful, however, whether they are wide enough for the large scale operations, called for by the extreme seasonal swings of a vast agricultural country with a rudimentary banking organization like India. Apart from this, the central bank of the future must be prepared to buy and sell long-term securities freely to manipulate the long-term rate of interest. I do not agree with the orthodox view that the short-term rate and the short-term investment alone are the concerns of the central bank. In spite of the present low rate prevailing in the short money market, the yield on British securities is about 3½ per cent which is unduly high compared with the pre-war rate, specially when we take into account the considerable increase in the supply of capital since then. The central bank of the future will have to follow a much more active policy for open market operations than now.

I know there is a disposition in India possibly in Canada, too, to hope for a new heaven and a new earth as a result of the establishment of a central bank. But there should be no such illusion. The banking system of all countries, including India and Canada, is largely the reflex of historical, social and geographical conditions ruling in those countries and cannot be changed until those conditions are changed. In India the only immediate improvement will probably be the issue of additional currency at the beginning of the busy season without there being a prior raising of the interest rate. But this should not, on the other hand, blind us to the fact that "there is no influence so potent in the way of developing the credit system on sound and progressive lines as a well-founded central bank"—a dictum first enunciated by Sir Cecil Kisch and now reinforced by the Canadian Banking Commission.*

* The foreign experts pointed out to the Indian Central Banking Inquiry Committee that remittance was generally free for places within 300 miles of each other in Canada; in Java, the charge was one guilder for mail transfers of one thousand guilders or under, irrespective of the amount. (See Vol. IV, above, pp. 668 *et seq.*)

† *Early European Banking in India*, pp. 167-169; also Welfare, Calcutta, February, 1928.

* An address before the Marshall Society, Cambridge on February 1, 1934.

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THE FOURTH CENTENARY OF CORREGGIO

By SUBRATA KUMAR CHAUDHURI

THE great Italian Renaissance, uncheked and original in its genesis, had nearly spent up all its creative energy and was now approaching an abrupt termination. The two masters of the past generation —Leonardo and Raphael—were already dead; the giant Michelangelo, though destined to live many years still and contribute his quota to the world of art and culture, had finished the marvels of his workmanship in the Sistine Chapel. It was evident that the current was moving farther and farther away to the remote side of the Alps, to Germany, France and the British Isles. During this northward march the eddy passed over the districts of Venezia and Lombardy and their neighbourhoods, where the new seeds flowered into several world renowned geniuses of whom Correggio was decidedly one of the greatest.

Antonio Allegri da Correggio, a native of the district of Modenna, was born in the town of Correggio in 1494. A pupil of Francesco Bianchi (better known as Ferrari) he thoroughly learnt his art at a very early age and proved to be one of the most precocious talents ever seen on earth. Soon he developed the strange faculty of assimilating the styles of the famous masters, now plagiarizing from da Vinci, now stealing from Mantegna, though "making all he took into a thing of his very own. Raphael and the Umbrians gave him decorative grace, Francia sweetness of temperament, and from Michelangelo himself came power of modelling and mastery of bold dramatic light and shade." * Then discovering for himself the line that would suit him most, he began his career as a decorator of the interiors of the Churches of Parma where he was called in 1518.

In his twenty-sixth year Correggio married a young and pretty damsel, Gioralama by name, who sat for him as a model in his celebrated Zingarella or the Gipsy Girl. Before that he had exhibited the highest charm and sweetest grace of his style on the walls of the Nunnery of Paolo in Parma. He now undertook to paint the altar-apse and then the interior of the dome of S. Giovanni. But, as in the works of his compeers Raphael and Michelangelo, "the illusion creating and architecture destroying" qualities, characteristic of the virtuosos of the Renaissance appear everywhere, though it cannot be denied that here a better compromise between mural painting and architecture was sought out by him. The subject is the Ascension of Christ sometimes called The Descent from the Cross, and a sweet melancholy envelops the whole theme. His next attempt was the presentation of the 'Assumption of the Virgin' on the cupola of the cathedral of Parma, "where he went at once to the extreme of what can be adventured in foreshortening, even forestalling in this attempt the mighties genius of an older generation—the Last Judgment of Michelangelo, for instance, not having been begun earlier than 1533."*

What strikes one most in these specimens of artistic creation is his mastery of colour. "It may at least be held certain," writes Vasari in his *chef-d'œuvre*, "that no one ever handled colours better than he, that no craftsman ever painted with greater delicacy or more relief, such was the softness of his flesh painting, and such the grace of his work." † One other quality that attracts the sight of even a casual observer is his wonderful power of chiaroscuro. "His peculiar means of expression" writes Lubke, "is light which softly blended with the twilight and interwoven with delicate reflections and transparent shadows, played around his figures in a kind of coloured chiaroscuro. In producing this chiaroscuro, with its minute gradations and shadings, Correggio is one

* Kaines Smith: *An Outline History of Painting*, p. 81.

* *Encyclopædia Britannica*—The Article Correggio.

† *Vasari*, Vol. IV, p. 118.

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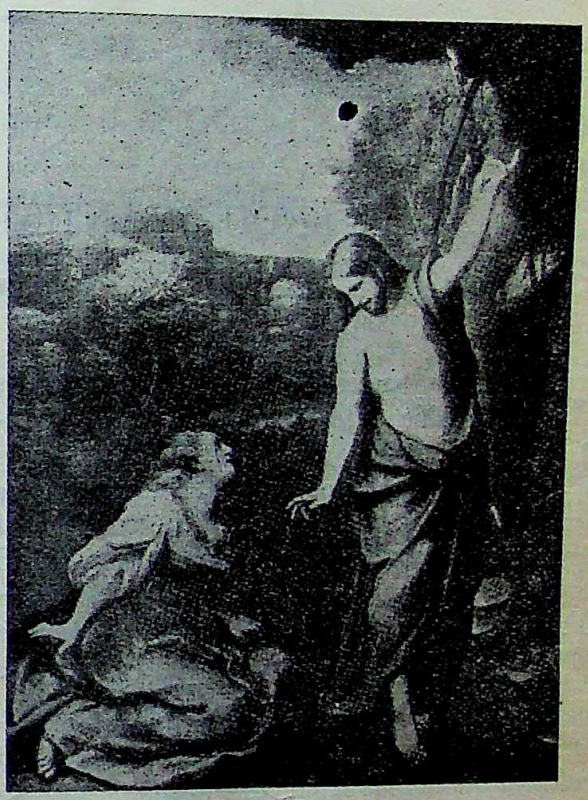
the masters of painting." * The reader may be referred to his La Notte (Night) and Il Giorno (Day), the former representing the Adoration of the Shepherds and the latter Madonna and Child with Magdalene and St. Jerome, the two contrasting pictures of the most finished perfection as illustrations of the foregone quotations.

Essentially an artist of 'movement,' Correggio exhibits a paroxysm of ecstasy in his paintings. A joyous delight, expressive of a superabundance of emotion envelops the figures he created. Sorrow and grief are completely left out, for, as Kaines Smith writes "the one thing none of them (his predecessors and contemporaries) could teach him was sorrow." The Zingarella has been mentioned before. The 'Magdalene lying in terra,' whose authenticity was questioned in the last century but since re-established by Corrado Ricci in his life of Correggio, is illustrative of lavish display of expression and excitement. An over-emphasis on such passionate feelings sometimes spoils 'the dignity, gravity or nobility of his form,' but his justification lies in the fact that 'he does not demean his saintly personages when he portrays them alive to these emotions ; he transports them all back into the state of paradisic innocence,'† as is seen in his Madonna della Scala or Madonna della Scodella.

Space does not permit me to introduce here the rest of his achievements, nor does this article purpose to give a detailed critical appreciation of the genius. I can only enumerate some of his most important productions where an exceptional quality of the artist is remarkable. Coming from the brushes of the earliest and greatest exponent of feminine loveliness and one expert in the representation of the softness of the human flesh as well as the rhythm of its delicate contour a few of these works require some special consideration. The Leda with the Swan at her breast in the accompaniment of a bevy of bathing comrades, the Io embraced by the King of the Clouds, the Antiope where Jupiter is surreptitiously removing the robe of the sleeping beauty and the Danae spreading her dress to receive the gift from the god of gods are all pregnant with an overflow of movement. The splendour transcends the elements of sensuality and voluptuousness while an extravagant display of the essential feminine charm fascinates all the more the mind of an admiring observer. The Education of Cupid by Mercury in presence of Venus, probably



Noli me tengere (*Prado.*) Madrid.
By Correggio

the most popular of his paintings, shows Correggio at the height of his talent and is another example of his delicate toning of their bare limbs "gleaming softly in their silvery light and existing only for beauty and for joy of being alive."

Though working slowly in his isolated nook out of touch with the other masters of Italy, Correggio could not escape the effects of the great artistic transition on whose borderland he stood. The change from the style known as the High-Renaissance to that termed Beroque, in which a single predominant motive stands conspicuous to which all the others are subordinated, first visible in the architecture and plastic art of Michelangelo,* appeared

* Lubke : *History of Art*, Vol. I. p. 183.
† Lubke, p. 183.

* Roger Fry : Painting and Sculpture.

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in his later works. A greater freedom and irregularity succeeded the equipoise and regularity of the old times; this was undoubtedly a decline and Correggio shares it along with his contemporaries. Moreover, "he was sensuous and therefore limited; and the highest virtues are derived from the perfect harmony of sense and intellect, such a harmony as since the most noble days of Greece has never again appeared in perfection, not even in Giorgione and Raphael."*

Correggio died on the 5th March, 1534, at the early age of forty.

* Berenson: *The Italian Painters of Renaissance*, page 325.

HINDU SCIENTISTS ON EARTHQUAKE

By K. P. JAYASWAL

HINDU scientific literature treats specifically of the subject of earthquake. I am giving below the conclusions of Hindu scientists on the phenomenon of earthquake from the writings of astronomers and mathematicians who flourished in this country before 600 A.D. Varaha Mihira wrote his encyclopædia—*Brihat Samhita*—before 587 A.D., which is the year of his death. Dr. Utpala (भट्टोत्पल), the commentator of Varaha Mihira, has cited *verbatim* quotations from the original authors drawn upon by Varaha Mihira. I am utilizing these sources for my notice below.

In chapter xxxii of his encyclopædia Varaha Mihira deals with "the subject of *Bhukampa* (earthquake)," as an independent topic, although references to earthquake are to be found in very many other places in the book.

Causes of Earthquake

On the causes of earthquake, apart from two Puranic theories, there are these theories of the scientists.

(i) *Atmospheric Pressure*: the upper atmosphere comes into friction with the lower atmosphere of the Earth which causes an earthquake with a roar.

"अनिलोऽनिलेन निहत: क्षितौ पतन् सस्वनं करोत्यन्ये"
[xxxii, 2.]

The author of this theory was Vasishtha, whose original text is as follows:

"यदा तु बलवानवायुरन्तरिक्षाऽनिलाहत:
पतत्याशु सनिर्घातो भवेदनिलसम्भव:
तस्य योगान्निपततश्चलत्यान्याहता क्षिति:
सोऽभिघातसमुत्थ: स्यात् सनिर्घातमहीचल:"
—Bhattotpala, p. 442, Ed. Sudhakara Dvivedin.

(ii) The theory of Parasara was entirely different. According to him *earthquakes are produced by gravitation of planets*, when there is a disturbance in their regular courses.

"अर्क-चन्द्र-ग्रहण-ग्रह-विकृतचारजांश्च कम्पानाहु:"

(iii) In addition to the above all the authorities are unanimous in holding that one class of earthquakes is caused by the Elemental Fire.

(iv) Another class is unanimously stated to be the result of heavy rains, and

(v) the last class to be the result of internal or elemental water.

Four Classes of Earthquakes

Earthquakes are thus divided by the Hindu scientists into four classes.

(i) *Vayavya* or atmospheric. This is produced, according to the school of Parasara, by the gravitation of planets, while according to the others, by the concussion of the upper and lower air. This is the most dangerous type of earthquakes, which is evident from its duration and extent and the mischief, which I shall presently notice.

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(ii). The *Hautasa* (हौताश) or *Agneya* (आग्नेय), *i.e.*, quakes produced by the internal fire. This is the second dangerous type.

(iii) & (iv) The third and the fourth are the *Aindra* and the *Varuna*, which are produced by excessive rains and floods. The last one is regarded at times as beneficial (*subha*) while the others are of the destructive type (*asubha*).

The First Type

The *Vayavya* occurs under seven named *nakshatras*.

चत्वार्यर्यम्णाद्यान्यादित्यं मृगशिरोश्वयुक् चेति
मण्डलमेतद्वायव्यमस्य रूपाणि सप्ताहात् ।
[XXXII, 8.]

And its symptoms are noticeable for about a week beforehand. The sky becomes misty, dust rises from the earth to the sky, gales rage breaking trees asunder. The sun's rays become pale and weak [रविरपटुकरावभासी च].

This type destroys crops, waters, forests and gardens. It produces the following diseases :—swellings, breathing diseases, madness, fevers, respiratory troubles. It produces economic depression [वणिक पीड़ा—विजां क्रमविक्रमजीविनांच व्यथा पीड़ा]. Fine arts and industries suffer.

It [generally] occurs in the following countries :—Kathiawar [Saurashtra], Delhi [Kuru], S. Bihar [Magadh], Bundelkhand [Dasarna], Agra and the neighbourhood [Matsya].

According to some authorities the bad consequences are punctuated by accompanying phenomena like fall of meteors, rise of circles [परिवेष] round the sun, etc., which sometimes denote international and political complications.

The full effects of a bad type of earthquake take six months to dissipate. The *Vayavya* type takes four fortnights.

The extent of the operation of the Vayavya type is 200 yojanas (1600 miles.)

The Fiery or Volcanic Type

The *nakshatras* peculiar to this type are also named :—

पुष्पाग्नेयविशाखाभरणीपित्र्याजभाग्यसञ्ज्ञानि ।
वर्गो हौतमुजोऽयं करोति रूपाण्यथैतानि ॥ (32.12)

Its preceeding symptoms are :—fall of meteors, fiery appearance of quarters (दिग्दाह), outbreak of fire with gales. Its effects are loss of clouds, disappearance of water-sheets, international enmity, skin diseases, jaundice, etc.

It generally occurs in Bhagalpore, Monghyr (Anga), Bactria, Badrinath district (Tangana), Orissa (Kalinga) Bengal (Vanga,) Tamil country (Dravida), Orissa Agency (Savara) and Asmaka (W. Malwa). To these Parasara adds Oudh (Ikshvaku), Kullu (Kuluta), Pamirs (Tukhara), Baluchistan (Sibi), Jalandhar-Kangra (Trigarta), North Bihar (Videha), etc.

Its extent of operation is 110 yojanas (880 miles.)

I am omitting the details about the types *Aindra* (produced by excessive rains) and *Varuna* (produced by internal waters) (32, 16—22). The zone of the latter, it may be noted, includes North Bihar (Videha).

Mixed Types

According to the Elder Garga and other authorities, there are mixed types of quakes, and the types have their definite periods of the day and night—*e.g.*, in the fore part of the day or night the Vayavya quakes take place. In the middle of the day or night, the volcanic ones take place ; in the third part the Aindra and in the fourth part, the Varuna. But this theory of time was rejected by Parasara as unsound.

Pre-Historic Earthquakes

According to Hindu scientists, especially Parasara and his school, there had been continuous earthquakes of a terrible type in India when hills arose and disappeared. It is noteworthy that the Puranic (cosmogony) story of mountains flying from one place to the other has been explained by Parasara as a phenomenon of the early earthquakes, fully recognizing that mountains in India rose up due to quake actions.

The subject deserves attention and study at the hands of technical scholars.

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HINDU AND MUSLIM PUBLIC SPIRIT IN BENGAL

By RAMESH CHANDRA BANERJEE

IN view of the Muslim community's demand for a preponderating share in the administration of Bengal, to be fixed by statute, it will not be improper to start an enquiry into the comparative amount of public work done by the two communities; for a community's claim to superior Govermental powers can only be justified by its superiority in the field of public service. In the present paper, I propose to deal with the two most important branches of public work, *viz.*, educational and humanitarian (*e.g.*, Medical relief), and to give an idea of the output of work both by Hindus and Muslims, independently of Government patronage. No kind of purely sectarian work (for example, the educational charities of the late Haji Md. Mohsin for the benefit of Muslims alone) will be dealt with in this connection.

Educational Work

Lest I should err on the side of over-strictness to Muslims or supposed to be guilty of vagueness of statements and guess work, I will not speak here of the Calcutta University, as an institution. At the same time, the fact cannot be overlooked that this big University owes its extraordinary growth and development to Hindu brains, Hindu labour and, to a great extent at least, to Hindu money. Even if I omitted to mention this well-known fact, a comparison between the number of Hindu and Muslim endowments for scholarships, stipends and prizes to be awarded to University students leads to a conclusion which admits of no doubt. There are altogether 266 Hindu endowments at the disposal of the University, some of which are of very substantial value (*e.g.*, Sir Rashbehari Ghose, Sir Taraknath Palit, Maharaja of Khaira, Maharaja of Cossimbazar Trusts amounting to a good many lacs of Rupees).

There are five Muslim endowments, four are of the total value of Rs. 6,000.* Of these three are such that Muslim students have the best chance of securing their advantages while at least 259 Hindu endowments are for the benefit of all University students, irrespective of caste or creed.

Next we come to Colleges and High Schools. The question of high education is of great importance on account of the fact that men who seek Government service of a higher grade are not deemed to have necessary qualifications, unless they have received high education (by which expression I mean both College and High School education). A scrutiny of the official list published in 1913 shows that the number of non-Government (Arts) Colleges in Bengal is 38, of which 3 are apparently founded by Muslims (1 being open to Muslim students only), 6 by Christians (*i.e.*, Missionaries) and the rest, that is, 29 by Hindus. Of these 28 are open to all classes of students. From the same official report it appears that the number of non-Government (aided and unaided) High Schools in Bengal was distributed among Hindus, Muslims and Christians as follows—37 apparently founded by Muslims, 30 by Christians and 1006 by Hindus, if we exclude 1, 6 and 1 High School founded respectively by the Hindu States of Cooch Behar, Tipperah and Sikkim.

	Founded by Hindus.	Founded by Muslims.
Non-Government Colleges	29	3
Non-Government High Schools	1006	37

Though the activities of our Muslim friends look so insignificant their power in the Education Department of the Government of Bengal is by no means negligible. In fact Muslims are the lords of this region. We have read a lot about the work of the Text-Book Committee. This body is domineered over by Muslims to an incredible degree. Beginning from the Personal Assistant to the D. P. I., every Muslim gentleman seems to possess sweeping powers. The T. B. Committee

* One is of the annual value of Rs. 5,000.

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works through various sub-committees and each and every sub-committee must have at least one Muslim, if not more, on it. These Muslim members are the dictators of the sub-committees. If he or they object, no text-book can be approved; and one must not enquire whether these dictators are competent enough to pronounce judgment on books on Science, Mathematics, Hygiene or any other subject; that they are Muslims is sufficient. At their dictation History is going to be re-written. Such is the Muslim-ridden Text-Book Committee which is lording it over the High Schools of Bengal, of which only 37 are founded by Muslims as against 1006 by Hindus.

The pernicious influence of communalism is not restricted to the T. B. Committee alone; it holds full sway in the Inspectorate of the Government as well. In reply to the question of Seth Hanuman Prosad Poddar in the Bengal Council (16th March 1931), the Hon. Khwaja Nazimuddin (Minister of Education) laid a statement on the table in which the following appears :

	Inspector of Schools	Second or Additional Inspector	District Inspector	Sub-Inspector
Hindu	2	3	19	124
Muslim	3	5	9	118

Since then things have much worsened. Apart from minor changes, at least four Divisional Inspectors are Muslims at present. Yet there are other noticeable things in the same statement, *viz.*, there were mentioned twenty-six inspecting officers specially appointed to see that Muslim education flows through the proper Islamic channel. These gentlemen were—Assistant Inspectors of Schools for Muhammadan Education—5; Special Sub-Inspectors of Schools—13; Assistant Sub-Inspectors—2; Inspecting Moulavis—6.

One may be inclined to think that, though the Muslim share in the work of spread of education in the province may be negligible as compared with that of the Hindus, in taking advantage of the facilities offered by the existing educational institutions, the Muslims may not be lagging behind. To satisfy this curiosity, the following figures (taken from Supplement to the Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, published 1932) are given showing the progress of Muslim learners in general as well as professional institutions. Instead of cumbrous numbers, only percentages of Hindu and Muslim students are quoted here.

University Education

	Percentage of Hindus to total pupils.	Percentage of Muslims to total pupils.
Colleges General Arts	83·4	13·7
Colleges Professional Law	72·6	26·1
Medicine	85·8	8·9
Education	50·0	26·6
Engineering	87·9	9·4
Commerce	92·9	2·9
Veterinary	71·6	20·5
Total for Professional Colleges.	78·5	17·9
Total for Colleges	82·1	14·6

School Education

	Percentage of Hindus to total pupils.	Percentage of Muslims to total pupils.
For Boys :		
High stage	79·8	18·3
Middle stage	73·1	25·6
Primary stage	45·5	53.3
For Girls :		
High stage	69·5	1·9
Middle stage	67·1	3·9
Primary stage	42·9	54·9

To the superficial observer the percentage of Hindus in primary schools seems to be lower than that of Muslims. But there is one thing to be remembered in connection with this, *viz.*, that Muktabs are included under what are officially called "Primary Schools." By a careful perusal of the above official report, we find that, for the same year, the number of Muslim pupils attending "Primary Schools" is 929,570 (boys) and 280,903 (girls), or a total of 1,210,473 (more than 12 lacs); while the number of Hindus is 793,622 (boys) and 219,219 (girls), or a total of 1,012,841 (more than 10 lacs). Again, the statement showing the progress of Muktab education shows that altogether 814,087—(580,988+2,468) boys and (23,329+2,07,302) girls (Statement No. 24)—boys and girls (roughly 8 lacs) were pupils of boys' and girls' Muktabs.

It is thus clear that of the 12 lacs of Muslim pupils shown as attending "Primary Schools" as many as 8 lacs were attending

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Muktabs (which are officially called "Muslim Primary Schools"). Muktab education is no doubt some sort of education and is certainly better than no education, but one should not fail to consider whether education imparted under the shadow of communalism in institutions where propaganda of communalism is a main part of the teaching is in any way conducive to real enlightenment of the pupils and whether these boys have a fair chance of holding their own in a fair and unhampered competition with boys receiving education in schools where education, and nothing else, is the object in view. If we deduct 8 lacs from the total of 12 lacs of Muslims, the remaining 4 lacs (pupils in non-Islamic primary schools) offer a poor comparison with 10 lacs of Hindu pupils in general primary schools and the inflated majority percentage of Muslims in primary schools shrinks into less than half the Hindu percentage.

After all, this high percentage in primary education is somewhat misleading. The main report (published in 1932) on Public Instruction, Bengal, (pp. 37-38), says :

> "These percentages (in primary education) do not present a true picture of the advance made in education by the Muslim community, for in the higher stages there was an absolute fall in numbers."

II. Humanitarian (Medical Relief) Work

Now let us see how our Muslim countrymen stand in the sphere of the sacred work of giving relief to sick and suffering humanity. For facts and figures in this connection I will rely on the "Annual Report on the Working of Hospitals and Dispensaries for the Year 1930," published in 1932, which is, by the by, the latest report available, I understand.

I shall leave out the hospitals and dispensaries founded and financed by Government and local bodies. For our purpose, those founded exclusively by private individuals are necessary, as they will indicate more truly each community's spirit of service and the actual output of work in this line. The following brief statement is given of hospitals and dispensaries in Bengal that have been founded expressly by Hindus, Muslims and Christians to commemorate, in most cases, their own or others' names :

Mofussil Hospitals and Dispensaries

	Hindu	Christian	Muslim
Burdwan Division	36	17	2
Presidency ,,	32	10	1
Dacca ,,	41	10	2
Chittagong ,,	12	2	3
Rajshahi ,,	9	5	1
Total	130	44	9
Calcutta	6	8	0
Grand Total	136	52	9

for the whole Bengal

Of the hospitals and dispensaries given here under the head "Christian," only 6, as far as I could gather, are founded by Christian Missions ; the rest are named after Magistrates, Commissioners, Governors and similar eminent Christian gentlemen. Those who know the naturally philanthropic Hindu, will not doubt that in the case of most, if not all, of the charitable institutions, the major portion of the money at least has come from Hindu pockets. Scores of instances may be given but the following, I hope, will suffice :

In Calcutta, Mayo Hospital, Prince of Wales Hospital, Lady Dufferin Hospital, Carmichael Hospital, etc. ; in the Mofussil, Lady Dufferin Hospital (Dacca), Stevenson Moore Dispensary (Bishnupur—24 Parganas), Carmichael Charitable Dispensary (Krishnagore), Balla Earle Charitable Dispensary (Mymensingh), Lady Dufferin Zenana Hospital (Chandpur), Sitabganj Lady Mackenzie Dispensary (Dinajpur), King Edward Memorial Hospital (Midnapur), Lady Curzon Zenana Hospital (Suri), Price Charitable Dispensary (Naogaon), etc. etc.

However, leaving aside these institutions, the fact that there are as many as [illegible] *hospitals and dispensaries expressly founded and financed by Hindus as against only [illegible] by Muslims in the whole of the province* enough to prove which community has rendered greater public service in this respect. There is also a large number of dispensaries which are mentioned as "Private-aided" and which are named after the places where they are located. I have left these too out of consideration here, as well as others that are described as "private-non-aided," no details of which are found in the official report.

But it may be argued that mere superiority in number of dispensaries cannot indicate greater amount of benefit rendered to the

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for one hospital or dispensary with very great capacity may do more work than a number of smaller institutions of the same kind. To meet this argument, I quote below the number of patients served by each of the eight Muslim hospitals and dispensaries throughout the year (figures for one were not obtained):

	Patients treated during 1930.
1. Angerson (Pindira) Haji Osman Guni Charitable Dispensary (Dist. Burdwan)	10974
2. Imambara Hospital & Dispensary. (Dist. Hugly)	10414
3. Russa Prince Golam Muhammad Dispensary	8410
4. Melanda Nayebulla Charitable Dispensary. (Dist. Mymensingh)	14010
5. Patuakhali Begum Hospital and Dispensary.	11528
6. Colonel Hat Md. Hakim Nazir Charitable Dispensary. (Dist. Chittagong)	4838
7. Lady Dufferin Faizunnessa Zenana Hospital, Comilla (Dist. Tipperah)	7621
8. Hatia Char Mir Md. Ali Charitable Dispensary. (Dist. Noakhali).	2900
9. Taherunnessa Bibi Choudhurani Female Dispensary. (Bogra)	(Figures not obtained).
Total	70695

In spite of the usually communal nature of Muslim charity, let us take it for granted that these institutions are open to all.

To match these, I will take only four dispensaries founded by Hindus (in Moslem-majority districts):

	Patients for the same year.
1. Brahmanbaria Jagannath Madan Gopal Charitable Dispensary. (Dist. Tipperah)	27445
2. Jafarganj Sovabazar Raj Charitable dispensary. (Dist. Tipperah)	10385
3. Abutaraf Rajlaksmi Charitable Dispensary. (Dist. Chittagong)	20365
4. Banagram Syam Sunder Charitable Dispensary. (Dist. Mymensingh)	16742
Total	74937

There are still 132 hospitals and dispensaries founded by Hindus in and out of Calcutta to be taken into consideration, including some very big ones; for example:

	Patients treated during the same year.
Surja Kanta Hospital (Mymensingh)	35260
Shambhunath Pandit Hospital (Calcutta)	30566
Syama Charan Eye Hospital (Calcutta Medical College)	28570

We thus arrive at the irresistible conclusion that in this branch of public work, too, the Hindu's contribution is incomparably greater than that of the Muslim.

These are the achievements of the Muslim community of Bengal, whose boast of numerical superiority sounds ludicrous by the side of their poor performance in the sphere of two most important branches of public work. From the community which demands the lion's share in the Governmental powers of the country, we might have expected greater and better work for the good of the country. It is, however, never too late to mend. Instead of expending their energy in manœuvring violent movements against Hindu landowners, and money-lenders and organizing the defence of such Muslims as are accused of crimes against defenceless Hindu women, leaving the relief work in times of famine and flood to be done by the sentimental Hindu for the benefit of the Muslim masses, let Muslim leaders turn their attention to work of real public utility so that all classes of their countrymen, irrespective of their caste and creed, may enjoy the fruits thereof and they themselves may attain a position befitting the majority community of the province.

I cannot conclude this paper before saying a few words more. I have tried to see that whatever figures are given here are correctly put and no statement is made which is not justified by facts. If, in spite of this, errors have crept in, I shall be grateful to those who will point them out. But my conviction is that nothing will be found that will affect the main substance of my contention. I should also like to add that I have purposely left aside certain matters which might have still more strengthened the case for Hindus. I could at least have mentioned the latest instance, within my knowledge, of the over-anxiety of the Hindus for humanitarian work which is fully taken advantage of by Muslims.

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Very recently the cry of "Famine in Jessore" has been raised by Hindu papers and Hindu leaders, and money is being collected by Hindus. In Narail centre, I understand one relief committe has raised Rs. 600 of which Rs. 6 is the contribution by two Muslim gentlemen, while some 90% of the sufferers are Muslim. And Jessore is a district where Muslim domination has been thoroughly established through the agency of the District, Local and Union Boards.

January 21, 1934.

REALISM

By SITA DEVI

IN the city of Calcutta only the fortunate few may have space enough to stretch their limbs at will. Only eye-witnesses would believe the state, the poor people live in, in this second city of the Empire. So it is no use describing it. The middle-classes enjoy many amenities of civilized life, but scarcely any luxury. Still they cling to the city through force of habit and also because the villages have no use for them.

Manoranjan Babu was just such a middle-class person. The family was fairly big, and his salary was not adequate. His widowed mother lived with him and he had his wife and five children. Relatives from his village home, and friends from every quarter of India paid him regular visits throughout the year. So their habitation was nearly always crowded with people.

The house was situated in a lane, a bit off from the main street. It was a two-storied building. Manoranjan Babu occupied the ground floor because his family physician had advised him to do so. His wife's heart was rather weak and she could not go up and down the stairs very often. So they lived on the ground floor, though it was inconvenient in many ways. The upper floor was occupied by an Anglo-Indian family.

Each flat consisted of four rooms, two middle-sized and two rather small. Manoranjan Babu was not modern in his views, but neither was he very orthodox. His daughters went to college—one was in her third year, the other was in her first. Neither had been married as yet. He was frankly for female education, but he had his doubts about free mixing of the sexes. But he was rather non-interfering in his temperament and generally followed the line of least resistance. A few young men used to frequent his home. They were either very distantly related or were friends of his sons. His wife spoke to them. So did his daughters. When the girls were very young, every room was open to everybody, but now that they had grown up, one of the smaller rooms had been converted into a sitting-room. The other rooms had their doors curtained now, to make it clear to outsiders that these rooms were private.

The sitting-room was used as such during the daytime alone. At night the furniture was pushed into a corner and the eldest boy of the house, called Natu, slept there on the floor. If there happened to be any male guest, he also slept there. Of the larger rooms, one was occupied by Manoranjan Babu and his wife, who slept there with the younger children. The other one was the bed-room of the girls.

It was a very hot and sultry day of summer. The whole town seemed to pant with the heat. The fortunate few had electric fans, but the sun too seemed to send out fire instead of air. The less fortunate fanned themselves with palm-leaf fans and rolled on the cold cemented floor in the vain hope of getting a bit cool.

Manoranjan Babu had no electric fans, and to make it worse, the house was crowded with guests. A friend of his, named Rasik, had arrived from the United Provinces, with his wife and daughter. They were on their way home to a Bengal village and were breaking their journey here for a day or two.

A faint breeze had sprung up in the evening. The whole family together with the guests had assembled on the inner verandah, which served them as the dining-room. Sulata, the eldest girl, deserved the credit for this arrangement. She did not like to squat down anywhere and everywhere for her meals, neither did she like the sight of dirty plates and glasses, lying scattered all over the place. So she had taken the initiative in converting the verandah into a dining-room and making her father buy a dining table.

They were having their tea now. Sujata was pouring out the tea, whilst Sulata was serving buttered bread and sweetmeats to the guests. Many sweetmeats were ordered in honour of the guests.

"You cannot have any luxury of the table in Cawnpur," Rasik Babu's wife was saying. "We have nearly lost our Bengali palate and have become U. P. people. But we can stretch our limbs there, I must say that in fairness to that town.

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bungalow is a large one and we don't know how to use so many rooms. The servants have occupied them."

"We are content with this little hole," said Manoranjan Babu. "We have forgotten all our grievances in the joy of getting plenty of fishes to eat. How many days in the month do you get fish there?"

Before Rasik Babu's wife could reply his daughter Aparna put in, "How many days in the month you ask? You should rather say, how many days in the year. Even then we don't know whether we have fish or dried twigs, from the taste of the thing."

Manoranjan Babu looked admiringly at Aparna and said, "But your health has not at all suffered on that account. You can pick up both my daughters, one on each hand, at the same time."

The girls burst into laughter. "We cannot even walk properly, due to want of space," said Sulata. "How do you expect us to be robust and strong? Still Sujata had won prizes in our school sports. I never joined even in that."

"When we go back this time," said Rasik Babu's wife to the two girls, "we shall take you two with us. You shall see how you improve within two months."

"But don't you have epidemics of plague there, every year?" said Sulata's mother rather in alarm.

"That may be, but people live there all the same," said her guest. "We have been living there for ten years and we are not dead yet."

Aparna was not probably liking this topic, so she interrupted with "I cannot call Calcutta any cooler than Cawnpur, I must say. There we seem to dry up with heat and here we are boiled. I think it is worse. Please finish your tea soon, I want to go out somewhere for a breath of fresh air. It is impossible to stay indoors now."

They finished their tea in a hurry. The buttered bread and sweetmeats were scarcely touched. Then the girls went to their rooms to get ready.

Aparna had taken shelter in the girls' room. Her parents moved about from room to room. Rasik Babu had contracted the habit of sleeping outdoor and here too, he slept out on the dining table. His wife could not sleep on account of the heat and tossed about restlessly. For Aparna, too, it was too hot inside the room, but she was obliged to stay in.

Everybody finished dressing soon. They put on their lightest clothing and went out. Only Sujata's mother remained in, as she had to see to the preparation of dinner.

The party walked on for a bit, then they took the tram. After getting down from the tram, they walked again for some time. When they finally returned home, it was already very late.

"What is this?" said Manoranjan Babu's wife in remonstrance. "Do you know the time?"

"Oh, never mind," said her husband. "It is so hot that one cannot come inside before ten o'clock."

"Well, it is nearly ten," said his wife. "You must sit down to dinner at once."

They washed their hands and faces and sat down to eat. The walking had given the whole party an appetite and they did justice to the dinner.

After dinner, as the table was being cleared, Rasik Babu said, "I shall do like last night and sleep out here. I have become such a lover of the outdoor that a roof over my head seems to stifle me."

"But sleeping here is nearly the same as sleeping on the road. This place is totally unprotected. That bit of a wall serves no useful purpose," said his hostess.

Rasik Babu laughed aloud. "But I am neither a beauty nor something made of gold," he said, "so I should not provoke any thief."

So he had his way. The table was wiped clean, and Rasik Babu's bed was spread there. Manoranjan Babu went to sleep with his son. Rasik Babu's wife joined her hostess in her room.

Aparna did not at all like the hot little room in which they had to sleep, but she knew that her protests would be of no avail here. Calcutta people have no use for those upcountry manners and would never allow a girl of her age to sleep out in the open.

The girls spread a bed on the floor, because the bedstead was too small to hold three persons. Sulata felt the heat too much and slept on the cool floor. Sujata was fond of ease and liked her bed soft, so she slept up on the bed.

Aparna did not like a bed, even if it was spread on the floor. "Give me a mat please," she said, "it is too hot for heavy bedding of any sort."

Sulata took away the mattress and sheet and brought out a Japanese mat for Aparna. "What else can I get for you?" she asked.

"Oh, nothing else," said Aparna, "I want plenty of cool air, but you cannot get it for me. If we could have kept the door open, as well as the windows, the room would have been a bit less hot."

Sulata said, "We could have kept that door open, if Natu were not sleeping there in the drawing-room."

"Oh, it does not matter," said Aparna, "what can't be cured, must be endured. But I must keep a glass of water here. It is one of my bad habits. Whenever I wake up at night, I want a drink of cold water. Now don't you get up please. I can get it for myself quite easily."

Aparna got up and went out. After a while she came back with the water, in the biggest metal tumbler of the house, and placed it by her pillow.

It was nearly eleven o'clock. Everybody thought it late enough and made preparations for going to sleep. A few whispers were heard at first and the swishing sound of palm-leaf fans, then all grew quiet.

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A night breeze had sprung up, as is usual in Calcutta, but it did not find free entrance inside the rooms. In this big family only Rasik Babu was enjoying a comfortable and sound sleep. The wind entered the other sleeping rooms in fitful gusts, being impeded by the heavy curtains. It only served to make the heat more unbearable during the intervals.

Aparna dozed fitfully, being disturbed by the heat. Outside the night wind roared, the doors and windows banged and here they all lay sweltering. What a climate to live in ! But the other two girls appeared to be deep in sleep. Aparna had become nearly as wild as her father —she could hardly bear a roof over her head.

Again she dozed off. She heard an indistinct sound as if of a door being opened. It must be the wind, she thought and sank into sleep. The palm-leaf fan fell from her hand on to the floor.

The door between the two rooms opened slowly. Someone was coming into the girls' room from Sulata's mother's room. But the figure was not that of a woman. The room was full of shadows, only a thin streak of light from the street lamp entered through the window and lighted up one corner of the room. The intruder could see by the help of this light that one girl was sleeping on the bed and two others on the floor.

At first he tiptoed to Sujata's bed. The girl was sleeping soundly. He bent down to examine whether the girl was wearing any jewellery or not. There was nothing much, Sujata being a modern miss of seventeen. At this age many young ladies suddenly feel a distaste for the world and its wealth, and dream of taking to an ascetic life. They adopt the plainest of dresses and cast off all ornaments. Sujata was just passing through this phase.

The man moved off to where Aparna was sleeping. She had some gold ornaments on, being the only child of a rich man. She was wearing a costly gold chain and a pair of heavy gold bangles, as well as some 'churi's.'

The man took out a small electric torch and examined the ornaments. They appeared good and easy to obtain. He placed the torch back in his pocket and began trying to remove the bangles very carefully. They fitted very close to the round smooth wrists. The man in his haste pulled a bit hard. This was sufficient to wake up Aparna, as she was but dozing. She pushed away his hand and sat up straight on her mat.

An ordinary Bengali city girl would have fainted at the sight of an intruder in her bedroom at midnight. But Aparna was of a different type. Besides being almost domiciled in the United Provinces, she was accustomed to the sight of thieves and dacoits. As she tried to spring up from the mat, the man clapped his hand on her mouth forcibly to silence her cries.

But Aparna was not to be silenced so easily. She kicked Sujata on the back to waken her up, all the while struggling with the man to make him let go his hold. Sujata woke up and screamed loudly at the sight that met her eyes. The man let Aparna go, and sprang for the door of the next room. Aparna took up the heavy metal tumbler and threw it at the man with all her strength.

Her aim had been good. The man fell down with a loud cry. But the next moment he rose and darted out proving that his injury had not been serious.

The whole family was awake by this time. The two ladies were screaming with all their might, while Manoranjan Babu had rushed into the girls' bedroom to see what had happened. Natu rose and gave chase to the thief.

Rasik Babu too woke up. As he was trying to get down from the table, on which he had been sleeping he saw a strange man, trying to scale the compound wall. He rushed at the man and actually caught hold of him. But the man sprang away and over the wall, leaving a piece of his shirt in Rasik Babu's hand and some blood stains on the wall.

The family on the first floor was also awake. They had turned on all their lights and were enquiring what had happened. The house was searched all over, to find out if any other thief was hiding anywhere. But nobody else was found.

Everyone came back to his or her room after a while. A small pool of blood-tinged water had accumulated on the floor of the girls' bedroom. It was wiped off. Natu objected at first. He wanted to leave everything as it was for the police to see. But the rest of the family did not agree with him. What was the use of making further fuss by calling in the police, when the thief had not been able to take anything ?

"You are a real Amazon, my dear," said Sulata. "The thief will never forget you."

Aparna was still panting in excitement. "I wish I had something better at hand, to make him remember me, by," she said.

"The thief was a dandy too," Sujata said. "Don't you see, he has left behind a sample of his silk shirt ?"

"It is really amazing," said her sister. "I have never known a thief to be dressed in silk before. He must have been in love with Aparna."

"Oh indeed ?" said Aparna, "As you see, I am but an Amazon, not the sort, persons fall love with. If he was in love, it must have been with either of you pretty damsels."

The rest of the night passed off thus. No one slept any more. Everybody wondered how the thief had got in. A door of the bath-room, which led to the lane behind, was found open. But how it had been opened, no one could explain.

In the morning friends and relatives came in. The thief was the only topic of conversation for several days. Then gradually everyone forgot him.

But I hope the reader has not forgotten

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Let us see how and whence such an interesting person appeared.

The reader must go back a fortnight. Chittaranjan Babu, the editor of the magazine *Bullari*, was seated in his office, correcting proofs. His assistant Khagen was busy over a pile of manuscripts, he was dividing them into two piles. Some were marked as accepted and some as rejected. The last named ones formed by far the bigger pile and Khagen was constantly adding to it. A few people were seated here and there, evidently waiting.

One of them came forward after a while and sat down on a stool by Khagen's side. "Have you gone over my manuscript ?" he asked in a whisper.

"Yes," answered Khagen shortly, "I am sorry we cannot accept it."

The man's face nearly turned black in disappointment. "Why do you say that ?" he asked again. "I have written it very carefully. Will you please show it once to the editor ?"

Khagen seemed to lose his temper a bit. "We are here, so that he might not have to look over every blessed manuscript," he said. "But, of course, I have no objection if he is willing to look it over." He drew out an exercise book from amongst the pile, and pushed it towards the anxious author.

But the man had assumed his dejected air again. "Oh well, since you say it won't do," he said, "I don't want to trouble the editor for nothing. But will you please tell me why you reject it ? The plot was a good one and I was very careful about the language and style."

"My dear sir," said Khagen, "people want realism now. They have no use for idealism or imagination, nowadays. Romance is being swept out of Bengali literature now. I don't hold the same view, but we must give the public what it wants."

"But is it so very unreal ?" asked the poor author.

"Well, I must say it is," said the sub-editor. "Take, for instance, the place where your hero Arun has entered the bedroom of the heroine surreptitiously at night. Is not that highly unreal ? Do you know of any Bengali girl who would fall in love with a thief ? She would have shrieked the house-roof down."

"But cannot there be any exception ?" said the author Ramesh. "Every girl may not conform to the general rule."

"Well, that is quite possible," said the overworked Khagen. "There have been cases of human beings possessing four legs. But you can hardly introduce such a person in literature as a hero."

Ramesh got up, with the rejected manuscript in hand. "Well, then good-bye," he said. "I shall try to alter it, as you say." He prepared to walk out. Khagen felt a bit sorry for the poor man.

"Yes, do that and bring it back," he said. "The style and the plot is all right But give them some 'realism' stuff and you can go home with the money."

Ramesh went out. Another young man, who had been sitting at a distance, also came out at the same time. As soon as they had passed the office building, he placed his hand on Ramesh's shoulder and asked, "Why are you so cast down ? These people have to talk like that, you know. They cannot print all the good stuff they get, else they will have to make their paper thrice as big as it is. Don't you listen to them. The public wants realism, he said ? That is stuff and nonsense. I am one of the public, ain't I ? I can tell you I am sick to death of realism. We get too much of it in real life to want it in fiction."

"You are my friend and so you are trying to console me," said Ramesh. "Why should they reject good stuff ? Real good writing is not so plentiful as you seem to think."

But Mahitosh still went on, "I tell you it is all rot. You cannot write stories about real things. There are only three real things in Bengal, *viz.*, malaria, the marriage problem of girls, and clerks with big families. How long can one write about these ? Too many people have already discussed them threadbare. So, of course, we have to draw upon idealism now."

"I don't write for fame and recreation," said poor Ramesh, "else I would not mind my stories being rejected. But I am a poor clerk, with four real children and a salary of sixty rupees only. If they had accepted the story and given me the fifteen rupees for it, I could have paid the milkman's bill."

"Who bothers about such things ?" said Mahitosh. "But alter it and see what they say."

Ramesh did not answer at once, but walked on slowly. As he came close to his house, he said, "But what is the use of my altering it ? What is realism to me may not be real enough for the editors. Our experience of real life is hopelessly limited. Just as you say, there are only three real things in our life, *viz.*, malaria, the problem of a daughter's marriage and too many children in a poor home. Thanks to the Holywood films, we get some real good plots, but the editors turn them down as too Western. You might try your best to disguise the American beauty in an indigenous *saree*, but they always find her out."

Mahitosh came up to Ramesh's door, but did not enter. Instead, he walked on slowly towards his own house. He really wanted a cup of tea, but did not want to embarrass poor Ramesh by suggesting it. The poor devil may not be in a position to afford it. Ramesh and Mahitosh had been class-mates in their youth and had still kept up that friendship. Ramesh had married very early in life, with the result that he was

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sinking lower and lower into the mire of poverty. But Mahitosh had fortunately remained a bachelor and could enjoy life to some extent. It was true, his life was rather empty and meaningless, still it was free from struggle and strife.

By the evening he had nearly forgotten Ramesh, but the poor wretch turned up just then for a trifling loan of two rupees. As it was the end of the month, Mahitosh could not oblige him. He felt very bad about it. He must really try to extricate the poor beggar from his hopeless position, he must indeed.

* * * *

It was two days after the theft in Manoranjan Babu's house. Ramesh was walking in the lane with his youngest daughter in his arms. His wife was busy in the kitchen. Mahitosh came slowly and sat down on the narrow strip of verandah in front of Ramesh's house.

"Why have you put sticking plaster on your head?' asked Ramesh anxiously. "How did you get hurt?"

Mahitosh smiled rather drily. "In search of realism," he said. "But I must admit that the sub-editor was right and you were wrong. You must alter your story."

Ramesh stared at him agape. "Don't look like a drunk fish," said Mahitosh irritably. "Tell your missus to get me a cup of tea."

Ramesh came and sat down by him and asked in a frightened whisper, "Did you really go to steal?"

Mahitosh lost his temper and got up. "Why should I go to steal?" he asked. "But I did trespass, I must admit. Khagen was right. Bengali girls don't fall in love with midnight intruders."

Ramesh was a nervous person. "But don't walk about in this guise," he said. "You might get caught."

"You are mad," said his friend. "Who will suspect me, a gentleman? I am quite safe."

DHRUVA

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

Of old King Uttanpada had two queens:
Suruchi, the favoured, and Suniti, the neglected.
One son was born to each: Uttama to Suruchi,
And Dhruva called Suniti mother.

It chanced one day as Uttama sat
On his father's knee while Suruchi, well pleased,
Smiled at husband and child, Dhruva,
The five-year old son of Suniti, came in
And wanted to sit by his brother's side.
The King, his father, spake no loving word,
His little brother smiled no welcome;
Only the favourite Queen knit her brows
And said in accents of scorn, 'Doubtless
'Thou art the King's son, but not born
'Of my womb, and here there is no place for thee.'

Stricken to his child-heart Dhruva sought
His mother and sobbed out his grief
On her sympathetic breast. She sorrowed
With him and soothed him. 'My child,'
She said, 'sorrow is thy portion and mine.
'Call on Him, call on Hari who healeth all
'And helpeth all. So shalt thou find peace.'

In the hushed midnight the child Dhruva
Slipped out of the palace and entered the forest.
No fear he knew and no beast hurt him.
He knew no prayer, he knew no lore,
His dumb young soul went out in quest of the Lord.

For six moons he held silent communion
With the spirit of the Lord, and the days
And nights passed as if they had not been.
Then the Lord appeared before Dhruva
And loosed his tongue and Dhruva prayed.

'Thine is the victory,' said the Lord;
'Thou hast won. Go and rule on earth.
'When thy race on earth is run
'Thou wilt live in heaven as a moveless star.'

Home went Dhruva and eager hands
Held him in tearful welcome; he grew
Wise and strong, and he ruled after his father.
From the earth he passed to the heavens
Where he still shines as the lodestar
Which bears his name. Dhruva is Truth
Immutable, Dhruva is the fixed pole-star
Round which spin the stars and the suns.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

A Poem by Tagore

In *Visva-Bharati News* appears the following poem by Rabindranath Tagore :

She left me her flower of smile
taking my fruit of pain.
She clapped her hands and said,
She had won.

The noon had eyes like the mad,
red thirst raged in the sky.
I opened the basket and found
the flower dead.

—

Hindu Religion in Java

Dr. Ramesh Chandra Mazumdar writes a paper on the above subject in *Prabuddha Bharata*. We quote the following extracts from it :

It is a matter of common knowledge that Indians established colonies in the Far East—Annam, Cambodia, Siam, Malay Peninsula and Malay Archipelago—as early as the beginning of the Christian era. The acquisition of material wealth and power must no doubt have served as a great impetus to this spirit of colonization, but, in its ultimate effect, the Indian colonies proved to be more and more a cultural and civilizing factor than a mere ruthless exploitation of the less fortunate races of mankind. The Malayo-Polynesian or Austronesian races of the Far East possessed a very primitive kind of civilization, but the Indians succeeded in infusing into them a higher and more spiritual view of life through religion, art and literature. The cultural conquest of the Far East by India is a subject of absorbing interest whose importance we are now realizing only gradually. While the "historians of India have paid great attention to the events in the world outside that have affected India, comparatively little notice has been taken of the manner in which India has influenced the outside world."

Of all the Indian colonies in the Far East the small island of Java furnishes the most striking evidence of a complete cultural conquest by India. As in India, religion formed the foundation of this Indo-Javanese culture. A study of Indian religions in Java is therefore a necessary preliminary to the proper understanding of that culture. This study may be divided into the three following heads : (*i*) The Brahmanical religion in Java. (*ii*) The Buddhist religion in Java. (*iii*) The different religious sects in Java.

The Widow-remarriage in Bengal

In Jimutabahana's *Dayabhaga*, we have mention of the prevalence of the widow remarriages in Bengal. Mr. Jatindra Mohan Datta writes in *India and The World* :

It is a speciality of Bengal that while the rest of Hindu India follows the treatise *Mitakshara*, Bengal follows Jimutabahana's *Dayabhaga* in matters of succession, inheritance and joint-family law. There are disputes amongst the learned and scholars as to the exact date of Jimutabahana ; but the generally accepted opinion is that he was the Chief Justice of the last independent Hindu King of Bengal (C. 1050 A.D.)

In the tenth chapter of the *Dayabhaga* while discussing the rights of an adopted son he says :

"Let each receive the wealth of him from whose seed he was sprung ; and let not the other take it, who sprung from the seed of another person. Accordingly Narada says, 'If two sons, begotten by two fathers, contend for the wealth of the woman, let each of them take that which was his father's property ; and not the other.' "

"The wealth appertaining to the woman, which was given to her by the respective fathers, let the son of each father severally take ; and not the other. It would be needless to enlarge."

From the above provisions of law, it would appear that not only were childless or virgin widows remarried, but widows with children were also generally remarried. Hence the necessity for provision for distribution of wealth amongst the children by two different husbands.

That such widows' sons living in the second husband's family were not looked down upon by society, we have ample reasons to suppose.

—

Conversion and Reconversion to Hinduism During the Muslim Rule

Prof. Sri Ram Sarma writes in *The Calcutta Review* :

It used to be the common belief even among students of history that Hindus never admitted people belonging to other religions to their fold. But a more careful study of our sources has now changed that view and it is no longer fashionable to think of Hinduism as a religion wherein only those had a place who were born into it. Most of the evidence from the Hindu period in this connection has been brought together by Prof.

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D. R. Bhandarkar in his article on *Foreign Elements in Hindu Population.*

But it is still commonly held that Hindu admissions of non-Hindus stopped with the advent of Muslims in this country. The following pages make an attempt at investigating this problem from the pages of Muslim chronicles intent more upon recording the victories of their co-religionists than the conversions of non-Hindus to the Hindu fold. They were not at all interested in this question and when we get some light shed upon this aspect of affairs it is but accidental. Another thing must be remembered in this connection. Under Islamic law the conversion of Muslims to other faiths was a capital crime. One can, therefore, very well appreciate the courage and the fate of those Hindus who may have any intention of converting Muslims to their own faith. Even the reconversion of converted Hindus from Islam was a crime, and thus if we do not find any great movement for the conversion or reconversion of non-Hindus to the Hindu fold we should not be very much surprised. We should hold these artificial barriers created by Muslim law responsible for this state of things rather than hold Hinduism responsible for its being forced to shut its doors to non-Hindus.

But the surprising thing is that even under these adverse conditions we do find recorded examples of conversions of non-Hindus to the Hindu fold, and the reconversion of the Hindus to their old religion after they had once accepted Islam. The cases recorded by Muslim chroniclers are no doubt few and far between but they make for the belief that a larger number of cases might have occurred which these annalists did not try to record. Any way it is no longer possible to believe in the face of the instances quoted below that Hinduism had exhausted its proselytizing energy before the advent of the Muslim in India.

After quoting specific instances of conversion and reconversion to Hinduism Prof. Sarma concludes:

Thus from Sindh to Madura, from Gujerat to Kashmir, from Benares to Thatta, everywhere an almost continuous stream of conversions and reconversions seems to have been running all through the first ten centuries of Muslim rule in India. Hindus not only welcomed their brethren back to their fold from Islam but were prepared to admit Muslims into their faith and did admit them as a matter of fact. Thus another element was added to the make-up of the present Hindu population.

—

Aspects of Modernism

In a thoughtful paper in *The Aryan Path* Mr. Nolini Kanta Gupta says:

We spoke of the extreme atomism of modern science that has thrown into the background the solid unity of creation and is laying emphasis for the moment more upon the division and scattering of forces than upon the cohesiveness and identity of the substratum; still that unity has not been abrogated but has been maintained on the whole, even if as an underlying note. Not only so, the reign of multiplicity, by a curious detour, is working towards a discovery of enhanced unity. The plurality of the modern consciousness is moving towards a richer and intenser unity; it is not a static, but a dynamic unity—a unity that does not suppress or merely transcend the diversity and disparity of its components but holds them together as an immanent force, and brings forth out of each its fulness of individuality. In the same way the present day movement towards internationalism or supra-nationalism has produced a rebound towards regionalism or infra-nationalism. And the voice of anarchism tends to be as insistent as that of collectivism.

The consciousness of yesterday was a unilateral movement. It rose up high and descended deep into the truth of things, but mostly along a single line. In the horizontal direction also, when it travelled, it effected a linear movement. The consciousness of today is complex and composite; it has lost much of the vertical movement; it does not very easily soar or dive, precisely because it has spread itself out in a multitude of horizontal movements. Our modern consciousness is outward-gazing and extensive; it has not the in-gathering and intensive character of the old-world consciousness; but what it has lost in depth and height, it has sought to make up in width.

Simplicity and intensity, sublimity and profundity were the most predominant qualities of man's achievement in the past; what characterises human endeavour in the present is its wideness, richness, complexity.

—

The Sugar Industry

The following appears in *The Mysore Economic Journal*:

The Indian sugar companies have so far suffered from the absence of big-sized fields growing sugarcane in the immediate vicinity of the factories which implies a great wastage as the fields lie scattered over the surrounding tracts. There is great delay between the cutting of the sugarcane and its reaching the factory. In this respect, sugar concerns of Java and Cuba are at a great advantage. Attempts have not been made to combine growing of sugarcane with the manufacture of sugar. Such enterprises are quite possible in Mysore and Western United Provinces where the soil and climate are most suited for sugarcane. In Mysore the size of crop per acre and the sugar content in cane are the highest

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but so far no attempt has been made to take advantage of these conditions.

In this connection attempts should be made to investigate the possibilities of manufacturing Khandsari sugar by the single pan method especially in Eastern U. P. and Bihar and Orissa. The Coimbatore Imperial Sugarcane Breeding Station should prove useful in improving the yield of sugarcane. The existing Butler Institute at Cawnpore should be taken over by the Imperial Research Council for starting an Imperial Sugar Industry Research Institution or an independent one should be started. An agricultural section should be added to the institute for training students in the sugar industry.

It is also very necessary to safe-guard the position of the cultivators by fixing minimum spot prices for sugarcane. This task should be done by the Government in the absence of any association or chamber of cultivators. Being unorganized, sugarcane cultivators are left at the mercy of the factory owners and the Government should do something to safe-guard their interests. Steps should also be taken to see that prices of cane are paid promptly to the cultivators and the latter should be able to find out the accuracy of weighing machines and the cane should be weighed without delay.

At the conference of the Ministers held at Simla a few months back, a resolution was moved by the Hon'ble Mr. J. P. Srivastava, Minister of Industries to the U. P. Government, to the effect that the number of sugar factories in India should be limited. This restriction on the number of sugar factories is undesirable. It can, of course, secure fat profits during the protectionist period, but such a step would be against the interests of consumers and the industry. Competition is desirable to serve as an incentive to introduce economies in production, but to shut out foreign and internal competition would achieve nothing. Fair field should, therefore, be left for Indian capital and enterprise.

—

The Folk High School in Denmark

Mrs. Kiron Bose toured many countries in Europe and got first-hand knowledge of the educational institutions over there. Of the Folk High School in Denmark she writes in *India and the World*:

This school was established for the peasantry of Denmark. The War of 1807-14 had left Denmark on the verge of bankruptcy, which made the people very poor and miserable. Grundtvig, pastor, poet and a great educational reformer, wanted to awaken the young by means of a school, where personal touch would help to develop spiritual and national character. The superior ideal in the school and was in constant touch with his pupils. The founder of the school insisted on the children knowing more of life than of death. The life in the school was home-like. Boys and girls attended the school at the age of 18 and upward. The school opens for 5 months in the winter for boys and 4 months in summer for girls. They are taught handicraft and given general historical education to be in touch with the world's affairs and to get a better understanding of life. There are a number of schools established on the same model all over Denmark.

These schools have by and by developed qualities among farmers which have won the admiration of the whole world. In the early years, the Danish peasant was still unprogressive, sullen and suspicious, incapable of associated enterprise. But today he is forward looking, cheerful, scientific minded, resourceful and co-operative. The Folk High School inspires their pupils with energy and idealizes labour, and awakens in them a desire for knowledge and a desire to work.

We saw the display of a big bonfire in the school-grounds. In Denmark the midsummer night is commemorated by bonfires all over the country. They are meant as thanksgiving offering to the sun for its light and warmth, for flowers, crops and vegetation, and as a flaming good-bye to the long and golden nights which from that day become shorter, reminding people of the advent of winter with its bleak cold days and its darkness.

—

The Reforms in Ceylon

The following appears in *Young Ceylon* editorially:

Why the traducers of this country both here and abroad persist in drawing a communal herring along the trial of reforms is understandable. The progress in constitutional development in this country has come to that stage when a beginning must be made in the transfer of power and authority. Political responsibility of the State Council is a mockery for the Council is without control of 80 per cent of the revenue. Without the right to control the revenue and the expenditure a State Council cannot safe-guard the wealth and resources of the country. Without such safe-guard political power is a hollow mockery. Hence the people insist on the removal of the Officers of State which is the triumvirate which disburses our resources without question and the strengthening of the powers of the Ministers to initiate financial matters and to control the Public Service. These demands constitute the fundamentals of self-government. All this time we have had the trappings of it. Hence the alien interests have assembled their forces and their auxiliaries. The demand for reform is thus not a scramble for seats notwithstanding the antics of the communalists. The demand cannot be talked off either by alien interests or self-seeking communalists. There can be no popular government in Ceylon with the Ministers providing the money and the

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Secretary of State controlling the Public Service and over 80 per cent of the revenue. Thus the cry for reform is on very stable grounds. The recrudescence of communalism, if communalism it is, does not remove the need for reforms or minimize the cogency of the reasons adduced. Hence the compaign must be pursued despite every obstacle for the problem must be settled and settled soon.

—

Modern Bengali Painting

In an important paper in the *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* Mr. Kedarnath Chatterji traces the history of the growth and development of modern Bengali painting as follows :

Only a matter of some forty years ago pictorial art of quality produced in India was practically unknown.

However, the tide has turned and Indian art is on the way to recognition. It is perhaps not yet time to deal fully with the causes leading to this new orientation since we are as yet in the transition stage, but some of the contributory causes may be discussed.

A principal factor in this transformation was the renaissance movement in Indian art led by Abanindranath and Gaganendranath Tagore.

Somewhere about the end of the last century a young Bengali artist decided to step out of the broad pavement of Western influence and to rediscover the hidden and almost obliterated track that his forefathers had trod. He came of a family that has given to Bengal merchant princes, great landowners, musicians, sages, philosophers, authors and a poet whose fame has spread to the four corners of the earth. In the beginning he had received training in his chosen career along the most approved foreign lines, and had shown considerable talent even in that. But he veered off from the beaten track and ventured into the regions which were till then *terra incognita*. The result of this venture was disturbing—to say the least—in the beginning, and even now it can hardly be said that all controversy has died down regarding the results.

Very soon it had become apparent to Abanindranath Tagore, that the form of art he was pursuing was neither inspiring nor was it capable of providing him with a satisfactory venue for the exercise of his gifts. The visions that rose before his inner eye were impossible of expression in the terms of Western technique. Further the demands of Western art in the matter of realism and exactitude of form and proportion imposed limitations on his brush that were crippling in their effect so far as his imagination was concerned. Therefore, after much thought and deliberation, he decided to forsake modern methods and adopt and further develop the craft of the ancient and mediaeval Indian masters as being likely to be more satisfactory from his point of view. He was encouraged in his venture by E. B. Havell, then Principal of the Government School of Art in Calcutta, who after his transfer from the Madras Government School of Art where he had already started his activities towards the reformation of Indian art schools on a genuinely Indian basis, became an enthusiastic collaborator.

The path of the pioneer was thorny. Every effort of his and of his disciples met with howls of derision from his countrymen who considered any deviation from the Western standards of perfection "degenerate" or "crude." Even today the position is but slightly altered in this country the only change being that most of those who were loud in their condemnation thirty years ago have been now puzzled into silence due to favourable opinions of Western critics.

The name of E. B. Havell will be remembered long as one of the foremost of that group of art connoisseurs who rehabilitated Indian art. It is true that Tagore had already started painting along "Mughal" lines, without any aid or suggestion from Mr. Havell. But when the storm broke, it was the pen and the personality of Mr. Havell that gave shelter and solace to master and pupils. Furthermore Tagore's school was afforded recognition through his being appointed Vice-Principal of the Government School of Art, Calcutta, at the instance of Mr. Havell who was then the head of that institution. This came the turning-point, inasmuch as the new methods and the new adaptation of the ancient craft received a fresh impetus through diffusion into ardent young minds.

Abroad the writings of Havell, Okakura, Sister Nivedita and others had already drawn attention to the art of ancient India. Now the new adventure started drawing the attention of foreign connoisseurs such as Sir John Woodroffe, Lord Kitchener and others.

At home Tagore's friends, including some of his relatives and Ramananda Chatterjee, editor-proprietor of the two foremost monthly journals of India, boldly espoused his cause. These friends, specially those who tried to give publicity to the new school, had to face severe criticism and ridicule—even abuse—at every step. Indeed in the beginning it was plain that public reaction was not at all favourable. Lampoonists and humorous writers joined in the witticisms, illustrated with cartoons, appeared in the pages of all periodicals interested in the movement, the sole exception being the journal of the editor above-mentioned.

But in time the very violence of this reaction had a favourable effect. First of all it roused an interest amongst that section of the intelligentsia which was interested in Indian art. Paintings by the various schools of the mediaeval and late Mughal period, frescos of Ajanta, sculptural decorations of the ancient temples were all studied with a new insight

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resulting in a national art-consciousness, which was totally absent before.

It would be wrong, however, to presume that this art-consciousness had in any way smoothed the path of the new school so far as public appreciation of their art was concerned. But imperceptibly the tide had turned. Amongst those who had delved deep in the hoards of ancient treasure there were some who received ample reward for their labours.

To tell the truth, a large section of these supporters of the Tagore school was composed of foreign aesthetes—European and Japanese—and it was mainly due to their support that this new school was able to establish itself on a fairly secure foundation.

Meanwhile his brother, Gaganendranath Tagore had begun experimenting with the latest developments in Western art, and was soon able to fully absorb their spirit and, combining that with Eastern ideals, to produce a new technique entirely his own.

Fresh fields of thought and theme were explored, and the work of younger artists such as Surendranath Ganguly, Nandalal Bose, Kshitindranath Mazumdar, Sailendranath De, Asit Kumar Haldar, Sami-uz-Zaman, Hakim Muhammad and many other Hindu and Muslim students soon proved that the school was not the sterile product of one personality but was capable of producing new developments both in thought and style.

As for the measure of achievements of Abanindranath Tagore, was it not ample to have made a whole nation art-conscious, by restoring their faith in the culture of their forefathers? Was it not achievement to prove that there was a living stream of art-culture flowing in the land of his fathers and further to open the eyes of the understanding to the arts and crafts of ancient and mediæval India? And lastly what more success could there be for an artist than to see the path which he opened followed by a thousand artists and craftsmen, as the direct and indirect result of the labours of the school, founded, inspired and nourished by his art? As for the ideals he preached and practised, this is not the place to give an adequate survey, of the manner in which they were realized in his paintings.

Lean years have descended upon the world, and art and the artist are now faced with trials perhaps so severe as to jeopardize their very existence. In such times it is easy for the public to forget the debt of gratitude it owes to those that have worked for the liberation of art in India. Nevertheless the renaissance of Indian art is in progress, and if it can weather the storm and pass into more placid waters it will be then that it shall be realized what phase it was that Indian art entered on, with Abanindranath Tagore as the pathfinder.

—

Abolish Capital Punishment

Mrs. Margaret E. Cousins suffered imprisonment in the last Civil Disobedience campaign in Madras. In jail she had the opportunity of coming in contact with women condemned to various terms of imprisonment—and also to death. There is something beautiful and good even in those who are condemned to death. And they should be saved by abolishing capital punishment. She writes in *The Young Builder*:

My recent experience of the system of legalized murder has branded the horror, the shame, the uselessness of it into my soul, and the risk of mistake in it. The group of Civil Disobedience prisoners in the women's jail in Vellore lived in cells in the same line as the small block called "the condemned cells." For almost three months one young woman about twenty-two years old was in one of those cells under sentence of hanging while she awaited results of Appeals she made to three high authorities for the commutation of her sentence. She made a favourable impression on all who saw her or talked to her. She denied her guilt. But her Appeals were not granted. We know the night before that she was to be choked out of existence the next morning in the presence of the staff. There is a telepathy in jail, as in all parts of India, despite all precautions of administrative secrecy. We knew that she was perfectly calm and brave as she walked to the gallows and that her last words were her affirmation of her innocence and her belief that God would punish the guilty person. The existence of a system of punishment which allows no chance of life to such a person is self-condemned. All that day, and for days afterwards, I went about in shame. I felt that our social system had degraded everyone of us in being a party to such a brutal, disgusting murder in cold blood, and with official ceremonial.

It was with deep happiness that I saw in the newspapers some weeks later that Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh had introduced a Bill in the Assembly to abolish capital punishment, now awaiting ballot opportunity for discussion. Belgium, Denmark, Holland, Italy, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, and some of the States in America have abolished the death penalty. They have found no increase in crime as a result.

Last year the Maharaja of Nepal announced by Proclamation that capital punishment would not be inflicted for an experimental period of five years as it was entirely repugnant to Indian ideals. Thus one Indian State has already set a precedent for the country. Lord Buckmaster, Ex-Lord Chancellor of England is one of those who have rooted opposition to capital punishment. He is not satisfied as to its being a deterrent. The opinion of a man of such experience should weigh for much.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Quo Vadis, Europa ?

The Living Age anticipates a Far Eastern Symposium in four leading articles on Asia under the general caption "Asia Awakes," which focus our attention on what is certain to become the centre of world attention :

In the first, under the above title, Prince Karl Anton Rohan, editor of a Berlin National-Socialist monthly, discusses the fear of many Europeans that the centre of gravity of world politics has been shifted from the West to the coast of the Pacific by the very recent union of Communism and Capitalism :

In Constantinople a German electric-light bulb costs 1·80 rentenmarks, a Russian, 0·35, and a Japanese, 0·60. This means that the Russians and the Japanese have succeeded in taking over our economic and productive methods and, by maintaining or introducing slave labour, have gained an important advantage over us. The present struggle for the division of world power takes the form of a struggle for world markets, and many Europeans are convinced that if the Orient achieves its purpose of economic and, therefore, military armament, its ruling classes, which are today demanding heroism and slavish sacrifices from the masses, must grant more liberal institutions and raise the popular standard of living. But in the face of this conviction the fact remains that those countries with the lowest, most slavish standard of living have attained the highest production and that they are being guided by statesmen whose historic perspective reaches beyond the immediate struggle for power. These men take long-range views and act in such a way that they become a serious danger to the economic hegemony of the white race.

It needs little imagination to conceive of how the world would look if not we but the Russians and the Japanese were to sell machine-guns—the modern equivalent of glass beads—to savages.

—

Land Problem in Japan

The second depicts the views expressed by two Communists on the increasing tension between the poor tenants and the Imperialist landowners, said to be Fascists at hearts :

In the last few years the debts of the peasants have increased enormously and in 1932 amounted to between seven and eight milli yen. The *Transpacific*, a paper published Tokyo, wrote in its issue of August 17, 'T peasants are tilling the soil to pay their debts they work and live to pay off debts.'

In such a situation the tenants and sha croppers are, of course, unable to pay the re to the landowners. The class struggle betwe the tenants and landowners has assumed fierce character. According to figures publish in the Japanese press, in the first half of 19 there were 2,200 conflicts, which means that th number had doubled compared with the previo year. The lower strata of the village populati before all the poor tenants, have organized them selves in semi-legal associations. The poor a middle peasants are organizing self-defe groups for the fight against the landowners, pol and gendarmerie, and in order to repel t Fascist bands. There are at present in Jap 4,208 tenants' associations with a total membe ship of 302,000.

The landowners and *kulaks* on their part a combining in associations for the fight agai the tenants ; they are organizing Fascist uni such as *Airod Tzjuku* (School of Patriots), wh took part in the attempted insurrection on M 15, 1932. In all, there are 640 landowne organizations with 53,000 members. In additi there exist 1,980 mixed associations, in wh landowners and *kulaks* are organized, with a t membership of 308,000. The big Japanese Fasc organization, *Dainichon Sai San-to*, is actually federation of 30 Fascist organizations and known by its active participation in the f against the tenants, the murdering of t leaders, and so forth.

Along with the intensification of the cl struggle in the village there is an increase in t struggle of the urban proletariat. According official, but incomplete, government returns, the first half of 1932 there were 843 stri participated in by 53,247 workers, compared w 944 strikes participated in by 48,366 workers i the previous year. The number of strikes in co nection with wage demands has increased.

The Communist Party of Japan, under exce ingly hard conditions of terror and espionag is carrying on a persistent struggle in order t rally the masses together, is openly combatin the ruling classes and the Fascist groups, a posing the imperialist nature of the latter, a revealing the true character of the war in Chi In spite of wholesale arrests (in the year 1932 there were 7,000 people in prison accused

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'Communist activity') the Communist Party is increasing its efforts to win the masses of the toilers.

There are special Fascist organizations in the mines which agitate among the factory workers. There are over 100 Fascist and semi-Fascist organizations in Japan, which together number millions of members.

—

Asia for the Asiatics

In the third article Dr. Hurwicz fears that though a pan-Asiatic movement may not find immediate fruition by the establishment of a League of Nations of the Asiatics, yet he cherishes the view that the slogan 'Asia for the Asiatics' may unite the Orient against the Occident under the leadership of the Land of the Rising Sun:

To gain a real understanding of the pan-Asiatic idea, one must always keep the following three points in mind. In the first place, it would be absurd to deny that the awakening of the Asiatic peoples is the greatest event since the War, but we must not confuse this awakening with the unification of the Asiatic peoples, for, in the second place, the inner conflicts between these people will remain impossible to solve. One thinks in this connection not only of Sino-Japanese rivalry but of the equally important hostility between Mohammedans and Hindus. In the third place, the pan-Asiatic movement, which is now so active and anti-European in Japan, the strongest Asiatic power, is itself torn with contradictions and cannot become a leading creative force. Many of the more critical Japanese recognize this themselves. Dr. Hitoshi Ashida, a member of the Japanese parliament, has said, 'The problem of an Asiatic League of Nations that is now so popular may unify the nations of Asia in their mistrust of Europe and America, but the decisive question for us is co-operation with China, without which such a league would be nothing but a name.'

—

Soviet and the League

Many far-reaching effects are anticipated by the Soviet Unions' project to join the League at Geneva, which, according to an observation in the *People's Tribune* will, to a great extent, lessen the aggravated political atmosphere in the Far Eastern horizon. The editor comments:

When Soviet Russia, at last, showed its determination to resist Japanese aggression, the Roosevelt regime showed its sympathy by a rapprochement here also. Just what passed between Roosevelt and Litvinov on the subject of the League we do not know, but there is no reason to doubt that the Russo-American rapprochement was an important factor making for the new Russian attitude towards the League.

According to a *Transocean* report from Moscow January 4, after the speeches by Molotov and Litvinov, referred to above, were made, "the possibility of the Soviet Union's joining the League of Nations forms one of the main topics of discussion in political and diplomatic circles" in the Soviet capital, where it is held that "what Russians like to term 'Japan's moral isolation' is mainly due to the League of Nations, which has revealed itself as a serious obstacle to Japan's imperialistic expansion, and therefore is an important factor for maintaining peace in the Far East." Trying to forecast the future, *Transocean* suggests that the Soviet "is greatly interested in a closer co-operation with Geneva, and it is assumed that in the natural course of events Moscow will send a permanent observer to the League capital, and after a certain transition period will apply for membership in the League of Nations."

There is no real reason to doubt the *Daily Herald* report of January 8, to the effect that "France is now engaging in secret conversations with Russia with the object of bringing the Soviet Union into the League of Nations," but "inasmuch as the Soviet Union desires certain reforms in the League prior to joining, the present conversations between the Quai d'Orsay and the Kremlin are of the nature of a preliminary examination of Russian suggestions for reform." If the latter is true, it is quite understandable. In view of certain events of fairly recent history, the Soviet is not unnaturally supicious of being made a scapegoat by some one of the dominant League Powers, and is quite as cautious as the United States has been. If, however, the Soviet authorities decide that League membership is desirable, there will be no recalcitrant Congress to obstruct them: the Government will act, and the Soviet Congress will in course of time approve.

As a result, a new League can be envisaged, with its "Super-Council" of France, Britain, and Italy reinforced by the co-operation of America (as at present) and the Soviet, whether or not the latter actually joins the League.

—

Pan-American Prelude

In the *New Republic*, Mr. Jonathan Mitchell gives a graphic description of the political situation of the Latin American Republics on the eve of the seventh session of the Pan-American Conference:

Uruguay is living under a barbed-wire dictatorship. The day the American delegation arrived all Uruguayan leaders known to be hostile to President Terra were rounded up and imprisoned.

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Nevertheless, at the same moment Secretary Hull was being ceremoniously greeted at the quay, the Montevideo police were busy removing red flags and a placard, "Abajo de Hull" fastened to a high, near-by chimney. The chiefs of the opposition to President Terra are the Battle brothers, members of Uruguay's best known family. They have been in exile in Rio de Janeiro for about a year, but last night one of them turned up in the suburbs of Montevideo, conferred with friends and slipped away in the darkness, presumably for Buenos Aires. The result of all this is that the Uruguayan government is finding great difficulty in keeping its collective mind on the pan-American Conference.

A League of Nations commission of investigation is now in Paraguay, and any action by the Conference would, consequently, be a blow at the authority and prestige of the League.

The Roosevelt administration is throwing away a great opportunity here at Montevideo. Never before has Latin America felt so kindly towards us as it does today.

But it was a major mistake to send Mr. Hull as head of the American delegation. Granting that all discussion of tariffs and debts will have to be reserved for some future occasion, a great deal of useful exploratory work could have been done here by a delegation which was representative of the New Deal and which possessed the confidence of Mr. Roosevelt. Mr. Hull, with all his magnificent sincerity and high-mindedness, is not such a person. He has little sympathy with the New Deal and almost no influence in the administration.

Already this situation has led to one disaster. On board the "American Legion," the ship on which Mr. Hull came to Montevideo, was the Haitian delegation, of which M. Justin Barrau, Haitian Minister of Justice, is chief, and among the members of which is M. Antoine Pierre-Paul, one of the most interesting men at the Conference here. The first day at sea, the Haitians waited upon Mr. Hull in his cabin, and petitioned for the ending of the American fiscal control of their country. According to an executive agreement now in force, American control of Haitian governmental finances is to continue during the life of a $23 million loan floated through the National City Bank, or until 1952. Previously Mr. Hull had had only casual knowledge of the United States occupation of Haiti, and as he learned of its sordid and cruel details, he became strongly indignant.

The United States is now, morally at least, on the defensive in regard to Cuba. Mr. Roosevelt has implicitly admitted that we were responsible in part for the Machado regime, and that we owe it to Cuba to make amends. The Cubans ought to seize this chance to obtain a clear, definite understanding with the United States. They ought to ask for a guaranteed sugar quota; most authorities on Cuba believe it should have a quota of 2 million tons a year. There should also be a thorough understanding about the various Machado loans. It should be informally agreed that if the National City and Chase National banks are willing to make a generous settlement with the Cuban government, Cuba will have the right without fault-finding by our State Department to resort to partial default.

If there is ever to be a permanent settlement of the Cuban problem, Cuba must find some way to prevent the greater part of its national income from leaving the island each year. Probably this means, in addition to a reduction of its external loans, some sort of tax on the American-owned sugar centrales. It might also mean the setting up of minimum-wage and maximum-hour laws for workers on the centrales. Such things ought to be talked out and understood both in the United States and Cuba before any sort of definite agreement between the two governments is arrived at. Otherwise, there is the danger that, the moment Cuba tries to set its economic house in order, trouble will start up again at once.

—

Race Conflicts

Dr. Hans Kohn in a Radio Address under the auspices of the National Student Federation of America, rouses the attention of the enlightened onlookers to the alarming effect of race-consciousness, which has prejudiced many. It is also very keenly felt in this ancient land of the Hindus and is one of the root causes of the present political upheaval in this country. The following extracts from the *World Unity* may, therefore, be read with much interest:

As Alexander the Great set out on his campaign to conquer the world, his teacher, Aristotle, advised him to treat the Greeks as a leader, and a friend, but the barbarians, whom he set out to conquer as a tyrant and king.

Aristotle had, in the first chapter in his book on politics, developed the teaching that slavery was an institution imposed and sanctified by nature, as there were human races born to be slaves and others who were born masters. Therefore, slavery was not only a moral institution but it was even in the interests of the slave that themselves as, by their own nature, their very being demanded the master's hand over them.

This theory by Aristotle was, of course, not confined to Aristotle or to the ancient Greeks. It was brought forth as a justification of the eminence of one race over another wherever a race dominated another.

The political and social importance of modern race theory is not less far-reaching than its intellectual implications, for this theory is bound to awaken the fiercest race conflicts. In historic situation where the race question assumes dimensions unknown up to now. Race conflicts do not become acute until the race kept in

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inferior position is animated by the tendency to change its status and to strive for equality with the race deemed superior. We witness today a world-wide movement of this kind. Fifty years ago the world accepted the supremacy of the white race without question. Today the spread of education and of modern technical equipment throughout the world, the bringing together of all human races by the new rapid means of communication and transportation, have destroyed for ever this unquestioned order, and have introduced a new, dynamic element which makes itself felt not only in the revolt all over Asia but as well in simlar movements for political and social emancipation outside of Europe which have reached their crises during the past few years in all Latin American republics, where even the long silent and suffering Indian race is awakening to a claim of its due position in its own ancient lands. Throughout Africa the Negro is stirring, a phenomenon which would have appeared entirely out of question a very few decades ago. There is a great forward movement on the part of all the non-white races which we called, only a few years ago, backward races, and who are today trying hard, and sometims, as Japan proves, very successfully, to adopt for themselves the cultural and social standards of the white race. They strive not only for political emancipation but for a social advancement of their masses to participate in the progress of humanity toward a better world.

I believe that all lovers of humanity will welcome this common effort of all human races toward a new world. It is, for the first time in world history, that such a common effort binds different and even the most distant parts of the world together. The basis of world unity is being created. In such a moment a new emphasis upon race and race inequality in many countries must have especially disastrous effects. It will tend to aggravate all race conflicts and therefore act as chief obstacle to world peace. No conflicts are as devastating as racial conflicts, no hatred as degrading as racial hatred, because they appeal to the most primitive and most ferocious instincts of man and are apt to bring out the worst sides of his nature. We very often witness the fact that a normally good-natured and reasonable man acts most brutally as soon as race prejudice or race instincts are involved. Through centuries we have striven to arrive at the recognition of personality, not of birth or race, as a standard of the value of man. The race theory means a regression from a spiritual point of view to a biological point of view.

Liberalism believes that man can be changed and improved by education and by social influences, race theory believes, that a man has to continue as he has been born. Therefore, race theories in the present form are not only dangerous for world peace and humanity at large, but as theories of despair bid us to accept man and races as they are and to give up every idea of their improvement. The theory of racial inequality will, therefore, not only precipitate us into endless race conflicts, but make a combined human effort to create a new world futile !

—

The Dongan Charter of Political Liberty

Mr. Wynne shows in the columns of the *America* how the Charter, inaugurated by Col. Dongan, Governor of New York, precipitated the freedom of the American colonies :

In these days of amending the Federal Constitution and of revising State, county, and city charters, it is quite in order to review the story of "The Charter of Liberties and Privileges" framed and signed 250 years ago by the colonial Governor of New York (1682-1688), Col. Thomas Dongan. That charter was the first embodiment of the principal rights for which all the American colonies some ninety years later fought until they achieved independence from England and founded a republic which is now paramount among the nations.

The story of this document is a political epic. The conditions which prompted it, the swift and unerring action of the man who designed it, the high-minded co-operation of his associates, and the assertion of popular rights up till then unclaimed by any English colony—all recall the story of the Magna Charta of England itself (1215-1225), and of the "Great Privilege" later in Burgundy, 1477. The Dongan Charter is more comprehensive and liberal than either of these, and its influence more far-reaching. Its vestiges are still visible in the principles of our Federal Constitution ; in the charters of many a State and city government, particularly in New York ; and in British colonies in other parts of the globe.

In brief, the Charter asserted for the colonists equal political rights with citizens in the home country, if not greater. It defines the powers of the Governor of the province, of his Council, and of the Assembly. It determines the qualifications of voters, the privileges of representatives, the number to be elected for each of the twelve counties. It provides for trial by jury ; representation as a condition for raising taxes by any method whatsoever, mentioning the seven then in practice ; it protects property rights, for women as well as for men, and the widow dower rights. It insists on indictment by jury, release on bail, martial law for army and navy only ; it forbids quartering troops in private homes except in time of war, and it proclaims equality, not toleration merely, for all "who profess faith in God by Jesus Christ." Jews are not mentioned in this clause on religious freedom.

Dongan, however, without waiting for the King's approval, had begun to apply the charter as soon as he issued it and he continued ruling in

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its spirit even after it had been vetoed. It was thus he inaugurated the movement for liberty which finally won for all the colonies freedom from England, and even for British possessions the freedom they would otherwise have never known.

—

Assembly of the League of Nations

In an address given at Chatham House, the Rt. Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore, M. P. discusses the deliberations that took place at the Fourteenth Assembly, which are reproduced below from the *International Affairs*. It is on the much-vexed problem of Minorities:

The longest and most lively debates of all took place on the subject of Minorities. This subject was initiated and introduced by the German delegate in a speech which was in terms not only a challenge to neighbouring States, but proclaimed to the League the Nazi doctrine of *Volkstum*, and ended up with a public denial that the Jews in Germany had any right to be regarded as a minority, though they were so regarded in all the States such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, Greece, etc., having minority clauses under the supervision of the League in their Peace Treaties.

After much argument and a good deal of plain speaking in sub-committee, the Sixth Committee sent forward to the Assembly the following three resolutions:

"The Assembly,

1. Reiterating the recommendation which it passed on September 21, 1922:
   Expresses the hope that the States which are not bound by legal obligations to the League with respect to minorities will nevertheless observe in the treatment of their own racial, religious or linguistic minorities at least as high a standard of justice and toleration as is required by any of the treaties and by the regular action of the Council.
2. The Assembly considers that the principles expounded in resolution 1, which reaffirms the recommendations of 1922, must be applied without exception to all classes of nationals of a State that differ from the majority of the population in race, language or religion.
3. The Assembly requests the Secretary-General to inform the Council of the discussion that has taken place in the Sixth Committee on the question of minorities as a whole."

The German delegate in the sub-committee had voted alone against the second resolution and carried his opposition to the plenary Assembly, where unanimity is required. His single vote means that this resolution was accordinly "not adopted."

There certainly was more public interest at Geneva in these minority discussions this time than in any other subject, possibly because it raised issues that are far nearer the bone of current controversy and far more potentially politically explosive than any other matter raised at this Assembly.

—

Chinese Youth in the Crucible

Mr. Roland Hall Sharp draws a very fine pen-picture of Young China in the columns of *The Christian Register*:

Youth in China has blazed with zeal borrowed from strange new Western teachings. It has dashed with enthusiasm against the solid but invisible wall of limitations imposed upon China by age-long beliefs, practices, economic conditions and outside restrictions. Repulsed by the intricately laced problems before which the world's thinkers stand admittedly at a loss, Young China has not been sobered, or discouraged, or turned to pleasant ways of forgetting.

Yet a residue remains more determined than ever to seek and find a solution of its country's baffling problems. Like the Great Wall as compared with crumbling crimson pillars of less enduring monuments, these serious young people recognize that with them lies the preservation of national integrity.

China's loose dominion is being ground down on the edges at more points than in Manchuria and Jehol. We who have been accustomed to think of China as including Tibet, Hsinkiang and Mongolia, learn with surprise that these great periphery provinces on the west and north are passing rapidly under outside influences, whether Russian, Japanese or British. Chinese officials admitted to me that the struggle of Nanking to establish effective political and financial links with these areas makes little or no progress.

Young China feels its borders contracting around it. The New China offers no immediate hope of stopping the process of attrition more evident in Manchuria and Jehol. Students at summer schools in Peiping could not escape feeling the shift of effective political and economic power in North China to Japanese hands. Yet they go quietly about their studies and sports. Two reasons account for this attitude. Public manifestations by students have come under official disapproval, and students themselves have had the edge of their resistance to Japan dulled. Banging heads against walls that do not give soon becomes tiresome.

One of the most searching questions facing Chinese youth is the policy to be adopted toward recovery or abandonment of provinces now passing under outside hegemony. Many young Chinese blaze with angry projects for building up a military machine that some day may drive the strangers into the sea. Others hold to non-resistance and traditional Chinese methods of assimilating armed conquerors.

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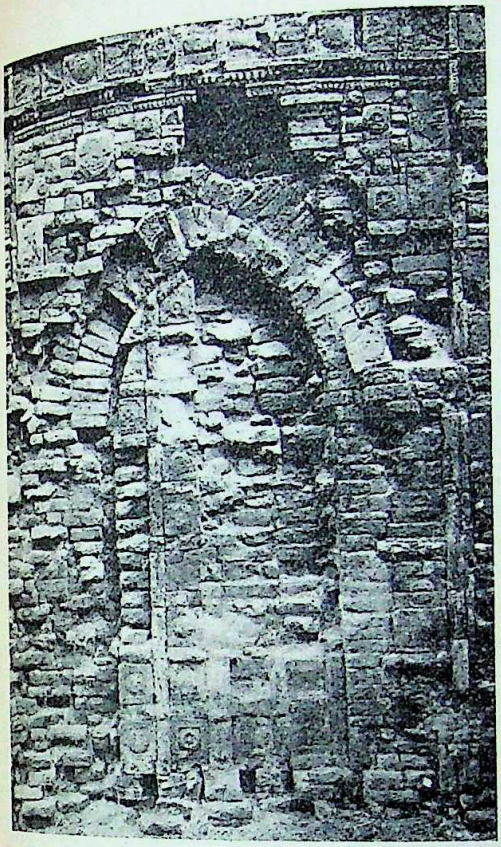
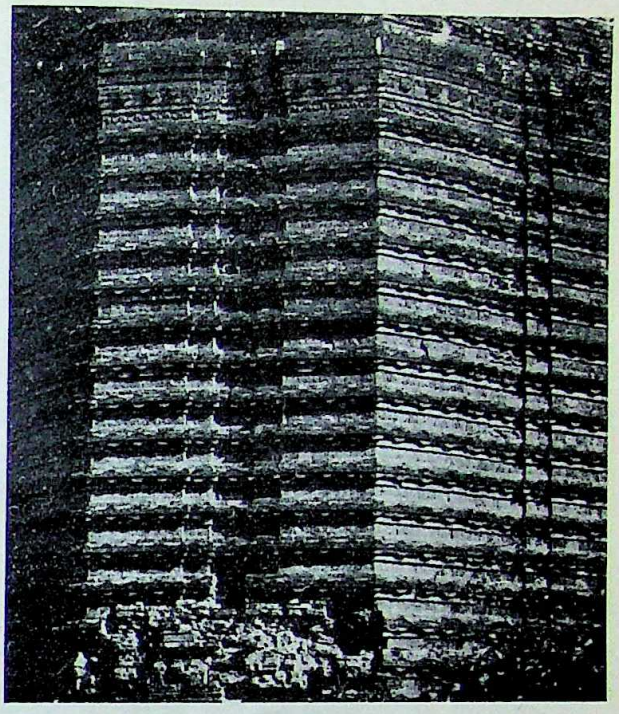
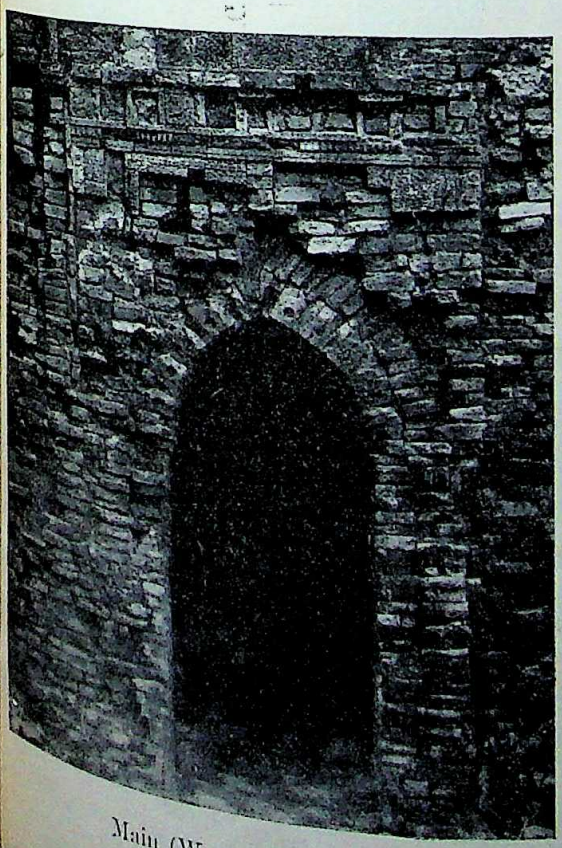


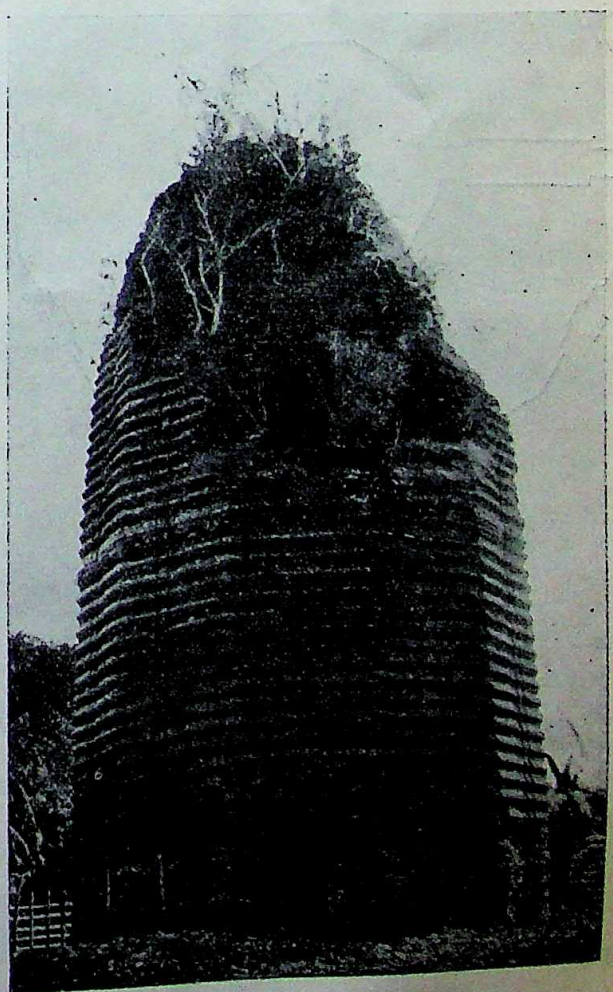
Dummy Door. North face. Mathurapur Deul



Arrangement of Decorative Mouldings



Main (Western) Doorway



Mathurapur Deul. Western Front

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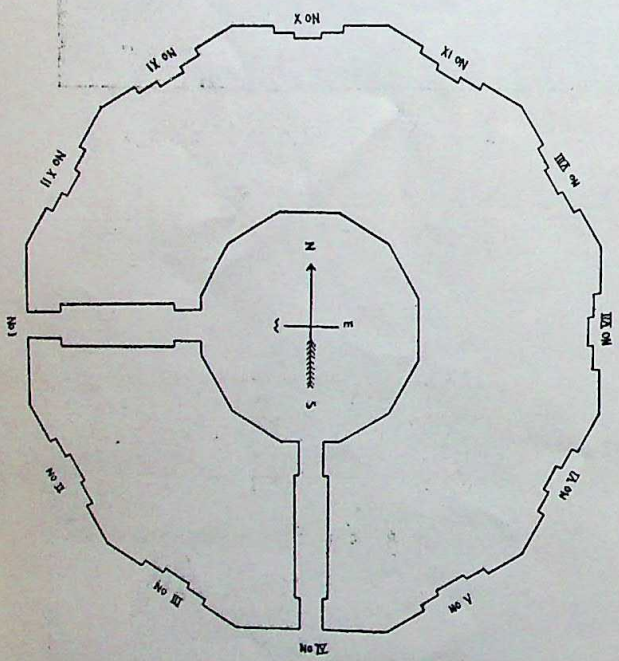
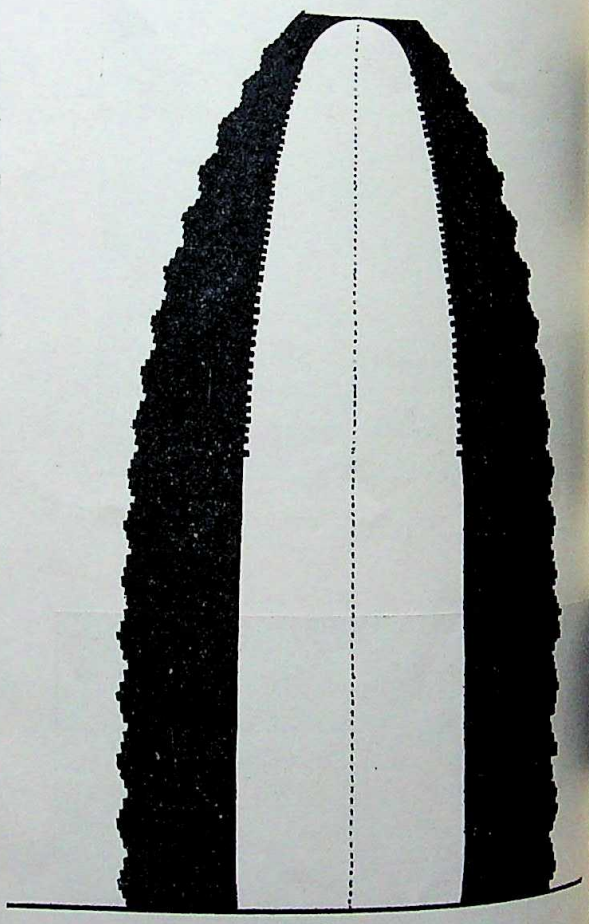


Ground plan of the Deul



Inner Section showing moulded tiers at top.

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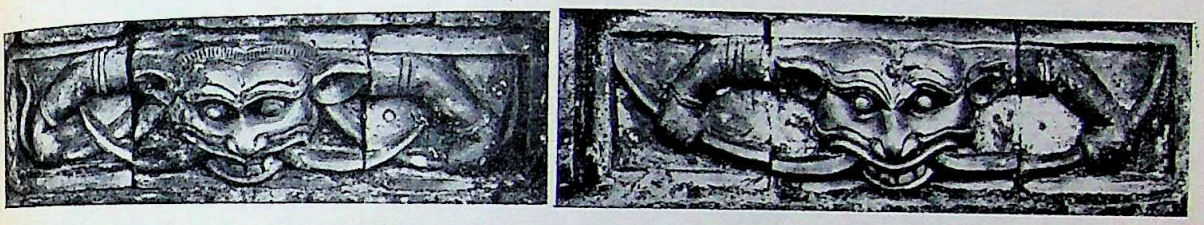
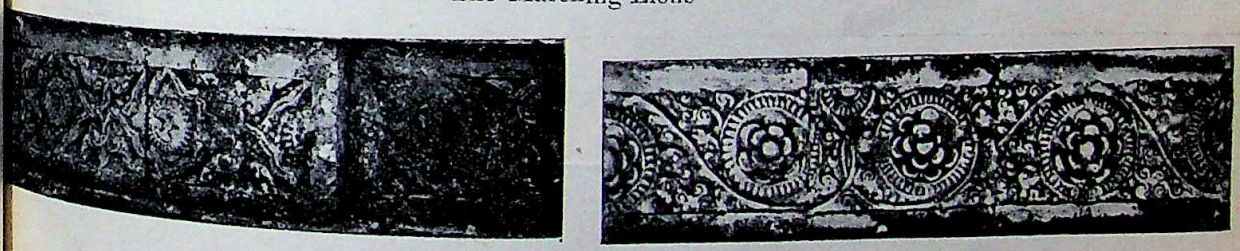
Mathurapur Lion



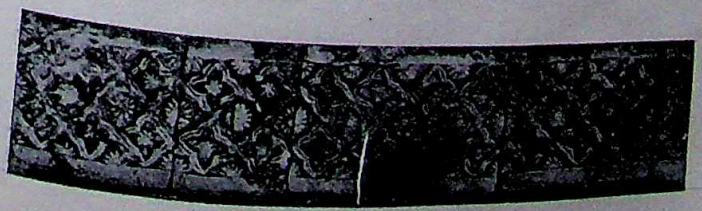
Kirtimukhs

The Marching Lions



Decorative Mouldings

Combination of Kirtimukh and Lion



Decorative Moulding

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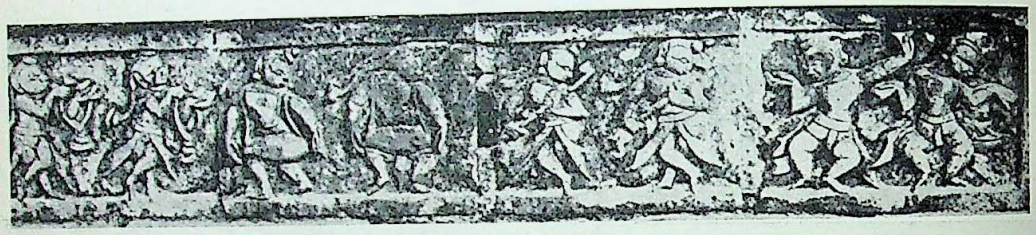
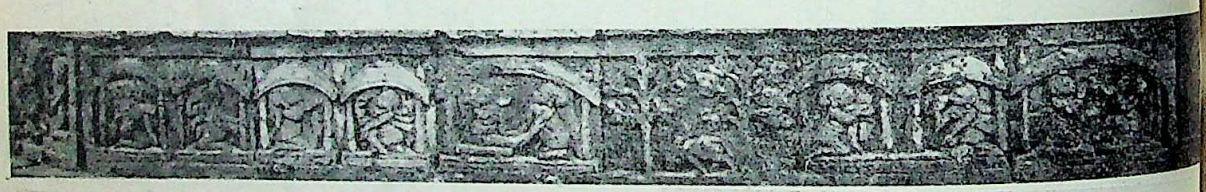
Contemporary Rural Bengal in the Plaques

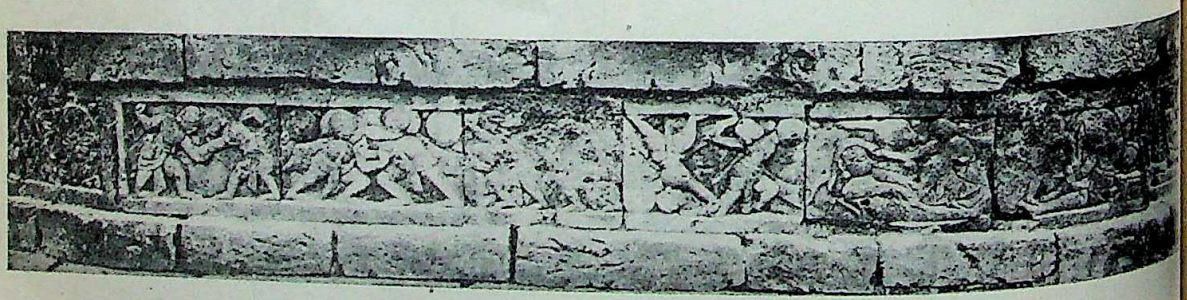
Bathing Scene



Scenes of Dancing and Music



The Cottage homes of Bengal



Wrestling bouts

Pious maiden and Monkey Warriors

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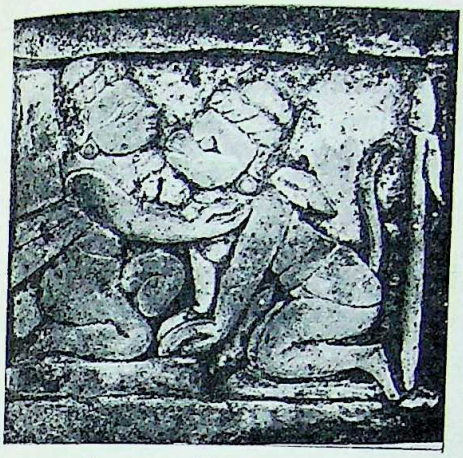
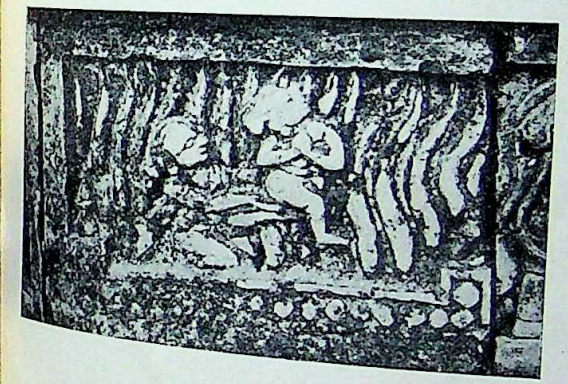


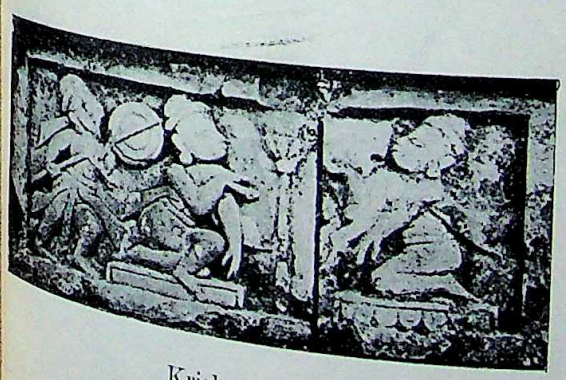
Rama and Hanumana

Mother Yasoda

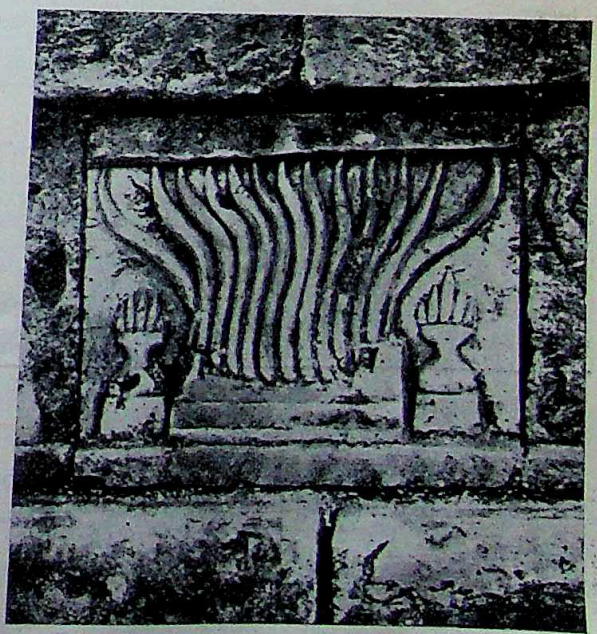


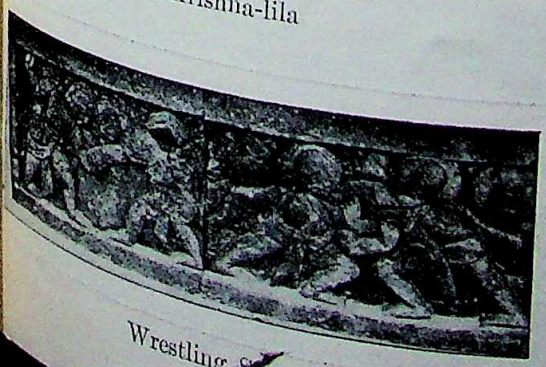
Sita's Trial by Fire

Bharata and Rama



Krishna-lila





Wrestling Scene

Sacrificial fire with Agni peeping out

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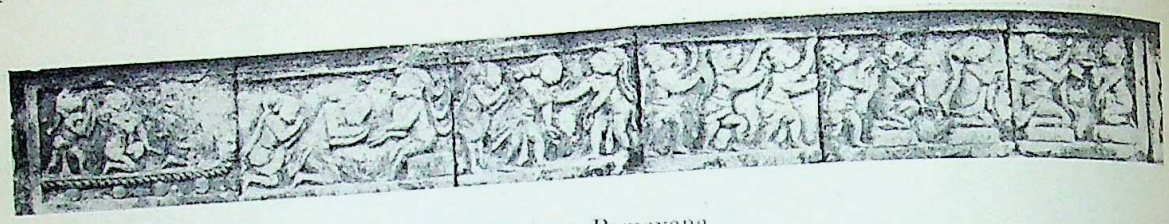
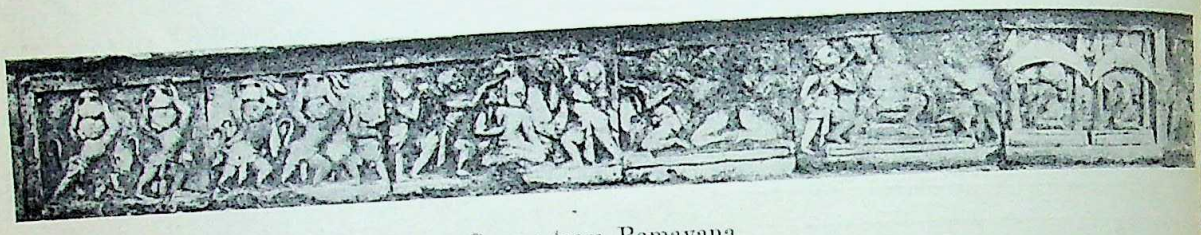
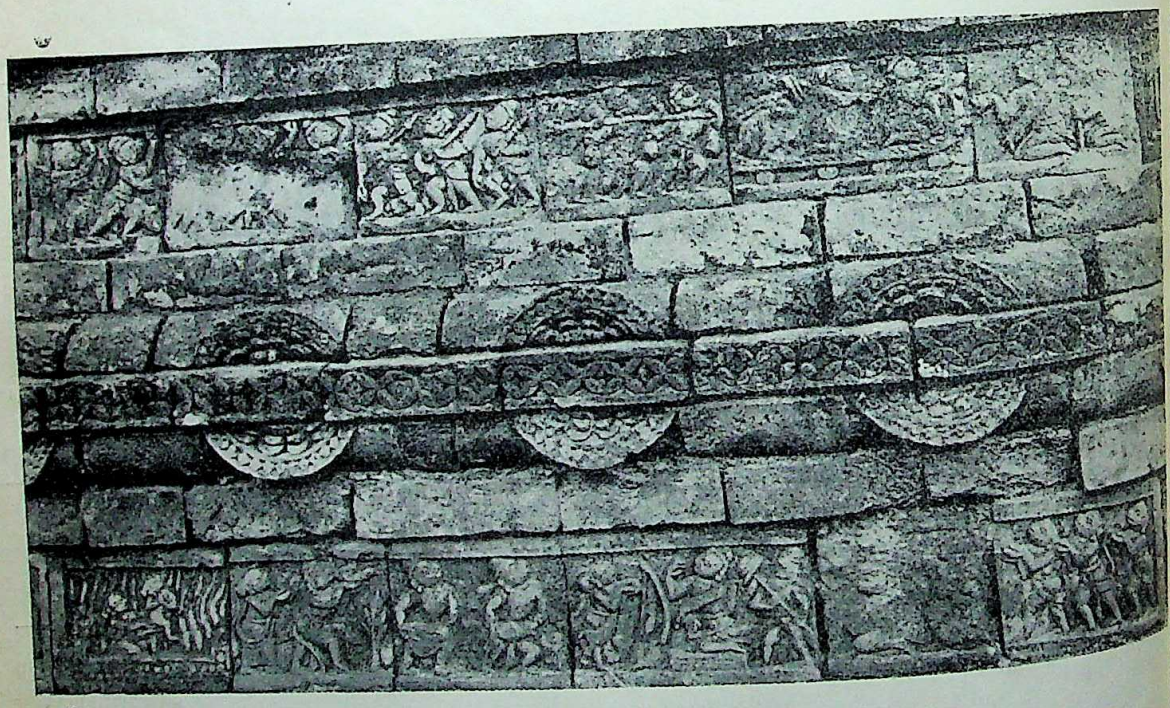


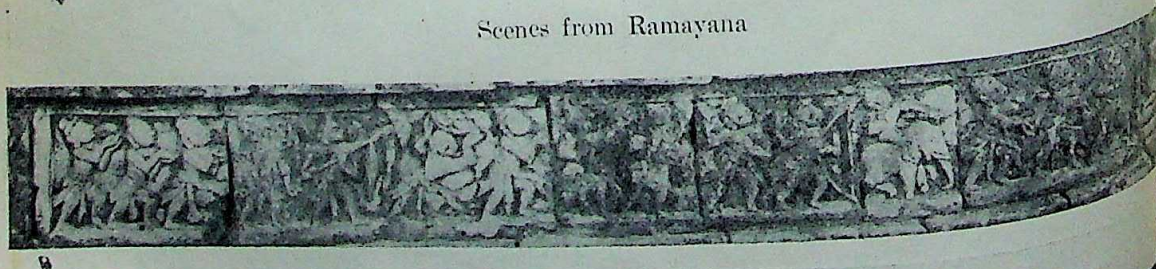
Scenes from Ramayana



Scenes from Ramayana



Scenes from Ramayana



Scenes from Ramayana

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Rural Scenes—Krishna-lila

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THE MATHURAPUR MONUMENT

A Prambanam of India.

By G. S. DUTT

IN the village of Mathurapur in the district of Faridpur, rises a massive terracotta structure towering about 70 ft. above the ground, which although now in a greatly damaged condition with trees growing on its slopes and summit, is still the most prominent landmark in this locality for miles around, and is popularly known as the Mathurapur Deul. In this structure, which would appear, for centuries, to have escaped the serious attention of historians, artists and archaeologists alike, Bengal possesses a monument which is destined to be regarded, for more than one reason, as the Prambanam of India and to earn for her a place of unique distinction in the sphere of art by virtue of the originality of its architectural design and the remarkable virility of its figure sculpture.

This fact, which was discovered by me on the 26th September 1933 when I first visited the Deul, was publicly announced in October 1933 on my authority in a Press note from which an extract is given below:

"In the course of his recent tour in the interior of the district of Faridpur, Mr. G. S. Dutt, I.C.S., Director of Industries, Bengal, has, it is reported, discovered in an ancient monument of the later 17th or early 18th century at Mathurapur in the Rajbari sub-division of the district, features which he claims to be of considerable archaeological and cultural interest. The monument in question is popularly known as the 'Mathurapur Deul.'...

"He proposes to move the Archaeological Department for the conservation of this important monument with a view to preserving it from further decay...."

The above Press note, which was fully published in some papers, embodied my first impressions of the monument. The present article is intended to be the first of a series relating to this monument in which I propose to substantiate the claims as to distinction and originality which I made therein in respect of this structure and to give to the world a complete description of this important monument which may form the basis of further research on the part of specialists in various spheres.

As a result of subsequent research since the discovery of this monument, my first impressions have been corroborated and reinforced. I will briefly summarize here the salient features and prominent characteristics of this monument.

The first feature that strikes even the most casual observer is the unusual dodecagonal shape of the entire structure from the base to the summit. The general appearance of the structure is that of the Bengali Deul retrogressing slightly

The author (centre) at the site

from the base upwards up to a height of about 29 ft. from the ground level after which the curve is continuously accentuated up to the summit. At the height of 29 ft. from the present ground level, there is a break in the general scheme of the architecture in the shape of a massive cornice. The general scheme of structure of the building is again continued above this cornice but with this striking difference, that there is a complete absence of any sculptural or decorative work. The crown appears to have been entirely destroyed and a considerable part of the vaulted top has collapsed, leaving an open vent to the sky. There is no trace whatever left of any *Amalaka* or *Kalasa* and it is therefore impossible to say whether these originally formed part of the crown. There has been extensive damage of the summit and of large portions of the upper slopes on account of the growth of vegetation while saline erosion has entirely destroyed the decorative terracotta work up to a height of about 5 ft. above ground level.

Reverting to the architectural features, each facet of the dodecagon is of the *Pancharath*

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type ; that is to say, there are five vertical bands or *pagas* running from top to bottom of each of the twelve facets of the Deul. Here again, however, there is a striking originality which characterizes this Deul and which, so far as I know, is quite unique. The Pancharatha bands, instead of consisting, as usual, of a projecting vertical ridge in the centre with gradually receding pilasters or *pagas* on each side, here consist of a central vertical recess with two vertical bands of *pagas* on each side, rising progressively to a higher level in vertical steps from the centre towards the sides. In other words, the usual scheme adopted in the shape of such structures, which have an elevated Central Rahapaga and a gradually receding Anarthapaga and Konakapaga on each side, is entirely reversed in the design of each of the twelve facets of this Deul.* The Deul, in my opinion, was apparently never used or intended to be used as a temple of worship or to be dedicated to any deity. The more one examines its sculptural features, the more one is inclined to hold the view that the Deul must have been built as a Victory Monument. This conclusion is forced upon one not only by the general warlike atmosphere that appears to have been deliberately imparted to the figure sculptures depicting the stories of the Ramayana and of the Krishna-lila but by what is perhaps the most striking feature of this monument, *viz.*, the magnificent lion belt which forms a girdle round nine of the twelve facets at a height of about 28 ft. from the ground as the structure now stands. This lion belt appears to be quite unique in originality of conception and design and consists of a belt of terracotta plaques depicting a row of lions in the act of marching through fields of lotus buds. Each lion figure is represented in an attitude of being about to crush a lotus bud with its fangs. While a detailed description of this superb belt of plaques must be postponed to a later part of this article, I must place on record my opinion that in the whole field of sculpture it would be difficult to find a treatment of the lion motif which can equal this Mathurapur lion motif in vigour and virility of design. The conception of this lion motif and its concentrated and prominent insertion at a height of nearly 30 ft. above ground level in the shape of an almost continuous row of marching lions forming a girdle round nine out of the twelve sides of the deul could only have been the work of a master architect-sculptor of consummate genius who was impelled by the object of featuring it as the dominating symbol of Victory. Another feature with which the Victory atmosphere appears to have been successfully brought about, is the row of lion gargoyles and scenes of wrestling of extraordinary virility. There are three different types of Kirtimukhs which are of original and virile nature and which also heighte the warlike atmosphere intended to be conve by the whole structure. A detailed descripti of the Kirtimukhs is reserved for a la article.

The next prominent feature of this monume is the systematic narrative illustration, by series of figure sculptured plaques arranged tiers rising one above the other, of the wh story of the Ramayana and the entire story of Krishna-lila. These figure plaques are arrang tier over tier in 13 successive tiers on the th western facets constituting the front side of monument and are strongly reminiscent the famous sculptural decorations in stone the temple balustrades of Prambanam in Ja The same virility, vigour and lifelikeness, same predominatingly dramatic and mascul note which characterizes the serial figure sculptu of Prambanam is noticeable here ; and if so thing, in an even more striking degree, allowance being made for the fact that Prambanam structure is constructed in sto whereas the Mathurapur Deul is built of humbler material of terracotta fashioned out the native clay of Bengal.

Yet another remarkable feature which ma this monument out among the monuments Bengal is the characteristically Bengali concepti design and execution of the architecture toge with the typical Bengali character of the sce depicted, such as continuous rows of Beng cottages with their familiar curved roofs, sce depicting contemporary Bengali life and custo typically Bengali poses of the human figures, traditional bunches of paddy ears hanging from roofs of the Bengali huts, and the graceful drap of the figures of Bengali *sarees*. Not the le striking feature about the human figures is t virile poses of the male characters and graceful dignified poses of the females, the extraordinar simple yet gracefully plastic stylization of the lin of the Bengali *saree* worn by the female figur rendered with consummate genius by a sin vigorous curve of terracotta. In short, I consi this Deul to be a monument of national imp tance of the first magnitude for Bengal and t Bengalees, inasmuch as it gives us a striki glimpse of a singularly virile culture whi belonged to the Bengali race. When furth investigated, it will be found to be a perenn source of pride and inspiration to t whole Bengali race by virtue of the s that while in its architectural grandeur sculptural excellence it can stand compari with the great monuments of western and south India, it is at the same time, in a special sen Bengal's very own, from the living clay of beautiful terracotta plaques and decorati sculpture, to the sculptor who fashioned them well as to the types of the human figure, and female, with which its walls are peopled, alike in its design, conception and execution

* For the architectural terminology used here, see *Orissa & Her Remains* by Mano Mohan Ganguly, pp. 111 *et esq.*

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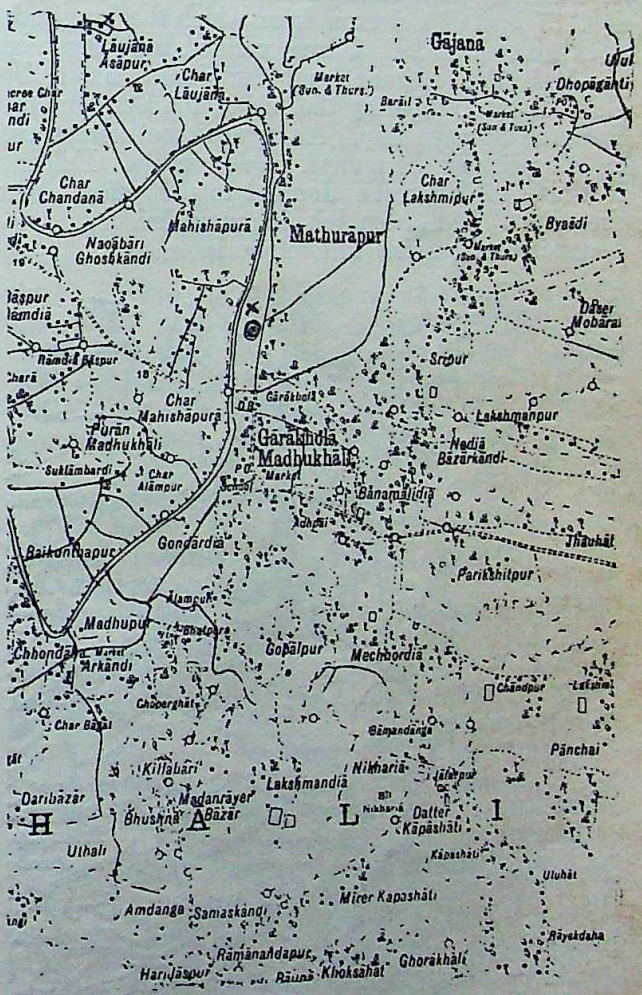
appears to be purely a product of rural Bengal, totally untouched by any extraneous influences even from other parts of India. Herein it differs from the other great ancient national monument of Bengal, *viz.*, that at Paharpur which, while being of much greater antiquity and larger dimensions, undoubtedly bears the unmistakable impress of Imperial Gupta and other influences extraneous to Bengal.

Nowhere in the whole field of art and architecture have the simple dignity of rural Bengali life been delineated with such visible pride of feeling and such masterly success in execution. A curiously interesting feature, which will fill every Bengali heart with pride, is the naive manner in which the rural sculptor—for he was undoubtedly a folk sculptor of rural Bengal—has depicted all the scenes of the Ramayana and the scenes of Krishna-lila as taking place not in distant Lanka, Brindaban or Mathura but in the artist's own home surroundings among the cottages of Bengal with Bengali men and women as their heroes and heroines.

We shall now proceed to the topographical details regarding the monument. The village of Mathurapur where it is situated lies in the Rajbari sub-division of the Faridpur district. It is between the Naliagram and Madhukhali stations on the Kalukhali-Bhatiapara branch of the E. B. Railway and is about three miles from Naliagram and one mile from Kalukhali. The monument itself is situated about a furlong to the west of the railway line (the railway line is not marked on the Revenue Survey map, a portion of which is reproduced along with this article). The situation of the Deul is about half way between the railway line on the east and the river Chandana on the west Shortly after one leaves Naliagram station, the top of the Deul becomes visible over the intervening villages from the railway line, while one has a very prominent view of the top of the Deul overgrown with trees from the railway line opposite to the spot. The *kutchery* of the present zemindar of the village Babu Harakumar Lahiri is about 100 yards to the south of the monument. At the very foot of the monument there lies a hamlet inhabited by men of the potter caste. These men are expert sculptors and their ancestors were, in all probability, the sculptors of the Deul itself. Although now in an extreme stage of poverty and stricken with Kala-azar in an endemic form, these potters still display considerable mastery of their craft and it was obvious from some of their productions that they still follow the ancient traditions of their forefathers. The statues and figures of deities, such as that of Siva, made by them still have the same indigenous characteristics as in ancient days, unlike the articles manufactured in Krishnagar and in the neighbourhood of Calcutta which show distinct western influences.

Perhaps the earliest mention of the Deul is the one that occurs in Major Rennell's Journal. Major Rennell's Memoirs, dated 8th and 10th July 1764, include the following remarks :

> "8th July 1764 : This afternoon saw a high Pagoda to the S. E., distant 2 or 3 miles. It lies near the village of Motrapur.
>
> "10th July : Passed the Pagoda of Motrapur which lies on the each side of the creek. * Two miles below the Pagoda a large creek turns away to the eastward and is at this time navigable for large boats, but in the dry season is quite dry in some places. It proceeds by way of Jaynagore and Hobbygunje. Here the creek that we are tracing loses its name of the Chunnanah and receives that of the Comer or Comare."



Mathurapur in Revenue Survey Map

The Editors of Major Rennell's Journal (*vide* volume III, No. 8, pages 95-248 of the Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal) have printed a foot-note to the entry on the 8th July 1764 to the following effect :

> "*Foot-note* : Mathurapur, at the junction of this creek with the Kumar. The temple is said to have been built about 70 years before this by one Sangram Shah of the Baidya family, but was left unfinished because one of the masons fell from

* By the creek is evidently meant the Chandana river.

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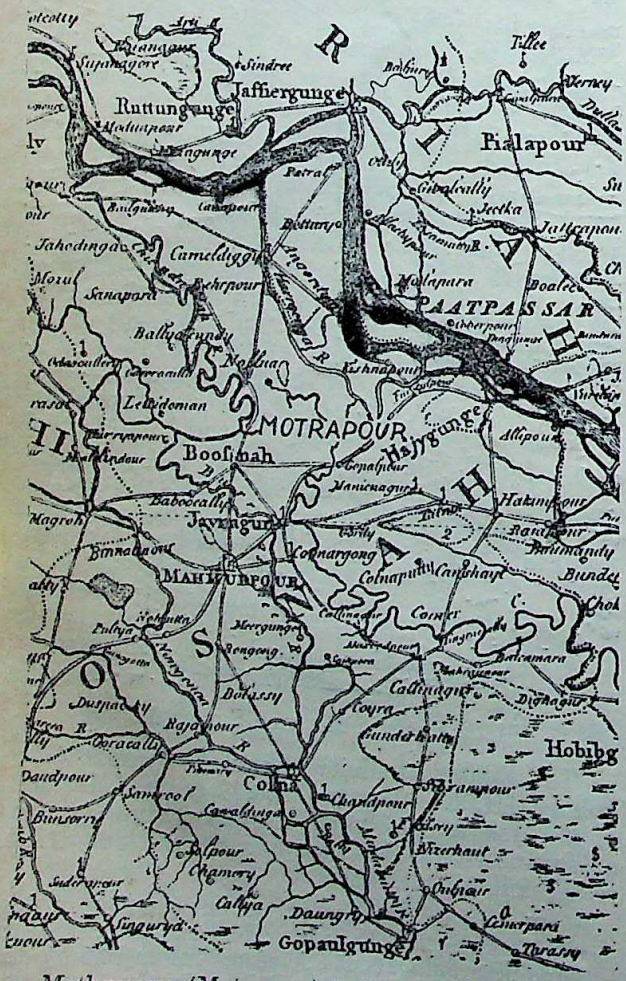
the steeple and end. (List of Ancient Monuments, Bengal p. 224)."

The village Mathurapur finds prominent mention in Major Rennell's map ; and although the *deul* itself is not actually marked on it by him, it is easy to identify its position on the map. A reproduction from Rennell's map will be found along with this article.

We are indebted to Major Rennell for locating the exact latitude and longitude of the village of Mathurapur at which the village and therefore the Deul is situated. The latitude is correctly given by Rennell as 23°33′. As regards longitude, Rennell marked the longitude as 1°15′ east of Calcutta, from which the longitude works out as 89°39′. I have verified the correcness of both the latitude and longitude fixed by Rennell by comparing the site of the Deul on the Revenue Survey Map. As regards the correctness or otherwise of the remark made in the Editor's foot-note to Rennell's Journal to the effect that the Deul had been left in an unfinished state, a detailed discussion will follow later.



Mathurapur (Motrapour) in Major Rennell's Map

The most widespread tradition is to the effect that the monument was constructed under the order of a potentate of the name of Sangram Shah. According to a tradition current among inhabitants of the villages for about 10 radius, the monument was originally twice present height, so much so that one could Dacca from its top. According to this tradit the lower half of the monument has now in the ground, the upper half only being visi This is evidently a violent exaggeration ; alth there can be no doubt that there has be slight sinking, which is quite natural, consid the alluvial soil on which the Deul is b Until excavations have been made, the e amount of subsidence cannot however determined.

It is said that Sangram Shah came from north ; some say he came from Kashmir, w others say he came from Rajputana. It is that on his arrival he inquired of the people as to which was the highest caste in locality. On being told that the Brahmins the highest caste, he enquired who were the in rank. On being told that the Vaidyas next in rank, he is said to have describe caste in the words—"Ham Vaidya"—(which is Hindusthani for "I am Vaidya"). The inhabit of the locality, however, not knowing Hindust could not apparently understand the exact m ing of the word "ham" and so are said to taken the name of the caste of Sangram as "Ham-Vaidya." According to tradition himself forcibly married into one of the Vaidya families and also got his daugh forcibly married into the high caste Va families of the neighbourhood and descendants of these families are said to describe themselves as "Ham-Vaidyas" by in token of pride in their connection with illustrious potentate. Sangram Shah, it is ordered a high deul to be built with labour and material under the direction of architect. His orders were that the city of should be visible from the summit of projected deul. The tradition says when the deul was finished and the came on which the consecration was placing of idol inside the deul take place, the architect was asked by Sang Shah to climb on the top and say whether could see Dacca from there. The architect reaching the summit, said that he could not Dacca for the reason that the temple was high enough, but added that this was not fault as had he been given more materials a larger labour force he could have built deul high enough to enable Dacca to be from the top. Sangram Shah is said to have been highly enraged at this remark of architect and to have threatened to put him death for not having asked for sufficient mate in time. As a result of this threat the archi leaped down from the summit and killed himself instead of waiting to be put to death after he climbed down. According to the tradition

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tragic act made the deul inauspicious and it was consequently left incomplete and no deity was installed in it. This tradition is evidently referred to in the foot-note to Rennell's Journal mentioned above.

Another tradition describes a later potentate Sitaram Roy as the builder of the Deul, but nothing definite is related with regard to Sitaram Roy as in the case of Sangram Shah.

Accepting the first tradition as being more likely to be correct we have to decide as to who this person Sangram Shah was. We find a detailed mention of one Sangram Shah in the Bengali book फरिदपुरेर इतिहास (History of Faridpur) by Anandanath Ray, a copy of which I obtained from the library of the Bangiya Sahitya Parisat. A detailed description and narrative history of the exploits of Sangram Shah are given in this book but I have not as yet been able to find time to verify the accuracy of the references given therein to Todd's *Rajasthan*, Beveridge's History of Bakarganj and to certain volumes of the *Calcutta Review*. In this book it is sought to identify the Sangram Shah of Mathurapur with the Sangram Shah who is described in Todd's *Rajasthan* as one of the Mansabdars of Aurangzib, and also with the chief of this name who fought against the 12 Bhuiyans, conducted a campaign against the pirates and robbers and brought about peace in Bengal and who also subdued the Rathore chiefs of Rajputana towards the latter part of his life. Whether the Sangram Shah who established peace about that time in Bengal is identical with the Sangram Shah who fought with the Rathore chiefs is a question which I have not had time to verify but which seems to call for further research. The identification of this Sangram Shah with the builder of the Mathurapur Deul is, however, supported both by the widespread local tradition at present current in the neighbourhood for miles around as well as from the narrative given in the book referred to above, where it is stated that he actually built his home at Mathurapur and that the Deul which stands there was erected under his orders. Further in confirmation of this tradition, one has to note the vigour and force with which scenes of forcible marriages have been depicted in several of the plaques adorning the walls of the Deul and one is inclined to suspect that in the scenes depicting the forcible carrying away of Rukmini by Krishna, and his marriage with her, the sculptor actually intended to suggest his master's own forcible marriage referred to above and thus indirectly to record the exploits of his warlike master so as to flatter the latter for his valorous exploits. This supposition derives support from the fact that Krishna's figure has been depicted in the traditional form in the scenes of his earlier life as a cowherd in Brindaban, while in those depicting Krishna's forcible carrying away of and marriage with Rukmini, Krishna is shown as an elderly and somewhat corpulent gentleman quite unlike the figure of the Hindu legends. Further research, however, is necessary on this point.

If the above mentioned tradition is to be believed, the Deul was built somewhere about the earlier half of the second part of the 17th century,—probably about 1665 A.D. In the Revised List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal published in 1886 by the Archaeological Survey of India, however, 1472 A.D. (*i.e.*, a period 200 years earlier) has been mentioned as the probable date of its construction, but I have been unable to find any tradition or authority to support this.

The outer walls of the temple constitute a dodecahedron with 12 recessed facets. The inner structure is also dodecagonal, almost up to the summit. The approximate diameter at the ground level are as follows :

Outside diameter	34 ft. 11 in.
Inner diameter	12 ft. 11 in.

thus giving the thickness of the wall at the base as 11 ft. The two doors that are open, face West and South respectively, the front gate facing West. There are two dummy doors on the North and East sides. The east gate has been almost entirely destroyed owing to the growth of a peepal tree. Coming back to the outer dimensions, each of the 12 facets of the dodecagonal structure is 9 ft. 10 in. in length at the base. These 12 facets are built up from the base up to the summit according to one general scheme which consist of tier above tier of mouldings, projecting horizontal ridges of decorative work alternating with horizontal belts of flat plaques in recess in regular order. There is only one break in the general scheme of the architecture at a height of 29 ft. 1 in. above the present ground level as mentioned in the earlier part of the article. The inner wall has a plain dodecagonal face up to a height of about 29 ft. corresponding to the outer cornice at this level. From this point upward up to about one or two feet from the summit, the inner wall is built on a dodecagonal scheme with ridges alternating with recesses, being thus in miniature the same scheme in broad outline as that adopted for the outer facets. This ridging and recessing of the inner wall has given us a unique variation of the corbelled arch which, to my knowledge, has no parallel in Deul temples. At the very top the ceiling consists of a flattened out dome, like the inside of an inverted earthen water pot, in which the dodecagonal shape is not continued. Unfortunately, part of this ceiling has collapsed, thereby destroying its symmetry.

Coming to the temple itself, I am indebted to Babu Ajit Kumar Mukherji of Nalia, a talented young undergraduate of the Vidyasagar College, for giving me information about the existence of this half-ruined lofty structure near

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his village home which induced me to avail myself of the last Puja holidays to pay a flying visit to this locality. I stayed as a guest of Ajit Babu's father at Nalia. From there on the 26th September 1933 I first visited the Deul. I trollied from Naliagram station to Madhukhali station in the afternoon and from the railway line *en route* to Madhukhali had my first view of the Deul with its lofty top overgrown with trees. On reaching Madhukhali the Police Officer in Charge suggested my going by road from Madhukhali, but as no conveyance was available, this would have involved considerable delay and as the evening was fast approaching I decided to trolly back about a mile to the point on the railway line just opposite to the Deul and from there to cross the intervening fields. It was, however, far from an easy matter to reach the Deul from here, as all the intervening fields up to the village were covered with flood water with one or two deep ditches to cross. Thanks, however, to the courtesy of some of the attendants, who cheerfully volunteered to carry me on their shoulders over the watery area, I crossed this submerged track on the shoulders of two men. My companions, including Babu Ajit Kumar Mukherji, Babu Sudhansu Ray, artist, a photographer and the thana officer of Madhukhali, all waded through the thigh-deep water. Reaching the village we walked over paddy fields and through the homesteads of the potters to the place where the Deul is situated.

As I came near the Deul I was immediately struck with the unusual dignity and grandeur of its design and construction; but what was most striking was a girdle of terracotta plaques about half way up the building which appeared to consist of some animals on the march which I took to be horses. I found the Deul, up to a height of about 10 ft., completely surrounded by an impenetrable thorny jungle. I made my way to the foot of the Deul with great difficulty through a narrow track from the southern side, getting myself badly scratched in the process. On reaching the narrow southern door of the Deul I found the interior in complete darkness. I noticed some interesting decorative sculpture above the southern door and some decorative work in the walls but nothing specially notable. I decided to enter the dark interior of the Deul. This involved some risk as we had no firearms with us, and there was every probability of wild animals being met, but to our relief the interior was completely empty and not quite as dark as we had thought from outside, as light was streaming in through a large hole in the summit. The only inhabitants were a host of bats which were wildly flying about at the unexpected disturbance made by our entrance in their home. On entering we discovered that besides the southern door there was another on the western side, but passage by this door was impossible as the exit was completely blocked with jungle.

After sending for *daos* and axes and clear a few feet of jungle outside the southern western doors I received my second thrill; here was the front-side of the monum richly adorned with figure sculptures in t cotta relief of extraordinary virility rising upon tier in succession. Unfortunately, the l tiers had become more or less destroyed damaged by saline erosion and growth of t at the base of the building. In my anxiety examine the upper tiers I climbed up a p tree, which grew right along side the Deul a height of about 15 ft. and was impr beyond measure by the important character the sculpture all the way up the walls. By time, however, it had begun to drizzle darkness also began to set in and so I compelled to set out on my return journey the same methods of conveyance as before, Naliagram station three miles away and thence buffalo cart over a muddy road two miles long Nalia village which I reached about 10 P M had by then made up my mind to extend stay until I had thoroughly explored and photographed this important structure.

On the 28th of September I revisited Deul. By that time the coolies whom I engaged with the help of the thana Police cleared a belt of about 10 ft. round the Deul had cut down the trees which had grown al into the temple and eaten deeply into its parts. I found that the entire lower part of building of the Deul up to a height of a 5 ft. had been either greatly damaged or al destroyed in parts through saline erosion growth of trees but that over the three facets, *viz.*, western facet, west south facet and west north-west facet were tier a tier of figure sculpture of the greatest p value. Altogether there were 13 tiers of f sculpture of which 6 complete belts of pl above the western gate were still intact completely examined the building all r from the ground on this day and left instruc with the *naib* of the zemindar, whose kut was very close by and who courteously volun ed his services to collect coolies and to bamboo scaffoldings erected in the course of next morning. It was on the next day there *viz.*, the 29th of September 1933 that, with help of bamboo scaffoldings erected all a the three western facets of the Deul, I begu close examination of all the figure sculpture the three western facets.

The perches on the scaffolding were very s as they were made with loose sheets of corrug iron lent by one of the potters in the hamle

On the southern half of three frontal the sculpture appeared to relate to the Ram story whereas on the northern half they appe to belong to the story relating to Krishna.

I had been intrigued by the animal I had taken at first sight to consis

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row of horses, and as soon as the scaffoldings were high enough to reach this level (about 29 ft. above ground level) I climbed up the roughly cut bamboo posts of the scaffolding in order to catch a glimpse of this belt, cutting my leg badly thereby by the sharp edge of one of the bamboo posts, with the result that when I climbed high enough to get a glimpse of the lion belt my leg was profusely bleeding. All this was, however, worth while because what I saw of this belt filled me with an indescribable thrill and surprise. I discovered that the animals were not horses but lions—lions in the act of marching through lotus fields and of a virility of design, comprising a combination of ferocity, restraint and dignity, with their tails and manes stylized in a wonderfully plastic manner, the like of which I had never seen before in the sphere of art. Here, I felt, was undoubtedly the most outstanding feature of a structure which could not have been meant for anything but a Victory Monument.

The unique importance of the monument having been fully realized by me by now, I decided to extend my originally planned two days' stay at Nalia, so as to take a sufficient number of photographs and to fully examine all the plaques, understand their significance and make a record of all the architectural and archæological features of the Deul. For the next few days, therefore, I visited the Deul daily, going every day through the same laborious processes of the journey backward and forward, but performing it with zestful enjoyment for a cause the importance of which seemed to convert all these inconveniences into the pleasures of a picnic.

Further descriptions of this Deul from every aspect will have to be postponed to later articles; but before I conclude this first instalment, I should like to record my thanks to the local officers including Sj. S. C. Basu, P. W. I., Kaliagram station for lending his trolley, the Police officers who helped me in clearing the jungles round the Deul and in erecting the scaffoldings, to the zemindar Babu Harakumar Lahiri and his naib, and, above all, to Babu Ajit Kumar Mukherji, to whose instrumentality I owe by discovery of this important Deul, and to his hospitable father at whose house I made my camp for over a week while making my research. I am also indebted to Babu Sudhansu Ray, artist, who along with Ajit Babu helped me throughout cheerfully and enthusiastically in everything that I did during those days. I am also indebted to Babu Sudhansu Ray for making several sketches which are reproduced here and to Mr. K. N. Chatterji of *The Modern Review* and Sj. Nirmal Kumar Bose for helping me with many valuable suggestions regarding the description of the architectural features of the monument.

Foreseeing the possibility of vandalism commencing its operation after I had announced the importance of the monument, I requested the zemindar Babu Harakumar Lahiri of Korakdi on whose property the Deul stands, to take steps for its protection and he has accordingly kindly erected a strong bamboo fencing round it and has agreed to co-operate in protecting it from damage. In spite of the fencing, however, serious acts of vandalism have unfortunately occurred since then and I am informed that in open daylight some men actually went to the Deul with shovel and pickaxe and removed several valuable plaques and damaged others in spite of remonstrances from the zemindar's naib. I have been able to trace the person who has secured possession of the plaques so removed and I can only hope that these acts of vandalism will not be repeated. In my capacity as President of the Rural Heritage Preservation Society of Bengal I am requesting the District authorities of Faridpur to lend their co-operation in protecting this monument by giving instruction to the village police to help the zemindar's men in protecting it from further acts of vandalism until it is protected as I hope it will) under the Ancient Monument Preservation Act. It is obvious, however, that unless it is protected immediately under the Ancient Monument Preservation Act, there is every probability of this highly important monument of the greatest national importance to Bengal suffering irreparably grievous damage. I am making also representations to the Archæological Department with this end in view and it is hoped that the Department will take immediate steps in the matter.

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INDIANS ABROAD

Indian Women in Malaya

Generally Indian women in Malaya are much more backward than their sisters in India, and that in educational and cultural walks of life. But in some other respects, local Indian women are much more broadminded than their sisters in India. For instance, the Indian women in Malaya make friends more easily and that in a natural way with the women of other castes and creeds or nationality. That is, of course, due to the cosmopolitan character of the population of this country. Further, my country women in Malaya are more tidy in their ways of living and they maintain their general standard of life on a higher scale than they do in India, although they are no better in these respects when compared with Europeans, Chinese or Japanese domiciled in Malaya.

Except the Indian coolie women, the other lass of Indian women immigrants here are educated and cultured. Most of them know the own mother tongue and quite a number kno English. The same cannot be said unfortunat of the Indian women born in Malaya, familie known as "Straits-born" Indian women. O members among them do not know how to read write any language, I mean in the majorit cases. And the younger set of Straits-born In women do not seem to show any keenness learn their own mother tongue but go in English education. Further, they very much l in them Indian culture or traditions. Just look the Indian orchestra, maintained by our L Club! All the eight or nine members take part in it are Indian born. It may be t we may have Straits-born Indian women in fut but they are not in it so far.

Further, the Straits-born Indian women do interest themselves in knowing past or pres events in India or for that matter in any c

Photo taken on the inauguration of the Lotus Club, Singapore. Ladies belonging to different provinces of India have become members of this club. Photo shows members with the Founder-President of the Club, Mrs. E. V. Davies, M.A.

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part of the world. That is a grave mistake which needs to be remedied. Their illiteracy and conservatism in these respects are perhaps due to their close contact with the unprogressive Malaya women, whose languages and customs, the Straits-born Indian women have largely adopted.

I believe that useful education in some form or other is bound to improve their lot in course of time. They should keep themselves in touch with the activities of women in India, to which country they naturally look for inspiration. They should also read a lot of literature in their own language, such as Tamil and there are several good books in Indian languages and they could do a lot to open their eyes. With the right type of education the Straits-born Indian women can at least prove themselves better companions to their husbands. At present they are not efficient enough to talk on anything except rice and curry.

In their endeavour to "come up" in their lives these women need the help of their menfolks too. Perhaps there may be a few educated Indian women in Malaya who may be willing to give the lead but little can be accomplished without the sympathy of men. The Indian women do worship their husbands, though they may not die with them as they used to do, in the days of *Suttee*. Still they live for their husbands and they deserve every sympathy and help at the hands of Indian men in the F. M. S.

Singapore — Mrs. E. V. Davies

Kunwar Maharaj Singh speaks out

Here are a few extracts from a speech of Kunwar Maharaj Singh, Agent of the Government of India in South Africa, delivered to the Wesley Guild in the Wesleyan Church Hall, Boksburg:

UNTOUCHABILITY IN SOUTH AFRICA

"We Indians form one per cent of the total population of the Transvaal and you speak of us a menace.' How can one person in a hundred be a menace? You say that the Indian is a trader. Of course, he is. What else can he be? He cannot be an engine driver, or own land as he can in his own country. There is no country in the world—and I have travelled myself in over 30—where there are so many restrictions against Indians as this great country of yours."

After explaining the untouchability question in India and the great strides made within the last few months in abolishing the evil by the great reform work done by Mahatma Gandhi, the Kunwar went on to say:

"We are doing something for our untouchables, and the work which is being done in India will never go back. The reforms being carried out can never be negatived in the future. But what about untouchability in this country? In India, untouchability has a religious sanction, and you know how difficult it is to remove anything with religious sanction.

"But what have you done in your enlightened and progressive country, for it is truly progressive? I believe I have many sympathizers in this country, but they keep their sympathy hidden. I need open sympathizers. You are too timid, you have to take a little more action, a little more courage and you will find that what was bitter is sweet and what was sweet bitter.

"Teach your children not to despise people because they are five shades darker in colour. Everyone of the religious teachers of the world were men with dark skins—Moses, Jesus Christ—I have seen and known the classes from which they were born, Buddha, Confucius who has many millions of followers in China. What was his colour and what the shape of his eyes? Mahomed and all the great religious teachers were Asiatics, and—forgive me if I say it—were born and lived among the dark-skinned nations, the Asiatics."

We congratulate Kunwar Maharaj Singh for the brave stand that he has been taking against the racial exclusiveness of the white people in South Africa.

B. DAS

Indian Women Abroad

I do not know how far Indian women abroad have organized themselves to improve their status. From what I know, I find that there are not many women's organizations in foreign countries where our nationals live. And I may suggest here that just as menfolk, our womenfolks should also organize themselves in those countries to which they have emigrated. However, I would like to point out in this connection that an efficient Indian Women's organization is being run at Kobe, Japan, for the past few years under the guidance of an educated Indian lady in Japan, Mrs. Hassan Ali. The institution under reference here is known as the Indian Ladies' Club. In 1931, Mrs. Ali was also elected to be the President of the Kobe branch of the Japan Indian National Congress Committee. With the single exception of this organization, I had not known any other Indian ladies institution abroad so far.

Quite recently the example set up by the Indian women of Japan was followed in Malaya when a distinguished Indian lady domiciled in Singapore founded the first Indian ladies' club at Singapore. This lady is Mrs. E. V. Davies, M.A., a former Professor of Economics in one of the Women's colleges in Madras. The club is known as the Lotus Club. From very humble beginnings this club has grown into a very efficient organization with a membership of about a hundred. The members of the club meet every Saturday evening and discuss their activities and played games, such as, tennis and ping-pong. The club also holds an annual sports in which the members and their little children take part. Besides, an orchestra playing Indian music is also maintained by the club and to the functions held under the auspices of the Lotus Club, ladies of other races are also invited, so that they might get an idea of Indian womanhood.

Let us hope that the example set up by the Indian ladies in Kobe and Singapore will be followed by our womenfolks living in other foreign countries also.

N. A. P.

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FINANCIAL NOTES

By SAILENDRA NATH SEN GUPTA

The Report of the Bengal Jute Enquiry Committee

We have before us the Report of the Bengal Jute Enquiry Committee which was appointed just a year ago. The Committee was originally requested to submit their report by May, 1933, possibly because that would have helped the Government to decide its policy with regard to the 1933-34 crop. The volume contains three Reports, the Majority and the Minority Reports and the Report individually submitted by Khan Bahadur Azizul Huque. The last was not signed till December 22nd. There is also a supplementary note to the Majority Report by Mr. G. S. Dutt and two Minutes of Dissent, one by Dr. J. C. Sinha and the other (Note of Dissent) by Dr. N. C. Sen Gupta. There are also 221 pages of extremely valuable appendices.

The terms of reference were as follows:

(*i*) The question of regulation of the production of jute;
(*ii*) The marketing of jute, including the establishment of regulated markets, and the supply of market information in a suitable form to the producer;
(*iii*) The creation of a Jute Committee for the province of Bengal;
(*iv*) The extent to which other materials have displaced jute, and the likelihood of further substitutes being found in the near future;
(*v*) The possibilities of making any other economic use of jute to an extent that might relieve the present situation.

It was evident from the very beginning that no unanimity would be reached for it is too much to expect that representatives of conflicting interests would agree in fundamentals. This must have been known to the Government as well; and, it is rather strange that the Government after appointing such a Committee should itself declare that its decision would be delayed because of the lack of unanimity among the members. It is also significant that the officials and the Europeans have combined in signing the Majority report while the minority consists of all the Indian non-officials, who represent the principal commercial interests.

The Majority (with the exception of Dr. Sinha) have come to the conclusion that there is no over-production of jute and so there is no justification for compulsory regulation by legislative action. "Better organised and more intensive propaganda" should be carried out by collectors of districts to "assist" the cultivators "in deciding what area of jute is likely to secure them an adequate return for their produce (pp. 6-10). The Minority, on the other hand, consider that the depressed price of jute is due principally to over-production so that control of production is necessary. To this purpose they recommend that a Provincial Jute Committee be formed, which will estimate the probable demand for jute for the season and allot specified quotas of acreage to the different "economic blocks" into which the entire jute-growing area in the Province is to be apportioned. The allotment of the quotas will be carried into effect by local agricultural associations or other agencies for the formation of which active steps should be taken by the Government through its various departments. The minority does not contemplate legislative action in the initial stage (pp. 85-105). Both the Reports have made recommendations for more efficient determination of the estimated productions and publication of the forecasts, so that there might be an end to undue speculations (pp. 11-12, 106-110). The minority record that the official forecasts are inaccurate and "instead of being helpful to the trade, they often mislead the market, causing violent fluctuations and speculation (p. 159). Both the reports agree that weekly and fortnightly reports in addition to the preliminary and final forecasts will be of great help in checking speculation.

Both the Majority and the Minority agree that all "allowances" should be abolished and that "standard" weights should be universally used. They also agree that regulated markets should be established, initially on an experimental basis at selected places. While the

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Minority recommend that a special legislation on the lines of the Central Provinces Cotton Market Act of 1932 is necessary, the opinion of the Majority is divided as to whether or not legislation is needed (pp. 26-27, 116-118, 122-23). The Minority recommend the establishment of licensed ware-houses as will enable the cultivators to deposit their stock and to get temporary accommodation by discounting the ware-house receipts with money-lending agencies. Such ware-houses may initially be established on an experimental basis (pp. 128-131).

While the majority is divided as to whether or not future markets are necessary, the minority hold that there is a real need for a future market in jute and gives the necessary details for the establishment and regulation of such a market (pp. 28, 135-139).

The opinion of the Majority is divided as to whether the proposed Jute Committee should be Central or Provincial. The Minority unanimously prefer a Provincial Committee. The Majority Report recommends that the function of the Committee should be advisory while the Minority Report holds that it should be invested with effective powers of control over the trade as a whole (pp. 30-39, 149-56). The constitutions of the Committee as suggested by the two Reports are widely different (pp. 34-39, 154-55), and the Majority is not unanimous on this point.

The Majority finds (p. 39) that the Jute industry is being seriously threatened by increased adoption of bulk handling and substitution of jute by paper and cotton. They recommend that a policy of research with the object of discovering fresh markets and new uses for jute should be vigorously pursued. So also agricultural researches should be carried on for improving the yield or quality of jute or both. The Minority, while alive to the danger, concludes that it should not be exaggerated and recommends the establishment of a research organization by the jute mills. The Minority also points out the "disproportionately wide gap between the harvest price of jute and the price of jute manufactures" and holds that "an attempt must be made by the mills to reduce the cost of jute goods" (pp. 39, 142-47).

Such are in barest outlines the main decisions of the Committee. The Majority Report is more or less a slipshod affair. The arguments are not well put, there are no quantitative informations to carry conviction, all the aspects of this industry have not been discussed and the report as a whole display an entire lack of scientific perspective. It is noteworthy that Dr. Sinha signed the Majority Report, though his views as given on pp. 6-7 and in his Minute of Dissent are entirely at variance with the Majority Report on many of the most essential points.

Though we do not see exactly eye to eye with the Minority Report, we are almost in entire agreement with it. It is a very ably written, well-reasoned and well-balanced report where arguments in striking contrast to the Majority Report are given not in the form of dicta but are supported by a mass of facts, figures and statistics which cannot but impress any serious student of vital problem of Bengal's economic life.

The Dollar and the Recovery

The economic history of world for the last few months is largely the history of Mr. Roosevelt's recovery programme. It was found that the Banking crisis in America was mainly due to the "almost impossible situation presented by the overwhelming indebtedness of America as expressed in national and municipal indebtedness and in the indebtedness of farmers and other large sections of the community." The details of the programme are well known. The President has sought to improve the situation in three ways. He has sought to rationalize agricultural production by vesting large powers in the hands of the Secretary of Agriculture and to ease the agrarian indebtedness by providing huge mortgage loans at a low rate of interest. He has sought to force up the price level by inflationary means and by providing more purchasing power through the operation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, Emergency Public Works Administration, Federal Emergency Relief Administration and similar projects. He has sought to restore the equilibrium between consumption and production through the National Industrial Recovery Administration which provides for higher wages, shorter hours, recognition of trade unions by voluntary agreement if possible or by compulsion according to the "Blanket code" of July 24th in other cases.

On April 20th, an embargo was placed upon gold with the result that the price of the dollar fell and the exchange markets were, for

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a time, put into utter confusion. The prices rose in U. S. A. sharply till July after which there has been a sharp recession. The trade activity received considerable stimulus and a fairly substantial reduction in the number of unemployed was effected. To bring about the the necessary forcing down of the dollar, Washington has begun to bid for gold in foreign markets. This naturally has a disturbing effect on foreign centres due to huge withdrawal of gold. The country most affected is naturally France, the only important country still on the Gold Standard. The price of gold for some time remained absolutely uncertain. Till January 25, America was purchasing gold at $ 20.67 per oz. but on that date the rate was increased to $ 34.45 per oz, the effect on the bullion market being disastrous. On February 8th the rate was further raised to $ 35.00 per oz. and simultaneously the President made an announcement fixing the dollar value in terms of gold and so putting an end to the hectic conditions prevailing in the exchange markets. It has been announced that the dollar will henceforth have 59·06 per cent of its old gold contents (*i. e.*, it will contain 15^5/$_{21}$ grains of gold ^{9}/$_{10}$ths fine) and that the price of gold will be 35 dollars an ounce with effect from February 1st. This new valuation will mean a profit of about 2880 million dollars to the Treasury. The embargo on gold will automatically disappear.

In almost every case of exchange depreciation, the rise of prices is markedly less than the depreciation in the exchange value of the depreciated currency. This occurred when the sterling first depreciated and is true in the present case also; the internal value of the dollar is much higher than its external value. There appears, therefore, apart from the effect of price movements in other countries, to be a substantial margin by which prices might still rise in the United States before the internal and external prices are in equilibrium. The reason for this disparity is that speculation is active in foreign exchange and fears of further depreciation induces forward selling. The following tables will make our point clear.

TABLE I

1933	(1) Dollars to £	(2) Francs to £	(3) Dollars to £ Index Jan. 1933=100	(4) Francs to Dollars Index Jan. 1933=100
Jan.	3.37	86.06	100	100
Feb.	3.42	87.22	101	102
Mar.	3.44	87.40	102	103
Apr.	3.51	87.21	104	105
May	3.94	85.57	117	116
Jun.	4.14	86.10	123	123
July	4.64	85·24	138	137
Aug.	4.50	83.88	134	131
Sept.	4·66	80.35	138	128
Oct.	4.67	80.22	138	128
Nov.	5.14	82.14	153	146
Dec.	5.14	83.68	153	146

Note: Series (1) and (2) are from the "Economist" series (monthly averages). Series (3) and (4) are derived from (1) and (2). The figures are approximate.

The abrupt rise in May is due to the suspension of the gold standard on the 20th April. The rise in June is explained by the enactment of the N. R. A. on June 16, and the rejection of proposals for currency stabilization by the U. S. A. delegates to the World Economic Conference (June 22-27). In July also rise is due to the failure of the Economic Conference. In November, there was a change in the personnel of the Roosevelt Government and a more inflationary policy was indicated. All these led to violent speculation in the exchange market. Had there been no speculation the movement of the internal prices would have been more or less parallel to the movement of the external price of the dollar. The disparity between the two, as seen from the following table, will roughly measure the rôle of exchange speculation.

TABLE II

1933	(1) Index No. of wholesale prices 1914=100	(2) Index No. of wholesale prices Jan. 1933=100	(3) New York-Paris cross rate Jar. 1933=100	(4) Internal value of dollar as percentage of external value (4)=(2)÷(3) ×100
Jan.	87·4	100	100	100
Feb.	85·7	98	102	96
Mar.	86·2	98	103	95
Apr.	86·5	99	105	94
May	89·8	102	116	88
Jun.	93·1	106	123	86
Jul.	98·7	113	137	83
Aug.	99·6	114	131	87
Sept.	101·4	116	128	91
Oct.	102·0	117	146	91
Nov.	101·9	117	149	78
Dec.	101·6	116	..	..

The fourth column shows how the internal value of the dollar has failed to keep pace with the rise in its external value. The depreciation of the dollar was doubtless designed to raise the internal price level. The latter continued to rise no doubt but the exchange value rose more than in proportion due to speculative influence which had little direct effect on the internal price level itself.

It might be noted that the new gold parity yields about $ 6.66 to 100 francs and at 78.84 francs to the pound (the actual rate on 20-2-34) the rate should be 5.127 dollars to the pound. The actual London-New York rate is 5·13 dollars to the pound. For some time the rate has been below the theoretical rate due to heavy shipments of gold induced by the higher dollar price.

PRICES

The various Index numbers for the United Kingdom are as follows. The series has been reduced to the base 1933 Jan.=100 and only the nearest integer is used.

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TABLE III

1933	(1) Statist	(2) Board of Trade	(3) The "Economist"	(4) Average
	100	100	100	100
Jan.	99	99	99	99
Feb.	99	97	99	98
Mar.	101	97	101	100
Apr.	104	99	105	103
May	104	101	107	104
June	105	102	108	105
July	104	102	108	105
Aug.	104	103	107	105
Sep.	104	102	106	104
Oct.	102	102	103	102
Nov.	103	102	105	103
Dec.				
Average 1929	148	136	152	145
1930	124	119	128	124
1931	105	104	107	105
1932	103	101	103	102
1933	102·4	101	104	102

It appears from (4) that the "Economist" ndex is generally in excess of the "Statist" index nd in defect of the "Board of Trade" index. hus the average of the three is almost identical ith the "Statist" index which therefore we take s the most "reliable." We are aware of the eoretical difficulties involved but since we use e indices merely as indicators, the nicer points echnique are best left alone.

A comparison of the "Statist" index with the . S. A. index of wholesale prices will show that e course of prices in general in the United ngdom roughly follows that in U. S. A. but h a far less amplitude since the passing of . R. A. From a study of these indexes ne, we think it is yet premature to predict a peful time ahead. Had the improvement of spring time continued, we would have been stified in forecasting prosperity in near future. Germany, however, we see definite improvement how far that is due to the remission of the ge reparation payments, it is too early to ble. In the following table, the indices have en reduced to the base Jan, 1933 (nearest tegers).

TABLE IV

Index Number of Wholesale Prices

1933	(1) Germany	(2) France	(3) Italy	(4) India	(5) U. S. A.
Jan.	100	100	100	100	100
Feb.	100	100	98	98	98
Mar.	100	99	96	94	98
Apr.	100	99	96	95	99
May	101	98	96	100	102
June	102	102	96	101	106
July	103	102	95	103	113
Aug.	103·5	102	96	101	114
Sep.	104	101	95	100	116
Oct.	105	99	95	100	117
Nov.	105	98	94·5	100	117
Dec.	105·5	98	94	100	116
		100	93·5		

Note: The above table is calculated from Stat. Gesampt in case of Germany, Stat. Gen's index in of France and Prof. Bachi's index in case of Italy. case of India, the official Calcutta index has been d.

It is evident that if the Index number of wholesale prices is any criterion of national prosperity or otherwise, there has been a steady improvement in Germany where the rise, though not remarkable, has been continuous and steady. In France, there was some improvement during the autumn but the improvement has not been maintained. In November, there was some rise no doubt but it is too much to say that this is the sign of a "definite revival" in France. In India, the downward trend of prices was checked in May when our Index Number rose from 95 to 100. Since then the price level has remained remarkably steady. It is remarkable that in each of these countries the "revival" set in in the month of May. As this concides with the introduction of the "Recovery" policy of President Roosevelt, it is not unlikely that the so-called "recovery" is merely an international effect of the American experiment. The case of Italy is a bit peculiar, since here we find the price-level going lower and lower steadily. There was no improvement whatsoever even during May when all the other countries registered a rise in the price-level.

In some respects the Cost of Living index is a more important indicator of the actual economic position than the wholesale price index. In normal conditions the index of wholesale prices and the cost of living should move together. In case of disequilibruim, the two will in general diverge but the divergence by itself would not directly *measure* the disequilibrium. The most obvious reason of the divergence is the disagreement between the movement of prices of industrial and consumption goods. In the following table we give the cost of living indices of U. S. A., Germany and the United Kingdom. In each case, the indices have been reduced to the base Jan. 1933=100, to facilitate the study of the variation during the year. We have no cost of living index which is applicable to the whole of India For this reason, we have not included the Bombay Bureau of Labour Index.

TABLE V

The cost of Living Index

1933	(1) U.S.A. (National Industrial Conference Board)	(2) U. K. Ministry of Labour	(3) Germany
Jan.	100	100	100
Feb.	98	99	98
Mar.	98	98	98
Apr.	98	96	98
May.	98	96	98
June	99	98	98
July	102	99	97
Aug.	104	100	97
Sept.	106	100	96
Oct.	106	100	96
Nov.	...	101	95
Dec.	...	101	...
Average			
1929	135	117	...
1930	130	111	...
1931	117	104	...
1932	106	101	...

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The rise in June in U. S. A. is only as expected due to the introduction of the Recovery Campaign. It is also interesting that the upward movement of the Index has begun simultaneously in both the United Kingdom and the U. S. A. and has been maintained in both the countries since then. In Germany however though the wholesale prices were rising, the cost of living was steadily falling during the year. It will be seen from the following table that in every case, the cost of living has lagged behind the wholesale prices. This is only natural since in the former we take account of retail prices which are much less affected by speculative influences than the whole-sale prices.

TABLE VI

The wholesale prices Index in terms of the cost of living Index. (Jan., 1933=100)

1933	U. S. A.	United Kingdom	Germany
Jan.	100	100	100
Feb.	100	100	102
Mar.	100	101	102
Apr.	101	105	102
May	107	109	103
Jun.	107	107	104
Jul.	111	105	105
Aug.	110	104	107
Sept.	109	104	108
Oct.	...	104	109
Nov.	...	101	110
Dec.	...	102	...
Average			
1929	116	126	...
1930	108	112	...
1931	102	101	...
1932	104	102	...

This index shows, therefore, that so far as the ratio of wholesale prices to the cost of living is concerned, the position of U. S. A. was the same in September 1933 as it was in 1930. So far the "recovery" is remarkable. In case of the United Kingdom, the position is no better than it was on the average during 1932.

INDIA

So far as the prices are concerned, we have seen already that the wholesale prices index has remained more or less constant during the past few months. Like most other countries in the world, the recent events in the United States of America has profoundly influenced the economics of our own country as well. The gold movement which began in 1931 on a large scale has continued unabated since then, receiving fresh impetus from the depreciation of the dollar. Our rupee being "linked" with the sterling, the Rupee-Dollar exchange has closely followed the Dollar-Sterling rate. Along with other countries, the import and export trades of India will no doubt be seriously affected by the depreciation of the dollar but as such effects are remote and mere or less indirect, the actual amount of disturbance caused by this exchange tro cannot be ascertained now.

Our position in International Trade is tinctly better than it was in 1932. While exports have increased our imports have dimini ed, so that our balance of trade has impro considerably. There has been a distinct provement in the Tea trade. Both in demand for internal consumption and in the price offered the improvement has been rem able. It seems that the restriction plan ag upon by the various tea-growing countries worked very well. In the Jute industry, paratively higher prices of hessians have throughout the year 1933. The result has that while the export of raw jute has consider increased, that of jute manufactures has remi more or less constant. Japan is increasing Jute mills and unless proper precautions taken she will very soon become a formi competitor in very near future.

As regards cotton and cotton manufa events of far-reaching importance occurred d the past year. The depreciation of the lowered the price of Japanese piece-goo India and in defence of the home industry was very seriously affected, the duties on Japanese cotton manufactures were increas 75 per cent. Japan boycotted Indian cott retaliation. It is now well known how a gation was sent out to India by the Jap Government to discuss the situation wit Indian interests and how after a prol negotiation a settlement was arrived at October, 1933. A Tariff Bill incorporating Indo-Japanese Agreement and the Modi Pact differentiating in favour of the United dom is now on the Legislative anvil. Indo-Japanese treaty itself has not, however, signed yet. The Tariff Board Report on Cotton Textile Industry has been issued recently and must be considered out-of-d view of these developments. Inspite o Japanese Boycott, the export of raw cott considerably increased. The price of cotton soared up during June but following crisis in America it has again come down

An event of some interest which considerable flutter in the Calcutta mark the temporary recrudescence of the old controversy. The controversy had its nature when the Legislature refused to consid devaluation of the rupee in terms of the st

As regards the price of gold, *The Economist* noted in its January 29 issue "there is not much possibility of gold further unless fresh developments occur." developments did occur. During the week on January 27, the price of gold per tola from Rs. 32-8-0 to Rs. 32-10-9. Following new development of Roosevelt's Gold Po Bombay gold rate which closed at Rs. on January 31, touched Rs. 35-2-0 on

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February. On the fifth, the rate lowered down Rs. 34-8-0. During this period the record ice of £ 7 was reached in London. Since then price of gold has come down and for the last days the ruling rate has been in the neighbourd of Rs. 34 per tola (137 s. in London).

The export of gold on large scale which began en the Gold Standard was suspended continues since October 1931, Rs. 184.50 crores worth gold has been exported from India. The lowing table gives the value of gold exported each month since October, 1931.

TABLE VII

Export of Gold from India
(in lakhs of rupees).

	1931	1932	1933
Jan.		927	476
Feb.		757	496
Mar.		689	498
Apr.		424	456
May		330	522
Jun.		487	563
Jul.		617	260
Aug.		452	446
Sep.		656	570
Oct.	905	567	344
Nov.	857	672	253
Dec.	1777	1013	242
Total	35,39	75,91	51,26

Jan.-Feb. 10, 1934 16,14
Feb. 10—Feb. 16, 1934 5,50 (Bombay only approximate)

he effect of raising the gold value from dollars per ounce to 35 dollars per ounce be evident from the following figures of y exports.

TABLE VIII

erage 1932	Rs.	146 lakhs
1933	,,	98·5 ,,
ek ending Jan. 27, 1934	,,	151 ,,
do Feb. 3,	,,	479 ,,
do 10,	,,	473 ,,
16,	,,	550 ,,

e shall now consider India's International during 1933 in some detail. The total of merchandise during that year amounted 148.3 crores which is 7.3 per cent higher the 1932 figure of Rs. 138·17 crores. The s have decreased in the same time by per cent from Rs. 133.65 crores in 1932 116.05 crores in 1933. This cannot ly continue for ever, but the longer such ation continues the more will our country Considering the export and import together, we find that our total foreign has declined by 2.9 per cent from 2 crores in 1932 to Rs. 264.35 in 1933.

TABLE IX

Foreign Trade of India
(in lakhs of rupees)

	Imports		Exports	
	1933	1932	1933	1932
January	1066	1093	1171	1356
February	922	998	1244	1255
March	1088	1091	1363	1323
April	969	1322	1042	1072
May	975	1183	1085	980
June	869	1210	1301	960
July	870	1122	1242	920
August	990	1112	1434	1025
September	875	1141	1165	1262
October	1062	998	1291	1176
November	1001	1114	1319	1238
December	918	979	1186	1250

Some of the principal items are as follows :

TABLE X

(in lakhs of rupees)

	1933	1932	variation per cent
Exports : Raw Jute	1093	919	+19
Jute manufacture	2147	2205	—2·8
Raw Cotton	2575	1604	+60
Tea	1903	1690	+12·7
Rice	1143	1716	—33
Oil-seeds	1468	1253	+16
Imports : Cotton twist and yarn	268	383	—30
do. Piece-goods	1441	2046	—30
do. Raw and manufactures	2276	3392	—33

A persual of the following figures giving the total number of packages of piece-goods and yarn imported into Calcutta will show how much the Japanese trade has been affected by the enhancement of the import duties.

	Total	From Great Britain	From Japan.
November 1933	.....	4737	3306
December 1933	7329	3888	2863
January 1934	12603	5932	5185
January 1933	20043	6340	11687

THE RATIO CONTROVERSY

It is not possible here to examine thoroughly the claims put forward by the two sides. The controversy had a temporary recrudescence for some time and as in 1926 we had several long statements made by eminent publicists on this old problem. The main issue was to determine whether the rupee is overvalued in terms of the sterling. The supporters of devaluation tried to prove their point by referring to the decline in the Balance of Trade and in the export trade and in wholesale prices. Without entering into the controversy itself, we would like to say that the exports, imports and therefore the Balance of Trade are not separate entities by themselves. For instance, in India the jute and tea industries contribute about 20 per cent of the total exports. A depression in these two industries alone due to factors peculiar to them will lead to a fall

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in the exports more than in proportion to the general decline due to world causes. It is clear that it would not be correct to attribute the fall to overvaluation of the currency. Similarly the particular causes affecting one or two important industries might show the total exports or imports of other countries in a light more favourable or otherwise than they really are. It is therefore dangerous to base one's argument on the statistics of international trade without eleminating the effects of the peculiar circumstances affecting the more important industries a country. In the next place, so far as we judge, the only reliable and safe criterion to out whether the currency of a country is o valued or not is to examine how far the cost living and wages have adjusted themselves to value of the currency. Unfortunately, criterion is not suitable for investigation in I where no universal cost of living index is existence and where the wages-system is unorganized to allow of any accurate compari

THE AGONIES OF BENGAL

By A. C. GUHA

By a strange irony of fate, Bengal, which, in the heyday of her glory, outshone all other provinces in the vast Indian peninsula, has now fallen on evil days.

Bengal's misfortunes began with the Partition of the province in 1905 which subjected her to extensive amputations and reduced her strength to half of what it was before. In the event of a re-union between Hindus and Moslems who live side by side and cannot have many separate interests, they could by common consent secure a constitution adapted to their mutual needs.

Next after the Partition came the Meston Settlement to deal Bengal a knockdown blow. It left her so stranded that she, formerly the richest of provinces, is now unable to pay her way. It diverted from the coffers of Bengal to those of other provinces about 50 crores of rupees, the cumulative proceeds of the export duty on jute grown almost exclusively by her agriculturists. An unprecedented slump in the jute market followed and all but killed the most flourishing industry of the Province.

As if anything, remainded to complete the picture of Bengal's disolation, hundreds of thousands of her men and women were thrown out of employ and simultaneously with this, terrorism rapidly gained ground within the last year and a half. This last catastrophe has paralysed Bengal's political progress.

This long list of misfortunes, heavy beyond endurance as it is, by no means exhausts the catalogue of Bengal's woes. The last Ce has revealed that the population of Be has increased 8 per cent within the decen which ended in 1931, while her food reso have remained stationary. This may turn to be the proverbial straw on the Be Camel's back. If the country is starve death through shortage or failure of supplies, not a vestige of the Bengali race remain to enjoy the blessings of Swaraj it comes. The writing on the wall is vis and if Bengal or any other part of India no heed to it, it will only precipitate the of judgment and "plunge her headlong bottomless abyss."

Apropos of India's food situation, Linlithgow, the foremost authority on I agriculture says :

> "India's political problems, anxious and as they are, *are as dust* when weighed aga problems of the future food supply of ever growing millions."

Yet we in India are too busy constitution building, to think of any else, even though it be a matter of li death to us.

Already, malnutrition and undern have exacted a heavy toll and produced natives of Bengal a chronic predisposi wasting diseases such as Beri Beri, culosis and others—too numerous to be

Recently Sir John McGaw, D General of Indian Medical Service, awake philanthropist and physici eminence, has drawn a most lurid pi

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the gloomy conditions which prevail in Bengal and of the worse which cloud her future. Another authority, Mr. Porter, Superintendent of the last Census, no less eminent in administrative economics than Sir John in medicine, and whose official position gave him an opportunity of investigating up-to-date data at first hand, made some highly relevant observations on this subject, which we make no apology to reproduce.

"Any increase of population must lead to increased distress, unless the potentialities of the province are developed. Like the rest of India, Bengal is notable for its undeveloped resources and the insufficiency with which such resources as it has, are exploited. If the total cultivable area, only 67 per cent of which is now actually under cultivation, were brought under cultivation and if improved methods of cultivation, yielding an increase of 30 per cent over the present yield, were adopted, it is clear from a simple rule-of-three calculation that Bengal could support, at its present standard of living, a population nearly twice as large as that recorded in 1931. It is clear at least that it is not yet time to indulge in gloomy fore-bodings on the ground that Bengal is over-populated, provided full use is made of the available resources of the country."

Mr. Wilkinson, the well-known author of "The World's Population Problems" has come to pretty much the same conclusion as Mr. Porter has. He observes :

"The Indian peoples have in their agricultural resources alone, sufficient potential power of production, to support any increase of population which is likely to take place within the next hundred years."

But, unless agriculture is vastly expanded and every inch of cultivable but now uncultivated waste, brought under tillage, Bengal's situation will be like that of Tantalus of days of yore.

While the people of India are indifferent to their own agricultural interests, prominent statesmen abroad have often stressed their paramount importance. It was, perhaps, a conviction of this nature which prompted the British Government to send out to India a former Viceroy to succeed a lawyer and simultaneously, to appoint a Royal Commission on Indian agriculture. It is a pity that out there in India, we are slow to take advantage of the opportunities placed within our reach. The apathy towards agricultural interests and preference for political ideals is all the more lamentable as the latter often leads to will-o'-the wisps and tends to bring into dangerous prominence the many fissiparious tendencies that divide castes, sects and communities in India. It is for this reason that the late Viscount Milner advocated the formation of a national party which would assign the foremost place in its programme to the fostering of agriculture. The Great War has conclusively shown that food supply is more important than torpedos and aeroplanes. In these circumstances, the only salvation of Bengal lies in the expansion of her food resources and agriculture.

It behoves us, therefore, to go back to land in the first instance. It is fortunate that the undeveloped agricultural resources of Bengal are large.

According to official estimates there are extensive areas of immediately cultivable but uncultivated wastes to the order of nearly six million acres, exclusive of forest, current fallows and land not suitable for cultivation. The area is equal to barely an eighth of that which is cropped and it is incumbent on every real patriot to see that every inch of this virgin soil, which has the advantage of being free from diminished returns, is brought under tillage. To do this would however require a mint of money but it could never be better spent than in easing the economic pressure on the people of Bengal which may lead to absolutely disastrous consequences later on. Not to speak of starvation which the shortage of food supplies would involve there is just at present more than half a million of the unemployed in this country and the Government has absolutely no excuse for withholding the necessary capital for developing agricultural resources which would provide food and work for them. Great Britain is spending one hundred thirty million pounds per annum for feeding its workless, "with nothing to show for it" as observed by Mr. Lloyd George. The United States of America is pouring out something like £80,500,000 per annum on unemployment benefits, over and above gratuitous relief. A mere fraction of the amount spent by either country would rescue millions in Bengal from the jaws of death. The first and foremost concern of the State is to keep its subjects above bodily want and the neglect of this function would be a voluntary abdication of the most essential prerogative of sovereignty and a flagrant

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breach of the contract which it has made with the peoples who placed themselves under its care. It is sad to think that funds are forthcoming for absolutely unproductive and unnecessary expenditure, while none is available for this fundamental need of Government.

I would suggest a short and simple method of raising money for this purpose. In the money market of today, it is the easiest thing for the Government of India to raise a loan, say, of one crore of rupees and to place this sum at the disposal of the Bengal Government for distribution among men, preferably among *Bhadraloks* who would undertake to reclaim cultivable wastes. I understand that Sir Daniel Hamilton signified his willingness to guarantee the repayment of this loan with interest at the rate 5 per cent per annum. This would enable Government to earn 5 per cent on money locked up in idle reserves.

An alternative to the method suggested by me, perhaps a preferable one, is the expansion of currency to meet an extraordinary but urgent demand. Both the League of Nations and the expert MacMillan Committee favour this alternative.

From the budget speech of Sir Ge... Schuster, it would appear that there is ... a possibility of finding money for capital ... productive expenditure and it is a pity ... Sir Daniel's offer was allowed to fall thro... But I hope it may be revived, if the Gov... ment of Bengal takes an interest in ... matter.

The Central Government should, in ... fitness of things, now disgorge the crore... rupees which it took from the coffers ... Bengal and should distribute the amount ... loans to Bengal agriculturists to enable th... to pay old debts or to contract new ones ... developing new areas. This is the m... effective means of relieving rural indebted...

In conclusion, I fervently hope that a ... policy of dealing with unemployment ... terrorism, by acquiring waste lands ... parcelling them out among the middle cl... of Bengal, on whom the brunt of econ... distress has fallen, will be inaugurated. ... the proposed relief of economic tension, ... unemployment and terrorism would d... natural death in the course of time.

Mrs. Chowdhuri
Sculptor : Sudhir R. Khastgir

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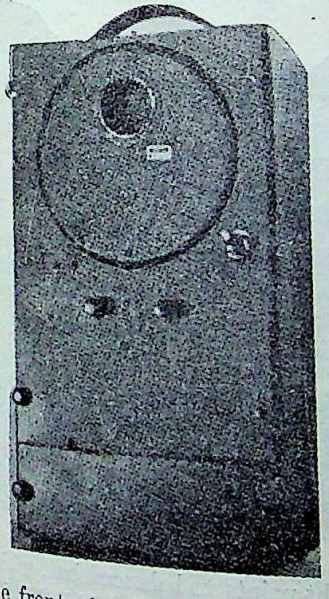
GLEANINGS

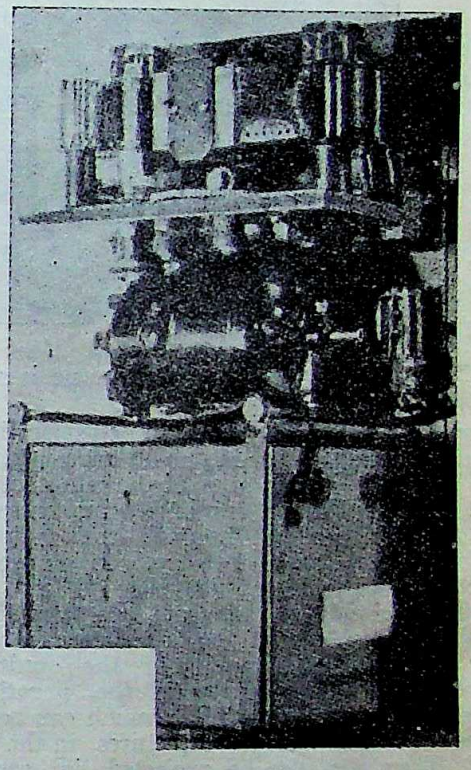
Criminals Photographed in the Act

Positive indentification is the weapon most feared by organized crime and the ruthless criminal. Efforts have therefore been made for many years to produce a workable camera which would photograph the hold-up while the act is being committed. Now with the aid of especially fast film and very efficient lenses the problem of doing just this seems solved. Universal focus and ample field of view of the lens are of course essential to success. The problem is a hard one and considerable equipment is required; anywhere from one to five cameras are used so as to photograph the hold-up from various angles. The system is intended primarily for banks, other institutions that pay out or receive considerable sums of money, and jewelry stores.



The front of the concealed camera

The cameras are concealed at strategic points by grillworks or other masking devices and may be started in operation in a number of ways which will not attract the attention of the bandits. Once the cameras start, a complete record of the robbery is secured. It has been determined that the average hold-up occupies only about three minutes. Each camera will make 240 exposures for each loading and it takes 12 minutes to run off the film. The exposures occur at regular intervals of approximately three seconds. This is sufficiently frequent to follow the acts and movements of all parties concerned. Three exposure-time values are repeated consecutively, one of which will be approximately correct for the existing illumination at the time the camera is in operation. Of course the more light the better, but there will often be cases where the light will be comparatively dim. Under normal illumination of about five foot-candles of light reflected from the object, the shortest exposure used will produce identifiable pictures. Under low illuminating values the longer exposures will produce recognizable pictures down to one foot-candle of light reflected from the object.



The mechanism is operated by batteries; even if cables are cut the camera continues to work

A scene at a hold-up. "Hands up!" is a too well-known slogan. The bandits are being photographed by the concealed silent camera

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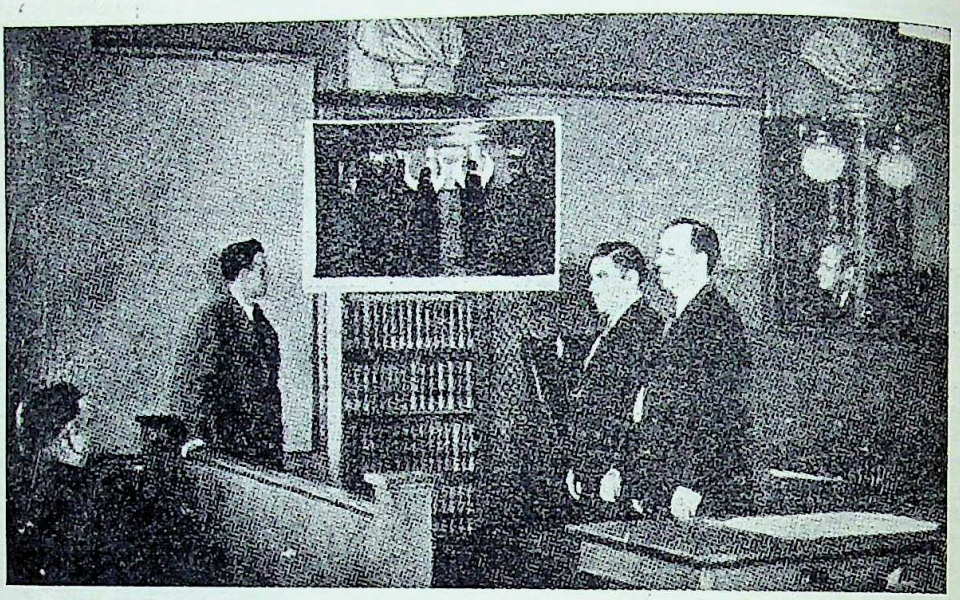

The scene is reproduced on a screen in court

The system is inaudibly started electrically, and when once started there is no stopping it. If the bandits should discover one of the wires, or if they were cut in an inside job, nothing can prevent the cameras from functioning, even the lens is protected by bullet-proof glass. Naturally the cameras must have motors to drive them, but they do not depend on an outside circuit and they are all driven by dry batteries so they cannot be disabled by cutting, shorting or destroying any part of the outfit. After the exposures have been made the negatives are developed and positives are made which can be utilized by the police in comparing the pictures in the "rogues' gallery." They may also be projected in court and there is a good prospect of re-enacting the crime. Two of our illustrations show a photographed hold-up where the victims are faced to the wall, and the same scene being projected in court for the benefit of the judge and jury. The system is known as the "Oshkosh Photo-Identification System."

—*Scientific American*

Man at right points to balanced ball which actuates gas shutoff when earthquake strikes

Valve Cuts off Gas in Quake To Prevent Explosions

For the prevention of fires and explosions during and after earthquakes, a safety valve has been produced for shutting off gas or electricity. It works by means of a bronze ball mounted on a supporting stem. Only a vibration sufficiently strong to damage a building can shake the ball from its stem, causing the valve to cut off gas or power supply.

—*Popular Mechanics*

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NOTES

Trial and Imprisonment of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

In the course of "The Last Letter" written by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru from prison to his daughter, which was published in our last issue, he said :

"I have been a dabbler in many things : I began with science at college and then took to the law and, after developing various other interests in life, finally adopted the popular and widely-practised profession of jail-going in India !"

When he wrote those lines perhaps he did not *definitely* know that he would soon be given an opportunity again for the practice of his profession, though he must have had vague anticipations. For when he was arrested at Allahabad on the 12th February last, seeing the police, the Pandit said smilingly, "I was looking out for you for some days."

In the last paragraph of "The Last Letter," the Pandit wrote :

"We have finished, carissima, and this last letter ends. The last letter ! Certainly not ! I shall write you many more."

He knew not how soon he would be at leisure to write a fresh series of letters to his daughter from prison.

After his arrest at Anand Bhawan in Allahabad Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was brought down to Calcutta for trial, as the three speeches which were considered seditious had been delivered in this city. Two of the speeches were delivered in English in the Albert Hall on the 17th and 18th January last and one in Urdu at Maheswari Bhawan on the 18th idem. The Pandit was tried in the court of the Hon'ble S. K. Sinha, Chief Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta, who framed a charge against him under section 124A of the Indian Penal Code (sedition). He was offered bail but did not accept it. Being asked by the court to plead to the charge, the Pandit said he would not make any plea, nor would he take any part in the proceedings. But with the permission of the court, he made a statement, in the course of which he said :

> "As regards the two speeches delivered by me at the Albert Hall on January 17 and 18 last, I should like to congratulate the reporters for the very good transcriptions submitted by them. There may have been some minor omissions here and there but that was inevitable as I spoke very rapidly and extempore. On the whole, these reports are substantially correct and do represent what I said. But I am afraid, I cannot extend similar congratulations to the reporters who reported my speech at Maheswari Bhawan. Anything more scrappy and incomprehensible I have seldom met. It seems Urdu and Hindi as they are spoken and written in Bengal are very different from what they are in my part of the co..ntry. The speeches delivered by me may have been seditious or not, but they certainly contained some logic and sense. This report of my speech is sheer nonsense and does less han justice to me."
>
> In regard to the matter contained in the speeches, Panditji admitted that not only in these speeches but for many years before this his activities had been seditious.
>
> "I should like to express my gratitude," Panditji continued, "to the Government of Bengal for the opportunity they have accorded me by taking these proceedings against me to associate myself in a small measure with the past and present lot of the people of Bengal. That is a privilege I shall long treasure."
>
> He was stopped by the court from proceeding further while he was saying that his two speeches at Albert Hall were largely concerned with events in Bengal—in Midnapur, Chittagong and elsewhere.

The above is the newspaper report of a part of his statement. Part of it is also referred to in the judgment of the Magistrate, given below, and that should be considered authoritative. The Magistrate's judgment was as follows :

"The accused Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been

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charged with having delivered three seditious speeches, the first at the Albert Hall on 17-1-34, the second at the same place on the following afternoon and the last at Maheswari Bhawan, a public hall in Sovaram Basak Street, the same evening. The first two speeches were delivered in English and the last one in Urdu. Government reporters who attended these meetings took short-hand and longhand notes of all the speeches. Transcriptions were made thereafter, as also an English translation of the speech in Urdu. The accused admits the correctness of the report of the first two speeches; he has stated that they represent substantially all that he said on those occasions. The report of the third speech, however, he states, is somewhat of a travesty of his utterance. As this last speech is mainly a repetition of what he had said on the two previous occasions, it is unnecessary to enter into the alleged inaccuracies of reporting.

"The meeting at the Albert Hall on 17-1-34 was convened to voice a public protest against excesses committed by the troops in their route marches in the district of Midnapur. The second and third public meetings were held with the object of discussing the present political situation in India and the duties of the Indian people.

"In view of the statement made by the prisoner in pleading to the charges, it seems to me it would be altogether superfluous to discuss a single line of any of the speeches. The accused has stated in Court that for many years his activities have certainly been seditious if by sedition is meant the desire to achieve the independence of India and to put an end to foreign domination; he has laboured to that end with all his strength for many long years; as the years go by, his conviction has grown stronger within him that there can be no freedom for the Indian people so long as there is a trace of British rule left on the face of the country; he has, therefore, attempted in a small degree to put an end to British rule in this country; if that is sedition, he admits he has been seditious for many years.

"A cursory perusal of the speeches shows that they are animated by an implacable hostility to the established Government. In the first speech reference is made to recent events in the district of Midnapur. The speaker sees in the measures taken by Government to restore law and order in that province nothing but the attempt of an arrogant Imperialist power to humiliate not the city of Midnapur, not the few people of the district but the whole of India, because it is a matter of humiliation to every Indian from the Khyber Pass to Cape Comorin. For this he attributes the blame not to any individual or group of individuals but to a system, a cruel and vicious system that afflicts all who adapt themselves thereto; it is this machine, he says, that crushes the whole country. He goes on to speak of the innate and inherent vulgarity of Imperialism, its utter cruelty and its vandalism, its shamelessness, its callousness. There is a good deal more in the same train.

"It seems superfluous, in the face of all this, to observe that the speeches in question are highly seditious. The speaker's intentions are avowed and admitted.

"I find him guilty under Section 124-A I. P. C. On the first charge he is sentenced to undergo two years' simple imprisonment. No separate sentences are passed on the other two charges.

"The prisoner will be placed in Division I."

It would serve no useful purpose to discuss whether the Pandit's speeches were seditious or not. Nor has the full text of the speeches been published to enable either lawyers or the lay public to arrive at any conclusion. Section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code is wide and elastic enough to rope in any criticism which is not in effect a petition in disguise. No criticism worth the name of which the Government is subjected is ever indulged in in order to rouse affection for the Government or the opposite of the feelings of hatred or contempt. This is, of course, the commonsense view of the Section. But even distinguished Judges of Indian High Courts have differed in their interpretation and enunciation of the law of sedition in India. No doubt, the original intention with which the section was drafted was different. It was made clear by Sir James Stephen, who was Law Member of the Government of India in 187[illegible] in one of his speeches, in the course of which he said that "the offence would fall under the Section if only there was a disposition to resist the law by force. So long as a writer or speaker neither directly nor indirectly suggested or intended to produce the use of force he did not fall within the sedition section."

We were among those present in the Albert Hall when the Pandit delivered his speech on what had been alleged to have been done at Midnapur during the route marches of troops. It would be considered presumptuous if we said that that speech did not strike us as seditious, but we can certainly assert that there was not in it the remotest suggestion of the use of force to put an end to imperialism or British domination in India. And we are certain that the other two speeches were equally free from "violence." For the Pandit is not a hypocrite, and he condemns terrorism in quite unequivocal language in a students' meeting in the course of his brief visit to Calcutta during which he made the three speeches complained against.

Part of the Chief Presidency Magistrate's judgment runs as follows:

"In view of the statement made by the prisoner in pleading to the charges, it seems to me it would be altogether superfluous to discuss a single line of any of the speeches. The accused has stated in Court that for many years his activities have certainly been seditious if by sedition

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meant the desire to achieve the independence of India and to put an end to foreign domination; he has laboured to that end with all his strength for many long years; as the years go by, his conviction has grown stronger within him that there can be no freedom for the Indian people so long as there is a trace of British rule left on the face of the country; he has, therefore, attempted in a small degree to put an end to British rule in this country; *if that is sedition, he admits he had been seditious for many years.*"

This extract from the judgment shows that the Pandit's admission that he was seditious was conditional, the conditional words being those which we have italicized above, and his admission was not made specifically with reference to his three speeches complained against but with reference to his political activities for many years past. Now, in our opinion, as the charge against him was based upon his three speeches, it should have been shown that *these* were seditious. This has not been done. A general and conditional admission should not be made the ground for conviction for an alleged offence on a particular occasion.

As regards Mr. Nehru's conditional admission, it can certainly be said of *all* leading Congressmen, if not also of a large number of the rank and file, that they also have been trying for more than a decade "to achieve the independence of India and to put an end to foreign domination." If placed in the dock, they will all admit with the Pandit that for many years their activities have certainly been seditious, *if* endeavours like those made by them be seditious. In that case all these Congressmen would deserve lifelong imprisonment on the ground of that conditional admission.

Nor would the sentence include Congressmen alone. All the leading Moderates want Dominion Status. Dominion Status implies that the Dominions are equal in political status to Great Britain. Every Dominion—be it Canada, or Australia, or South Africa, or the Irish Free State, or New Zealand—would repudiate the assertion if it were said that the Dominions were *under* British *rule*. They are under self-rule. They are *equal* partners in the British *Commonwealth* of Nations, *not* subject states within the British *Empire*. Therefore, whoever wants Dominion Status and works for its attainment, works for putting an end to foreign domination, British *rule* and imperialism. However remote Dominion Status may be, it has been admitted to be a legitimate goal by Lord Irwin as Viceroy and other British statesmen. We do not think the Government would be prepared to imprison all those who want either independence or Dominion Status.

In conclusion, it must be said that the conviction of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, after he had openly told Calcutta students and the public that freedom could not be won by terrorism but only by a mass movement and that that movement must be non-violent,—his conviction under these circumstances makes plainer what was plain before, *viz.*, that the executive are against all freedom movements alike, be they violent or non-violent.

What a "Seditionist" Wants and a "Moderate" Wants

It has been held by the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was guilty of sedition, because, among other things, he sought "to put an end to foreign domination."

The Leader is a "Moderate" organ. It wrote editorially on the 17th February last:

> So far as the vast majority of people in India are concerned they do not want to sever their connection with Britain, but what they do want is that *the existing system of tutelage and domination should end* and that its people should be allowed full freedom to manage their affairs and that its status should be similar to that of the self-governing dominions. (Italics ours.—Ed., *M. R.*)

It cannot be said that Pandit Jawaharlal is a seditionist because he wants to sever India's connection with Britain. For in an article which he contributed to the London *Daily Herald* some time ago and which has been reproduced in the January number of *The Living Age* of New York he observes that the realization of his political ideal "does not rule out the fullest co-operation with the British people or other peoples who do not wish to exploit us."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Messages

It is stated in the daily papers that

> Just before delivering himself up to the custody of the police Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru sent the following telegram to Mahatma Gandhi:

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"Going back for rest-cure, Calcutta this time, love and all good wishes."

He sent the following telegram to his daughter, who is at Poona :

'Am going back to my other home for a while. All my love and good wishes, cheerio.'

The following telegram he sent to Babu Rajendra Prasad. Patna :

"Sorry cannot help you any more in relief work, wish you and your colleagues all success in your noble endeavours. May Behar emerge victorious from this ordeal. Love."

Reconstruction in Bihar

Describing the requisites of reconstruction Babu Rajendra Prasad, the Bihar leader, sums up :

> I have indicated some of the problems which have to be tackled in any scheme of reconstruction, taking a long view of things and not content with mere tinkering. They are difficult enough, but we cannot afford to be deterred by them. They require engineering skill and agricultural knowledge. They require appreciation of practical economics, as distinguished from mere book knowledge. They require a thorough knowledge of the strength and weakness in the character and culture of our people. Above all, they require a long vision and a determined will and a band of sacrificing and devoted workers.

The afflicted people of Bihar will have and deserve to have all the help that their fellow-countrymen can give them. But above all,

By the courtesy of *Ananda Bazar Patrika*

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru with a band of workers engaged in clearing the debris at Monghyr

they require to be inspired with faith and hope and courage and self-reliance. By engaging in clearing the debris with his own hands, in collaboration with bands of other workers, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has rendered signal service to the people of Bihar. Though removed from the scene of his labours, let us hope his example will continue to inspire all workers. Even European officers have felt obliged to follow his example.

As regards planning, Babu Rajendra Prasad is quite right in saying :

> We must make sure that the wrecked towns are not going to be a replica of what they were before but that they are going to have wider roads, nearer and more ventilated houses and healthier surroundings, that they are not going to perpetuate the time-old segregation of the so-called lower castes, recreate the slum conditions of the so-called advanced towns of modern days—in other words they are going to be rebuilt so as to ensure the physical, social and moral health of the community.

Regarding the problems of the countryside he observes :

> In the countryside the problems of reclamation of land and rehabilitation of the cultivators have to be investigated and a line of action clearly chalked out. Can the land be rendered fit for cultivation by ordinary ploughing, deep ploughing or physical removal and disposal of the sand? Can the sand yield to some chemico-mechanical treatment? Can the Himalayan streams be trained and harnessed to irrigate the sandy tract or yield the motor energy to revitalize the humming life of the plains between the Himalayas and the Ganges? What crops can be grown with or without the help of such energy? If rice is impossible, can we have other crops which can be grown on sandy land? There are certain crops which serve to bind the sand with the earth and make what is sandy loam fertile. Can they be used here? If so, what are they and how and wherefrom can seeds be got? Will fruit culture prosper? Melons and Kharbuzas are ordinarily grown in sandy land and Diaras. Where can they be sold, if grown in large quantities? What about ground-nuts? Earth has altered, but not the sun or the seasons. We may expect rains and also floods. What are the crops that prosper in these conditions? Areas large tracts are under water. Can they be utilized for fish culture? Can they be utilized for cultivation of plants like 'Singhara?' Can we hope to grow paddy in them? If the land has become uncultivable, can it be made to grow timber and converted into forest? If so, what trees are likely to prosper there?

He deals with equal farsightedness and breadth of outlook with the problems of cottage industries, emigration and finance.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal's Presidential Address

It was recorded in the last issue of the *Review* that the Baroda session of the Oriental Conference was very successful. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, one of the leading historians of India, delivered an able presidential addres-

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Mr. K. P. Jayaswal

in the course of which he drew up a constructive programme of Indian history by Indians. Said he :

> The most notable and satisfactory feature of the present time in our field is the high level of achievement attained by Indian scholarship in its manysided and varied activities. Here I should like to quote from a competent surveyor, Prof. Sylvain Levi, a member of the French Academy, the Second President of the Oriental Conference, the foremost Indologist of France. In a letter dated the 7th of November, 1933, he writes to me :
>
> "Do not fail to tell the scholars assembled for the Seventh Oriental Conference that I shall be ever grateful to them for the honour that was conferred by them upon me at the 1921 meeting. Indian scholarship in India has made wonderful progress in the meanwhile, and the many periodicals now published by Indian savants in India can, almost all of them, compete with the best scientific journals published in the West."
>
> This is the best brief review which can be rendered in the Sutra style ; and coming as it does from an Elder of our Sangha, I am relieved from the task of essaying to render it myself....
>
> Our work has suddenly taken a new turn. Altogether a new orientation has come into play. Indian matters recently come to light, are refusing to own geographical boundaries of the present or ancient India. The Indus script is claiming a world-wide range. It seems that we are on the verge of the conclusion that the script on the seals found at Harappa and Mohan-jo Daro is closely allied to signs recorded from Elam, Cyprus, Crete and probably further. We see on the horizon a light which seems to have lighted the lands from the Indus up to the Atlantic.
>
> This much is certain that we have been brought face to face with a very widespread and long-standing civilization extending, at least, from India to the Mediterranean, traces of which have already been recovered from sites in North and North-Western India, Baluchistan, Sistan, Iran, Mesopotamia and westwards. In India itself the terracottas found at Buxar and at Pataliputra seem to extend the area of that culture much eastwards. It seems premature to limit the "Indus Civilization" to the valley of Indus alone.

Not only in time but in space also Indian historians must extend their vision.

> The field of Indian research for the known historical times too is extended beyond the limits of the present-day India by our having realized the fact that Indian history embraces within its fold the Hindu colonies in Indo-China, Cambodia, Siam, Sumatra, Java, Bali, Borneo, etc., to the East, and Central Asia to the North. The movement started by my friend and pupil Dr. Kalidas Nag in this country through his Greater India Society, is primarily responsible for impressing upon Indian scholars the importance of Insulindia and Further India. It has been my good fortune to receive inspiration from my own ex-pupil in leading me to identify references to the eastern portion of Greater India in our own literature, the Puranas, the Manjusri Mulakalpa, and the inscription of Samudra Gupta on the Allahabad pillar, which I have placed before the scholarly world through some recent publications.

Again :

> Our knowledge of the expanse of Indian culture in Central Asia is being widened by the various European and American scientific expeditions, *e.g.*, the American Central Asian Expedition in Mongolia and North-West China, the Sven Hedin (Joint) Expedition in Central Asia, the work of Von le Coq and Grunwedel in the Turfan Depression and the neighbouring districts, and last but not least, the explorations which have been done and are being done by our own indefatigable scholar Sir Aurel Stein. Even a sidelight has been thrown on our own history from such an unexpected quarter as the Paikuli Sassanian Inscription of 293 A.D., thanks to the researches of Dr. Herzfeld.

India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie Scholarships

On behalf of India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie we wish to announce that the following scholarships in institutions of higher learning in Germany will be available for Indian scholars (male or female) of out-

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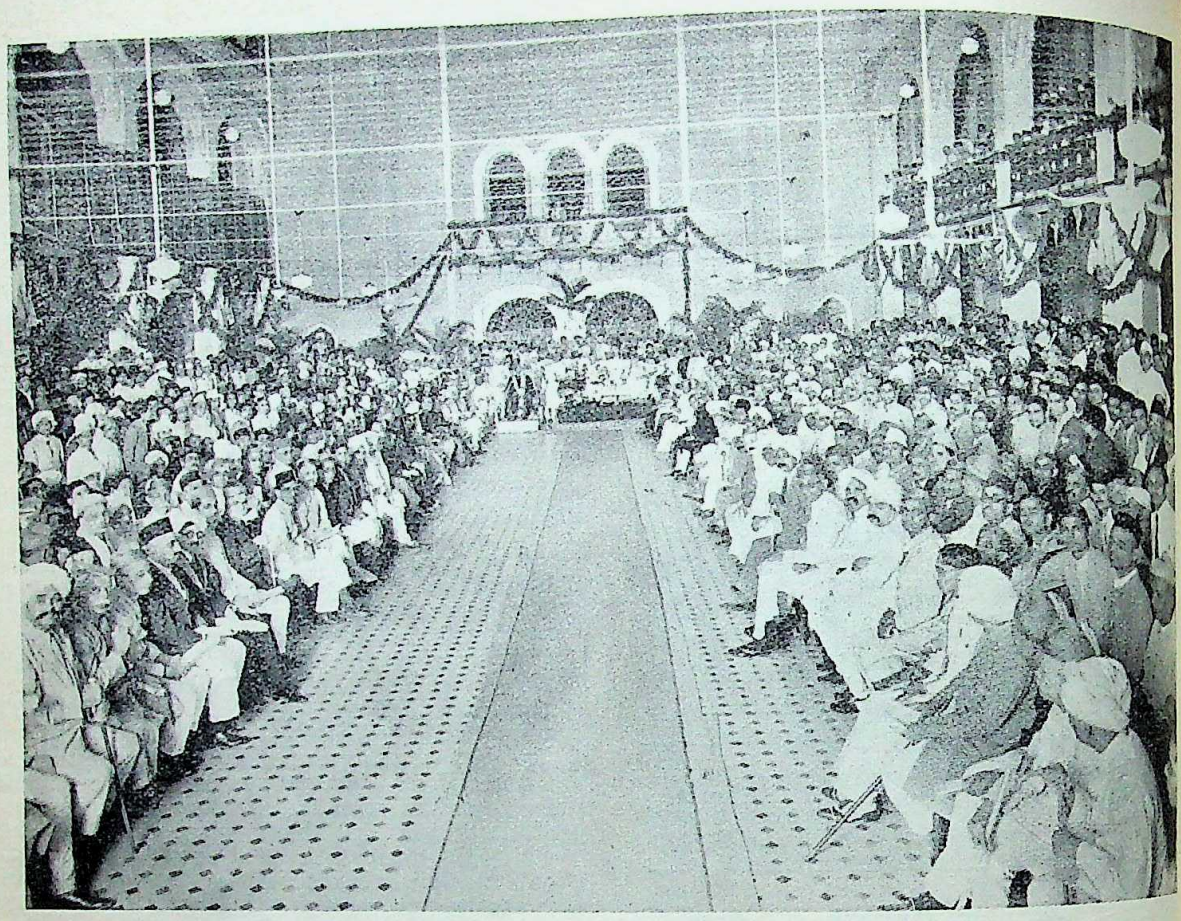

Oriental Conference at Baroda

standing ability, for the academic year of 1934-35 :

1. Dresden : One scholarship at the *Technical University of Dresden*, consisting of free tuition and a pocket-money of RM 30 (thirty marks) per month.

2. Hamburg : One scholarship at the *Universtiy of Hamburg*, consisting of free tuition and a pocket-money of RM 30 (thirty marks) per month. The candidate will be given free private coaching in the German language.

3. Hohenheim (Wurttemberg) : One scholarship at the *Agricultural University of Hohenheim* consisting of free tuition and free lodging.

4. & 5. Jena : Two scholarships at the *University of Jena*, consisting of free tuition and a pocket-money of RM 30 (thirty marks) per month for each scholarship.

6. Munchen : One scholarship at the *University of Munchen*, consisting of free tuition and lodging.

7. Stuttgart : One scholarship at the *Technical University of Stuttgart*, consisting of free tuition and lodging.

8. Tubingen : One scholarship at the *University of Tubingen*, consisting of free tuition and lodging.

9. One scholarship of RM 500 (five hundred marks), the choice of the University being left to the candidate. This scholarship was placed at the disposal of India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie by the Allianz and Stuttgarter Lebens-sicherungsbank A. G., Berlin.

These scholarships are tenable provisionally for two academic semesters only. The first semester begins early in November 1934 and the second semester ends in July 1935.

Applicants for these stipends must be graduates of recognized Indian Universities, preference scholars possessing research experience. Applications from non-graduates will be given consideration, only if they have recognized literary or scientific achievements to their credit. The applicant must possess good health and supply at least two recommendations from professors or Indian public men, about his scholarship and character. *It is desired that the applicant should have fair knowledge of the German language, as academic work in Germany is carried on through the medium of German.*

No application will be given consideration, unless it is guaranteed for by some prominent professor or an otherwise well-known Indian public man, that the applicant is really earnest about his application and will certainly come to Germany before the 1st of September 1934, if a scholarship is offered to him.

It is imperative that a stipend-holder should arrive at Munich by the 1st of September and stay in the city *at his own cost* till the academic year begins in November, *devoting these weeks to intensive study of German language* in the German language courses for foreigners at the University of Mu-

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where he will be exempted from tuition-fees. It is however presupposed that an applicant for a scholarship possesses working knowledge of German. We are forced to take this measure, because a student not having adequate knowledge of German before beginning his academic work fails to get the benefit of his attending the University and often loses six months' time.

We want to make it clear that apart from the scholarship the stipend-holder must be prepared to spend at least RM 100 per month for the necessary expenses not included in the different scholarships.

All applications should reach India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie before the 10th of April 1934. A special committee of experts will select the successful candidates, who will be promptly notified of the decision. Selection of successful candidates will be determined solely by the academic qualifications of applicants. Certificates and testimonials of applicants *will not be returned.*

All applications should be *directly* sent to the following address :

Dr. Franz Thierfelder
Hon. Secretary
India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie
"Maximilianeum"
Munich, Germany.

North German Lloyd Company offers a reduction of 10 per cent on the fare for single trip in cabin class or second class for the Indian students of the Deutsche Akademie coming to Germany or returning to India from Germany, provided they travel during the "off-season," *i. e.*, from Europe during April to July and from Colombo from July to January. Detailed information on this subject can be secured from the representative of North German Lloyd at Colombo, c-o the office of Hanseatic Trading Company, Colombo, Ceylon.

Rabindranath Tagore and Rural Reconstruction

[Mr. Robindra Mohon Datta, M.Sc., of Panihati has sent us the note printed below.]

Mr. C. F. Strickland, C.I.E., in his "Review of Rural Welfare Activities in India 1932" says with regard to the activities of Sriniketan of the Poet Tagore :

"The dangers appear to be that, despite much inspiring effort, (*i*) the spirit of the institution, possibly even the institution itself, may not long outlive Dr. Tagore, and (*ii*) the work done, with lofty intention and unselfish labour, may be unscientific and superficial. These terms must certainly be applied to the rural 'Survey' of Ballabhpur hamlet, a report of which has been published."

In fact, the above sweeping remarks of Mr. Strickland does not hold good in any case. Whether the activities are carried on on scientific or unscientific lines will be quite clear from the following extract from the Bengal Public Health Report for the year 1929 by Dr. C. A. Bentley, Director of Public Health, Bengal (Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1930) :

"127. Visva Bharati.—A few lines in connection with the health activities of Visva Bharati will not be out of place here.

(1) Village Survey :—Rural survey of Raipur village was completed during the year ; the survey of Goalpara, Bandhgora and Bhubandanga are progressing.

(2) Village Reconstruction :—(*a*) Ballavpur.—About a hundred years ago this village was very prosperous and had a population of 500 families which have now dwindled to only 23 families. A thorough survey of the village was completed in 1924-25. A co-operative health and rural reconstruction society was formed in 1925 and was registered on the 10th November of the same year. Since then 2,829 feet of new road have been constructed, 6,716 feet of drains opened and 11½ bighas of jungles cleared. Every year the roads are repaired and the drains cleaned. 6,682 grains of quinine were distributed in 1929 against 9,428 in 1928 and 31 dobas were kerosinized with 32 lbs. of Kerosene. In the year under review the percentage of cases from malaria among those who took quinine was 33 against 17·3 in 1928, 18·0 in 1927, 52 in 1926 and 85 in 1925. The incidence among those who did not take quinine was 52.6 in 1929. This unsatisfactory increase in the malaria rate is accounted for as follows : (*i*) The gradual decrease in the number of cases of malaria during the previous years created a mistaken impression among the people that there was no more danger from malaria, resulting in a discontinuance of the practice of taking quinine regularly in the year under report ; (*ii*) all the dobas and tanks could not be Kerosinized as some of these were still surrounded by thick jungles ; (*iii*) most of the people were too poor to use mosquito curtains. Forty-eight persons were vaccinated against small-pox. Of the 4 *dais* trained in 1927, one successfully attended calls from 8 villages within a radius of 5 miles.

(*b*) The following table shows the Health Work done in villages Benuri, Lohagarh, Bahadurpur, Bhubandanga and Bandhgora :"

[The tables show the total population, numbers of health societies, extent of jungles cleared, roads repaired and cleared and new roads opened, drains cleared and new drains opened, dobas filled up, dobas cleaned and cleared, dobas kerosened, amount of kerosene used, quinine distributed, and malaria cases among members and non-members.]

The above extracts speak for themselves. Will Mr. Strickland now retract his unjustified remarks against the Poet ?

Agricultural Institute for Rajshahi?

It was in December last that *Current Science* wrote that "a scheme for starting an Institute for imparting training in Agriculture has been

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formulated, following a conference between representatives of the Government and the executors of the endowment made by the late Kumar Basanta Kumar Ray of Dighapatia. The training will include both practical and theoretical aspects of agriculture, and will be a two-year course. The recurring costs will be met from the interest, which amounts to about Rs. 16,000 per year." The Kumar made the endowment a good many years ago. But his wishes have not yet been given effect to by the Government, nor is it known definitely when they will be.

Agricultural Education in Bengal

Bengal is the most populous province in India, and its population is not less agricultural than that of the other provinces. But there is no agricultural college in Bengal, such as there are in some other provinces. In the latest (the tenth) issue of *Statistical Abstract for British India*, published in 1933, it is stated that the total expenditure from all sources on agricultural colleges was: in Madras Rs. 1,04,023; in Bombay Rs. 1,73,308; in the United Provinces Rs. 1,75,418; in the Panjab Rs. 1,41,740; in Burma Rs. 2,31,735; in the Central Provinces and Berar Rs. 75,212; but in Bengal *nil*. Against Bihar and Orissa there is shown no provincial expenditure, as the expenses of the agricultural institute of a high grade at Pusa, amounting to many lakhs, are met from Imperial revenues.

Irrigation in Bengal

It is not merely in the matter of agricultural education that the Government has not done for a predominantly agricultural province like Bengal what ought to have been done, but in irrigation also there has been similar neglect. There is no province of India of which all parts can do without irrigation from irrigation works. Bengal is no exception. Many of its districts, particularly in West Bengal, stand in need of irrigation. When Mr. G. S. Dutt was magistrate of Bankura, for example, it was estimated that there were in that district under its Hindu Kings some 30,000 to 40,000 irrigation tanks, besides an irrigation canal, several miles long, known as "Subhankarer Danra." Most of these have silted up in course of time, without practically any substitute for them. The like has happened in many other districts.

The following table, compiled from the *Statistical Abstract for British India*, Tenth Issue, 1933, shows the mileage of productive irrigation works in different provinces of India in operation and the total capital outlay on them:

Province	Mileage	Capital Outlay
Madras	3,749	12,65,53,942
Bombay	4,986	19,44,75,706
Bengal	*Nil*	67,43,541
United Provinces	2,372	22,00,25,636
Panjab	3,266	32,78,02,051
Burma	354	2,12,21,281
N.-W. F. Pr.	86	74,07,400

It is noteworthy that, though Bengal, according to the latest *Statistical Abstract*, had not a single mile of productive irrigation works in operation, yet the expenditure of Rs. 67,43,541 is shown against her.

As regards "unproductive works"—the expression is taken from the *Statistical Abstract*, the following table also will show that Bengal has been discriminated against:

Province	Mileage	Capital Outlay
Madras	716	4,03,94,528
Bombay	2,832	12,82,87,004
Bengal	70	84,92,053
United Provinces	447	3,11,86,812
Panjab	1,047	59,67,195
Burma	140	1,70,30,509
Bihar & Orissa	718	6,27,63,915
Central Provinces	352	6,63,17,673
N.-W. F. Pr.	138	2,20,14,647

If "unproductive" means unproductive, then more than thirty-eight crores of rupees have been wasted on these works.

Bengal Water-ways

The Bengal Legislative Council has passed a Water-ways Bill. Its object is to improve the existing water-ways of Bengal for the purpose of navigation, and possibly also to construct new ones for the same purpose. Serviceable water-ways for navigation may be used for irrigation also to some extent, but not as much as works constructed primarily for irrigation. Yet, as we have seen, little has been done for irrigation in Bengal by the Government. What may be done for navigation will benefit mainly East Bengal, which Sir Abdel Kerim Ghuznavi hails

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which does not stand in need of irrigation so much as West Bengal.

But supposing water-ways used for navigation will facilitate irrigation as much as irrigation works proper, let us see what Government will spend for such water-ways. The magnificent sum of Rs. 2,50,000 per annum is to be spent for the purpose! It has been shown in the previous note that in the Panjab the sum of Rs. 32,78,02,051 has been spent on productive irrigation works in operation. To reach the Panjab standard of expenditure the Bengal Government will take just the brief period of thirteen centuries, or, to be precise, thirteen hundred and eleven years and a few months and days!

Government Educational Expenditure in Bengal

It is not merely in agricultural education and irrigation that Bengal has been neglected. This has been the case in other matters also calculated to directly benefit the people. Take education. Expenditure on education from Government funds in different provinces is shown in the table printed below, compiled from the latest *Statistical Abstract* and *Census Report*.

Province	Population in 1931	Educational expenditure from Government Funds
Bengal	5,01,14,002	1,54,03,615
Bihar & Orissa	3,76,77,576	64,25,995
Bombay	2,19,30,601	2,04,27,146
Burma	1,46,67,146	84,95,340
C. P. & Berar	1,55,07,723	55,10,868
Madras	4,67,40,107	3,11,83,313
Panjab	2,35,80,852	1,85,13,340
U. P.	4,84,08,763	2,21,88,938

In considering the figures given above, it should be borne in mind that the Government of India derives more of its revenue from Bengal than from any two other provinces of India combined.

Official Up-to-date-ness

The Tenth Issue of the *Statistical Abstract of British India* was printed in July, 1933, and the latest Census of India was taken in February, 1931. So between the printing of the *Statistical Abstract* and the taking of the census, there was roughly an interval of two years and a half. And in the meantime an abstract of census statistics had been officially published. The two India volumes—Report and Tables—of the census of 1931 had also been printed in July, 1933. Yet, we find that the Tenth Issue of the *Statistical Abstract* gives the census figures according to the census of 1921!

The late Mr. A. Rangaswamy Aiyengar

By the death of Mr. A. Rangaswamy Aiyengar, late editor of *The Hindu*, Indian

Mr. A. Rangaswamy Aiyenger

journalism has lost one of its most distinguished devotees. In addition to the other qualifications which a journalist should possess, he possessed an expert's knowledge of constitutional law and finance. He served his apprenticeship in journalism under his uncle Mr. Kasturiranga Aiyengar and wrote a book on the governance of India. Subsequently he became editor of the Tamil daily *Swadesamitran*. He succeeded his uncle in the editorship of *The Hindu*. This daily has had a succession of eminent editors. That under him it did not suffer any loss of

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reputation testifies to his remarkable abilities. He was an adherent of the Congress and belonged to the Swarajya party, and acted for some time as secretary to both. He was for some time a member of the Legislative Assembly and made many able speeches there. He went to London as a "delegate" to the second so-called Round Table Conference and gave proof there of his knowledge of matters constitutional and of his controversial powers.

The late Mr. Madhusudan Das

Mr. Madhusudan Das, who died last month at the advanced age of 86, was Orissa's first graduate. He was a distinguished lawyer and a still more distinguished practical patriot of Orissa. He devoted himself heart and soul to the resuscitation of the arts and crafts and cottage industries of Orissa. He lost large sums of money in the Utkal Tannery and other patriotic ventures. He was a Christian but was never de-nationalized. When the Prince of Wales came to India, Mr. Das was a minister of the Bihar and Orissa Government. So he had to attend the *durbar* of the Prince of Wales. But he refused to do so in European costume. It was decided in consequence that Indian ministers could attend the *durbar* in Indian dress. When Orissa was a part of the Province of Bengal Mr. Das was a member of its Legislative Council four times. In 1913 he was elected a member of the Imperial Council by the Bihar and Orissa Council. Under the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, he was a minister of the Bihar and Orissa Council.

When it was proposed to reduce the salary of the B. and O. ministers, Mr. Das offered to serve without any salary, provided he was allowed to practise in the law-courts as a lawyer, for he was comparatively a poor man. Some of his reasons for being allowed to practise were that Bihar and Orissa was a comparatively poor Province, and hence all that could be done to reduce public expenditure should be done; that in the Local Self-Government Department many persons work as chairmen, members, etc., of municipalities and district and local boards without salary, and therefore, "in an organization in which all the workers are honorary a salaried Minister mars the symmetry and harmony of the organization"; and that when persons like the Maharajadhiraj of Darbhanga and the Raja of Mahmudabad could be members of the Executive Council and it was not considered impracticable or incongruous for them at the same time to manage their vast estates and become parties to and witnesses in law-suits, it could not then be held objectionable for a minister to be a practising lawyer. But the Bihar Government did not accept his proposal. So he resigned.

At one time he had great influence over the Chiefs of Orissa, and they followed his advice and he kept watch over their interests. During the last years of his life he suffered from ill-health and financial worries, but never lost hope and enthusiasm for Orissa. He was one of the presidents of the Indian Christian Association.

The late Sir Provas Chunder Mitter

Sir Provas Chunder Mitter was apparently in the best of health when he suddenly died of failure of the heart last month. He began life as a practising lawyer and ended his career as a Government officer, dying in harness. He was a very experienced and able officer, possessing complete mastery of the details of Bengal's educational and financial problems. No one had a more thorough grasp of the land revenue problem of Bengal. He had served the Bengal Government both as a minister and a member of the Executive Council. In politics, he belonged to the old Congress school, now known as the Indian Liberal party. He had served both the Indian and the British Indian Association in honorary official capacities. The fact that he was a member of the Rowlatt Committee and signed its report made him unpopular. As a "delegate" to the so-called Round Table Conference, he went to London twice, and was the first to claim for Bengal the proceeds of the Jute Export Duty. If Bengal gets even a portion of that duty, no small part of the credit will be his. He is also entitled to praise for the diminished capitation charge to be henceforth taken from India. It

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said that the outline of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform scheme was his handiwork.

He was long connected with the Society for the Improvement of the Backward Classes in Bengal and Assam, for some time as its president and some time as its patron, and used to contribute to its funds. This Society has some 450 schools under its control, with some 18,000 boys and girls as pupils.

The late Swami Sivananda

Swami Sivananda, President of the Ramkrishna Mission and Belur Math, passed away last month at the ripe old age of 80. He was a direct disciple of Paramhamsa Ramkrishna. From youth upwards he was of a religious turn of mind. Coming in contact with and under the influence of the Paramhamsa he renounced the world, gave up his job and became a sannyasin, rising gradually to be the head of the Mission. He spent some time in Ceylon as a preacher, and established several Ashrams in different parts of India. His life was uneventful, as that of sannyasins generally is.

Anglo-Soviet Trade Pact

Anglo-Soviet trade relations have been re-established by the Anglo-Soviet Trade Pact. It "provides for the reciprocal most-favoured-nation treatment of Soviet goods in the British Empire excluding the Dominions." This is an indirect recognition of the fact that the Dominions are no longer under British rule and imperialism. Apparently for wishing for such a condition for India Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been sent to jail for two years.

The Pact proves that the communist Bolsheviks and the capitalist Britishers do not consider one another untouchable.

There has been a similar commercial rapprochement between capitalist America and communist Russia.

One touch of gold (or is it silver or paper ?) makes the whole world kin.

Government Servants and Politics

NEW DELHI, Feb. 16

An important change defining what is meant by Government servants taking parts in politics and elections has been gazetted today amending the Government Servants' Conduct Rules and substituting the following for sub-rule (1) of Rule 23.

(1) Subject to provisions of Rule 22 and of any general or special order of the local Government no Government servant shall take part in, subscribe in aid of or assist in any way any political movement in India or relating to Indian affairs.

Explanation of the expression political movement includes any movement or activities tending directly or indirectly to excite disaffection against or to embarrass Government as by law established or to promote feelings of hatred or enmity between different classes of His Majesty's subjects or to disturb the public peace.

(2) No Government servant shall permit any person dependent on him for maintenance or under his care or control to take part in or in any way assist any movement or activity which is or tends directly or indirectly to be subversive of Government as by law established in India.

EXPLANATION

A Government servant shall be deemed to have permitted a person to take part in or assist a movement or activity within the meaning of clause (2) if he has not taken every precaution and done everything in his power to prevent such person from so acting or if when he knows or has reason to suspect that such person is so acting he does not at once inform the local Government or officer to whom he is subordinate.—A. P.

The old rule directed Government servants not to take part in or subscribe in aid of any political movement, etc. The changed rule prohibits assisting in any way any political movement. So the prohibition now becomes more comprehensive, vaguer and more elastic. That is the beauty of all such rules.

According to the old rule, if a Government servant had any doubt as to whether any action which he proposed to take would contravene this rule, he was to refer the matter to the local Government or the authority to which he was immediately subordinate, and thereafter act according to the orders received. Thus the old rule made things safe for those Government servants who could not themselves decide what to do. Would it be permissible for them now to seek the guidance of higher authorities ?

The explanation of "'political movement" is comprehensive in its vagueness. It is difficult to say what may or may not embarrass Government. What *is* embarrassment ? Can or does anything really embarrass the august entity known as Government ? Henceforth many beneficial, or at any rate harmless, social, caste or communal movements and activities may come under this explanation.

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Those who depend on or are under the care or control of Government servants are henceforth to consider themselves to be unpaid Government servants. Government servants may henceforth be made responsible for whatever their sons or other relatives, forming a joint family, may do, unless the joint family be legally broken up, or the sons, etc., are disinherited and driven away from home; for these are included in "every precaution" and "everything in his power."

The father or other guardian, when he is a Government servant, is practically to be required to do a bit of informer's work, without extra payment, in relation to his wards.

The altered conditions of Government service may not bring Government into increased hatred or contempt. But they will not enhance the affection or respect which the near relatives and friends of Government servants should feel for them.

Calcutta Celluloid Works Ltd.

The Calcutta Celluloid Works was at first established as a private concern by Mr. J. N. Bose, who has learned the art of making celluloid and celluloid articles in Japan. Having succeeded in producing articles of high quality and finish, which we have ourselves seen and liked after use, he has recently converted the factory into a limited liability company, with a strong board of directors. We are glad to find our own impressions confirmed by the opinions pronounced by distinguished industrialists and men of business. Recently Acharya Praphulla Chandra Ray, accompanied by Sj. Rajsekhar Bose, late manager of the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, Mr. J. C. Das, managing director of the Bengal Central Bank Ltd., and others paid a visit to the factory.

> Mr. J. N. Bose, Managing Director of the Company, took him over the whole factory and explained to him each stage of the work that is being done there. Acharya Ray was perfectly satisfied with all that he saw. The finished articles of daily use appeared to him to be of very good quality. It was a matter of great gratification to him that this purely Indian concern was such a success within a short period of time. He cordially congratulated the Company on its success and wished it a long, glorious and useful career.

Madras School of Arts Exhibition

The Madras School of Arts Exhibition continues to be popular. *The Hindu* reviews it as follows, in part:

> The third annual exhibition of the Government School of Arts is a most interesting show and a striking evidence of the progress which the school is making from year to year. The average is distinctly higher and the technique as varied as it is interesting.
>
> Mr. D. P. Roy Chowdhury, the Principal, exhibits extremes of handling in his "Namaz" and "Mountain Maid," the one precise and delicate, the other bold and virile, differences which are well in harmony with the themes of their subjects. Mr. Chowdhury's two portrait busts of his wife and of Sir Archibald Campbell are works of great merit. Mr. V. R. Chitra is perhaps the only one to work in the traditional style and as such his works possess a distinct value of their own. His little portraits of Kashmiri maidens are delightful charming, His "Returning from the Pond" and "Musicians" are remarkable specimens of temperate work. Mr. Syed Hamed's "Through the Leaves" is a high key subject well carried out...A powerful picture is Mr. Lokayyas "Meditation of Siva." "Pohait" and "Priest" by Mr. V. D. Govindan are two works which leave little to be desired in them. The "Old Couple" by Mr. Dastidar is perhaps, the most outstanding work in the show. Mr. B. M. Sein's "Twin" breathes the same sentiment though entirely different in its composition. Quite the best sculptural work seen for some years past in Madras is "Rasa-lila," a somewhat large panel in relief which depicts a well composed group of dancers and possesses a wonderful sense of movement.
>
> CRAFT SECTION
>
> It is in the craft section that progress is most evident and the specimens of work exhibited here cover a wide range of activity. For the first time in an exhibition one can see displayed suites of furniture suitable for Indian homes. The designs are by Mr. V. R. Chitra, who has evidently given a good deal of thought and care in the work. The lacquered furniture of the school is now well known by this time and in the present show some choice specimens are exhibited. Charming examples of jewellery enamels are in a case by themselves. Their design and colouring are both tasteful and novel. This craft which, though quite new to the school, has been well mastered and the specimens of work compare very well with those of more reputed firms.

The Aga Khan to be Prime Minister?

A rumour has been set afloat that the Aga Khan will be made the first prime minister of Federated India.

Broadly speaking there are two classes of politically-minded Indians. One class will work the White Paper scheme, the other will not. Nothing need be said regarding the numerical strength or the comparative sincerity and devotion to the cause of the country

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the sacrifices made for it by these two parties. The prime minister will be chosen from the former class. If the choice is to fall on the ablest man, irrespective of communal considerations, there are men far abler, more public-spirited, more devoted to the cause of India and more in touch with the country than the Aga Khan. If the choice must fall on a Muhammadan, even then there are abler, more public-spirited and fitter persons than the Aga Khan.

The Railway Budget Deficit

The Railway Budget continues to show a deficit, though it is less than in the immediately preceding years. It is said the railways have seen the worst, and better days are in store for them. May it be so.

Of the causes of railway deficits some are temporary, economic depression, for example. With the gradual disappearance of this factor, there would be a corresponding decrease in the deficit.

As many a little makes a mickle, some Government measures, for example those in Bengal to cope with the non-violent Congress movement or similar ones meant for combating terrorism, must have contributed, to however small an extent, to produce deficits. To frustrate the efforts of Congressmen to hold the last session of the Congress in Calcutta, tickets were not issued from many stations to Calcutta for some days as freely as usual. Similar steps were taken in some districts to prevent the holding of political conferences by Congressmen. Recently by order of the District Magistrate of Chittagong the running of some of the usual trains to and from Chittagong was discontinued for a certain period. In the Midnapur district also freedom of movement has been considerably hampered. Young Indian strangers are looked upon all over India—particularly Bengalis and in Bengal, with suspicion owing to political causes. For this reason adventurous young men even of a non-political bent of mind are not unoften disinclined to travel.

Strategic railway lines have never been paying. As these were constructed and are meant to keep Britain's hold over India—at least mainly, the cost of their construction and upkeep ought to be paid by the British people, at least in great part.

The costliness of railway administration in India is due to a great extent to the fact of its being top-heavy. Pandit Chandrika Prasad has shown again and again that in no country of the world is there such a vast difference between the salaries paid to the highest grades and those paid to the lowest class of railway servants. The highest and higher salaries can be considerably reduced without any loss of efficiency, and so they ought to be reduced. The lowest grade employees ought to get at least a living wage.

The railways should and can be completely Indianized in the course of a definitely fixed short period, Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans being considered as and treated on a footing of equality with Indians. This would make it easier to effect economies.

Third-class passengers are the mainstay of income from passenger traffic. Yet the railway administration cares the least for the health, convenience and comfort of third-class passengers. We are not quite sure whether in all railways all third class compartments even in through trains are provided with lavatories. Third-class lavatories, where they exist, ought to have a sufficient supply of water, and also light at night and daylight during day time. There should be fans, for use in summer, in all third class carriages. It is true, third-class passengers have no fans in their houses. But there they are not compelled to keep inside their rooms always; they can often live in the open. And it should be borne in mind that, except in big towns, even second class passengers do not all have fans in their houses, and yet the railways give them fans.

In through trains for long night journeys there ought to be some sleeping accommodation even for third-class passengers.

Several times every year higher class passengers are offered considerable concessions for return journeys, and ordinary return tickets also can be had by these passengers at concession rates. Third-class passengers have no such advavtages. They should be given these advantages. Even for ordinary single journeys the fares taken from third-class passengers can and should be reduced.

The Eastern Bengal Railway is a State railway just like the East Indian Railway. Yet the fares in the former are higher than

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in the latter. It has been said that the length of the lines in the former are less than the length in the latter, and therefore higher fares have to be charged. But that is no justification. In all provinces, there are some districts of which the civil administration, postal work, etc., are carried on at a loss. But for that reason the Government do not charge higher registration fees and court fees and postal rates in those unremunerative districts than in other ones. Moreover, the high rates of fares in the E. B. Railway stand in the way of growth of passenger traffic and of profits.

Passengers in central, east and north Bengal have another disadvantage. Travelling in these parts is comparatively slow. For example, the distance from Calcutta to Allahabad is much greater than the distance from Calcutta to Chittagong. Yet one can travel from Calcutta to Allahabad in 13 or 14 hours, but the journey from Calcutta to Chittagong takes some 24 hours. True, part of the latter journey has to be performed by steamer. But there is no reason why river navigation should be so slow as it is. The steamer fares charged do not err on the side of cheapness.

The treatment of the third-class passengers by railway servants admits of still further improvement, though it must be admitted that there has been some improvement.

Regarding goods traffic, it is sure to improve and prove remunerative if the railways adopt a policy and rates which would promote Indian industries. There should not be even the shadow of a suspicion left that the railways are meant mainly to push the export of raw materials abroad for their import to India in the form of manufactured articles and to promote imports of other foreign manufactured goods also. Indian railways should do all that is possible in the way of reduction of freight, etc., to promote Indian industries and agriculture.

Statutory Railway Authority

The railways in India have cost the Indian taxpayer some 850 crores of rupees, when loans were taken for them they were guaranteed on the security of the general revenues of India, and at least 75 crores of rupees have been paid on interest charges alone. The railways are in fact the property of the people of India. What the intention of the present Government of Great Britain is in seeking to set up a statutory railway authority by legislation in the British Parliament, does not matter. Whatever the intention, if the statutory railway authority be set up by parliamentary legislation—not by legislation by the highest Indian legislature, and if, as has been proposed in the White Paper, the Secretary of State has the power of recruitment of the railway services, the people of India would be practically expropriated and the Indian railways would be managed in the interests of British merchants, manufacturers and shippers and in those of job-seeking Britishers.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh had tabled a cut motion in the Legislative Assembly which resulted in a debate on the subject of the Statutory Railway Authority.

> "It was Mr. Neogy's ruthless analysis of the London scheme that brought the Assembly to realize the dangerous implications of the language of the London Committee's report, and how necessary it was to emphasize the opinion which Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliar, himself a member of the London Committee, declared yesterday, namely, that legislation setting up the Railway Authority should be undertaken in India and not by the British Parliament."

Mr. K. C. Neogy, leader of the Democratic party, pointed out forcibly that

> the meaning of the motion was that the fullest freedom be preserved for this Assembly to legislate in whatsoever manner it liked for setting up a managing agency for the administration of railways in India costing Rs. 850 crores to the Indian taxpayers and that the same right should remain unfettered for this Assembly's successor in regard to amendment of such statute. He and his party would vote only in that sense and not in the narrow sense mentioned by Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliar that legislation should be undertaken in India and not by Parliament. Whatever authority was set up for the administration of railways whether it was called Statutory Railway Board or any other name, it must be subordinate to the Central Legislature and would act as mere agents for the purpose.

Recalling his own speeches in the Assembly on the subject, which he described as a voice in the wilderness, Mr. Neogy pointed out how this point about the Statutory Authority was practically kept away from the influence of the legislature and was smuggled in by the Government of India in their despatch on the Simon Commission Report and specifically mentioned in the report of the Federal Structure Committee of the first so-called Round Table Conference.

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When objection was taken by member after member against this way of doing things the Maharaja of Bikaner was quoted as having approved of it, but the Maharaja of Bikaner disowned it. With such a past as to its origin the matter was again discussed by the Consultative Committee in India when the Indian members again recorded their decision against legislation being undertaken in England on the ground that it would interfere with the authority of the Government of India in railway matters.

Mr. Neogy proceeded to describe our railway systems as the biggest socialist institution of the world, as they were owned by the people, worked for the people and for the benefit of the people. We think they would really be a socialistic institution when they would be entirely Indianized, being controlled and run by Indians alone. Mr. Neogy reminded the Assembly that, in years past,

> when loans were taken, they were guaranteed on the security of the general revenues of the country and how at least Rs. 75,00,00,000 were paid as interest charges alone. That is why the proprietorship of the present or the Federal Government was recognized even in the Government scheme. But what about the agency? The legislature might not exercise full or detailed control, but the fundamental principle that the taxpayers of the country were the principals of the railway property must be fully recognized and not left in any doubt. They could delegate the authority for administering railways to anybody. It could be by legislation or by convention, as was done in the case of separation of the railway finance from the general finance. India would therefore object to legislation by means of adaptation clause, for that really meant Parliamentary control, as the meaning of that phrase was brought out during the discussions on the Reserve Bank Bill.

Mr. Neogy then rebutted the points in Mr. Mudaliar's speech.

He feared that, far from the Secretary of State wiping himself out the moment the Statutory Authority was established, he would really pop his head like Jack in the box; for in the matter of appointments and dismissals the power was largely in the hands of the Governor-General and it would be the Governor-General taking orders from the Secretary of State. It had been clearly specified that the president of the Board would be appointed by the Governor-General and would have the right of access to the Governor-General. Where was the need for this right of access? Then the Governor-General would appoint half the number of members of the Board and in the case of the Chief Commissioner of Railways, his appointment would be subject to confirmation by the Governor-General, which means again taking orders from the Secretary of State.

Services and Finance

Mr. Neogy referred to the voting powers of the Assembly and said that the moment separate authority was appointed without the Assembly being given the right of legislation for, and the control of, its managing agency, then the Public Accounts Committee's scrutiny of the railway accounts, now exercised, would disappear and the auditor-general would not be able to observe the first canon of his duties as regards public expenditure, and this technical check to over-extravagance would be gone.

As regards recruitment of services to railways, Mr. Neogy thought that the Secretary of State would interfere not only when questions connected with communal claims came up, but in the matter of Indianization also the Secretary of State would exercise control by regarding the railway service as a key service, even as Sir Thomas Ryan, when appearing as Secret ry of the Railway Board as a witness before the Islington Commission, treated it. He had this fear, because the White Paper stated that "the question of recruitment by the Secretary of State to superior medical and railway services is under examination and His Majesty's Government hope to submit their recommendation to the Joint Select Committee."

Sir Henry Gidney interposed, pointing out that no decision had been reached and the Secretary of State had promised to submit a note.

> Mr. Neogy quoted from the London Committee's report to show that the Secretary of State would always interfere in the service and the Public Service Commission in India would be consulted only with regard to the framing of rules for recruitment.

Sir Abdur Rahim and Mr. James spoke after Mr. Neogy. They were followed by Mr. N. M. Joshi, Mr. Ranga Iyer, Sir Cowasji Jehangir and Sir Joseph Bhore. The President brought the debate to a close by saying:

> I have been told that the object of the sponsors of the motion and that of the Independent, Democratic, Nationalist and the Centre parties is that they desire to convey their opinion, that "the Constitution Act should merely contain a clause requiring the establishment of Statutory Railway Authority and that its constitution, functions and powers shall be subject to legislation, initial as well as amending, in the Indian Central Legislature."

This was incorporated in the report of the day's proceedings, and Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh was allowed to withdraw his token cut motion.

The Assembly has pronounced its opinion; but the Secretary of State, the Joint Parliamentary Committee, the British Ministry and the British Parliament are not bound to act according to the views of the Assembly. Hence our apprehension is that the people of India would be deprived of their proprietorship of the Indian railways and they would be kept in economic bondage partly by means of these lines of railroad.

Proscribed American Publications

We did not know that "Gandhi *versus* the Empire" by Dr. Haridas T. Muzumdar, an

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American publication, had been proscribed by the Government of India. But the following paragraphs from *Unity* of Chicago say that it has been :

> "Gandhi *Versus* the Empire" by Dr. Haridas T. Muzumdar, unanimously conceded by the American press to be the best book on Gandhi and modern India, has been banned by the British Government of India, according to advices from India.
>
> "The Government of India have prohibited the importation by post into British India of (a) the book entitled "Gandhi *Versus* the Empire" by Haridas T. Muzumdar, published by the Universal Publishing Company, New York, U. S. A., or (b) any translation, reprint or other document containing substantial reproductions of the matter contained in the said book."
>
> "Gandhi *Versus* the Empire," by Dr. Muzumdar is in good company. The previous American publications proscribed by the British Government are Will Durant's "The Case for India," Dr. J. T. Sunderland's "India in Bondage," and Bishop Fred B. Fisher's "That Strange Little Brown Man—Gandhi."
>
> The British Government's proscription of "Gandhi *Versus* the Empire" is in the opinion of the author, Dr. Muzumdar, very curious and unintelligent, "because four-fifths of the book consists of Gandhi's own writings and speeches, especially his ten historic speeches at the Second Round Table Conference."

Revival of Filipino Freedom Question

In the course of one of his letters contributed to the dailies owned by the "Free Press," Dr. Sudhindra Bose of America refers to the revival of the question of Filipino independence. Says he :

> After a year of bitter fighting over the Hawes-Cutting Filipino independence act in the Philippine Islands, the controversial question is now back in Washington again. The Philippine Legislature, which has rejected the Hawes-Cutting bill, has sent to this country an independence mission headed by Senator Manuel Quezon, dominant political figure in the Islands. Quezon and his fellow-missioners are now in Washington to appeal to President Roosevelt and Congress for a new independence act. Quezon said the Filipinos demand that "we should be granted our independence as soon as we establish the Philippine republic—which cannot take more than two or three years."
>
> A New Program Outlined
>
> Many liberal-minded Americans say, the last thing they want to do is to have to fight to keep the Philippine Islands, which they do not want and which do not want them. The Foreign Policy Association of New York and the Carnegie World Peace Foundation submitted to President Roosevelt last week a six-point programme of independence for the Islands, designed to "furnish a fair and equitable arrangement" satisfactory to both the United States and its insular possession.

Evidently it is not sedition in the United States of America for a dependency to ask and agitate for independence.

Distribution of Salt Import Duty Proceeds

Major D. Graham Pole put a question in the British Parliament in connection with the distribution between the Provinces of the proceeds of the additional import duty on salt. The Under-Secretary of State for India has been in communication with the Government of India on this matter and writes to the Major :

"I am now able to inform you that there is no present intention of discontinuing the distribution of seven-eighths of the proceeds of the additional import duty on salt between the Provinces that consume imported salt. Under this arrangement Bengal received Rs. 5.37 lakhs in 1931-32 and Rs. 5.50 lakhs (Revised Estimate) in 1932-33 ; but the amount distributable depends on the proceeds of the tax, and as the rate of duty was reduced last March, it is not unlikely that the share of Bengal in 1933-34 will be less than in the previous years."

The Legislative Assembly Salt Industry Committee observe in their report that

> When the additional import duty was first imposed, it was decided that seven-eighths of the proceeds should be allotted to the Local Government in which imported salt was consumed in proportion to their share in the trade. Reports obtained from the Central Board of Revenue show that very little money has been devoted by the local Governments out of these proceeds to expenditure in connection with the development of the salt industry in their areas and that practically the whole has been absorbed by the Local Governments concerned for use in meeting expenditure incurred on general purposes. The Committee are informed that out of the one-eighth share that was reserved by the Central Government there will be available by the end of the next financial year a sum of Rs. 24 lakhs after allowing for the actual expenditure and commitments of the Central Government in respect of developments at Khewra and other purposes and the Committee recommend that the Government of India should inform the local Governments that they are prepared, if schemes are submitted, to allot money for local salt development work from this balance.

Chittagong Doings and Interests

From the collective fines imposed on the Hindus of Chittagong and the various restrictive and repressive measures taken against Hindu boys and young men there, outsiders may be under the impression that the people

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of Chittagong, particularly the Hindus, have developed only one interest, *viz.*, terrorism, and specialized in it. But, the fact is, the cult of terrorism is confined to a minority of which the numerical strength is not known. The Chittagong people have developed other and different interests. During a few hours' recent visit we got acquainted with the Arya Sangit Samiti, an association which cultivates and teaches music; an electric supply company; the Chittagong Sahitya Parishat, which promotes the cause of Bengali literature and cultivates acquaintance with it; and a private girls' school which has got an enrolment of 240 pupils in the course of two years—and this in addition to a Government girls' school of longer standing, which has a larger number of pupils. Chittagong is the only mofussil town in Bengal which has a daily paper, *Panchajanya*. But that which took us to Chittagong was the ceremony of laying the foundation of a new cotton mills, which was performed by Mrs. Nellie Sen-Gupta. The Company is non-communal and has a strong board of directors. There is every probability of the Mills proving a great success. "The natural resources of the district of Chittagong and its neighbouring districts for cotton industry are immense. Over 3 lac maunds of raw cotton is grown in Chittagong alone. Its humid climate and large supply of skilled weavers in Chittagong and Noakhali, its port and its facilities in rivers and railways are special features suitable for Cotton Mills."

We have also had the privilege, during our visit, of taking part in the unveiling of two portraits of that fearless leader, *Desapriya* Jatindra Mohan Sen-Gupta.

Midnapur Magistrate has No Use for Mahatma Gandhi

The District Magistrate of Midnapur has written to Mr. B. N. Sasmal that it is undesirable that Mahatma Gandhi should visit his district just now. This does not mean that the Magistrate has no use for non-violence or a preacher of non-violence in that district. The Magistrate certainly wants that the people of Midnapur collectively and every individual non-official there should refrain from the use of force. As for officials in the executive and police departments, from the days of Lord Irwin, if not from an earlier period, we have been accustomed to the doctrine that minimum force may and should be used by them against non-officials, if necessary, when they indulge in civil disobedience and on other similar occasions, the choice of the occasions and the decision of what is the minimum being practically left to those local men on the spot. Moreover, we have been recently told in the Bengal Council by the Hon'ble Mr. Reid that some damage to non-officials' property in consequence of some activities of officials is unavoidable. Such unavoidable damage implies the use of minimum force by officials. Now Mahatma Gandhi, being a thorough-going "Non-violencist," may not subscribe to the doctrines of the justifiability of minimum force in the official sense and of the unavoidableness of some damage to non-official property on some occasions. So, if during a visit to Midnapur, he heard of such use of force and such damage, he might give frank expression to his opinion about them. This might lead to complications, which the Magistrate probably wished to avoid.

Moreover, though for the present Mahatma Gandhi has kept all his political activities in abeyance, nobody can forget or has forgotten that he is India's greatest political leader, the field-marshal in fact of India's non-violent freedom's fight. So his mere presence might rekindle the dying embers of the non-violent martial fire.

Indian States Protection Bill

Some years ago there was passed a Princes' Protection Act, on the main ground that some editors were blackmailers and the helpless princes required to be protected against such rascals. Since its passage, that Act has been made use of only twice or thrice, showing that among the seven hundred and odd princes and chiefs two or three have had some grievance remediable by that Act. The "liberties," such as they were, of *all* Indian journalists ought not to have been curtailed for such a trifling reason. These same rascally blackmailers have been again trotted out by Sir Muhammad Yakub in his Assembly speech in justification of the Indian States Protection Bill. He says some princes give feasts to journalists and present them with thick packets of currency notes. Supposing

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that is true, the Bill ought to provide punishment for the bribing princes also, which, of course, it does not.

The new bill has been named the *States* Protection Bill. But though Louis XIV of France said, "I am the State," we have not got 700 Louis XIVs among us, nor has any prince declared that he is the State. So protection of the princes is not identical with protection of the States. It may be objected that the administration of the States must be protected. But as there is reign of law in very few States, the rulers' will being law, the princes and the administration are identical. So the name States Protection Bill is a misnomer.

It is the people of the States who require protection, rather than the princes. In very many States they are subjected to oppression and misrule. In most States there is no Press, and where there is any, there is not even as much freedom of the Press as there is in British India. So the people of those States in which there is misrule cannot ventilate their grievances within the States. Their grievances are ventilated, and that, too, rarely, in papers in British India. Even that means would practically cease to be available on the Bill becoming law. It has been and may be said that newspapers indulging in fair and legitimate criticism need have no fear. But journalists know to their cost that there is no definite criterion of fair and legitimate criticism, and that the tendency of all such laws is to increase the arbitrariness of the executive.

Another way in which the States' people could ventilate their grievances was to hold conferences in British India. But the new bill has a section which would enable the Magistrate of the place where such a Conference might be proposed to be held to stop such an assemblage of men. So, when the Home Member asked people to reconcile themselves to autocratic rule in the States, he was not joking!

The States, no doubt, require to be protected against conspiracies against them in British India and against *jathas* intruding into them from British India in order to overawe them. But the introduction of a Bill providing against these things long after the fate which overtook Kashmir and Al looks like elucidating the meaning of proverbial shutting of the stable-door a the horse has been stolen. Nevertheless, if a penalizing only conspiracies and *jathas* of above description be enforced in a communal manner, it may do some good the other clauses of the Bill should be scrap

It has been said that, as the Prince their nominees would sit in the Fed Legislature side by side with the representati of British India, if there be criticism the States in British India the harmoni working of the Federation would not possible. That is a funny idea. The differ Provinces would form parts of the Federa Is it intended or contended that th should not be any criticism of one Provi in or from another? If it be allowable, certainly is, for men and papers in Province to criticize and agitate against doings in another, why should the men papers in any part of British India prevented from having their say on happenings in any Indian State? S the States are not sacrosanct.

Mr. James made a speech in the Assem in connection with this protection bill f which it seems that the Government want Indian States to enact Arms Acts, as other the smuggling of revolvers, etc., by terro and would-be terrorists cannot be comple prevented; and so the princes want, sort of *quid pro quo*, that they should protected against British-Indian critici Is there a bargain like this?

In any case, it would be interesting know who among the Princes have asked protection. The contentment of the pe produced by good government according popular constitution, is the only sure protec and the only protection worth having who asks for protection against criticism a guilty conscience, and writes himself d as an imbecile or a tyrant, or both.

It has been surmised that the S Protection Bill would be an inducement the princes to join the Federation. But they really wanted such an inducement so, while they themselves want protec against blackmailers, they would themse be considered guilty of blackmailing.

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Silver Jubilee of Hindusthan Co-operative Insurance Society, Ltd.

The celebration of the silver jubilee of the Hindusthan Co-operative Insurance Society, Limited, on the 13th February last at the Calcutta Town Hall under the presidentship of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore was a brilliant success. The striking progress which the Society has made bears witness to the practical idealism and foresight of its originator, the late Mr. Ambikacharan Ukil and of Mr. Surendranath Tagore and other active promoters, as well as to the ability and industry of its present general manager, Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker and his co-workers. We wish still greater progress and success to the Society than it has yet achieved.

Work Done by Bengal Industries Department

A press note has been issued on the work done by the Industries Department of the Government of Bengal in 1932-33. Considering the very limited resources at the disposal of the Bengal Government, much useful work appears to have been done by the Department.

The most noticeable features of the work of this Department during this period were :

(*i*) a new orientation of Government's Stores Purchase Policy ;

(*ii*) the appointment of the Board of Industries and the bringing into operation of the State Aid to Industries Act ; and

(*iii*) the inauguration of a scheme of economic reconstruction in order to attempt the solution of the problem of middle-class unemployment.

The Bengal Budget

This is the budget season. While provinces like Madras and Bombay have been able to draw up budgets showing small surpluses, the Bengal budget shows a deficit of more than two crores of rupees, amounting to about 40 per cent of the entire amount of the budget. This is not the first time that the Province has a deficit budget. Bengal has been the milch cow of the Government of India since the beginning of British rule. Bengal publicists have known this fact for years. And for some years past the Bengal Government also have been admitting that the Government of India have been taking from the Province more than from any two other provinces combined. It would not do to say, Bengal must suffer because she has the permanent settlement of land revenue. That settlement was not the work of the people of Bengal. If it must be unsettled, let the successors of those British administrators who were its authors break their pledges and do it. In any case, if that settlement was wrong, that mistake cannot justify the legalized spoliation of Bengal by the Central Government, which has been going on for decades.

Bill for Suppression of Terrorism

The Select Committee has made some minor improvements in the Bill for the supression of terrorism in Bengal. The death penalty for the manufacture, sale or possession of arms without licence has been retained. No wonder, Mr. N. K. Basu, one of the members of the select committee, has not signed its report.

Protection of the Name Khaddar

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh's bill for the protection of the names Khadi and Khaddar, as applied to cloth woven in handlooms from handspun yarn, has passed through the Legislative Assembly unopposed. Bombay mill-owners had been making money by manufacturing mill-made Khaddar—that was the *raison d'etre* of the bill.

Renewed Trouble in Kashmir

There is trouble again in Kashmir. For, in the opinion of Sir Muhammad Iqbal, "*even* the administration of a British Prime Minister has failed to win the confidence of the people of Kashmir," etc., etc. Hence, the Muslim politician-poet, "in view of the alarming situation that has arisen (or has been made to arise ?), considers that the time has come when the Paramount Power should boldly face the situation with a view to insure lasting peace in this unfortunate valley." Will a Muslim Prime Minister and a Muslim Maharaja be able to insure lasting peace ? Alas, there is no lasting peace even in Germany, Austria, France, etc., where there is self-rule or what passes in the world for such !

Revolution Abroad

If the Bengal Government, backed by the Bengal Legislative Council, had the power, revolution or something like it could have been prevented in Austria, France, Nicaragua, Cuba, etc. But as these countries are not under firm British rule, there is much trouble there.

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Russo-Japanese War Again

Moscow, Feb. 11.

Ominous details of Japanese military measures in Manchuria are enumerated by General Blaccher, Chief Commander, Soviet Far Eastern Armies, in an address at the annual Communist Congress. He declared emphatically that Japan was preparing for a war against the Soviet and had converted North Manchuria into a drill ground wherefrom to jump off to the Soviet. She had uudertaken tremendous strategical road, railway and air port construction and had accommodated one-third of the whole Japanese army there.

The Soviet was taking counter measures and had reinforced the army with the best units and mechanism, while the frontier was belted with iron and concrete "able to withstand even the strongest teeth of the aggressor."—Reuter.

Racial Discrimination in Railways

In Indian State Railways,

during the year 1932-33, out of 5,774 posts carrying a salary of Rs. 250 a month and over, 2,355 were held by Anglo-Indians and 1,252 by Europeans, and out of 2,654 posts carrying the same salary on the company-managed railways 512 were held by Europeans, and 1,165 by Anglo-Indians. The European and Anglo-Indian employees enjoy better conditions of service than Indian employees of the same grade. For example, the authorities of the East Indian Railway spend more money on one single school at Mussoorie which is reserved for European and Anglo-Indian children, than on all the existing Indian schools combined, maintained by them. The Indian employees and their families do not receive the same facilities for medical relief as the European and Anglo-Indian employees and their families do.

Subhash Chandra Bose's Views

In the course of a statement to the Press, sent from Geneva, Mr. Subhash Chandra Bose observes :

In the domain of our external policy, our own socio-political views or predilections should not prejudice us against people or nations holding different views, whose sympathy we may nevertheless be able to acquire. This is a universal cardinal principle in external policy and it is because of this principle that today in Europe a pact between Soviet-Russia and Fascist Italy is not only a possibility but an accomplished fact. Therefore, in our external policy, we should heartily respond to any sympathy for India which we may find in any part of the world.

In determining internal policy, it would be a fatal error to say that the choice for India lies between Communism and Fascism. No standpoint or theory in socio-political affairs can be the last word in human wisdom. The socio-political theories and institutions of the modern nations are the product of their history, environment and needs. They are liable to change and development just as human life is. Moreover, it should be remembered that some of the most interesting institutions the present day are still experiments. Time elapse before they could be declared to be suc ful, and, in the meantime, we should not mort our intellect anywhere. My own view has al been that India's task is to work out a synthes all that is useful and good in the different move that we see today. For this purpose we shall ha study with critical sympathy all the move and experiments that are going on in E and America. And we would be guilty of f we ignore any movement or experiment becau any preconceived bias or predilection.

Obviously Mr. Bose has kept an o mind.

The Late King of the Belgians

The late King of the Belgians, who last month as the result of a mountainee accident, fought during the last great war great ability and courage for preserving independence of his country against German invasion. This won him the miration of his people and impartial foreig

Separation of Burma

Many reasons have been assigned for separation of Burma from India. Bri real reason is that British exploiters wan exploit the vast mineral and forest reso of Burma without any effective opposi such as united Indo-Burman opposition prove to be if there be no separation.

Winston Churchill on the Last War

In his book on the "World Crisis" Winston Churchill asks : "What did the do which the Christian nations did not do i last war ?" As for the steps taken by sides to secure victory, he observes : "W all was over, torture and cannibalism the only two expedients that the civi scientific, Christian states had been ab deny themselves : and these were of dou utility."

Indian Pins and Paper-clips

We have used the paper-clips and manufactured by Messrs. Gor and Co Bombay and found them satisfactory.

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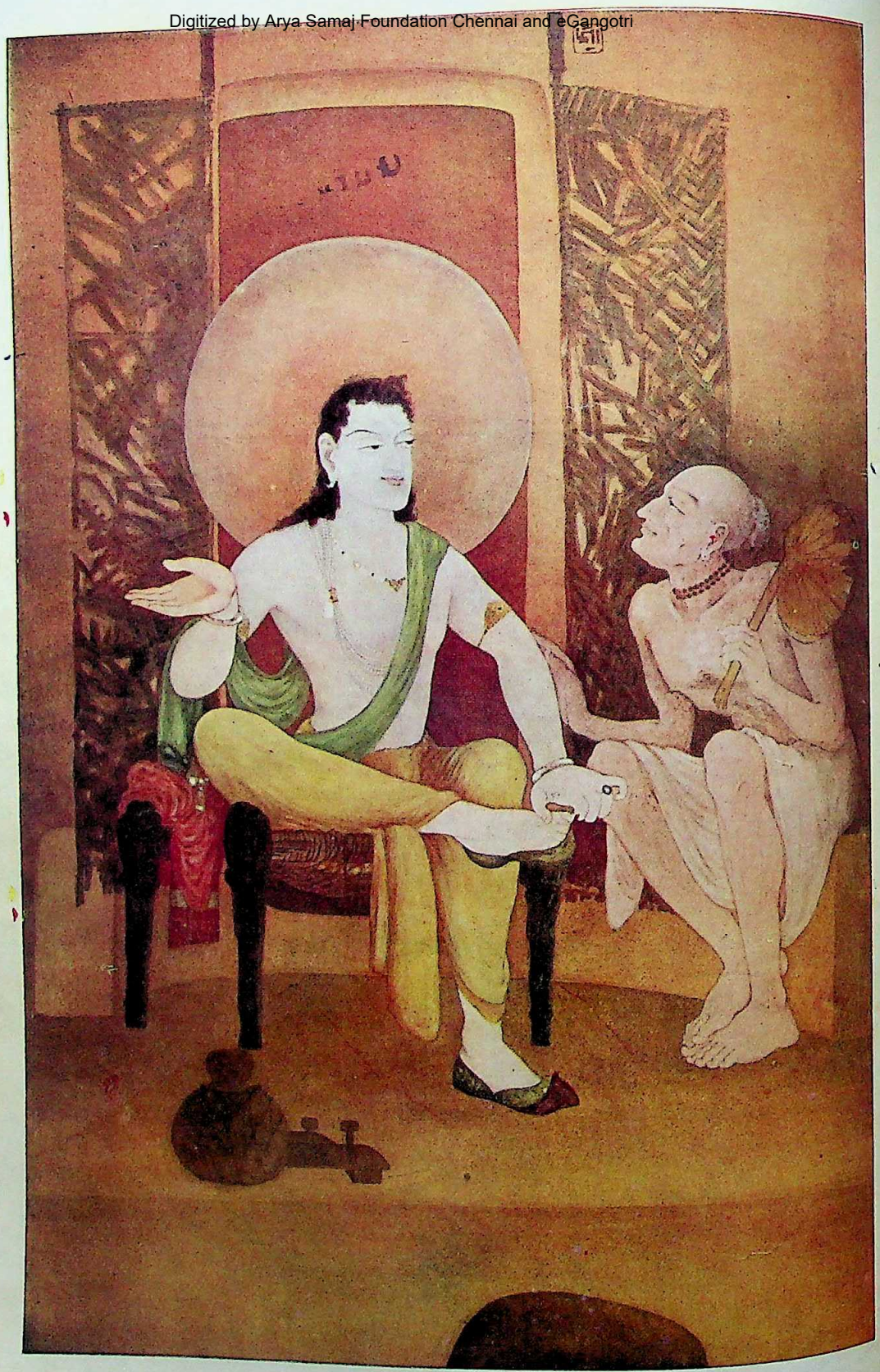

KRISHNA AND BIDUR
By Durgashankar Bhattacharya

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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SHOULD THE LEAGUE BE ARMED?

Reasons against an International Police Force

By WILFRED WELLOCK

THE failure of the Disarmament Conference has had one surprising result: it has caused a large number of prominent peace workers to espouse the cause of an International Police Force. The effect of this has been to place the demand for such a force in the very forefront of peace propaganda. For that reason the proposal, with all its implications, must be carefully examined.

The chief argument in favour of an International Police Force appears to be that it is the only condition upon which the Powers can be induced to disarm, since it alone offers the security which halting States demand return for a surrender of military power. In other words, "pooled security" is held to be essential to disarmament in this heavily-armed age. The case against the proposal is, in my opinion, overwhelming.

Is It a Police Force?

In the first place, the term "police" force is a misnomer, and gives a false impression of what is intended by the proposal. Indeed, the International Police Force is not a police force at all, but a military instrument pure and simple. Were its purpose to protect the world from pirates and brigands, etc., in certain waters, or in certain wild places of the earth, something might be said for it, but it is definitely intended to be used to subdue and coerce "offending" Powers. Police forces "lock up" offenders, have them tried and, if found guilty, put in prison. But you can't imprison a guilty nation, nor indeed a guilty Government, nor groups of war-mongers and armament-makers in a foreign land. The International Police Force would be expected to invade an offending country and if need be, to kill a larger or smaller number of its people, the innocent with the guilty, including women and children. It might indeed be used by a majority of States within the League of Nations, and be opposed by a minority group of States, and thus become involved in a world war.

Betraying The Real Purpose of The League

Thus we must ask whether the placing of a powerful military instrument—and it must be powerful to serve its purpose—in the hands of the League would not betray the real purpose of the League, since it would inevitably tend to make the League think in terms of military power and cause it to devote less and less attention to the methods of peace, whose use it is surely the supreme mission of the League to foster. The establishment of an International Police Force would unquestionably emphasize the idea that force is

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indispensable to the maintenance of international peace, whereas what we want to see is the League becoming an effective peace instrument, appealing to and developing the great reservoirs of moral and spiritual energy which are available, but which have never yet been harnessed to the cause of peace. Furthermore, by introducing the revolver do we not jeopardize truth, and thus the cause of peace, since by exhalting the factor of "might," which has been the bane of the centuries, we tie ourselves to the very evil from which we desire to escape ?

An Imperialist League

Obviously the supreme purpose of the League of Nations, and by the fulfilment of which it will ultimately be judged, is to substitute moral for military force, and all the energy of pacifists and of pacifist organizations ought to be directed to making the League the world's most powerful moral instrument. But despite its many welcome achievements, we must face the fact that when the supreme tests arrive, the League collapses, either from lack of faith in the moral appeal, or because the Powers which control it are swayed by selfish and imperialist motives or considerations connected with the evergrowing menace of the class war. The Sino-Japanese conflict over Manchuria is a case in point. That issue provided the League with a golden opportunity of vindicating its moral power and authority ; but, for such reasons as I have named, it failed ignominiously to use it.

But then many other clashes are taking place between the Great Powers which are equally ominous—as, for instance, between Japan and the U. S. A., Japan and Russia, many Capitalist States and Russia, and between Italy, France and Germany over the control of certain Balkan States and even Austria. Moreover, does it require much foresight to predict at no distant date conflict within the League between Fascist and Anti-Fascist States, and ultimately between Fascist and Socialist (and Communist) States, whence the League would become the battle-ground in a momentous struggle for ascendancy in world civilization between two conflicting social ideals ? In view of the development of class war and of the attitude of capitalist Powers towards Soviet Russia, what Socialist or independent thinker would have confidence in a League of Nations' decision in a dispute between Japan and Russia, for instance ?

It is, therefore, clear that to place an International Police Force in the hands of the League as it exists today would be to present new temptations to Powers which even now were giving vent to imperialist ambition.

The League and Constructive Peace

To my mind there is something inherently antagonistic to the spirit and purpose of the League of Nations in the whole idea of an International Police Force. If the League is ever to be an effective peace instrument, it must endeavour to get down to the roots of peace by inquiring into the grievances under which nations and peoples are suffering into the oppressions of Imperialism ; into racial and emigration issues and into Minority issues, etc. This it should do fearlessly, governed by the single desire to find the truth and establish justice, brushing aside every barrier to these ends, all race and class prejudice, all the presuppositions of Imperialism. On these lines the League would soon establish its moral authority in the eyes of the whole world : WHENCE IT WOULD HAVE NO NEED OF A POLICE FORCE.

Surely, then, the problem of the Peace Movement is how to create Governments which will use the League to realize its great purposes. In advocating an International Police Force peace workers are starting at the wrong end of the problem, since what the League needs is moral authority, and since in present circumstances an International Police Force would almost certainly be used to further the ends of Imperialism and thus strengthen the very instruments of oppression which are the cause of all the fear and distrust that are today poisoning the wells of international intercourse and undermining the authority of the League. The real need of the League is moral authority, and this can only be secured on such lines as I have indicated.

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Would an I. P. F. Achieve Disarmament?

Let us now consider the claim that an International Police Force would bring about substantial disarmament. Many sponsors of the proposal state that its inauguration would be accompanied by the abolition of all national military aviation and the internationalization of civil aviation. If they mean to hold on to that condition, they may as well give up the proposal at once, since Powers (like France, say,) which are feeling too insecure to disarm without pooled security while the military scales are decidedly in their favour, are not likely to disarm confronted with the possibility of an armed League in which they are in a minority. The very fear that the balance of power within the League might change, would prevent even the securest Powers from accepting any appreciable measure of disarmament, while such disarmament as they conceded would be made in the belief that they would be able to maintain their ascendancy in the League. Thus once you accept the proposal to set up an International Police Force, you are likely to be driven into accepting a minimum of disarmament "at the commencement," on the promise of larger instalments later on. Such a concession to militarism, however, would be no more likely to bear the desired fruit than has the undertaking of the Allied Powers to disarm recorded in the Treaty of Versailles.

So far from disarmament resulting, there is good reason to believe that an International Police Force would lead to an increase in world armaments, since Imperialist Powers would probably feel compelled to visualize situations in which they might be in a minority in the League and thus be called upon to face very powerful combinations of military force, including the International Police Ferce. Furthermore, the very existence of the International Police Force would tend to make its control the central issue among the Powers, and thus to divide up the League into groups of Powers, as in the pre-League days of the Balance of Power. The effect of these conditions would undoubtedly be to create among the Great Powers larger demands for military forces than ever before.

Abolish Exploitation!

Surely it is obvious that so long as the League is chiefly composed of States which are founded on exploitation, its moral authority will be almost nil. In these circumstances general disarmament is out of the question, while to arm the League would vitiate the position and actually lead to increased armaments. Not until the Great Powers have abandoned social and imperialist exploitation, are ready to take all their disputes to arbitration and to adopt the fullest and widest measures of international economic co-operation will the League be able to give the world peace and disarmament. This surely indicates the path peace workers ought to follow.

Technical Difficulties

In the above statement the technical difficulties to be overcome in operating an International Police Force have not been discussed, since I deemed it better to concentrate on the principles involved. But those difficulties are insuperable in a League composed, say, of Imperialist and Fascist States, some of which extol war. In these circumstances it would be impossible to prevent an International Police Force from breaking into fractions by reason of disaffection due to "nationalist" feeling. But that is only one of many practical difficulties which would have to be faced.

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IN BAIGA LAND

By VERRIER ELWIN

IMAGINE the Garden of Eden after the Fall, Adam and Eve restored to a conditional tenancy in its glades and forests now ravaged by the sin of man, the whole area however neatly tidied up by the Forest Department, and the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil fenced off in a closed koop of its own and reserved entirely for the use of officials. There you have Baiga Land, a country that seems utterly remote and infinitely old, having the romance of Eden without its plenty. For indeed the Gonds and Baigas will tell you that these hills formed the home of the first parents of mankind, and their modern descendants are almost as wild and naked as they.

Children in a Baiga Village.

Not long ago I went with Srikant and Panda Baba to Baiga Land. Srikant is one of Pandit Jawaharlal's 'old women' who is giving his life to the dangerous and lonely task of village service. Panda Baba is the leading Gond wizard of our district. You must know our Panda Baba. He is an elderly man of immense style and character. Like Sir Willoughby Patterne, he has a leg. His stores of knowledge appear to be drawn from the primitive origins of our race. He has a group of disciples whom he is instructing in the elements of magic. He carries a sort battle-axe but it is not your crude instrume of slaughter used by the masses—it is slend and delicate, but with a razor's edge. Pan Baba has great tact. See him wheedl three annas worth of ghee out of a reluct *mukkadam* with just that blend of push a deference that a Bishop might employ extract a financial grant from a Provin Governor! The shyest raconteur unburde himself when that sage old head begins nod appreciatively by his side. It essential that we should have this man the spirit with us.

Away we went into the forest. O three or four visitors a year are dar enough to brave the journey even to Karan but Karanjia, for all its bears and tigers, i centre of civilization compared to this. D after day we plunged deeper into this w loneliness: at first we were in the livi forest—there were birds, we could hear t chatter of a monkey teasing a tiger, we wou meet people on the road. But later w reached the forests of Baiga Land whe hardly a bird rustles the leaves in th uncanny silence and where you may go t miles without meeting a soul. How thrill this forest is, with its endless trees which c close in upon you and now open wide to bare burnt glade, the trees sometimes tall the mast of some high Ammiral, sometim short and all their leaves withered by frost. The greens, the browns and the blac burnt grass make up a sombre but handso picture, while in the early morning when frost lies white upon the ground and t mist is rising from the streams or curli caressingly about the hills, the place is fairyland indeed.

The Baigas, thirty-seven thousand of th are to be found scattered all over the bl of Mandla, Bilaspur and Balaghat. Chhattisgarh live their more civilized desc dants, the Binjhwars; the Bhainas of Bilas

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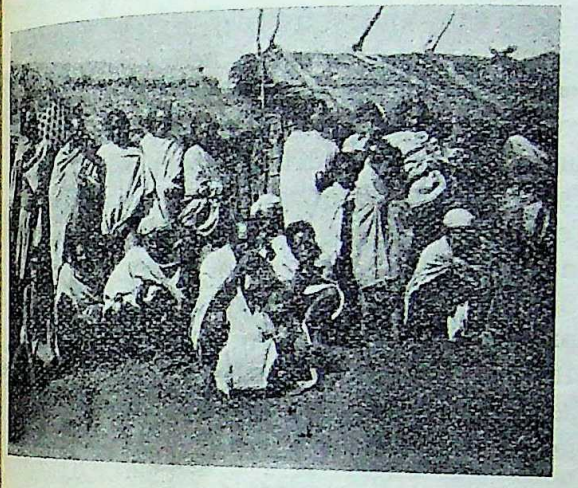
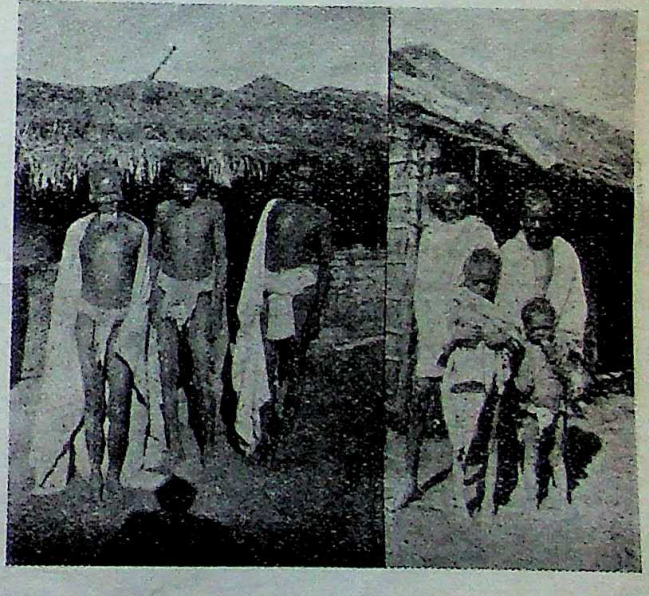
are in a left-handed relation to them; and the Bhuiyas of Chota Nagpur are regarded as another and perhaps the parent—branch of the same family. But you can read all about this in Russell's great book *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces.** All I want to do here is to tell of some of the villages we visited and of the things we heard and saw.



A group of Baigas. Hothu is sitting in the centre smoking.

At Dhurwari, a forest village in the Karanjia circle, we found the first Baiga settlement; and it was here that an elderly Ahir, squatting by our fire in the evening, told us that if we wanted to see real Baigas we must go to Ludra Taliyapani, Chakmaktola and Pakeripani. It added thirty miles to the tour, but such names were irresistible, and so early the next morning we started off by a tiny foot-path across the hills. I forget how many hills we crossed that day and night found us still climbing. It was quite dark when we arrived. But what a welcome we had! There was a well-ordered little hut for travellers, and in ten minutes the *mukkadam* had brought charpoys and seats and wood: two huge fires were made to keep out the bitter cold and soon most of the village were sitting round it, chatting away in the most homely manner. It was a strange and absorbing sight to see those wild handsome faces in the firelight, their long hair, their half-naked bodies. There were many old men, far more than you would see in a Gond village, and their ravaged faces had a great dignity. We made friends and went to bed, for we were tired.

It is always exciting to reach a place at night and then see what it looks like in the morning. We were not disappointed. Ludra Taliyapani is a typical Baiga village on the sun-lit rocky slopes of a tall hill, and everywhere there is a sea of hills and forest, save that in front you see below you the Maniari Lake which looks mysterious and lovely in the distance. A Baiga village is entirely different from a Gond village. In the latter every house stands by itself in its own field, and normally a home consists of four little houses arranged about a courtyard. But the Baiga houses are joined one to the other in a long row or round a very large square—tiny little houses they are, generally without proper doors, generally with walls of mud and straw roughly cowdunged. (The Gond house is of bamboo and is always neat and charming with a wash of white mud). But the Baiga houses have a very 'slummy' appearance and it is not easy to keep the great court clean. The Baigas wear more clothes than they used to, but they still wear less than almost anyone else and except when it is very cold, they like to go practically naked. The better houses are



Typical Baiga types. Baigas—old and young. It is a bitterly cold morning, hence the "Nanga" Baigas are wrapped in clothes.

* There is also some interesting material supplementary to Russell in the 1931 Census of India, Vol. XII, Part I, pp. 403 ff. My article is independent of either account, and offers much new material.

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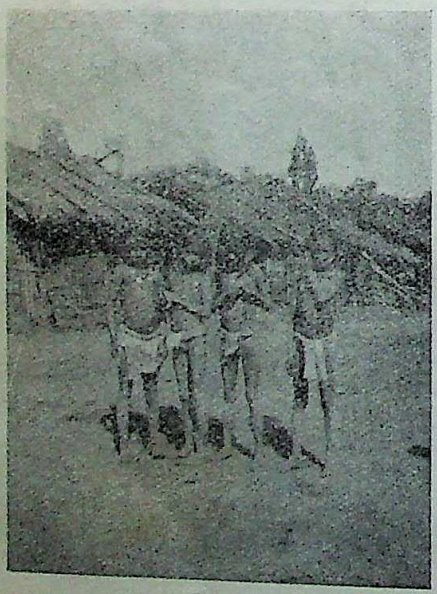
filled with a fantastic variety of oddments—bows and arrows, a stag's horns, peacock's feathers, rows of little packets hanging from the roof in which all sorts of treasures are concealed, a large bin for rice, a bed, some cooking pots, a fishing net and so on. In the poorer houses there are only the barest necessities of life. The Baigas live on *pej*—rice boiled in water—a little chappatti, and roots. They will eat almost any animal, but not monkeys, cats, dogs, vultures or beef.

We asked one old man about the days of long ago. 'Then it was Sukhiraj,' he said, 'How we used to eat in those days.' And his old face lighted with enthusiasm as he enumerated at least thirty articles of diet till everyone's mouth was watering. 'But now—a little *kodon*, disease and death: that is our life.' 'Yes,' said another old man, 'The world is full of evil spirits nowadays. We can't understand where the Gods have gone to. It is the Kali Yug.'



Are they to grow up as illiterate as their fathers?

The poverty of the Baigas is, without exaggeration, terrible. They are almost entirely illiterate. Many of them cannot add. They have no sense of distance. They say that a *kos* (normally two miles) is the distance between one pipe and the imperative desire for another. They are thus readily exploited by the money-lender and merchant. They used to make mats and other things and take them for sale in the markets, but now, they say, people stop them and take their things away from them, so even the few home-industries they have are dying out. No doubt they are lazy and thriftless, dirty and superstitious. The Gonds criticize them for their haphazard ways. 'They call up the spirits anyhow,' says Panda Baba, who is a rigid ceremonialist. But how courageous they are, how loving and loveable, faithful to their friends, honest with one another, and with what a heroic merriness of heart they triumph over all their sorrows. The women are less dignified, less distinguished than the men, a trifle hoydenish perhaps. The Gonds, I thought, might produce a Tess: the Baigas would hardly rise above an Audrey.

The Baigas are very old. The Gonds consider that they were created immediately after the beginning of the world. They themselves say that first there were Nanga Baigas, then Nanga Gonds and then Nanga Babas or Yogis, that is Hindus. They tell many different stories of their origin. Their ancestors, Naga Baiga and Nagin Baigin were born of serpents in the midst of the forest, and seeing their nakedness Parameshwar offered them a *dhoti* nine yards long. But they refused it as being unnecessary, and some gods who were watching the scene remarked, these are not Naga Baigas but Nanga Baigas. From that day they do not wash or dress. After this God himself taught them to cut trees and to sow their seed.*

Sitting by the fire we pressed them for stories. How did they spend the long dark evenings? Just sitting, they said. They knew no stories. Then Panda Baba came to the rescue, a touch of flattery, a hint at *bakshees*, and the thing was done. Hothu told us his tale. He did it very well, in intelligible Chhattisgarhi Hindi with just enough dialect to flavour it, with slow expressive gestures, long pauses and an inimitable trick of crumpling up his forehead at the funny bits.

An ant and a piece of charcoal set out on a journey. They came to a river and stopped to consider who should cross first. At last the coal went first and the ant followed him. The ant said, 'So a coal-black ant and a piece of coal have

* Russell and Mr. Ikramullah in the Census Report give different versions of this story.

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become friends !' After they had crossed the river the water became black. Presently a stag came to the river, and asked the water, 'How did you become black, O water ? Till now you were quite clear.' 'Hear me, O stag,' replied the water. 'An ant and a piece of coal have turned me black, and now I shall turn you lame.' The stag drank the water and went limping up the hill to find mahua fruit. When he came to the tree, the mahua asked, 'What is the matter ? An hour ago you were going to eat so much, but now you are taking nothing.' The stag replied, 'You belong to the plant caste and I belong to the animal caste, so what can you understand ? But as I became lame, so do you become small.' And the mahua who had been very large became small. The stag limped away home.

Then a bird settled on the tree and began to eat. 'What is the matter ?' it said. 'Yesterday I was satisfied with one of your fruits, but now with four or five I am still hungry.' And the mahua said, 'Hark to the tale of the cold-black water, the limping stag and the tiny tree.' When it heard it, the bird began to say *Chee-pee, Chee-pee*. It flew away and found a bar-tree for food. But it could eat nothing. All the time it flew to and fro saying *Chee-pee, Chee-pee*. The tree said, 'What is the matter ? Till now you used to come silently for food. Now you eat nothing and talk all the time.' The bird said, 'Hark to the tale of the coal-black water, the limping stag and the tiny tree ; the poor little bird that missed its dinner—and bitter berries shall grow on thee.'

Early in the morning the women of the village went to fetch water, and one of them was the sort of girl who is always eating this or that. She plucked some berries and began to eat. 'What is the matter ?' she asked the tree. 'Why are you so bitter ?' The bar-tree replied, 'Hark to the tale of the coal-black water, the limping stag and the tiny tree ; the chee-pee bird and the bitter berries—and now a pigmy thou shalt be.' She had been a tall woman : now she became small. She went home and when her work was done, she took *pej* to the men of the house in the fields. 'Come, brothers, eat,' she said, taking food out of the pot. 'Who is this ?' said the men. 'Our girl was tall, but who is this pigmy ?' 'Come and eat,' she replied, 'and I will tell you the secret !' When she had told them she said, 'Now you shall become bent.' And the plough-men's bodies became contorted.

All day long they ploughed and in the evening they went to their Rani. When she saw them she said, 'Ram, Ram, Ram, Ram, what has happened ? Tell me, for whatever you may say, you are my helpers and protectors.' 'Very well,' they said, 'Hark to the tale of the coal-black water, the limping stag and the tiny tree ; the chee-pee bird and the bitter berries ; the pigmy maid and the ploughmen three.' And then—

And then to my great regret, the story, though it would have delighted Chaucer, becomes—not indecent—but a little gross, and I had better stop. But I have told enough to show the kind of fairy-story they enjoy.

That night we had a dance under the moon. They did the *Daserah*, which is the origin of the more musical and sophisticated Gond *Saila*. In complete silence, save for the monotonous beating of a drum, the boys of the village went round and round in a circle which now widened and now contracted. Whenever there was a change of movement they uttered together a thin weird bat-like cry. After a time three old men walked into the middle of the circle and, huddled very close together, began to sing in faint piping voices. It was unforgettable—the high hills around, the lonely forest, the cold moon, those wild faces by the fire, and this unearthly fantasia of sound and movement.

A Baiga girl, who can now read and write, at the Montessori School of the Gond Seva Mandal at Karanjia.

Just before we left the next morning, I said casually to Hothu that if he wanted to tell one more story, there was just time. To our surprise and delight he said he would, provided that Panda Baba sat beside him. So we all sat down and he gave us this little folk-tale.* Whether it is genuine Baiga art or not, I am not in a position to say, but it is a good story—and as Hothu told it, it was twice as good.

There was a king who had six wives, but not one of them bore him a child. Daily the king

* Those interested in these things should read the story of Rai Linga in Mr. Trench's Grammar of Gondi, Vol. II. It seems to me that there is a distinct family resemblance between the two tales.

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would go hunting. One day he made a platform beside a lake and sat there watching for animals to come to drink. In the top of the tree sat the Queen of the Forest and she was weeping. Her tear-drops fell on the breast of the King. He called three or four servants, and said, 'Look, look, water is falling on my chest.' They all looked up into the tree but could see nothing. But there was a one-eyed man there and he cried, 'There is something there.' Then he called to the Queen of the Forest, 'Tell us, are you a *devata*, or a rakshas or a *bhut* or a *pret*, what are you? Come down.' But she replied, 'No, I dare not; you may beat me.' But at last she came down and they prepared her a splendid meal which she ate. 'It seems,' whispered the King's servants, 'as if she has not eaten for many a day.' She stayed with the King for a night and the next day he took her home with him.

When the six queens saw it, they said, 'So that is what he was up to when we thought he had gone hunting.' In the city the news spread quickly and there was great excitement. The citizens came to the palace to see the Queen of the Forest. Three nights passed and then with great ceremony the King married her. The other queens were very jealous: they would not talk with her, and she felt very lonely, especially as the King went out daily for hunting. Two or three years passed and then God blessed the Queen of the Forest with a child. She said, 'Look, my King, daily you go out hunting, and leave me alone here. Who knows what may not happen when the child is born.' The King said, 'I will put a big bell on the top of the palace, and when the child is born, ring it and I will come at once.'

At last the child was to be born and the King was away from home. In her pain the Queen of the Forest forgot to ring the bell. Then those six queens took her and pushed her into a grain-bin by the small hole at the bottom. Her beautiful son fell down outside. They took him away and put a stone in his place. It was so dark there that the poor queen could not see what had been born to her. They put the child in the buffalo-shed and hoped that the buffaloes would trample on it. After two days the King returned. They showed the stone to the King and said, 'Your jungly Queen has given birth to a stone.' He put his hands to his cheeks and with a face full of sorrow sat down. Then the Queen of the Forest was shaved in four places, and was sent away to work in the fields driving away crows. Then two of the queens went to see the baby and found a buffalo suckling it. So they took it to the goat-shed instead. After two or three days the old man and woman who used to graze the goats came to clean the shed and began to remove the grass and refuse. The woman found the baby and wrapping it in a cloth took it away. Then she called the old man and said, 'See, I have found the son of the Forest Queen in the goat-shed.' The old man killed a goat and made the signs of birth in his house and declared, 'In our old age God has given us a son.' Then he went to get milk-medicine for his wife. At last milk came from the old woman's breast and she began to suckle the child.

In eight months the child could sit and stand. In three or four years he could walk and run. He saw other children playing and asked his father to make him a bow and arrow. He ... green pigeons on the big tree and brought ... to his father. In his catapult were seven ... The other children often missed but this ... always hit the mark. The children used to ... on horses to the river to bathe, and so Lal (wh... was the name his foster-parents gave him) ... and asked his father to make a horse for ... The old man took twenty rupees to the carpe... and asked him to make a horse for his son. 'Y... must have it ready in five days,' he said. 'H... are ten rupees and in five days I will give ... ten more.' In five days he brought Lal his h... The boy kissed it and said, 'You are the h... that will take me to my mother.' Then he ... with the other children, driving his wooden h... They had a race, but the wooden horse went ... faster than any of the others.

Lal went home and took his food. Then ... went to the river where the six queens ... bathing and ordered his horse to drink. ... drink water,' he said. He dipped its wood... mouth in the water. The queens heard ... 'Fool, why are you asking a wooden horse ... drink? Has your father seen, or have you ... a wooden horse drink water?' Then the ... answered, 'That is all right. But have you ... or has your father seen a stone ever born to ... human being?' The queens began to mur... among themselves and their hearts beat fast. S... of them bathed, some did not. They return... home, but they took no food, but went and ... down on their beds. When the King came ... he was surprised because daily it was their cust... to give him water and to serve him, but on ... day they were all lying on their beds. 'What ... happened? Have you got fever?' he asked. T... told him what the boy with the wooden horse ... said. Into the King's mind the thought flash... 'Perhaps this is my true son,' and he sent ... soldiers to bring the boy to him. The old ... shivered with fright when they arrived deman... the boy. They wept and cried, 'What will ha... to our boy?' But Lal said, 'Don't be afraid,' ... he went off boldly to the court. There he ... the whole story, and when he had finished ... said, 'Go and bring the Queen whom you ... kept in your fields to drive away the crows, and ... I will prove all my story.'

Two soldiers went to bring the Queen of ... Forest, and when she came the King asked ... to stand on the threshold. Between Lal ... the Queen was placed a screen of seven ... thickness. Lal said, 'If the woman on the ... side of the screen is my mother, then if ... presses her breast, milk will flow: it will de... the screen and will come to my mouth.' Then ... Queen of the Forest pressed her breast and ... milk flowed out through the screen into ... mouth. He cried, 'See this is my mother. ... turned to the courtiers and said, 'You are ... men. Tell me, have you ever seen a stone ... of a human being?' They replied, 'Never. ... you are the Prince.' And so the King ... back the Queen of the Forest and he banished ... the other six queens from his court.

'And the moral of that,' concluded Hari... 'is that the greatest love in the world is the ... of children.'

Then back we went into the jungle ... away to the Baiga Chowk.

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The most characteristic thing about the Baigas is not their nudity, but their devotion to Bewar Cultivation. The Baiga selects a portion of the forest, fells the trees and sets the whole thing on fire. He sows his seed in the ashes and after the rains, gets his crop. After three years he moves on to another patch. But when the Forest Department began for the first time to take the jungle seriously, it became necessary to control the custom which was undoubtedly injurious to the forest. A block of 20,000 acres was set aside for the use of the Baigas, and Bewar was forbidden anywhere outside it in British India. This block is the Baiga Chowk. Here some seventy families have settled and still practise their ancient method of cultivation, though many of them have been persuaded to take to the use of the plough. But no Baigas plough save with a wistful heart. Bewar is their tradition: it is in their blood: it is the mark of their race: it is the sole reminder that they were once kings of the forest.

God himself came to their great ancestors as they were eating roots in the jungle and showed them how to do bewar, giving them the first seeds with His own hands. The Baigas have a passionate love for bewar. I have no doubt that this almost religious devotion is connected with their reverence for Mother Earth. Now, because of hunger and the strange days of the Kali Yug, they have to dishonour her with the plough.

I shall never forget Silpiri, the main village of the Chowk, with its dozens of children, its friendly people, its romantic setting. We had a wonderful afternoon of dancing there. For the Silpiri Baigas, dancing is a fine art: they have special dresses for it and a regular programme of different dances. First was the *Asserah*—for men only—as we had seen at Baliyapani. Then came the *Jarpath*, in which a row of boys faces a row of girls with two drummers in between. The rows advance and retreat, bowing and singing. There followed the *Tapadi* or *Reena* dance for women only. In the Gond *Reena* dances that I have seen, the women go round and round in a circle, bowing and making very complicated movements with the hands. Here there were two rows of women, who remained in a bowing position, sometimes turning their backs on each other, and for a time actually kneeling on the ground swaying to and fro. Finally there was the Baiga *Karma*, the famous dance that is common to many forest peoples. This was a little different from the Gond *Karmas* that I have seen. The men stood in the centre, a stationary pivot and a very large circle of women went round them. From time to time three girls and then a couple of boys detached themselves from the main company and went round and round the pivot very rapidly and in the opposite direction, their dancing being some of the finest I have witnessed.

Srikant was very busy taking down the songs, which he wrote out in Kanarese characters. In the evening we called Panda Baba, who was the only person who could understand them, even the singers being doubtful of the real meaning, and we got them translated. Here are some of them. It is interesting in view of the prevailing opinion about primitive songs, to note that not one of those we heard was indecent or even coarse in character.

The Baiga Karma.
The men and drummers in front, the row of women behind.

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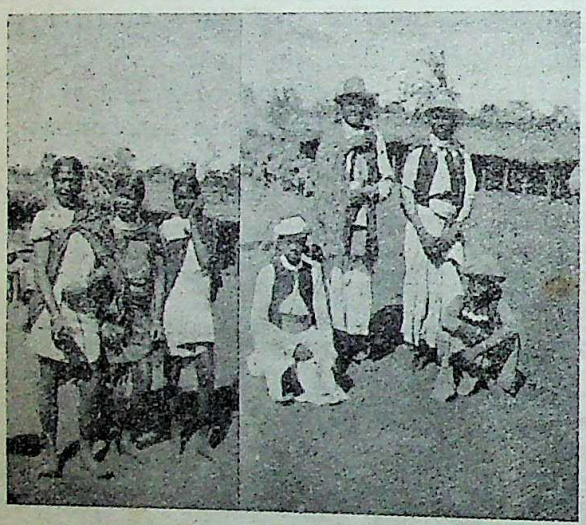
In All My Dreams

The wind and the rain are beating down;
Take shelter or your body will be drenched.
The rain is falling, falling.
In all my dreams I searched for you,
But I did not find even the echo of your steps.

I have built a fence by the roadside;
I have made a fence for my garden.
Where have you hidden, Thief of my Heart?
In all my dreams I searched for you,
But I did not find even the echo of your steps.

I have cut tall bamboos; I have cut short bamboos.
Large are the hollows of the dwarf bamboos.
The thief who crouched behind my fence has
hidden in those hollows.
In all my dreams I searched for you,
But I did not find even the echo of your steps.



Baiga girl dancers. Baiga boy dancers. The amount of cloth worn here and in other picture is exceptional.

The Monkey Chatters

From the top of the tree the monkey chatters.
Which brother carries the gun?
Which has the arrow and the bow?

Little brother has the gun,
Big brother has the bow and arrow.
Which brother says, 'I will shoot, I will shoot';
Which brother shoots the arrow?

Little brother says, 'I will shoot my gun';
Big brother shoots the arrow.

The Music Maker

There is One that maketh music on His flute.
But who careth for this poor forest-dweller?
No mother have I, nor brother, nor friend in all
the world,
But there's One who maketh music on His flute.
There is One who maketh music on His flute.
A mother have I, and brother, and friends to
eat with me.
But none of them can help this poor forest-
Save One who maketh music on His flute.

In the shade of the creeper sits a man;
The scorpion stings him and he weeps.
Who careth for the dwellers in the forest?
But there's One who maketh music on His flu

I Left Her

I left my love at Serguza.
Now only Thou canst protect me, O God.
Where is my beloved who places the *dal, bhat*
bhaji on my
Just at the time for food I left her.
I left my girl at Serguza.
Protect me, O God.

O Sleeper

O Sleeper, rise, if thou wouldst see at midnig
fig burst into
The feet adorned with rings are beautiful.
Look at her neck with the necklace and the
wedding
O sleeper, rise...

The anklets make the ankles beautiful.
O sleeper rise...

How am I to know if our thoughts agree, O
Fri

O sleeper, rise, if thou wouldst see at midnig
the fig burst into

It has long been my ambition to be
to write to Mahatma Gandhi and tell
that I had met someone who had never
of him. Here surely, I thought, my
will find fulfilment. But no, everyone
his name at least, until at last they po
out an old man in a corner. 'He has
heard of him,' they said. Splendid, I tha
now I can write that letter. 'Because,'
continued, 'he has been stone-deaf for tw
years.'

The Baigas have very little idea of
outside world. 'Is there a place called
in India?' asked one of the most intelli
of them. Bombay and Calcutta meant no
to them. They thought that the marks
the moon were a stag. They have very
race feeling: they had no idea that I w
Englishman and thought that Srikant
came from the same home.

There is no time to describe the
villages we visited, and perhaps I should
set down some of the things the Baigas
us about their religious customs and beliefs.

Parameshwar is the ultimate God
object of worship is Bura Deo whose dw
is the saj tree and who is the same as Na

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...n, the protector of the house. Parameshwar ...far away; but Bura Deo is near. Below ...m, and perhaps included in him, are many ...ser deities. There is Nang-Banshi who ...es in the great trees of the forest and ...wani Deo. Near rippling streams, by ...nes and bushes, dwells Bageshwar Deo, ...e lord of the wild beasts. The most friendly ...f the gods is Thakkur Deo who is a very old ...l and is worshipped with a white goat. ...hen he possesses a man, the villagers can ...ll him all their troubles and Thakkur Deo ...plains who are bad among them and why ...er suffer, what evil spirits should be avoided ...d how they can protect themselves. Narayan ...eo also sits in the courtyard and keeps off ...ny evils and diseases of far-off lands. ...illa Deo is another kindly God, for he ...ives away the evil spirits that would trouble ...marriage feast. He is worshipped with a ...d cock. In the cattle shed, Khut Deo is ...rshipped, for he is the God of cattle. ...ncestors live in the kitchen. Mahadev ...esides over the liquor-...p. Nag Deo is honoured ...th milk and flowers. ...e really mischievous ...irits are Bhut and Mashan. ...nt for the Baigas is a ...rticular spirit who stops ...e crops from growing and ...mes upon a man to give ...n fever. Mashan lurks ...stones and trees near the ...ghways and fields where ...can meet human beings ...d annoy them, spoiling ...eir bewar and robbing ...em of food. And finally ...trees and plants are ...nate with souls—'Other-...se how could they live?'

If you ask Panda Baba what the Gonds ...nk of Baigas, he will lean towards you and ...an amused and confidential tone—like that ...an Archdeacon unbending after his third ...gs of port, he will say, 'Well, you know, ...y clean themselves with leaves and not ...h water; and so we never eat in their ...ages.' And if you go on to say, 'But that ...ery odd, because you all revere Baigas as ...ur priests and gurus,' he will reply; that is another matter. You see the Baigas belong to the Earth. When Naga Baiga was born, Mother Earth was glad and gave him this boon that whatever his hands touched should prosper. The Baigas are so near the earth that the earth loves them and tells them her secrets, and so they can direct us in our sowing and they know where all the evil spirits are living and can help us to avoid them!

The Gonds call them, for example, for the Bidri ceremony at the sowing of the seed. The different families each bring a little seed which is placed under a tree. The Baiga pours milk upon it, and sacrifices several chickens. He repeats appropriate spells and burns incense. Finally he distributes a little of the seed to each family and they all give him something to drink.

The Ladu ceremony is intended to protect the house from sickness and other evils. A pig is dedicated for the sacrifice by having little pieces of its ear and tail cut off and

The Dasserah Dance

by being castrated. It is then kept for three years, and fed. When the time comes it is offered to Narayan Deo. It is laid across the threshold of the house, a plank is placed over its body and on this plank men sit. They move the plank to and fro, slowly crushing the unhappy animal to death.

When a man is killed by a tiger, the villagers, armed with guns, axes, bows and arrows, gather at the spot. A Baiga makes

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a small image of the dead man either out of flour or earth, and places it on the very spot where his blood was shed. Then he tells a *katha*, beginning from the creation up to the time when the man was killed. By the time he has finished he will have fallen into an ecstasy, and leaping up, he rushes through

The Jarpath Dance. A line of boys faces a line of girls, with drummers in between.

the crowd into the forest. Then, roaring like a tiger and leaping in the air, he returns and tries to seize the image. But three or four of the bystanders catch hold of him and prevent him from going near it. Then they take a black cock and throw it in the air towards the forest, with the idea that if there is any tiger about, it will take the cock and leave them alone. At the same time they all shout at the top of their voices. By now the spirit of the tiger will have left the Baiga and he is able to carry the image down to the river. The people stand round in the water, holding a threefold thread. They sacrifice a chicken. Then they clap their hands to rouse Parameshwar and the Baiga says, 'For one generation let this spell endure. For two generations let this spell endure. From age to age let it retain its power. Drive the nail and break the thread. Let the dry cowdung sink, let the stones rise to the surface of the river, but let not this spell ever lose its power.' Then they break the thread and immerse the figure in the river. Afterwards they return to the forest and drive a nail into a tree or a great stone and repeat the charm. This, they believe, will close the mouth of tiger.

The caste-rules of the Baigas do not greatly from those of other tribes. The a village *panchayat* which supervises affairs. They will take food from Gonds not from the Brahmins, though the women not take from anyone. are put out of caste the following offen adultery with someone side the tribe; g worms in a wound; g to jail (though in places where no one been to jail for twe thirty years, they d know what the rule this is); being beate a shoe—the man who must pay one rupee, man who allows himse be beaten must pay killing cattle even by dent; if a woman her ear torn; if a man himself to be beaten by a woman—wh asked if there was any penalty on a man beating a woman the question was greeted roars of laughter; and for eating beef. anything that is done for the sanitation village, such as the removal of the corpse animals, etc. is not penalized.

We heard of a few superstitions. they hear the Kiddari bird, they do no on a journey. If a man sneezes once, it bad omen: to sneeze twice is good: to s three times is bad, and so on. Quiver the left eye is bad—in the right eye is They do not mind animals crossing the in front of them. If they strike their against a stone, they return to the house the stone is telling them that some dis may happen to their home.

I have not had the opportunity of s a Baiga marriage—the ritual is fully desc by Russell. For a divorce they take a straw, a piece of broken earthenware rupee. In the presence of the *panchayat* straw and the pot are broken and the rup given to the *panchayat*.

At death, all—good and bad—

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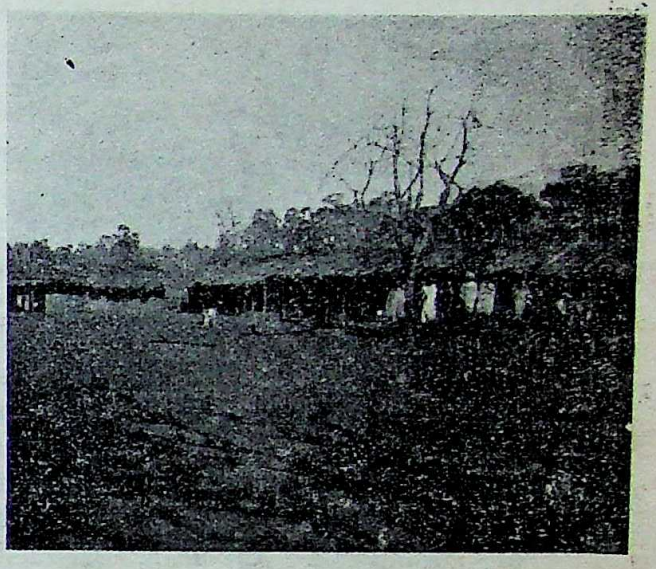
Parameshwar. There is no hell. But to do good pleases God, while to do evil grieves Him. The spirits are reborn in their own family circle. The disembodied ghost goes searching through the world for a place where it will be loved and at last returns to its own family. When a child is born, the *gunia* (magician) watches the child until it begins to drink its mother's milk. Then he declares that so-and-so has returned to the stormy ocean of existence. The Baigas are equally pleased at the birth of a girl or a boy. 'God knows what is best for us,' they say. The funeral ceremonies are simple. If the dead man has 'clung to his bed' for a long time, he is burnt; if he is young and has died suddenly, he is buried. A little money and cloth is placed in the grave, and some wine is poured out on the ground. 'You will not drink with us again, so take this now.'

As I look back over this article I see that I have allowed myself to forget for the moment the appalling poverty, destitution and ignorance of this heroic and fascinating people. But I am not really one of those anthropologists against whom Mr. N. M. Joshi would protect the forest people. You are certain to be enchanted by them, but you are equally certain to lie awake at night—and for many nights—haunted by the scenes of suffering that you have witnessed, and wondering what judgment must be passed on society that can calmly allow such things to continue from generation to generation. In a tour of a hundred miles we did not come within ten miles of a school or dispensary—indeed most of the way we were twenty or thirty miles distant from either. The Forest Department has refused the offer of the Gond Seva Mandal to open a school for the Baigas, in spite of an assurance that it would not be used in any way for political propaganda. But always the liquor shop was available: always there was a money-lender to entrap the people with interest at 50 p. c. or 33⅓ p. c. When we returned to Karanjia, we found the papers full of the terrible earthquake disaster and the relief that was going to the stricken area from all parts of India. But I said to myself, 'Here are people who live permanently under what are almost earthquake-disaster conditions.



In the Baiga Chowk

They die more slowly it is true: the fear that strikes their hearts is not sudden and dramatic, but it haunts them all their life—and only education can banish it. Scratching a bare subsistence from the earth, living often on roots and berries, shivering with cold under their scanty rags, the prey of all who care to exploit them, indebted, diseased, forgotten and despised, no one cares for this poor dweller in the forest.

"No mother have I, nor brother, no friend
in all the world.
But there's One that maketh music on
His flute."

Note: The above account of the Baigas will be found to differ from and to supplement the chapter in Russell which summarizes all the earlier literature on the subject. The differences are probably due to the very varied customs that obtain among the forest peoples in different districts But this article must not be regarded as a scientific essay. It is a preliminary excursion into a very large subject. I hope that in the course of the next few years I may be able to prepare a small monograph on the Baigas, and I would be grateful if anyone acquainted with the Balaghat and Bilaspur districts could suggest to me the best places to visit in this connection, and if anyone could lend me a copy of Col. Bloomfield's *Notes on the Baigas* and Ward's *Mandla Settlement Report*, or give me any other information or assistance.

Gond Seva Mandal, Karanjia P. O.
Mandla District. C. P.

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ART OF BIOGRAPHY: AN INTERVIEW WITH GUEDALLA

By Dr. SUDHINDRA BOSE

I had a few days ago an interesting visit with Mr. Philip Guedalla, the brilliant English biographer and historian. Though of Jewish origin, Philip Guedalla is one of that rarest group of contemporary literary men who are appreciated in America as much as in their native England. During the last fifteen years, he has written more than a dozen books, in which he has given unforgettable pen-pictures of historically famous figures in literary, political, and military fields. His studies of Washington, Napoleon, Disraeli, Palmerston, and of Kitchener, Baldwin, MacDonald and others among the moderns, and his recent biography of Wellington have given him a rank and following possessed by few biographers. Turning the searchlight of his new historical methods upon literary figures, he has won equal fame as an interpreter of literature and its makers. It is no exaggeration to say that there are not perhaps many English men of letters who do not sigh for a Christmas gift of writing like Guedalla.

The general topic of our conversation was biography. With rapier-like wit, Mr. Guedalla discussed his idea and his ideal of the art of biography. In this conversation he did some expert operating on the popular conceptions of modern biography.

Mr. Guedalla said that he had met George Moore when he was working on the life of Palmerston and Mr. Moore advised Mr. Guedalla: "My young man, curve him like a vase." Charming and excellent advice as that might be for another type of literary art and for biographies of men whose lives obligingly started with a narrow neck, swept into the maximum bulge and receded gently to an artistic close, for the life of some men it was bad advice. Biography, Mr. Guedalla intimated, should be first of all true, and it was true of very few lives that they followed the conventional lines of the Greek vase. Telling a biographer to curve his subject like a vase would be like telling a driver of a street car to approach his destination in a voluptuous curve, Mr. Guedalla said. The problem of the biographer is not unlike that of the street car driver. They must both go where the rails lead.

Philip Guedalla is of the English Jewry, but as a speaker he is far superior to any of the visiting Englishry—especially English politicians—that I have ever heard in America. This is Mr. Guedalla's second visit to America. He has not only keen wit, satire and irony but has a background of scholarship. He has also been active in the public affairs of England. Graduated from Balliol College, Oxford, with a degree of first class in Modern History, he became a Barrister in 1913 at the age of 23. During the Great War, he served as legal adviser to the War Office and the Ministry of Munitions. Though he has retired from Government service, he still maintains an active interest in English politics.

Mr. Guedalla is as fascinating a talker as he is a writer. To me he was amusing about the phrase modern biography. There is no such thing as a modern biography in the sense that all biography, say after 1910, is brief and brilliant. In that very year there began appearing, he pointed out, a six-volume life of Disraeli and, what's more, in not one of the 3,000 pages does the expression psychological complex appear. And, on the other hand, nothing written since 1910 can compare with Lord Rosebery's life of the younger Pitt or his little memoir on Lord Randolph Churchill for brevity or brilliance. Moreover, rudeness, in which modern biography is supposed to shine, is child's play today compared to the really thorough rudeness of the 19th century posthumous memoirs.

The so-called modern biography attempts to reconstruct the motives of the subject. Emil Ludwig of Germany in the very first chapter of his biography on Napoleon pictures Mother Letizia suckling her baby Napoleon and purports to tell us what must have passed at that time in

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the mind of Letizia. It is utterly impossible, Guedalla observed, for any person to know accurately what any other person is thinking. The biographer can only deduce from the evidence and it is the duty of the really good biographer to sift that evidence, but it is not his duty to fictionize it.

Philip Guedalla did not actually mention Lytton Strachey by name as a biographico-fictioneer, but he referred to him subtly. Strachey, who passed away last year, was one of the prominent English practitioners of fictional biography. Anyone who knows anything about the subject of Strachey's biography may get some aesthetic pleasure from it, but God help the man who comes to Strachey ignorant and wishes to know the truth. The late Mr. Strachey was not in the truth business. His Queen Victoria has very little in common with the actual maiden and wife and widow who lived in the Windsor Castle. His General Gordon could never have worn a military uniform: his Florence Nightingale is but a series of epigrams about a war Nurse.

"The modern biography lives in a border territory," Guedalla said. "It is bounded on the north by history, on the south by fiction, on the east by obituary, and on the west by tedium."

The biographer must approach his subject from a factual viewpoint, said the English biographer-historian. If he uses guess-work in penetrating the motives and thoughts of his subject, he writes not biography but fiction. The interpretation of a biographer may be interesting and entertaining. Nevertheless, if his facts are wrong, his interpretation is wrong also. The biographer should always refrain from making statements of facts until he has found what the real facts are. Biography differs from imaginative literature in that a reader comes to biography in search of information. "He wants to know how this particular person was entangled with the world, what the conditions of life were, what did they to him, how he dealt with destiny, what he overcame, what overcame him."

Many biographers, intimated Guedalla, have condescending attitude towards their heroes, such as Andre Maurais of France has for Byron, Shelley and Disraeli. They often put more of themselves in the book than of the man they are writing about. A biographer must not see in his subject a chance for self-glorification. He should keep himself completely out of sight. The duty of the biographer is to re-create his subject after his subject's image, not after his own.

All the biographer needs is honesty of purpose, Guedalla said, and a reasonable degree of humility. A true biographer looks at and not down upon his subject.

Most of the modern biographies, according to Philip Guedalla, are done badly psychologically for they develop a single characteristic in their subjects rather than presenting a rounded character. It is a certainty that no human being is unchanged through life. In the cinemas and political cartoons and dramas it is the tradition that no character is allowed to have more than one characteristic: the good man, the extravagant woman, the innocent girl. The attempt to make the subject of a biography a supreme example of one characteristic from the first prattling to the death rattle is ridiculous.

There is a hybrid in modern biography, the mule called "Life and Letters." The life should be one thing, the documents another. No biography should be in more than one volume, is Mr. Guedalla's belief. Any life, even that of a king, can be gotten into one volume by a person who is writing a book and not letting the book write him. "Boredom begins with page one of the volume second."

Readers must view biography with a more critical standard, Mr. Guedalla asserted. Critics flatter and fawn upon the authors too much. Book-reviewers are afraid of being unkind to new works, because they fear posterity will remember them as "having killed Keats."

In America, England, France and Germany since the Great War, the demand for books "purporting to deal with real people and events and not fictional" has increased. This has led to an enormous biographical output. The novel has been able to maintain its volume of sales, but not its quality. No great novelists are arising to take the place of older masters of the novel form: Hardy, H. G. Wells, Joseph Conrad, George Moore and

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Galsworthy. The modern novel in England is increasingly coming into the hands of those who have nothing to say. That indicates failing health in art. Indeed, "the writing of popular fiction is no longer an art, but an industry."

Guedalla was not very enthusiastic over modern biography either. The field of biography is overcrowded with writers of little ability, because it is believed to be easy to write. Especially on the continent of Europe are biographies turned out in "mass production, and dumped in America and England on a terrifying scale."

In concluding the interview, Mr. Philip Guedalla repeated that the true biographer is like a Kodak. His business is to record facts and statements as they are, not as they might have been. Biographical writing may be likened to a faithful portrait-painting. The biographer should present his subjects not as demi-gods or supermen, but as the human beings they are. When Velasquez, the Spanish master artist, painted King Philip the Fourth, he drew him just as he was: fat, ugly and repulsive. Velasquez's work was entirely objective, and so should be every biographer's.

A PLANET AND A STAR

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

XLV

SILENTLY and swiftly sped the days and nights like our own good ship which moved in silence even like time. The meter indicated that we were rushing through space at terrific speed, but we had no other means of judging it. There were no mile posts on our unpaved roads, no stationary bodies which flashed past us. The heavenly bodies were so far off that they seemed as motionless as when seen from the earth. For the first few days the rapidly diminishing form of Mars gave us some idea of the rate at which we were flying away from it but it again became a red moon and later the red planet.

Narga made rapid progress with her studies in our language. In a month she learned a sufficient number of words to carry on a conversation in short, simple sentences. She was learning to read and write at the same time. She had a remarkable power for concentrating her thoughts on any subject she chose. She made us speak to her in our own language and quickly learned the meaning of every new word. We had a small collection of selected books including some volumes of poetry and sacred literature. These interested her greatly and she spent most of her time in reading them with me. She asked many questions about the history of the different peoples inhabiting the earth and made minute inquiries about their manners and customs. She pondered over the teachings of great teachers like the Buddha and Jesus Christ. Maruchi would explain to her the great achievements of science. Orlon was more often a listener than a speaker, though sometimes he made brilliant conversation out of the wide range of his knowledge. Narga could never listen to him unmoved and her eyes melted and her bosom heaved whenever he came near her. But the long years of discipline stood her in good stead and she controlled her feelings with admirable self-restraint. Her example reacted upon Orlon who kept a constant check upon his ardour and was content to let his eyes speak the love that filled his heart. Sometimes Narga would let him hold her hand for a minute and then she would gently withdraw it and look away from him.

Whatever may be said of other people love did not occupy all the thoughts of Narga. When she was not learning our language or reading our books she would engage us in serious conversation, discussing the teachings of the Master and the deep problems that have ever occupied the minds of great thinkers. We were most interested when she spoke about herself. She was utterly free from the slightest suspicion of egotism, and there was an impersonal manner about her which held a great charm. There was a strange duality in her personality which eluded and baffled us while it always won our admiration. She seemed to be able to come out of herself and to scrutinize her own self with cold criticism. We could not forget for a moment the price she had paid when she yielded to the imperious mandate of love and had abandoned everything she prized to follow the dictate of her heart. She had been the virginal priestess untouched by love and she had armed herself with such power that she could deal death by a touch of her lily hand. And yet Love had

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found and vanquished her and was carrying her away as a willing captive to another world. But nothing could obscure her intellect or her marvellous gift of detachment. She was so earnest that neither vanity nor frivolity had any place in her nature. She was free from self-pity as well as self-consciousness. Sometimes a wistful look would come into her eyes and we knew that her thoughts were wandering to the domed temple at Opi and the hermitage of the Master. Sometimes the secret passage and the cloud-column of Raba would rise before her eyes, and she would lift her arms over her head, crying, 'Raba! Raba!' Again, these moods would pass and she would speak about herself with her characteristic detachment.

'Love has laid his rod upon me and I have kissed it. I made light of him and he has shown me his invincible power. I feel now that before we can know the greater love which embraces the whole race and extends to all living beings we must experience it in our own persons and cling to that other part of our own selves which means the mating of the two sexes. We can only renounce something that we have had, but how can we give up what we have never possessed? Somehow or other love must have passed me by in my previous lives, but I never knew that I had missed anything until I met one who came down from another world to claim and win my heart. The Master has loved no woman in his present life, but he must have done so in some past life, and in his present incarnation his love has taken the form of compassion for all mankind and all things having life. Since no man I saw in my country ever moved my heart I thought I had merely to follow the example of the Master and the time would come when all my heart would go out to my fellow-beings. I had no consciousness of any omission because I had no clear memory of my past lives. I now understand why the Master considered me impatient and why he would not look into my future. He left me wholly to myself so that I might find a way out of the predicament in which I found myself—the conflict between my heart and my sense of duty. And you see how I have fared in the conflict.'

What could we say? Although Narga was speaking aloud it was a sort of self-communion in which she took us into the confidence of her thoughts. Yet Maruchi ventured to speak and he said, 'Narga, you are far wiser than any of us, still we think you have decided well.'

Narga laughed musically and spread out her hands in a gesture of helplessness. 'What choice has the bird that is trapped? She can only flutter her wings, but there is no way of escape from the fowler's net.'

This set us all laughing and Orlon, who was looking very happy, said, 'But you are not alone in the net and as you see we are flying away with the net.'

'Yes, to your nest.'

'Is not that right? You will have to share my nest.'

'And that is why you are preening your plumes.'

The conversation took a merry turn and many were the quips and jests that passed between us.

So the time passed. Narga was so assiduous in her studies that in three months she had fairly mastered our language and could converse in it freely. Her fits of pre-occupation grew rarer though at times she was pensive and appeared to be lost in thought. As the days went by she looked forward more keenly to the near future and spoke less of the past and the memories she had left behind. She studied diligently the geography of our world and consulted maps so frequently that she learned all about our continents and countries, cities and towns, seas and rivers. The Earth ceased to be an unknown and unfamiliar object to her and she spoke about it and its peoples with accurate knowledge.

And all around us was the unsolved mystery of boundless space, the brooding Sphinx of unbroken silence. The stars were as far off as ever but they were steady points of light and did not flicker like candles in the wind. Night after night it was the same and yet not the same, because our thoughts were constantly changing and with them the mind-images of what we saw also changed. Narga sat up with us every night, watching the stars. Very often we remained silent for a long time, holding communion with our thoughts. Sometimes Maruchi spoke about the great wonder of the created universe and the perfect orderliness that pervaded it. Sometimes Narga would join the conversation and we listened to her and never ceased to wonder at her wisdom and the wide range of her thoughts. Gazing at the heavens one night she said, 'In our world we are astonished by the heights of the mountains and their great size and the sea fills us with wonder by the width of its extent and its great depth. But if you put all the heavenly bodies together how insignificant is the area that they fill in space! It is space alone that gives a real idea of vastness for it is really illimitable and immeasurable. You can measure the extent of the largest body in the heavens and you can even calculate its weight. Space alone defies all attempts to measure it. It is intangible only in the sense that it is not solid but for that matter water is as little solid and it runs out through the fingers if we attempt to hold it in the hand. We cannot clutch space any more than we can catch water. But we can sense space as well as we can feel the wind blowing around us. Space and time suggest to us the idea of the infinite. Of space we can truthfully say that it has neither

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a beginning nor an end and it can be measured in no direction. And yet space is not invisible and you see the Infinite mirrored in it.'

One day, after Narga had finished her morning studies, I asked her, 'Do you still possess your wonderful powers? I ask you this question because I sometimes happen to touch your figures while handing you a book?'

We were alone. Maruchi and Orlon were in another part of the ship, Ganimet was steering and Nabor was sitting near him. Narga smiled and then sighed a little. 'No,' she said, 'I have not yet lost any of my powers. I have withdrawn the particular power you mention for fear of hurting any of you. But the time will soon come when all these powers will pass from me and I shall become like other women.'

I understood that she was referring to her approaching marriage.

'And you regret nothing? Speak frankly, for I claim the confidence of a brother.'

'Some regret is inevitable, for who can lose without a pang a treasure which has been acquired with much pains? But as I have told you all the greater love cannot be had without obtaining the lesser, and since I have missed the latter it has found me and pulled me back to the point from which I must make a fresh start. Sahir, my wise brother, have you never loved?'

'Not yet, my sister. If I loved a woman or had a wife I would not have been permitted to join this expedition.'

Perhaps you will find some fair woman to love when you return to your own country, perhaps you knew love in your past life. To me it has come wtih the suddenness and the power of a tempest sweeping all before it.'

Maruchi and Orlon came up and we spoke of other things.

XLVI

As the earth grew larger to the eye every night and the end of our long voyage drew near, Narga used to spend long hours watching the planet through the telescope. Soon she was able to distinguish the mountains and the wide expanses of the sea and to locate the continents. Of course, only a half of the surface of the planet was visible. As we approached closer to our own planet we noticed the moon waning and waxing in the two fortnightly periods while the earth loomed nearer and bigger every night. We were in communication with the earth and messages were being exchanged almost every day. We could hardly suppress our excitement at the near prospect of our home-coming.

It was the last night on board the ship for the next morning would find us back in the midst of our friends. We thought of the tumultuous welcome that would greet us on arrival at the landing place. Every one of us with the exception of the pilot was holding a pair of glasses to our eyes. Sleep was impossible though we wanted to lie down for a few hours after midnight. About that hour when we were still at a considerable distance from the upper strata of the earth's atmosphere, Maruchi suddenly shouted a warning and an order to Nabor. 'Reverse the engines! Don't enter the atmosphere. air. Keep cruising about at this height.'

There was a sudden jerk and the headlong descent of the machine was arrested. I turned to Maruchi in astonishment and asked, 'What has happened?'

'Look carefully through your glasses and you will understand,' said Maruchi, and he strode forward to Nabor to give fresh directions.

Peering intently through our glasses we observed what looked like luminous serpents darting through the air close to the earth. We knew of course that the apparent nearness to the earth was an illusion and the phenomenon we were witnessing was taking place at about a hundred miles from the surface of the earth. The space above the earth was alive with swift moving lines of light that flashed and faded every moment. Some of them were of astonishing brilliance lighting up the heavens underneath in long lines of dazzling light and then being wiped out as from a huge blackboard. A light like a shining star would suddenly burst into sight and disappear leaving a luminous trail which also vanished in a few moments. They rushed out from every direction and crossed one another, and as some went out of sight others flashed into view. It was the same wherever we looked. The earth appeared to be enveloped in magic lines of vanishing light. It were as if an invisible magician was entertaining his audience with feats of magic, and throwing innumerable balls of fire which went out themselves.

We were filled with wonder and awe. Narga asked, 'What is it? It is both beautiful and terrible.'

'It is a meteoric shower,' said Orlon.

'I have heard of it, but never seen myself,' remarked Narga.

'Sometimes forty years will pass without such a phenomenon being witnessed, and sometimes meteoric showers have been seen for two or three successive years.'

Maruchi came back slowly to where we were sitting and said with smiling courtesy, 'Narga, this is a display of nature's own fireworks in honour of your arrival on our planet. Half the world is watching this lavish exhibition of nature's pyrotechnics, the only difference being that, while people living in the world are looking up at this fiery shower we from our point of vantage are looking down upon it. It would be perilous for us to enter the atmosphere of the earth just now and we shall wait till the shower is over. We cannot risk a collision with a flaming meteorolite.'

Narga smiled at him and said, 'I must congratulate you upon combining the knowledge

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the scientist with the accomplishment of the courtier.'

The machine was moving slowly in wide circles, hovering over the shower of meteors. For two hours we watched the shooting stars, and when it was all over we sought our beds to snatch a few hours of sleep if we could.

The first light of dawn found us out of bed and looking down at our dear mother Earth to which we were descending. I found Narga was also up and was holding a pair of glasses to her eyes. Maruchi and Orlon had not yet come out.

Narga knew that there was no Raba on our planet and consequently she was not surprised to see that the atmosphere of the earth was clear and there was no coloured vapour rising in the sky.

'Narga,' I said, 'we shall land an hour after sunrise. Have you brought the robe you wore that morning in the temple at Opi when we saw you floating in the air ?'

Narga's eyes widened a little in surprise and she said, 'Yes. Why do you ask ?'

'Please put it on now to oblige me. If you wear it on sacred occasions only I consider this a very sacred occasion in your life.'

Narga smiled and saying, 'It will be as you wish,' disappeared into her room.

Maruchi and Orlon came out. 'Where is Narga ?' asked Orlon, 'Is she still in bed ?'

'Oh, no,' I replied, 'she was here just now and has gone into her room to get ready for leaving the ship.'

I did not tell them that I had asked her to put on her sacred robes. That was a surprise in store for them.

Maruchi said, 'Let us don the robes that the monks at Opi gave us. We shall appear like the Magi of ancient times.'

Maruchi evidently wanted to present an impressive appearance when we landed. I smiled when I thought how insignificant we would look by the side of Narga.

We quickly performed our morning ablutions and put on the flowing monkish robes and the tall conical caps. We wore sandals on our bare feet.

Narga was still in her room when we came out, but a minute later the door of her room was pushed open and as she came out Maruchi and Orlon fairly gasped with astonishment. We saw again the same vision of beauty that we had seen in the temple at Opi and the splendour of the robes dazzled us with their magnificence. In addition, Narga was wearing some ornaments that we had not seen before and diamonds flashed on her throat and in her hair.

For a long moment we gazed at her, rendering her the silent homage of our eyes and then Maruchi said, 'Narga, you have dressed yourself as befitting so great an occasion.'

Narga looked at me demurely and said, 'I have merely obeyed the orders of my learned tutor.'

Maruchi nodded at me approvingly.

We looked out. The machine had slowed down and was moving through the air at a moderate speed. We slided back one or two window panels and the cold air rushed into the ship. Maruchi stretched forth his hand and said, 'Behold, Narga, your first welcome to your new world !'

Two fleets of aeroplanes lavishly beflagged, were approaching us from right and left. As they formed up on two sides of us Nabor greeted them with a blare of his musical instruments. Flags were waved and trumpets pealed in acknowledgment.

Narga looked at Maruchi and said, 'A flatterer need not tell the truth. The welcome is for you because no one here knows of my existence, but I gladly share your welcome.'

The sun was up and the morning light flooded the landscape below us. A few more minutes passed and then Orlon took Narga by the hand and pointed downward.

Down below was the landing place. The open space where we were to alight was strongly guarded and there was a cordon of police holding in check the immense crowd that lined the strong fencing round the open area. There was a sea of upturned faces and repeated cheers burst forth from a hundred thousand throats as our machine landed, ran along a short distance and came to a standstill.

The members of the organizing committee of the expedition hurried forward to meet us. Maruchi stepped down first and I followed him. Nabor and Ganimet came after me. The staid old gentlemen of the committee stared at our strange costume, but questions had to wait while very warm greetings were exchanged to the incessant cheering of the crowd.

And then the president, somewhat bewildered, asked, 'And Orlon ? Where is he ?'

'He is coming,' replied Maruchi with an inscrutable smile.

Even while he spoke Narga and Orlon came forth. Orlon helped her to step down on the grass and then the twain came forward, hand clasped in hand, and stood in full view of the multitude.

A sudden and absolute hush fell on the cheering crowds. The president and members of the committee gazed in dumb astonishment at the radiant and dazzling vision before them. The sunlight flashed on the robes and jewels of Narga while she stood in all the glory of her peerless beauty. There was a faint blush on her cheeks, but otherwise she was calm and quite self-possessed, while her lips were slightly parted in an enchanting smile.

Then Maruchi broke the silence. In a voice that thrilled the hearers he said, 'We went up to a planet and we have brought down a star.'

Narga's eyes shone like twin stars.

THE END

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RABINDRANATH TAGORE AND THE RELIGION OF MAN*

By Prof. SAROJ KUMAR DAS

WITH his characteristic *naivete* of expression and the music of his style, Dr. Tagore offers in this present volume, as he lays down in the Preface, the gleanings of his 'thoughts on the same subject from the harvest of many lectures and addresses'—the subject being one of perennial human interest—the Religion of Man. The interweaving of this subject of religion—the acknowledged source of his 'inspiration'—serves to string together his discourses, on a protean variety of topics, into the connected chapters of a unitary volume. The easy and insensible transition with which the reader glides through the chapters of this book, clearly attests the fact that they 'are deeply linked by a unity of inspiration,' which is consistently left suggested and never actively dissected into arguments. That is what invests all his utterances with a peculiar forceful appeal, which is inexplicable otherwise. Being the consummate artist that he is, Rabindranath does not seek here to reinforce his thesis in the manner of the less gifted who would, in order to ensure cheap and easy success, "say it with" religion, and thus very often take the name of religion in vain. Indeed, this indefinable yet impressive 'unity of inspiration' is not a unity afore-thought—the result of perspiration—but becomes a unity in after-thought, directly it is 'brought into a definite focus' of self-consciousness and self-expression. This is as it should be; for our author is *par excellence* one of those that 'builded better than they knew.' Here is also to be found a fresh corroboration of Goethe's dictum that we never rise so high as when we do not know whither we are going!

To our mind what confers a unique value upon Rabindranath's presentation of the case for Religion is the candid confession, expressed with the force of an assured conviction, 'the Religion of Man has been growing within my mind as a religious experience and not merely as a philosophical subject.' (*Preface.*) This is as much a judgment of *fact* as a judgment of *value*. While laying a well-deserved emphasis on the experiential side of religion, Rabindranath does not altogether ignore the ideational side; for what he *enjoys* as the innermost experience of his 'personal life' he offers to the world at large to *contemplate* in 'its own ideal value.'

Apart from the autobiographical interest attaching to his presentation of the case for 'religion,' Rabindranath has pressed the right key in 'the Religion of Man.' With his prophetic insight he has herein restored the central fact to the centre, and reinforced the hometruth that Religion is an 'experience' of God and not a 'proof' of Him. Call it 'modernism' or call it 'mysticism'—it does not matter much. The thing is there and will speak for itself, without relying on philosophical labels, which are anything but instructive, if not positively misleading. Nowhere is the tyranny of 'isms' more acutely felt than in the sphere of religion. Indeed, what the world today seems to be suffering from is not so much the atrophy, as it is the hypertrophy, of the religious side of a man's nature. It is idle to deny that a man's religion, as at present circumstanced, stands in danger of being smothered or stifled out of existence by the rampant growth of its external paraphernalia. Thus the result has been—what it is always expected to be—that we cannot see the wood for the trees. The religion we need, therefore, is something different from the religion we have. But what we actually need is not a new religion, but a new orientation of religion.

Now, the appeal to experience, rather than dogma, in matters pertaining to religion, is admittedly one of the vital strands of Modernism and the spell of Modernism consists in stressing this point with peculiar emphasis. While fraternizing with this tenet of Modernism, Rabindranath makes no secret of his dislike for the so-called 'modernism,' which always makes an apotheosis of the present and the actual in studied ignorance of the claims of the Eternal and the Ideal. In one of his famous addresses on the spirit of Japan, he is reported to have said: "While I agree that the spirit of the time should harmonize with the spirit of the time, I must warn them (the modernists) that modernizing is a mere affectation of modernism, just as affectation of poetry is poetizing. True modernism is freedom of mind, not slavery of taste." The evidence of true modernism in Rabindranath—if evidence were at all needed—one finds in his steady refusal to chime in with the time-spirit, with the Soviet prescript, for example, of abolishing all religion. He has sufficient insight to realize that a phenomenon which has, from the very dawn of history, held its sway over men's minds cannot be a mere freak of nature. The thing for which men have cared to live or dared to die is not one that can

* Rabindranath Tagore: *The Religion of Man* (Being the Hibbert Lectures for 1930), George Allen and Unwin Limited, London. The Macmillan Company, New York.

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made or unmade at our sweet will. Symptomatic this modernist disparagement of religion is a ent work of Prof. Whitehead's—entitled *in the Making*—which affords an *ligion* structive comparison with *Religion of Man*. he comparison reveals a profound divergence respect of their characteristic view-points and ethods of approach. A thorough-bred rationa- r with a Cambridge training in scientific Prof. Whitehead brings to the searches, ecution of his task a rare specimen of rigorous linking and judicial neutrality which e average writer on the subject of religion is lly lacking in. Having reviewed the history of ligion in the growth of human civilization, Prof. Whitehead returns the verdict that 'the uncritical sociation of religion with goodness is directly gatived by plain facts,' and concludes with the ther startling announcement that 'religion is the st refuge of human savagery.' No more severe dictment on religion could be pronounced, and at in the name of historical scholarship or ientific accuracy. Rabindranath, however, stands a class apart and follows a different line of proach altogether. Indeed, his engrossing concern with *Religion*, and not with religions. He would t, of course, dispute the facts of religious intoler- ce and persecution that stare us in the face from ry page of the history of religions, but would ter from the wrong valuation that we so often ake of them. When doctors thus disagree in eir diagnosis, it is no wonder that they would ggest quack remedies. But Rabindranath, like e Bengal saint of hallowed memory, would set s face resolutely against these and exclaim: *Ebn bahya age Kaha ar*" (*i. e.* "This also is perficial, do talk of something deeper"). With s characteristic penetration, he threads his way rough the tangled skein of the external para- rnalia to the spot where the heart of religion nctuary, the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, and acknow- dge with him the idea of the humanity of our od or the divinity of Man the Eternal. Before that gh altar we are ordained into the redemptive spel that 'religion is the reconciliation of the per-personal Man, the universal human spirit, my own individual being.' It is, however, no r message that Rabindranath preaches in *The ligion of Man*. As early as in his dissertation the Meaning of Religion' (*Dharmer Artha*), had laid down: "The *dharma* of the hero is roism, the *dharma* of a king is kingship or vernment and the *dharma* of man is his manity—there being no other name to designate elf." Now, the basic 'reconciliation' of which speaks in *The Religion of Man* is frankly stical, and this description serves to bring out e peculiar excellence of Rabindranath's presen- tion of the case for religion. Here it is that e best appreciate the natural shortcomings of of. Whitehead's verdict on religion. Indeed, ext we take exception to in this verdict is not its crass realism, but its misplaced emphasis. The criticism derives all its plausibility from the identification,—and that an unwarrantable one—of the timeless essence of religion with its historical accidents. Believing, as he clearly does, that 'religion is what a man does with his solitariness' and that 'religion in its decay sinks back into sociability,' it is difficult to see how he can square this belief of his with the stricture he has passed on religion—making the decadent forms of religion the peg for this indictment to rest on.

Now to come to a closer grip with the detailed findings of Rabindranath in *The Religion of Man*. The one pervasive theme of the book, as he himself announces in the first chapter (entitled "Man's Universe"), is the 'idea of the humanity of our God, or the divinity of Man the Eternal' (p. 17) and 'he is God who is not merely a sum total of facts, but the goal that lies immensely beyond all that is comprised in the past and the present' (p. 206). This, his basic faith, he progressively justifies through the different chapters of the book. Man's universe 'is the sum total of what Man feels, knows, imagines, reasons to be, and of whatever is knowable to him now or in another time' (p. 23). Accordingly, 'the individual man must exist for Man the great, and must express him in disinterested works, in science and philosophy, in literature and arts, in service and worship. This is his religion, which is working in the heart of all his religions in various names and forms' (p. 17). Behind and beyond this universe there is the perpetual urge of the 'Creative Spirit'—'the consciousness in Man of his own creative personality'—of 'a Spirit which has its enormous capital with a surplus far in excess of the requirements of the biological animal in Man' (Chap. II, p. 43). Man draws upon this capitalized 'surplus' and 'through his imagination, which is the most distinctly human of all our faculties,' has to finish what 'has been left unfinished by his designer'; for 'in fact, man is a raw material for himself, which he alone must fashion into some difficult ideal of completeness upon a background which is bare.' But in this art of soul-making 'he is aware that he is not imperfect, but incomplete.' (Chap. III, pp. 54, 59). This urge of the 'creative spirit points to a 'spiritual union' which is not to be attained through the mind; for 'our mind belongs to the department of economy in the human organism.' It is to be attained only on a supra-mental level when 'we come into touch with the Reality that is an end in itself and therefore is bliss.' (Chap. IV, p. 67). A vision of this Reality was envisaged by the prophet Zarathustra in his conception of the 'House of Songs'—'Ye, who wish to be allied to the Good Mind, to be friend with Truth, Ye who desire to sustain the Holy Cause, down with all anger and violence, away with all ill-will and strife! Such benevolent men, O Mazda, I shall take to the House of Songs!' Thus spake Zarathustra, and his is the immortal glory to have

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been 'the first prophet who emancipated religion from the exclusive narrowness of the tribal God, the God of a chosen people, and offered it the universal Man' (Chap. V, pp. 80,88). It is 'the vision' of the blissful Reality that ultimately counts; and Rabindranath makes the candid confession 'that my religion is a poet's religion. All that I feel about it is from vision and not from knowledge' (Chap. VI, p. 107). The vision reveals 'the Man of my heart'—the Supreme Man of whom it can truly be said 'that he is infinite in his essence, he is finite in his manifestation in us the individuals' (Chap. VII, p. 118). 'Our religions present for us the dreams of the ideal unity which is man himself as he manifests the infinite.' Thus the poet may be said to have given 'the best definition of man when he says :

> We are the music-makers,
> We are the dreamers of dreams.'

Truly, might man as 'the music-maker' say with Browning's 'Abt Vogler' : 'It is we musicians know.' For 'music, though it comprehends a limited number of notes, yet represents the infinite' (Chap VIII, p. 122,127-28). As already observed, man's 'true life is in his own creation, which represents the infinity of man' and 'imagination is the faculty that brings before their mind the vision of their own greater being.' Thus, 'man by nature is an artist' and 'art is the response of man's creative soul to the call of the Real.' (Chap IX, pp. 134, 139). Man's nature or *dharma* 'which represents the truth of the Supreme Man' is 'realized by our imagination, but not created by our mind,' and 'Religion consists in the endeavour of men to cultivate and express those qualities which are inherent in the nature of Man the Eternal, and to have faith in him' (Chap X, p. 144). 'Today, more than ever before in our history, the aid of spiritual power is needed,' so that 'this meeting of men' may prove fruitful ; and this is possible if we 'the dreamers of the East and the West keep our faith firm in the Life that creates and not in the Machine that constructs.' (Chap. XI, pp. 160, 163).

The teacher has to remember that the 'primary object of an institution should not be merely to educate one's limbs and mind to be in efficient readiness for all emergencies, but to be in perfect tune in the symphony of response between life and world, to find the balance of their harmony which is wisdom.' (Chap. XII, p. 178).

'As in the world of art, so in the spiritual world, our soul waits for its freedom from the ego to reach that disinterested joy which is the source and goal of creation' (Chap. XIII, p. 184) —is the very text of his discourse on 'Spiritual Freedom,' which forms, in our opinion, the pivot of the whole thing. Herein Rabindranath stands in the illustrious company of those seers and prophets of this ancient land of ours, whose message of spiritual freedom greets us once more across centuries of oblivion. When viewed in its doctrinal aspect, this message of spiritual freedom will be found to be in essential agreement with that philosophic tradition which the different schools of Indian thought unite in enforcing. 'Know thyself' and be free, know in a corporate as well as in an individual capacity, and endeavour ever afterwards to bring that corporate wisdom to a luminous personal focus—this has been the message of all alike. With no loss of meaning can it be expressed in the language of St. John—'And ye shall know, the truth, and the truth shall make you free.' Thus in doctrine sympathy with the prophet and the schoolman Rabindranath holds that 'bondage in all its forms has its stronghold in the inner self and in the outside world; it is in the dimming of our consciousness, in the narrowing of our perspective, in the wrong valuation of things' (p. 190). The peculiar efficacy and persuasiveness of his message consists in this that he does not offer it in the manner of a doctrinaire.

Now, what is it exactly that he seeks to convey by the phrase 'spiritual freedom'? To the average critic or thinker, with a realistic bias or empirical leanings, the phrase 'spiritual freedom' comes to connote, by way of misplaced emphasis, natural and easy enough, just the reverse of what its author seeks to convey thereby. Whatever else it might mean, this much is certain that 'freedom in the mere sense of independence has no content, and therefore no meaning. Perfect freedom lies in a perfect harmony of relationship, which we realize in the world not through our response to it in knowledge but in being' (p. 172). It is not merely in the religious context but 'also in the social or political field, the lack of freedom is based upon the sense of alienation, on the imperfect realization of the One' (p. 188). Rabindranath clearly anticipates this difficulty and solves it in his own inimitable way. 'But we know,' to quote his own words, 'that, though it may sound paradoxical, it is true that in the human world only a perfect arrangement of interdependence gives rise to freedom' (p. 188). Accordingly, the 'history of the growth of freedom is the history of the perfection of human relationship' (*Ibid.*) The freedom truly understood, that is, spiritual freedom, is taken by Rabindranath to be synonym, not of independence, but of 'interdependence' based on 'mutual understanding and co-operation.' This clearly explains the importance of the qualifying epithet 'spiritual' prefixed to the word 'freedom' ; without the prefix, it is a mere cipher, with it, it has a local value. When, however, it is taken out of its spiritual context and used without any qualification, it becomes a doubtful asset, if not a downright liability in the spiritual balance-sheet of humanity.

'As the day is divided into morning, noon, afternoon and evening, so . India had

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...n's life into four parts, following the require-
...ments of his nature' (Chap. XIV, p. 197)
...—*brahmacharya*, the period of discipline in educa-
...tion; then *garhasthya*, that of the world's work;
...then *vanaprasthya*, the retreat for the loosening
...of bonds; and finally *pravrajya*, the expectant
...waiting of freedom across death' (p. 198). 'For
this fourfold way of life India attunes man to the grand harmony of the universal, leaving no room for untrained desires of a rampant individualism to pursue their destructive career unchecked, but leading them on to their ultimate modulation in the Supreme' (p. 202).

SOME LEGAL ASPECTS OF THE WHITE PAPER

By K. S. THAPER, B. A. (Hons.) (Oxon.)

THERE has been so much discussion in the country about the proposals contained in the White Paper on Indian Constitutional reforms that one would be led to believe every bit of it has been thoroughly analysed. But unfortunately the animated party discussions of a few very prominent topics (*e. g.*, the question of the reserved subjects; the safe-guards and the constitutional position of the Indian States) has prevented a fuller examination of other issues equally important, if not more so, for the actual working of the Constitution. These deal with the nature of the distribution of legislative functions between the centre and the provinces.

If we look around within the Empire we have considerably varying constitutions in existence. From a legal point of view the advantages which a unitary constitution, like that of South Africa, possesses over a federal constitution, are unquestionable. The interpretation of the constitution does not raise very serious difficulties.

It is known that the chief fact which turned Lord de Villiers into a vehement opponent of federation and induced him to throw all his influence as President of the South African Conference into the fight for the Unification of South Africa, was the experience of Canadian conditions derived from a careful study, during a visit to that country of the complexities of the Dominion Constitution. (Prof. Keith)

It is unimportant to discuss, at this stage, these relative merits, since it has been finally decided that India is to be a federation. If so, it is our duty to see that the constitution conferred on India is simple, concise and easy of interpretation. Already two important federations exist within the Empire, namely, the Dominion of Canada and the Commonwealth of Australia. Out of these two, the Australian Constitution raises much less difficulty in interpretation and consequently leads to fewer disputes regarding the respective jurisdiction of the federal and states legislatures. All powers are retained by the States except those definitely surrendered to the Federal Parliament in thirty-nine enumerated items. To find out the validity of an Act all that the courts have to do is to see if it falls within these thirty-nine items. "Federation in Australia," says Prof. Keith, "where defence formed no driving force, was the slow outcome of the most lengthy deliberation." On the contrary, in Canada, the case is quite different. To quote from the same authority,

> It appears to have been the laudable, if idle, hope of the framers of Confederation that they would be able to produce a measure which would so definitely assign to the federation on the one hand and provinces on the other their respective spheres of authority that no question of conflicts of law could ever arise.

And what they did for the purpose was to define two sets of legislative powers. Section 92 gives a list of subjects assigned to the provincial legislatures. But while the residue is retained in the Centre, section 91 enumerates some of the subjects retained. The effect of this is ruinous. "If so," continues Prof. Keith, "their hope was utterly defeated, for the number of complexities which have arisen regarding the interpretation of the Constitution is deplorable." The courts have to test the validity of every Act not by one but by two enumerated lists and the

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test becomes even more difficult when it is realized that, "it is impossible to read even superficially the list of federal and provincial enumerated powers without seeing how they overlap and intertwine" (Prof. Kennedy). Consequently there are more disputes regarding the validity of various Acts in Canada.

It might easily have been expected that greater care would be taken to avoid this unnecessary litigation when the new constitution for India was proposed. No doubt the "historical circumstances—racial, linguistic, social, economic, geographical even sentimental" that tended to obscure issues in Canada are present in the case of India. But that is no reason why we must not yet learn a lesson from the experience of Canada and evolve a document that could avoid these complexities. On the contrary, the framers of the White Paper have gone even a step further to complicate matters. They have defined not one, as in the case of Australia, or two, as is the case with Canada but three different sets of powers. Section 111 enumerates exclusively federal subjects; section 112 enumerates those exclusively provincial, while section 114 contains a large list of subjects for concurrent legislation. So that the validity of every Act shall have to be tested by reference in turn to all the three lists.

In the case of Canada, 'the Act itself seems only on the heads of Agriculture and of Immigration to have realized that conflicts were unavoidable,' and in section 95 which provides for concurrent jurisdiction in this respect, it is clearly set down that in case there is a conflict the federal legislation will prevail. There is no such *definite* statement in the White Paper which reads :

> The intention of providing for this concurrent field is to secure in respect of the subjects entered in the list referred to in this paragraph, the greatest measure of uniformity which may be found practicable, but at the same time to enable provincial legislatures to make laws to meet local conditions.

But the "Federal legislature will not in respect of the subjects contained in list III be able to legislate in such a way as to impose financial obligations on the provinces." Does this mean any direct or indirect expense necessitated by the enforcement of the Acts ? Nevertheless, "In the event of conflict... the federal law will prev... unless the provincial law... receiv... the sanction of the Governor-General," and... that case repeal or amendment by fed... legislature is possible only with the p... sanction of the Governor-General. If t... Governor-General wishes to avoid poli... complications, this sanction is never likely... be refused. But that, however, is a mat... not so much of legal as constitutio... significance.

It is with regard to clauses 111 and ... that greater cases of conflict will arise. M... not even these exclusively defined pow... overlap ? It has been repeatedly found ... Canada that a particular Act regulating 'Tr... and Commerce,' which is a federal subj... may in another aspect encroach upon ... property and civil rights in the provin... which is an exclusively provincial preserve.

But otherwise the British North Amer... Act makes definite provision for fede... jurisdiction on the residual subjects. Fede... legislature can make laws "for the pea... order and good government of Canada, ... relation to all matters not coming within t... classes of subjects by this Act assign... exclusively to the legislatures of the provinces" and it is only, "for greater certainty, but n... so as to restrict the generality of the foregoi... terms of this section," that the legislat... functions in section 91 are enumerated.

When we come to examine the correspon... ing terms in the White Paper we find th... are very much complicated. The residue... powers is divided into two categories. ... undefined powers which are merely of a loc... or personal interest belong to the provinces... With regard to the rest "provision will b... made enabling either the Federal Legislature ... any Provincial Legislature to make a law w... respect to a residual subject, if any, not fall... within the scope of any of the three lists." So that both the Federal Parliament and t... Provincial Legislatures can pass laws concer... ing the undefined powers. The only safe-gua... is that for the introduction of such an Act in... previous sanction of the Governor-General ... required. Is it certain that both the Federa... as well as some Provincial Legislature will ... pass a law dealing wholly or partia...

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overlapping the same subject? It has been found in the case of Canada, as Prof. Keith points out, that "there has been no rule of disallowing merely because an Act may be doubtful in legality..." So that the Governor-General is likely to leave that to be settled by the law-courts. The Indian States are in a much happier position from this point of view, as they retain all powers which they do not definitely surrender in the Instrument of Accession.

Clause 118 is specifically included "in order to minimize uncertainty of law and opportunities for litigation as to the validity of Acts." Will it succeed in this purpose? It provides for a time limit in which "an Act may be called into question on the ground that exclusive powers to pass such legislation were vested in a legislature in India other than that which enacted it." After the time limit is over the validity of the Act, however much it might encroach upon the preserve of another legislature, is established. So that the Central Government and each of the provinces will separately keep a legal department ever watchful and to bring up at once any Act, where there is a doubtful point involved, to the law-courts for some sort of a *declaratory judgment*. If the Act was left unchallenged till a particular case arose, it may be too late to upset it. In the case of 'The John Deere Ploug Company *v.* Wharton' which arose with regard to the British North America Act the judges declared that

> the structure of sections 91 and 92 and the degree to which the connotation of the expressions used overlap render it . . . . unwise on this or any other occasion to attempt exhaustive definitions of the meaning and scope of these expressions . . . It is in many cases only by confining decisions to concrete questions, which have actually arisen in circumstances the whole of which are before the tribunal, that injustice to future suitors can be avoided. . .

Any such prudence will be impossible in the case of India if these proposals in the White Paper remain unchanged.

Section 122, though not very much to the point, may be referred to in passing. It prohibits any sort of discrimination except legislation "which prohibits sale or mortgage of agricultural land in any area to a person not belonging to some class recognized as being a class of persons engaged in, or connected with agriculture in that area or which recognizes the existence of some right, privilege or disability attaching to the members of a community by virtue of some privilege, law or custom having the force of law." We are not concerned to point out the reactionary nature of this clause but it is of utmost importance to note that any such Act may be brought up to the courts to examine whether it actually does deal with existing privilege, law or custom. It is these vague half-defined powers that are always the source of litigation.

This part of the White Paper is so unsatisfactory from a legal point of view that it is likely to usher in an era of litigation in India on constitutional questions, such as has not been experiened anywhere before. It is still time to define it better. Whether the residuary power is given to the federal legislature or to the provinces is a matter, though of great constitutional and political significance, which does not concern the legal aspect of the document. But whether it is the jurisdiction of the federal legislature or the provincial legislatures, that is defined, there must not be more than one set of powers enumerated, the rest belonging to the provinces or the federal legislature, as the case may be.

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RAMMOHUN ROY

By MADAME L. MORIN

IT is with the deepest sympathy of heart and mind that I associate myself to this commemoration of Rammohun Roy's memory. Leaving aside my own insignificant personality, I am proud and happy that France should be represented here and also have the honour of paying homage to this great awakener of India. France has always struggled for and proclaimed the ideals of truth and liberty, the ideal of high and impartial knowledge, which were also his ideals. It is not without emotion that I recall how keenly conscious Rammohun was himself during his lifetime of this link between his ideals and those of my country.

I have been asked by the Indian Institute in Paris to convey to you their tribute of admiration and respect for the personality and the work of Rammohun Roy. The Indian Institute also celebrated the centenary in Paris, but only after I had sailed for this country.

All that I have seen and heard since I have come to your country, has encouraged and confirmed me in the intention of writing the life of Rammohun Roy in French. I have already been working on the subject for some time in France; and although Calcutta is really the place where one ought to study Rammohun Roy, I have been able to discover in French Libraries one or two facts which, if they had already been alluded to, had never been thoroughly established and accurately verified.*

When I first started the research, I was told by the most competent people that it was like looking for a needle in a haystack. And I must confess that I had to spend long weeks of patient perusal of reports, proceedings, and especially of the daily papers of the time before getting any results. But in the end I have been able to establish the exact date of Rammohun's presentation to King Louis-Philippe,—14th October, 1832—by the ordinary usher of the ambassadors. This date is mentioned by two different daily papers of the time.*

Further, by consulting the most ancient volume of the proceedings of the Asiatic Society in Paris, in manuscript form, I have been able to prove that Rammohun Roy was effectively nominated as a member of that learned body as early as the 5th of July, 1824. There are interesting details relative to that nomination, but it would be too long to mention them now.†

Another point upon which a little light has been thrown, is the question of the *duration* of Rammohun's stay in France. Miss Collet says, in her biography of the Raja: "We do not know when he went or when he returned."‡ In fact, the stay of Rammohun Roy had up to now only been located vaguely between the 31st of July 1832 and the 31st of January 1833, both these dates corresponding to letters written by the Raja from England.§

In Mary Carpenter's *Last Days of Rammohun Roy*, however, there is a photographic facsimile of one of Rammohun's letters dated 22nd September 1832 and written in Bengali. I had the idea of showing this letter to a Bengali scholar in Paris, Dr. B. K. Ghosh, and he was able to tell me that it had been written from England. Therefore, on the

* A more detailed account of these researches can be found in *India and the World*, December 1933.

* *Journal des Debats.* 15 Octobre 1832. Page 2. Col. 1. *Le Constitutionnel.* 15 Octobre 1832. Page 3. Col. 1. Complementary information is also to be found in *Journal des Debats* of the 19th October 1832.

† Manuscript Proceedings of the sittings between 1822 and 1844, sitting of the 7th June, 1824, sitting of the 5th July, 1824. (Page 58 of Manuscript). Complementary information to be found in: Manuscript Proceedings of Asiatic Society of Paris. Sitting of the 3rd January, 1825. Page 66. Journal Asiatique 1825 (1er semestre). Tome 6. Page 63.

‡ Collet's *Life and Letters of Rammohun Roy* page 200.

§ Letters written respectively to William Rathbone Esq., and to Mr. Woodford, (Miss Collet. p. 200.)

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2nd September 1832, Rammohun Roy was still in France yet. On the other hand, I found in the Paris National Library an article of Pauthier in the *Revue Encyclopédique*, dated December 1832, where Rammohun Roy's visit is mentioned *retrospectively*. These two points enable us to curtail the conjectural period of Rammohun's stay in France by at least three months and we are thereby able to limit the researches to the last week of September and the months of October, November and December 1832.*

A full-size photograph of the above-mentioned Bengali letter is to be found in the present exhibition of Rammohun Roy's relics organized for the duration of the centenary. In France we have a Victor Hugo Museum, a Rodin Museum, etc. If I may be allowed to express a wish, I would suggest that the precious relics of your national precursor should likewise become the nucleus of a Rammohun Roy Museum. They would thereby become available to scholars as well as to the public at large, instead of remaining dormant in the seclusion of private collections. If the expense of a separate building cannot be incurred, surely one of your public museums or libraries could spare a small room and give hospitality to those relics.

What seems to me the most striking characteristic of Rammohun Roy is his powerful personality—unique and admirably concentrated, and yet infinitely rich and diverse, dynamic as well as comprehensive. I consider him as the most wonderful prototype in modern times of your Indian genius, which is not limited as the Western genius is by the principle of contradiction, but manages to combine analysis and synthesis. Diversity, more often than not, results in dispersion. But, while Rammohun Roy concentrated a great diversity of interests, yet his mind remained so concentrated, his discrimination so lucid, that he could co-ordinate the various factors into a harmonious whole; and his purpose remained so firm that he could focus his magnificent ideals into practical realization.

He was powerful enough to draw from East and West, from every religion, from all cultural traditions, and clarify all these diverse elements, to wield them into a lofty and rational philosophy, a universal religion.

And yet, personally, I do not believe that Rammohun Roy's greatest achievement has been the creation of a new religion. Before him, India had had many outstanding philosophers and religious men; I know that he was very deeply religious at heart, but as far as his action and influence are concerned, he appears to me particularly significant as a social reformer. I am even strongly inclined to think that most of his outward religious activities (as distinct from his own inner life) were conducted in view of practical aims, ethical reform being viewed as the soundest basis for a new social and political order where Indians could enjoy higher cultural enlightenment as well as a better standard of health, welfare and general prosperity. This can be substantially inferred from many passages in his writings.

Some people stand for undiluted orthodoxy with all its nefarious forms of superstition; others, on the reverse, see no other way of salvation than doing away with religion altogether. Rammohun Roy was determined to do away with the superstitious practices which had undermined India's lucidity and vitality; but in his wisdom, he realized that the religious instinct corresponds to such a vital need, that it cannot be easily uprooted, either in individual man, or in the evolution of large collectivities. He realized through the study of history how potent that force had been in the development of human civilization. He understood that the right course was not to suppress it—it cannot be suppressed—but to purify and simplify it and to use it as a means to serve social equality and fraternity as well as political emancipation.

From a purely philosophical point of view his partiality to the Hindu doctrine is evident. He finds in the Gayatri, the Upanishads and

* It is however likely that Rammohun Roy had already returned to England by December, and even perhaps as early as November, since a letter of Adam Sikin written in October 1832 is the only letter which we know of referring to the Raja as being in Paris at the time; his presentation to the king took place on the 14th of October, and we can infer from certain letters that the Raja only stayed a few weeks in Paris, and that he curtailed his stay owing to difficulties arising from a language which was foreign to him.

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the Vedanta all the spiritual nourishment that a human soul can crave for.

But, on the other hand, he is struck by the social welfare and political progress of Europe; he also becomes acquainted with the moral precepts of the Christian gospel, and he concludes that this simple code of morality has been one of the chief instruments of the social and political achievements of the West. This is not the place to discuss how far this inference is founded, but I feel certain that it was the basis of Rammohun Roy's eagerness to diffuse Christian ethics among his countrymen.

Many passages could be quoted to substantiate this view; I shall limit myself to one or two.

> I presume to think that Christianity, if properly inculcated, has a greater tendency to improve *the moral, social and political state of mankind* than any other religious system."
>
> "Everyone who interests himself in behalf of his fellow creatures would confidently anticipate the approaching triumph of true religion should *philanthropy* induce you and your friends to send to Bengal as many serious and *able teachers of European learning and science and Christian morality unmingled with religious doctrines*, as your circumstances may admit, *to spread knowledge gratuitously among the native community*, in connexion with the Rev. Mr. Adam...."* (Letter to Rev. Henry Ware, Unitarian minister of Harward College, Cambridge, United States, in reply to an enquiry of his, dated February 1824. Quoted in pages 87, 88, of Miss Collet's Biography). (Italics ours).

Every word of Rammohun's declarations has to be read very attentively, if one wishes to understand his real thought underlying the studiously cautious and courteous language.

His religious point of view can also be understood by a careful perusal of his "Humble suggestions to his countrymen Believers in the One true God," where he says about non-unitarian missionaries that "When they endeavour to make converts of us;...even then we should feel no resentment towards them, but rather compassion, on account of the blindness to the errors into which they themselves have fallen. Since it is almost impossible, as everyday's experience teaches us, for men when possessed of wealth and power, to perceive their own defects."

* Mr. Adam was Rammohun Roy's "convert" to Unitarianism. (*Vide* Miss Collet, p. 66).

Religion and Philosophy are opposed [illegible] some progressive Indians on the ground [illegible] they are a source of division among themselv[illegible] Another point that Rammohun Roy discern[illegible] with marvellous lucidity is that it would [illegible] far wiser and more realistic to make [illegible] great religious force of India a comm[illegible] instrument of unification, a common basis [illegible] constructive action. This can only be d[illegible] in the broad spirit of tolerance which anima[illegible] Rammonun Roy himself. And Rammoh[illegible] as a matter of fact, did not limit himself [illegible] preaching tolerance, which is only a first stag[illegible] he personally practised understanding.

He was the first Indian brave and h[illegible] enough to break the rules of orthodoxy a[illegible] cross the Kala Pani, to come and stu[illegible] the culture and institutions of Europe with [illegible] open mind, and to observe Europeans a[illegible] their mode of living with a critical-sympathetic—curiosity. And I believe t[illegible] intellectual curiosity has been one of the m[illegible] important traits of Rammohun's remarkab[illegible] personality. Without this universal criti[illegible] curiosity, he would no doubt never h[illegible] dreamt, and never have achieved as much [illegible] he did in every field of human thought a[illegible] activity. Curiosity leads to comparison, [illegible] confrontation of values, to eager desire [illegible] knowledge of all forms of civilization. T[illegible] is why Rammohun Roy was the first [illegible] perceive, by a prophetic and generous visi[illegible] what cultural fellowship between East a[illegible] West could bring to both parties if it w[illegible] understood in the right spirit: how much [illegible] could broaden the field of research, how fa[illegible] it could enrich experience and human und[illegible] standing, how enlivening it could prove a[illegible] mutual stimulant, how powerfully it co[illegible] foster international brotherhood.

Apart from all these exceptional g[illegible] Rammohun Roy was also endowed with [illegible] specific qualities which make a man a [illegible] leader.

First of all, he was a realist as well as [illegible] idealist. Everything that he preached by w[illegible] or pen was instantly translated by him [illegible] constructive action or active struggle. [illegible] personality is all aglow with inspiration, [illegible] it possesses also this healthy sturdiness, [illegible] sound and perfect balance, which only c[illegible] to those who do not refuse to act, but brav[illegible]

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except to grapple day after day with hard and unpleasant realities.

Secondly, Rammohun Roy possessed an indomitable energy. He belonged to that type of people who are never curbed by circumstances, but who fight to dominate them until their aim is realized. This untiring perseverance in effort could be illustrated by more than one instance taken from the Raja's life. (Among other facts, let us recall how he created his own press amidst the greatest difficulties, when he was refused hospitality by the press that had printed his previous pamphlets relative to his controversy with the missionaries).

As all real leaders who deserve that appellation, Rammohun was a selfless man, he gave the first place to his cause and not to himself; he was always ready to recede into the background when he thought it necessary; his attitude in the fostering of educational reform is characteristic of this.*

Always tactful and courteous, he remained implacably firm when essential principles were at stake, thereby commanding respect from his opponents. In our time, many so-called leaders are apt to shirk responsibilities; Rammohun Roy had such a keen conscience in that matter that he would rather go out to meet responsibilities in anticipation, with the most daring courage. We are inclined to forget that Rammohun was a rebel in his own time; in this respect also, his example is a great lesson. He never allowed himself to be excessive or fanatical; he was a self-possessed, generous, realistic and intelligent revolutionary.

His was a fearless life,—a lonely life also,—but he was powerful enough to stand alone and remain all the greater; as sometimes, at dawn, a tall mountain peak appears in isolation against the pale sky, shining already while everything is still in darkness, proud and fully radiant as the first herald of the rising sun.

Mrs. Naidu, in one of her inspiring speeches, very appositely said that Rammohun Roy had felt the challenge of the past. I know that the Indians of today feel the challenge of Rammohun Roy's lucid and generous vision. Your great precursor has been dead for a hundred years, but his powerful ideals are alive in the heart and mind of everyone of you today. Some of the reforms which he has struggled for have already been realized; it will be your privilege to complete the work and reach the goal. May this date of Rammohun Roy's centenary inaugurate the incarnation of his prophetic dreams into tangible and constructive realities.*

* Evidence given by Dr. Alexander Duff, before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1853. Quoted by Mr. Hem Chandra Sarkar in his introduction to the last edition of Miss Collet's biography. Page xxxix and xi of Introduction.

* *Paper read at the celebration of Rammohun Roy's centenary,*

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CAUSATION OF NORTH BEHAR EARTHQUAKE

By D. C. NAG

The possible causes of earthquakes are:

(*i*) Fall of rock at the surface or underground.

(*ii*) Explosions generated by percolation of water through the outer crust to highly heated rock below.

(*iii*) Operations which result or tend to result in volcanic activities:

(*a*) Fracturing of solid crust.

(*b*) Intermittent growth of faults and development of fault-slips.

N. B. The first two are of minor importance.

The forces which cause crustal movements and fractures, are:

(*i*) Forces which produce tidal effects on account of relative position of earth and heavenly bodies.

(*ii*) Atmospheric pressure (liable utmost to a few pounds' variation per square inch).

(*iii*) Pressure developed by expansion and contraction through radioactivity and physico-chemical reactions in the crust.

(*iv*) Gravitational pressure of the crust resting on a viscous magma.

(*v*) Subcrustal magmatic pressure which uplifts and tends to burst the crust.

N. B.—The first two are of minor importance.

The constitution and strength of the crust are of considerable importance. Seismology shows that the crust is rigid and solid to a depth of about 25 miles. It consists of about 2 miles of sedimentary rocks (porosity 30 per cent), 7.5 miles of granitic rocks (porosity 0.4 per cent) and 15.5 miles of basaltic rocks (porosity 0.2 per cent). The strength and rigidity of the rocks increase with depth. At 25 miles there is a marked "discontinuity," perhaps due to the local temparature nearing the point of fusion of the basaltic substratum. Strength and rigidity decrease with depth below 25 miles in the underlying basaltic magma which is highly viscous just below the solid rigid crust. The magmatic pressure (which tends to burst the crust) is found to be about 200,000 atmospheric pressure at the present time, being estimated* from the density, chemical composition and condition of formation of the basic substratum (a product of crystallization from the magma at about 1200°C). The temparature of the subcrustal magma is between 1200°C-1400°C.

The thickness and rigidity of the solid crust are essential for maintaining the enormous subcrustal magmatic pressure which can by no means be due to gravitational pressure of the crust floating on the viscous magma. The gravitational pressure calculated from the average density (2.8) and thickness (25 miles) of the crust can utmost be about 11,000 atmospheric pressure. It is very probable that this high magmatic pressure is developed by ceaseless atomic disintegration by which the heavier elements are being transmuted into lighter ones and the material universe is slowly moving towards *annihilation* (महाप्रलय). This causes rapid increase of volume in the interior where the heavier elements predominate. The pressure increases steadily. Periodically, at irregular intervals varying from 30 to over 100 million years (average 50 million years), the pressure attains maximum intensity when it ruptures the crust and causes epoch-making geological disturbances (खण्ड प्रलय). Recently during Tertiary Age, it has been the cause of the Alpine and the Himalayan upheavals which incidentally developed along the bases of the high mountain-ranges the well-known fractured zone (a zone of weakness in the crust) which extends from the Pacific to the Atlantic right across the Old World. The zone which passes through North Behar has converted it into a seismic area. The weakness in the crust thus created is eventually utilized by Nature as safety valves through which the ever-increasing volume of magma and the enormous heat generated by the ceaseless atomic disintegration in the interior of the earth, are from time to time released particularly at times of periodic major and minor geological disturbances. The operations are essential for the growth of the crust, maintenance of climatic condition and thus the evolutions of this planet. The lava, poured out, supplies the materials (silicates, etc.) for the building up of the crust which is perhaps still growing thicker and stronger, and the earth (which is young yet) is probably increasing in volume while the Universe is expanding. The motive forces which cause terrestrial evolutions are inherent in atoms; they are released with atomic disintegration.

Some observations of Schuchert regarding close relation between the past geological disturbances and climatic changes are of considerable scientific importance. There was a marked change in the local climate immediately before and after the recent earthquake. Whether the change in the atmospheric condition was due to the earthquake or it was the local variations in the barometric

* *Quarterly Journal of Geological, Mining and Metalurgical Society of India.* Vol. IV. No. 2. —Co-relation between Specific Gravity, Chemical Constitution and Condition of Formation of Minerals and Rocks. By D. C. Nag.

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pressure which caused the earthquake, needs very careful investigation. It is noteworthy that extensive sub-marine and sub-aeriel mountain-making and volcanic activities produced opposite effects on climates of geologic times. Geological and bio-logical evidences show (see *Climates of Geologic Times* by Schuchert, 1914) that extensive sub-marine activities generally accompanied by marine transgression (caused by elevation of oceanic beds) are followed by prolonged tropical climate while cold climate or glacial condition (even in tropical planes) appears as if *Suddenly* introduced immediately after periods of world-wide sub-aerial mountain-making and volcanic activities. Thus the grand Himalayan upheaval was immediately followed by extreme cold climate so that glacial condition prevailed in the foot-hills of Himalaya at low levels even considerably below 5000 ft. elevation. The Pleistocene Ice Age in Europe and other Ice Ages followed periods of great moun-tain-making and volcanic activities. Numerous instances are cited by Schuchert in support of his generalization. Evidently the amount of heat brought up from the interior during mountain-making and volcanic activities and *the way* the heat is dissipated from the surface primarily control the climates of geologic times. While under the submarine condition the heat is long retained by oceanic water, under sub-aerial condition it is quickly lost by radiation ; the two conditions thus bring about hot and cold climates immediately after the disturbances. Hence could it not be that the recent local climatic change was incidently the effect of the earthquake and not its cause as suggested by some ? The earthquake might have produced disturbances in the local temperature gradient and the heat brought up was quickly lost resulting in the marked hot and cold climate. This problem certainly becomes a very difficult one considering the insignificance of the recent earth-quake and of the actual climatic changes. Quick alternations of hot and cold climate might have been due to succession of fore-shocks and after-shocks which made the problem more complex.

Many theories have been recently advanced through newspapers to account for the causation of the earthquake in North Behar. It has been ascribed to *Isostasy* (a commonly accepted theory) suggesting that the Himalaya which has become lighter by constant denudation is behaving more or less like an isolated solid body floating in the denser subcrustal magma ; in other words, the rising up of the Himalaya to re-establish isostatic equilibrium is the cause of the earthquake. It is hardly possible now to prove definitely the actual rise of the Himalaya by any satisfactory evidence. The investigations of the Indian Survey and the Geological Departments may, in course of time, be able to throw more light on the matter. Seismology shows that the crust is rigid and about 25 miles thick. Considering the density of the sedimentary, granitic and basaltic layers and hence the available space at different depths, the fractures in the crust may be expected to develop only in the upper zone. The zone of cavity possibly extends to a depth of about 4 miles and that of fracture to 8 or 10 miles ; below this the weakness in the solid crust can be expected to exist in the form of local strains in molecular aggregation. At present the crust is apparently adequately rigid and strong to resist the gravitational effect and withstand an interal explosive force caused by 200,000 atmosphere magmatic pressure. The crust should probably remain in tact even if the interior were hollow, and so it should be too rigid for isostatic adjustment at the preasent time. But it is very probable that isostatic readjustments take place at times of periodic epoch-making geological disturbances when the basic substrata are more or less fused and the overlying layers are rendered considerably plastic by the enormous accumulation of heat in the subcrustal region. The plasticity should account for the wrinkling, warping and overthrusting of strata which are otherwise very rigid. Isostatic readjustment is more likely only a periodic phenomenon and as such it can as well explain the low density of rocks beneath the high mountains, a fact (established by the well-known geodesic pendulum experiments) on which the theory of isostasy has been principally based. The formation of lighter granitic rocks in the upper zone below high mountain-ranges can also be explained by the local magmatic temperature and pressure at times of formation—the predominance of temperature effect on density.

The severity of the shock in North Behar and its extension over nearly two million square miles suggest deep-seated origin of the earthquake. The primary origin of the earthquake is very likely some deep-seated plutonic intrusions which caused fault-slips and originated secondary centres, presumably, in a series of pre-existing faults at different levels in the upper fractured zone. In the geological history such intrusions through local planes of weakness at great depth in the crust are of frequent occurrence. Some-times they develop into volcanic outbrusts. The sulphurous fumes ?) in the atmosphere of the disturbed area would suggest new fractures extending to several miles' depth where the normal temperature should be a few hundred degrees centigrade—a condition more suitable for the generation of sulphurous fumes from the decomposition of sulphides in the rocks. The numerous hot springs may similarly indicate deep fissures and local weakness in the crust. Many of the fissures are, sooner or later, liable to be choked and closed up but the weakness in the crust remains. This leads to repreated local earthquakes at irregular intervals which may be eventually followed by volcaic eruptions perhaps millions of years hence, when the local weakness in the crust and the magmatic pressure below become considerably more. Volcanic

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eruptions may at some distant future convert the afflicted area of North Behar into a highly mineralized zone traversed by many metalliferous veins and dykes which are now absent; precious metals are, as a rule, of eruptive origin.

Joly has very ably shown the importance of radioactivity in geological history, particularly its thermal aspect. He found that high temperature gradient goes with high radioactivity and low temperature gradient with low radioactivity of the country rocks. Temperature gradient mainly depends on local atmospheric condition, physico-chemical constitution of country rocks and the intensity of subcrustal magmatic heat. The average temperature gradient is about 1° rise per 100 feet depth. There are fair amounts of radioactive concentrations in the rocks near the surface. All rocks are now considered to be more or less radioactive. According to Joly the radio-thermal source of heat in the crust can produce local fusion and minor geological disturbances. Besides the thermal aspect, the volumatric changes resulting from the radioactive or atomic disintegration produce considerable effect. Thus radioactive concentration in a rock, through its tendency to increase more rapidly in volume, would produce considerable strain in the rock which would burst if situated near a fractured zone; want of sufficient available space or adjacent fracture would induce the formation of high pressure minerals such as garnet which is thus very abundant in the deep-seated Eclogite. The rock-bursting due to radioactive concentration may cause fracturing and fault-slips and thus earthquakes. The frequent disastrous rock-bursting phenomena in the deep Mysore gold-mines may be due to radioactivity but confirmative investigations are needed; the pegmatitic character of the gold quarts is congenial to radioactive concentration.

It may be noted that there is marked concentration of radioactive minerals and hot-springs along a zone running northwords from Ranchi through Hazaribagh and Gaya to Rajgir. The radioactivity of some of the hot-springs of Rajgir and Topoban and some of the local minerals (*e.g.* allanite from Bahia, Pitchblende from Singar, columbite, etc.) have been demonstrated by research works carried out in the Bose Research Institute, Calcutta. Unfortunately there is no definite knowledge about the radioactive concentration in the northern extension of the zone. Evidently Patna, Mozufferpur, Darbhanga, Sitamari, Motihari and Khatmundu lie on the northern extension. Monghyr, Jamalpur, Bhagalpur, Purnia, and Darjeeling are situated considerably to the east. All the above places were severely disturbed. The disposition of the severely disturbed areas suggests that there might be three principal faults, one running north to south through Mozufferpur, another running north-east to south-west through Monghyr and Gaya and the third running east to west along the foot of the Himalayas. These faults with a series of minor faults would [illegible] more or less isolated areas creating very suit[able] condition for fault-slips and local earthqua[kes]. Hot-springs are generally found along fault [lines] and so their relative positions may throw cons[ider]able light on the location of the faults. It may [be] worth-while alsoto investigate the radioactivity [and] local temperature gradient wherever practic[able]. The leakage of gold-leaf emanation electros[cope] like the one locally constructed and [used] in the Bose Research Institute, may be tried [for] the determination of local radioactivity.

Seismologists find that the centres of se[vere] earthquakes are very often about 25 miles be[low] the epicentres and thus probably are at or n[ear] the junction of the viscous magma and the s[olid] crust. Similar finding in the case of the N[orth] Behar earthquake would strongly support t[he] suggested view of the deep-seated plut[onic] intrusion as the primary cause of the earthqua[ke]. The centres of the after-shocks which are genera[lly] not so severe and extensive are likely to be fou[nd] in the upper factured zone within a few miles fr[om] the surface. The after-shocks may be ascribed [to] fault-slips and local fracturing caused by gravi[ta]tional force and local radioactivity: they are [of] secondary origin. De Montessus (1906) fou[nd] that about 95 per cent of the severe earthquak[es] have their origin along the recognized zones [of] weakness in the earth's crust. The shocks [are] repeated in the same locality at irregular inter[vals] and there is hardly any basis on which they [can] be foretold. Seismology may be expected to [do] wonders. Better organization, improved seism[o]graphic instruments and more careful study [of] fore-shocks may, at no distant future, lead [to] satisfactory prediction which will be a great bo[on] to humanity. Seismology has already given [the] most definite information about the interi[or] constitution of the earth.

The destructive effects of earthquake on buildin[gs] and the loss of life and property involved have [set] afoot important engineering problems. The failu[re] of buildings to withstand the shocks appear to [be] largely due to failure of the mortar used [to] withstand the jerks and the deviations of [the] structures from the plumb-line caused [by] oscillatory movements. This leads to horizon[tal] cracks and toppling down of the upper portio[ns] of the buildings. Perhaps greater damages are [as] often done by the shifting of sands fr[om] underneath the foundation developing unev[en] settlement of foundation, vertical fractures [and] collapse of buildings. The shifting of sands fr[om] the subsoil and their accumulation at the surf[ace] have rendered many rich agricultural lands in Nor[th] Behar into sandy barren tracts. Injection [of] water through fissures and the forcing [of] water-currents through subsoil greatly facilitate[s] the shifting of sands and their transportat[ion] to the surface. The soil has become loose an[d] must be allowed to settle before new buildi[ng] constructions can be safely undertaken.

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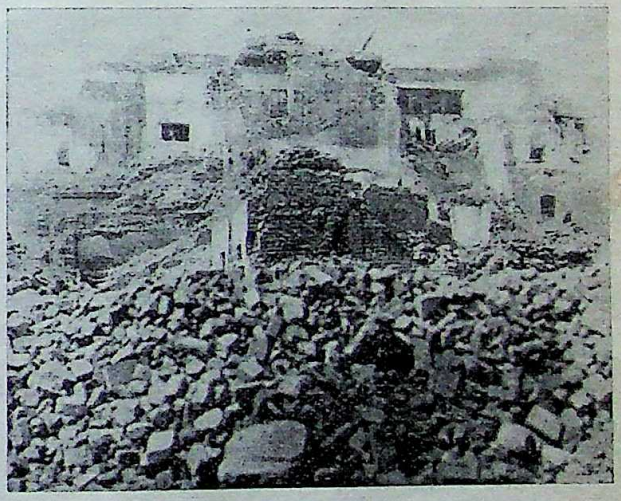
In 1897, a severe shock was felt at Wari in ...ence. It was hardly possible to keep standing ...d the local buildings and compound walls were ...en oscillating making five to ten degrees angles ...h the vertical. The shock lasted for a few ...inutes. No serious damage was done to any of ... structures at Wari in spite of their being ...ade of brick masonry with mud mortar. On the ...her hand, many of the more substantially ...ilt buildings were either totally demolished ...r badly damaged in the southern portion of the ...wn situated on the bank of the Buri Ganga. ...e reason for such marked difference in ...e destructive feature in adjacent areas ...ay be ascribed to the difference in the ...il, that of Wari being red ferruginous ...ay while at the southern part of tne ...wn adjacent to the river it is sandy. ...e same reason probably accounts for the ...llapse of many buildings in Patna, Monghyr and other places situated along the banks of rivers. Evidently masonry buildings are very unsafe on sandy soil in a seismic area. A very thick bed of alluvium, as in Calcutta, has damping effect to earthquake shocks. Small thickness of alluvium is very dangerous as in the case of Monghyr. Structures on rock foundation should be quite safe against tremor if substantially made. For the construction of important masonry structures in a seismic area construction engineers should give special attention, while disigning, to foundation, reinforcement by steel and the quality of mortar. In case of sandy soil, if unavoidable, the concrete foundation should be considerably spread out, and pile driving may be necessary. Steel structure and reinforced concrete works are likely to be found safer for the superstructure.

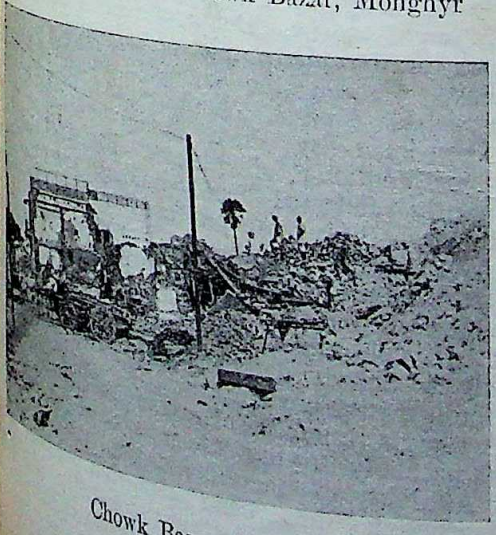
February 26, 1934

THE EARTHQUAKE DEVASTATION IN NORTH BEHAR

Bangur Building at Chowk Bazar, Monghyr



Chowk Bazar, Monghyr



Chowk Bazar, Monghyr

Chowk Bazar, Monghyr

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EARTHQUAKE—ITS SCIENCE AND SUPERSTITIONS

By G. C. MUKHERJEE, M.Sc.

Introduction

"LIVING creatures, particularly men, may be compared to colonies of ants clinging for dear life to tiny fragments of a wrecked ship in a tumultuous sea and men have somehow been persuaded to the belief that they can hold out only by practising cannibalism on a large scale." In these words Prof. Saha described the precariousness of human existence in this Universe, in his presidential address to the twenty-first session of the Science Congress held at Bombay on January 3, 1934. Just twelve days later occurred the terrible earthquake in the northern Bihar attended with the most severe loss of life and property within living memory.

The fateful day of the 15th of January was a usual winter day cool and bright. The minor Hindu holiday that fell on that day, did not much disturb the daily routine of the majority of the people. At 2 o'clock, peasants were in their fields, shopkeepers were in the market, clerks were in their offices, everybody being busily engaged in his daily routine of life. Thousands of hands were working in the newly-built sugar factories, which were pulsating with full life, it being the height of their season. Only the womenfolk in urban areas were at home, engaged as usual in their domestic duties. In a word, there was not the faintest premonition of the impending calamity in the minds of the teeming population of North Bihar. At about 2-15 P.M. came the terrible earthquake with the suddenness of a lightning, and within a few seconds its work of destruction was complete. Before the people could fully realize what was happening and in some cases even before the awe-stricken women of the house could rush out of their crumbling houses, towns were razed to the grounds burying thousands of men, women and cattle under the debris, the majority of victims being women and children. Death cries and shrieks and groans of the wounded people on all sides filled the air. The catastrophe was no respecter of persons.

> "Sceptre and Crown
> Did tumble down,
> And in the grave was equal made
> With the poor crooked scythe and spade."

The gorgeous palaces of big magnates like the Maharajah of Darbhanga took no more time in kissing the ground than the huts of peasants. North Bihar had recently become a great centre of industrial activity owing to the sugar boom. Powerfully built factories of iron and concrete were hurled down as if struck by a Titan's hand, burying or crushing to death hundreds of workmen. The railway bridges made of steel girders and solid masonry designed to support the heaviest loads were broken and twisted like any structure of straw. The ground was rent at numerous places by fissures of various sizes, and moist sand, slime and water were belched out of the bowels of the mother Earth. In the whole of the northern Bihar, hardly a building escaped serious damage, and no considerable area could be found which did not bear on its face some mark of the sudden catastrophe.

The number of lives lost is not yet definitely known as dead bodies are being still recovered from under the debris but the total may go well over 15,000. The towns of Katmandu, Motihari, Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga and Monghyr have suffered most, though Patna, Gaya and other neighbouring towns too have been severely damaged. The shocks were practically felt all over the northern India and even as far south as Bombay and Madras.

Impressions Left by an Earthquake

Events like this cannot but create a lasting impression on the human mind, both in space as well as in time. Newspapers, during the last month and a half, have been full of the news regarding the details of the disaster, and sympathetic appeals for relief. And human nature was aroused on its better side, for the alleviation of the sufferings of the stricken people. This is as it ought to be. But at the same time along with the catastrophe a mist of superstitions seems to have flooded the country. Fortune-tellers have rushed to print, claiming that the disaster was predicted by them months ahead from the combinations of planets. Pseudo-scientists apparently educated and holding responsible positions are filling the papers with novel theories which are curious mixtures of mysticism and ill-digested modern scientific knowledge. After the disaster, when people are dazed and their minds are terribly shaken the stories of *pralaya* (world-cataclysm) almost daily predicted by astrologers are finding easy credence.

A large number of religious theories are afloat probably trying to justify the conduct of God Almighty to mankind, the latest being that the earthquake has been sent as a punishment for the perpetuation of untouchability in this country. But this theory does not explain why the calamity has not spared the Muhammadans

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and Christians who do not believe in or favour untouchability or why South India, where untouchability is found in its most objectionable form, has escaped with a light shake. Had not the incident been so pathetic, a study of the current beliefs about the recent earthquake would have thrown interesting sidelight on the depths of silly credulousness to which the human mind can sink. The latest story current in Bihar attributes the earthquake to the Houston expedition which had recently flown over the Mount of Everest, reputed to be the abode of God Siva who had signified his displeasure by giving the earth a mighty shake.

This theory again fails to explain why the visitation should be upon the innocent residents of North Bihar, while the perpetrators of the shocked crime are perfectly hale and hearty and enjoying the reputation of their adventure in England.

Such wild stories are by no means confined to our own country alone, numerous such examples are found even in the Western countries. After the terrible Lisbon earthquake of 1755, which destroyed the whole city of Lisbon and swept 50,000 of the population into the depths of the sea within two minutes, the clergymen of Protestant Europe held that the disaster happened to Portugal because it persisted in remaining a Catholic country; while the Portuguese clergy who are Roman Catholics thought that God Almighty had inflicted the punishment on them because they had tolerated a few heretical protestants in their midst. As a precaution against future visitations of such divine wrath some of these protestants were forcibly converted and others killed or expelled. His Holiness the Pope tried to console the people by issuing a Bull in which the hackneyed theory was again reiterated that whatever God pleases to do is for the ultimate good of mankind. When Voltaire heard of this amazing theory, he remarked, "I am confirmed in my opinion that the priesthood arose when the first hypocrite met the first fool." The same thing can be said of the art of divination. It arose when the first hypocrite met the first credulous fool, and we have too many of both classes in our country.

Speculations Regarding Cause of Earthquakes

A catastrophic earthquake is such a terrible event that speculations regarding its origin have been active at all times, among all classes of people, the savage as well as the civilized. It would require a big volume to discuss or even to enumerate all these speculations, though such studies would prove to be of considerable interest to a student of social anthropology. We cannot, however, here resist the temptation of mentioning the amusing belief prevalent among the Garos of Assam, which was brought to light by Mr. R. D. Oldham after the great Assam earthquake of 1897. They believe that the earth is a square surface, suspended in space by four strings tied to its four corners, much like the pan of a balance. Some mice are continually trying to cut off these strings. To a blind demon has been assigned the task of keeping away the mice. As the demon is blind, the mice sometimes succeed in cutting a string or badly damaging it. The Garos thought that the great Assam earthquake was caused by the fact that the protecting demon so far forgot his duty that the string was allowed to be snapped into two and the pan standing for the earth was turned upside down. Under this belief, some of them rushed under a raised platform so that even though the earth was inverted, they might still have a solid floor to stand upon. Not far removed from this Garo belief is the popular Hindu belief that the earth is supported on one of the heads of a thousand-headed snake, and the earthquakes are caused when the snake-god transfers its burden from one hood to another. Even in the misty periods of medieval times, however, men with a rational bend of mind found it difficult to put any credence on these fanciful tales. Bhaskaracharya ridiculed the whole idea as follows. Said the old Pandit, "If it is found necessary to postulate a snake for supporting the earth, it is equally necessary to postulate another support for the snake. Let it be an elephant for which again a third support will be needed. Proceeding in this way we shall have to postulate an infinite chain of such supports and the supported, and still the original difficulty would remain. So, it is better to accept that the earth moves in space by itself."

In ancient Greece as well people believed that there was an Earthquake god and during an earthquake they tried to propitiate this god by offering prayers and sacrifices. Many savage people cry "We are here, we are here," when they feel the earth tremble beneath their feet. This is probably due to a belief that the God has fallen into a slumber, and has forgotten to care for the people assigned to his care.

Science of Earthquake

The phenomenon of earthquake did not receive much scientific attention in any country until very recently. Scientific study of earthquakes (or seismology, as it is called) really began only about 70 years ago, after the great Neapolitan earthquake of 1857, which shook the whole of Italy and took a toll of about 12,000 lives. An Irish engineer, named Robert Mallet, secured a grant from the Royal Society of London to proceed to the scene of disaster and to make a scientific survey of the catastrope on the spot. After a thorough and searching investigation he published his report in which the foundation of the modern science of seismology was laid. Since Mallet's time, seismology has been vastly developed specially by the scientists of Japan

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and Italy, as of all the civilized countries, these two happen to be visited by the most frequent and destructive earthquakes. What the modern scientific investigations have revealed regarding the nature and origin of earthquake shocks, we shall see just now. But before that let us see how the earthquakes are caused.

There is a very widespread belief, specially among the educated people, that an earthquake is due to volcano either active, dormant or extinct. The recent disaster gave rise to a belief that North Bihar is developing into a volcanic region. All these ideas are absolutely fanciful and are without any scientific basis. As a matter of fact it is common knowledge that though the eruptions of volcanoes are generally accompanied by earth tremors, these are rarely felt over a large area (seldom exceeding 100 or 200 sq. miles). The seat of the disturbance too lies very near the surface. Most of the great earthquakes of the world, even when they occur in volcanic countries, have not much to do with volcanoes, but are, what is scientifically called *tectonic*, that is, due to defects in the formation of the earth's crust. A little digression here about the structure and history of the earth's crust will help us greatly in better understanding these phenomena.

The Formation of the Earth

We know from astronomical studies that originally our planet must have been a great swirling mass of gaseous matter in a state of white heat. For millions and millions of years it went on cooling till a solid crust began to form on the surface. The phenomenon is very much like the formation of cream over the cooling surface of hot milk. Those who have had the opportunity of observing the operations of a factory smelting iron, will understand the process better. When the surface of the molten iron cools, a crust forms on the surface. This is known as the slag and consists of sandy matter which is held in solution as long as the iron is hot, but is given out when the liquid iron cools. We may suppose that the formation of the earth was similar. The centre of the earth is full of nickel-mixed iron most probably liquid, called by the scientists the fluid magma over which has formed a thick crust of rocky matter called the lithosphere (from lithos-stone).

In those early days probably the whole of the water that the earth contained was in the atmosphere in the form of steam. But gradually as the crust cooled the water was precipitated on the surface and formed the oceans that we now see. In course of the cooling the earth also shrank considerably in size and the rocky crust over it underwent folding and crumpling at numerous places like the skin of a dried up apple. The comparatively elevated portions remained outside water and formed continents, while the wrinkles on the crust formed formidable mountain-chains of old days. During these times the surface of the earth must have been extremely monotonous and uninteresting, all the continents and mountains were made up of barren rocks and the rest was water. There was no variety in these rocks, there were no soil-bearing plants or animal life, not even a desert.

But there must have been plenty of rain giving rise to vast rivers, and a much vaster atmosphere giving rise to violent winds. It is due to this dual agency of river and wind that the monotony of that early scenery was broken. The rocks were decomposed into soil and became suitable for plant and animal life. The development of life on the earth continued through hundreds of millions of years, and four stages are distinguished by the geologists: (*i*) the Azoic (no life) (*ii*) Palaeozoic (early life) (*iii*) Mesozoic (middle life), (*iv*) Cainozoic (recent life), (*v*) Post-tertiary.

Geologists make certain sub-divisions in the cainozoic period. First comes the Eocene (meaning dawn of recent life when the climate was very warm), then the *Oligocene* (little of recent life), then comes the Miocene (some recent species) which was the great age of mountain building and when the temperature was falling. Then comes the Pliocene (more living than extinct species) and the Pleistocene (majority of living species) during which the World became mostly covered with ice. When the wind is charged with dust and sand their eroding power is very great and during the history of the earth many a desert has been formed in this manner. The great desert of Sahara was formerly a hilly region but much of it has been levelled down by the unrelenting action of powerful winds laden with sand. Rivers as well as glaciers decompose the rocks over which they flow much more powerfully than winds. The alluvial soil which is such a common feature of the earth's topography today, and which alone has made agriculture possible, is entirely due to the action of running water throughout the ages. Not only the soil which we find today in river basins and river deltas, but also the materials out of which the greatest mountain ranges of the present age have been formed consist of sediments brought down by the vast rivers of past geological epochs. The enormous amount of material that one river collects and brings down is really amazing.

Due to the existence of wind and river continents by this time would have been levelled down to vast plains but for the fact that new mountains are being periodically formed. The world has already passed through several such cycles of mountain-breaking and mountain-making. Prof. Joly describes the process as follows:

"At long intervals the continents sink relatively to the oceans, the water stealing in on the lands. Great inland seas are so formed and persist for ages. During this time the low lands of the continents continually shed

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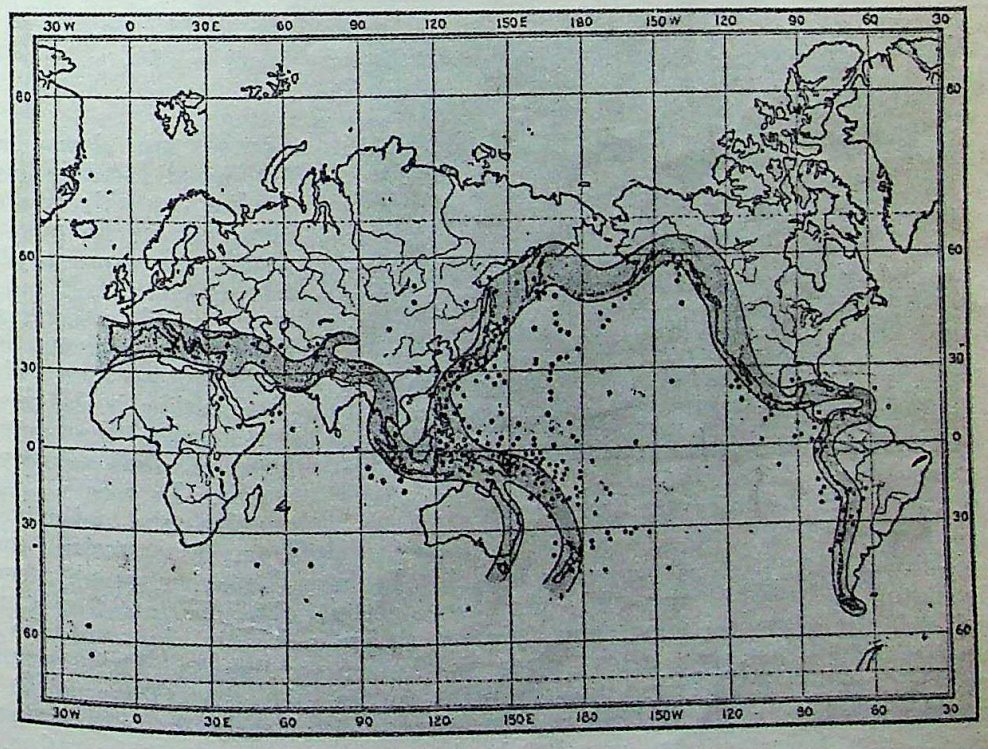
of their denudation into the inland
so that great depths of sediment are
mulated, then slowly all is reversed. The
ntinents rise relatively to the oceans. The conti-
al seas disappear and gradually great compres-
forces acting laterally upon the continents fold
crush the sediments which had collected in
former continental waters. In this way
ntains arise where formerly had existed for
the expanse of the invading seas."

We are living at a time when such a mountain-
lding period has just closed. The latest mountain
ins so formed are the Himalayas and the
s in Eurasia and the Rockies and the Andes
the western hemisphere. Where the Himalayas
d today was, millions of years ago, a great
al sea,—the Tethys sea of geologists, was
nected with the Mediterranean sea and formed
central ocean which divided the continents of
northern hemisphere from the continents
the southern hemisphere. Southern India was
then not a peninsula as it is now, but was
nected with Madagascar and Africa and
med a vast land mass known as the
wanaland. The rising of the Himalayas
d the separation of India from Africa are not
very ancient, they probab-
took place after the
mmals had already
ppeared on the earth
the Oligocene age).
The close connection
between mountain forma-
ion and tectonic earth-
uakes will soon be
pparent. It cannot be
xpected that the great
ges of past ages which
olded and crumpled up
the solimentations of the
ean beds into huge
ountain chains of by-
one days have ceased
ow or left the rocky
rust in tact. In fact,
hese upheavals cause
umerous fractures or
faults in the earth's outer
rust and the huge rock
alls. Such faults are
miliar enough to miners
nd geologists and show
hat the rock strata have
een actually dragged
part or thrust together until they have
broken through. Due to the continuous influence
of the great compressional or tensional forces
which are always active in the lithosphere (the
outermost portion of the rock strata along these faults
segments of the rock strata along these faults
often take place. Such movements are generally
slowly and gradual but sometimes there are
sudden slips causing some underground cataclysms
like that crushing of rocky veins, or the opening
of fissures. When such an event takes place, the whole crust of the earth above it is agitated in the form of mighty waves, just as water is thrown into waves when a stone is dropped into it. These waves compress and distort the rocks and alluvia lying above, causing havoc according to the magnitude of the disturbance and distance of the locality from the place of disturbance.

Earthquake Regions of the Globe

From the above considerations it is natural to expect that most earthquakes are expected to occur in those regions where mountains have only recently come into existence. Because the cracks and fractures in older mountain ranges like the Vindhyas or the Aravalli Hills, or the Ghats in South India have done all they could do in the past and have now come to some sort of stable equilibrium, very few earthquakes have their origin in such old land masses. This is exactly what has been observed. About 95 per cent of all the earthquakes occur in the two great recently formed mountain chains surrounding the globe. One is the Alps-Caucasus Himalaya circle, and the other is the Andes-Rocky Japan-Malaya circle. This fact is a striking confirmation



Map of the World showing earthquake distribution

of the recent earthquake theories. Besides this, the evidence of underground dislocation of rocks during a great earthquake can often be seen on the surface in the form of long cracks (not the smaller fissures which are due to shaking) miles long. Sometimes the ground on one side of such a crack sinks down or is raised up by several feet, proving thereby that the bedrock has subsided or has been thrust up due to tremendous pressure from sides. Such a crack about twelve miles long,

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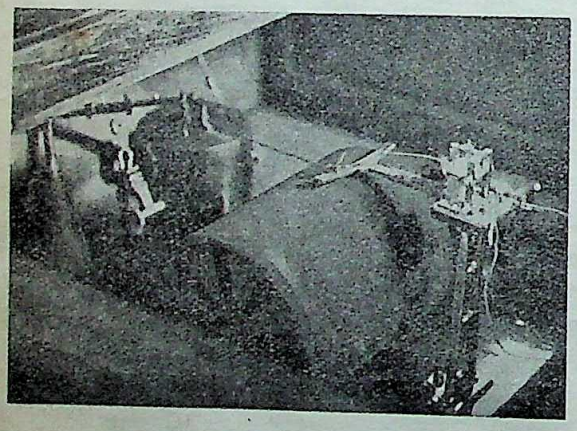
was visible after the Assam earthquake of 1897. After the great Californian earthquake of 1906 which destroyed the city of Sanfrancisco the fault could be traced for 200 miles. The main cause of the majority of the earthquakes is some fault or fracture in the earth's crust, but a few others are suspected to be contributory causes, such as variations in atmospheric pressure, unusual difference in rainfall in mountains and plains or disturbance due to a distant earthquake though these theories have not yet been satisfactorily proved. These factors may be decisive when some fault is already at a critical stage. A great earthquake near Greenland last November and the coming of the cold wave (with accompanying disturbance of the atmospheric pressure) from the Panjab to Bengal between the 11th and 14th of January, have been suggested as the immediate causes of the Bihar earthquake at intervals of one week. Another big shock has been recorded somewhere in East Indies on February 15.

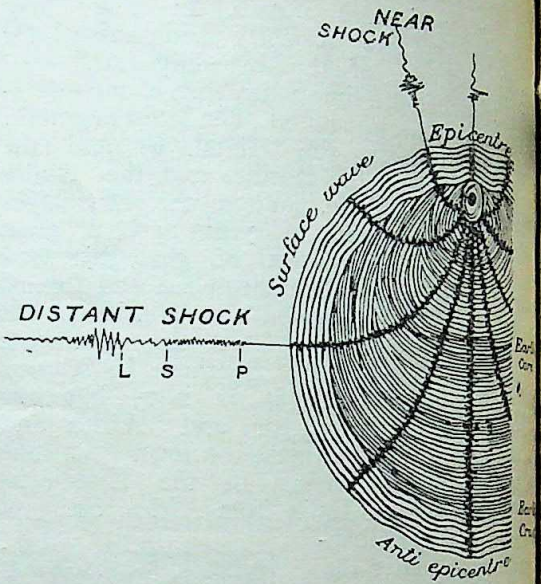
Instruments for study of Earthquakes

The instruments which are used in recording and studying earthquake motions are known as



Photograph of a Seismograph

seismographs. The type generally used in India is shown in the picture. The place inside the earth's crust where the disturbance giving rise to an earthquake actually takes place is known as the *focus or the centre* and the point on the earth's surface vertically above the focus is called the *epicentre*. As mentioned above the disturbance at the focus compresses the rocks and also gives them a twisting motion and these two types of waves spread out throughout the volume of the earth until they emerge on the surface. They are technically known as the longitudinal, or P-waves and torsional or S-waves. P denotes primary, S denotes secondary. But the disturbance reaching the epicentre gives rise to a third class of waves which throw the surface of the earth into violent undulations. They are known as the surface waves. They are the slowest but most destructive but they quickly get weaker and weaker on spre... farther and farther from the epicentre. ... this has been clearly illustrated in the a... panying diagram. Of the three types, the pr... or the P-waves travel with a velocity of ... six miles per second. The secondary or



Diagram

S-waves are slower and the surface waves wh... are called L-waves (large waves) are still slow... having respectively about half and one-third t... speed of the P-waves. Therefore, in any seis... graph, the primary waves are first recor... having come first and are known as *prelim... tremors*. Then come the secondary waves wh... are more violent, and closely following are t... surface L-waves which cause all destruct... The farther is the seismograph placed from t... earthquake, the greater will be the interv... between the primary, secondary and the l... waves. In fact, a knowledge of these interv... enables the seismologists to calculate how f... from his station the earthquake has occurr... The Seismograph record of the Bihar earthqua... obtained at the Colaba Observatory, Bomb... (kindly lent to the Physics Department of ... Allahabad University by Dr. S. C. Roy, Direc... of the Observatory) is reproduced here a... clearly shows that three sets of waves were com... one after the other. The difference in ... between the P and the S-waves is 162 secon... from which the distance of the epicentre fr... Colaba comes out to be 950 miles. A simi... record taken at Calcutta was also sent ... Allahabad at the request of the Departments ... Physics by Dr. S. N. Sen, Director of the Allah... Observatory, but this is not reproduced here, ... the station being close to the scene of distu... bance, the apparatus was put out of action. B... from the records of a less sensitive apparatus ... Dr. Sen calculated the distance to be about ...

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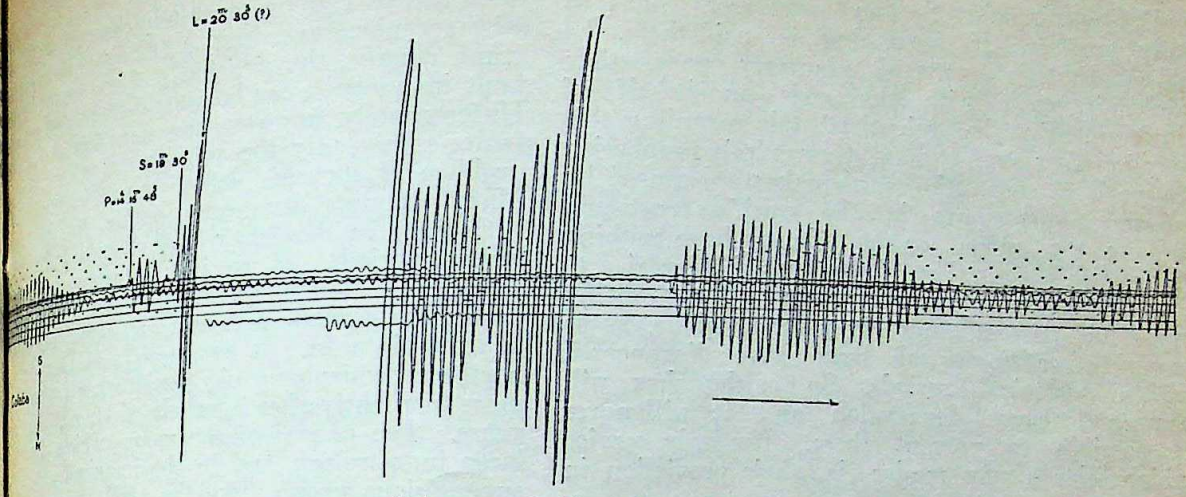

Seismograph Record

Distances from other seismographic stations are similarly calculated: Kodaikanal 1400 miles, Agra 150 miles, Kew (London) 4600 miles. From these distances, Dr. Roy calculated the centre of disturbances to be roughly located at longitude 86° 15′ East, and at the parallel of latitude 26° 15′ North, which is a point a little to the east of Sitamari just on the Nepal border. This location agrees with the findings of the local report, for the region round Sitamari suffered most. But probably the disturbance took place over a large area as in the earthquake of 1897.

The actual position of the epicentre can also be known from one station from the direction in which the ground moves, and the distance of the epicentre. A more reliable method is to compare the reports of three or more different observations. But the best method of finding the position of the epicentral tract is by actual geological survey which has now been undertaken by the officers of the Indian Geological Survey in Northern Bihar.

No satisfactory method has yet been discovered for finding accurately the depth of the focus below the surface, though several approximate methods are in use. It has however been estimated that generally the focus may not be far from the surface up to a depth of 30 miles. Generally the Italian earthquakes have been very near the surface but the Indian earthquakes are distinguished by possessing very deep foci, sometimes reaching a depth of 450 miles.

Delicate seismographs have added immensely to our knowledge of the earthquake phenomena. We now know that about 30,000 shocks occur annually of which only a fraction is felt. So that the astrologer is quite safe in his predictions, for an earthquake takes place in every third year. But the number of big earthquakes is small and though we do not usually feel the shock for more than three or four minutes, yet the tremor really lasts for a much longer time and dies down only gradually. After a great disturbance, a series of milder shocks of varying intensities may continue for months or even years, because small adjustments of the earth's crust continue to take place and some time is needed to attain a stable equilibrium. This has also been the experience in Bihar. These after-shocks are rarely dangerous. In India seismographs have been installed at Calcutta, Bombay, Agra, Kodaikanal and Dehra Dun and are keeping records of earthquakes. But India as a whole has no seismological laboratory on the scale Japan or Italy has organized. In fact, these two countries suffer from more disastrous types of earthquakes than India. Here is a list of some terrible earthquakes which have visited these countries. A great Japanese earthquake in 1703 is said to have taken a toll of 200,000 lives. One in 1880 remined the city of Yokohama and led to the immediate establishment of the Japanese Seismological Society. The Mino-Owari disaster of 1891 cost about 10,000 lives. Still fresh in our memory is the terrible earthquake of 1923 in which about 100,000 were killed. Besides these, Japan has been visited by severe earthquakes in 1830, 1847 and 1896. Like Japan, Italy too has been the victim of many destructive earthquakes from time immemorial. Among those which occurred in recent years are the Calabrian earthquake of 1783 in which six violent shocks were felt within a period of a month and a half; the Neapolitan earthquake of 1857 which has already been mentioned, and the terrible Messina disaster of 1908 which destroyed about a hundred thousand lives within two minutes is an event of still recent date.

'How Can We Protect Ourselves From Earthquakes?

This is a question which is being now asked by everybody. It is, of course, possible in two ways, either if a forecast of the occurrence can be correctly made or if the destructiveness of an earthquake can be minimized. Can anybody

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predict earthquakes? The astrologers have a ready answer. If something is paid them, the self-constituted agents of planetary gods, they would intercede with the gods on behalf of mankind. But the scientists' tale regarding this enquiry must sound like Cassandra's prophecies. As we have seen, the earthquakes are caused by internal movements in the earth's crust, and the sun, the moon or the planets have nothing to do with them. The forces which give rise to the quakes will remain present till probably mankind passes away from this globe, as so many other forms of lives have disappeared within geological periods. So earthquakes will come and cause devastation and it will never be possible to prevent them. The only service which science may render is their prediction in advance.

Even now the astrological almanacs, which exert so much influence on the minds of the superstitious public, contain an annual list of predictions. They predict numerous things in safely vague terms, and lucky coincidence is mightily boomed while the failures are forgotten. This article is not meant for those who would prefer to consult these encyclopaedias of superstition for earthquake prediction. The absurd methods and ridiculous beliefs of the almanac-makers are, however, far below being honoured with scientific criticism.

Scientists unlike astrologers or almanac-makers are keenly conscious of their limitations. They have to confess that in spite of their best efforts the prediction of earthquakes has not yet been achieved. But there are hopeful lines along which progress is being made. As the danger mainly lies along the existing faults, a great part of the problem would be solved if all the major faults could be completely located. When they are visible on the surface they can be mapped out by geological survey but as they are usually hidden underground far below the soil a simple survey is not of much use.

Nowadays, extensive surveys of these faults are being carried out with the aid of the gravity-variometer, a very sensitive apparatus invented by Baron von Eotvos of Hungary, which enables us to find out extremely small variations in the value of gravity in different directions. If the gravity is found to increase in a certain direction, it is presumed that below the soil, there are heavy rocks; if it decreases, the conclusion is that alluvia extends over great depths, or there is some underground cavity. In this way, the Japanese have been surveying their island, and have found that their country is situated along the length of a very dangerous fault parallel to the sea-coast whose movements give rise to destructive earthquakes.

Another method of locating dangerous faults depends on the fact that, before a great catastrophe takes place much smaller movements frequently occur all along the fault. These minor disturbances can be accurately detected by delicate seismographs, and from a study of these seismograph records, the position and the extent of the fault in question can be quite definitely ascertained. Unfortunately however, the mere location of the faults solves only the problem of 'where,' but the problem of 'when' defies the scientific effort. Many attempts have been made to find some periodicity in the occurrence of earthquakes, and several periods of various lengths have been discovered. These, however, do not hold good for destructive earthquakes and are, therefore, of little general interest. It has been said that in the northern hemisphere, big earthquakes tend to occur more frequently after intervals of 11, 22, 33 and 66 years. The phases of the moon which loom large in astrology and in the imaginations of the superstitious people, like the full moon or the new moon, or the conjunctions of planets have not been found to have any connection with earthquakes.

It has been suggested that just before a shock along some interval crack takes place, some slight of distortions might be observed on the surface with the help of some vertical pillars planted in the ground.

Any earthquake, however severe it may be, is rarely directly responsible for any loss of life. All the deaths are generally due to collapse of heavy buildings made of brick or stone, as are now common in all modern towns. Therefore, the practical method to lessen the destructiveness of an earthquake is to choose proper sites and to design buildings in such a way that they may resist the strongest shocks. These questions of site and design should be specially borne in mind by the house-builders and engineers of the northern India which has repeatedly been the victim of earthquake disasters. In Japan the engineering colleges include a special course on these problems. It has been found from experience that buildings built over soft soil are more damaged than those built on hard rock. So, therefore, in choosing a site, soft ground is to be avoided as far as possible. Grounds with unsupported sides, like the edge of a hill or bank of a river, should also be avoided. As regards design it has been seen in Japan that after the severe earthquake of 1923, both *wooden houses* and the *buildings of reinforced concrete* stood the shock well, while the ordinary brick buildings were completely destroyed. But in the fires which followed, the wooden houses were rapidly burnt up. It may, therefore, be said that the buildings of reinforced concrete are the most construction in an earthquake zone, the wooden houses are the next best. The famous seismologist Prof. Milne sums up his views in these words: "Having obtained our site, we can follow one of the two general systems of construction either to give so much rigidity to a structure that it may be likened to a steel box or to erect a building which is light but which has so much flexibility

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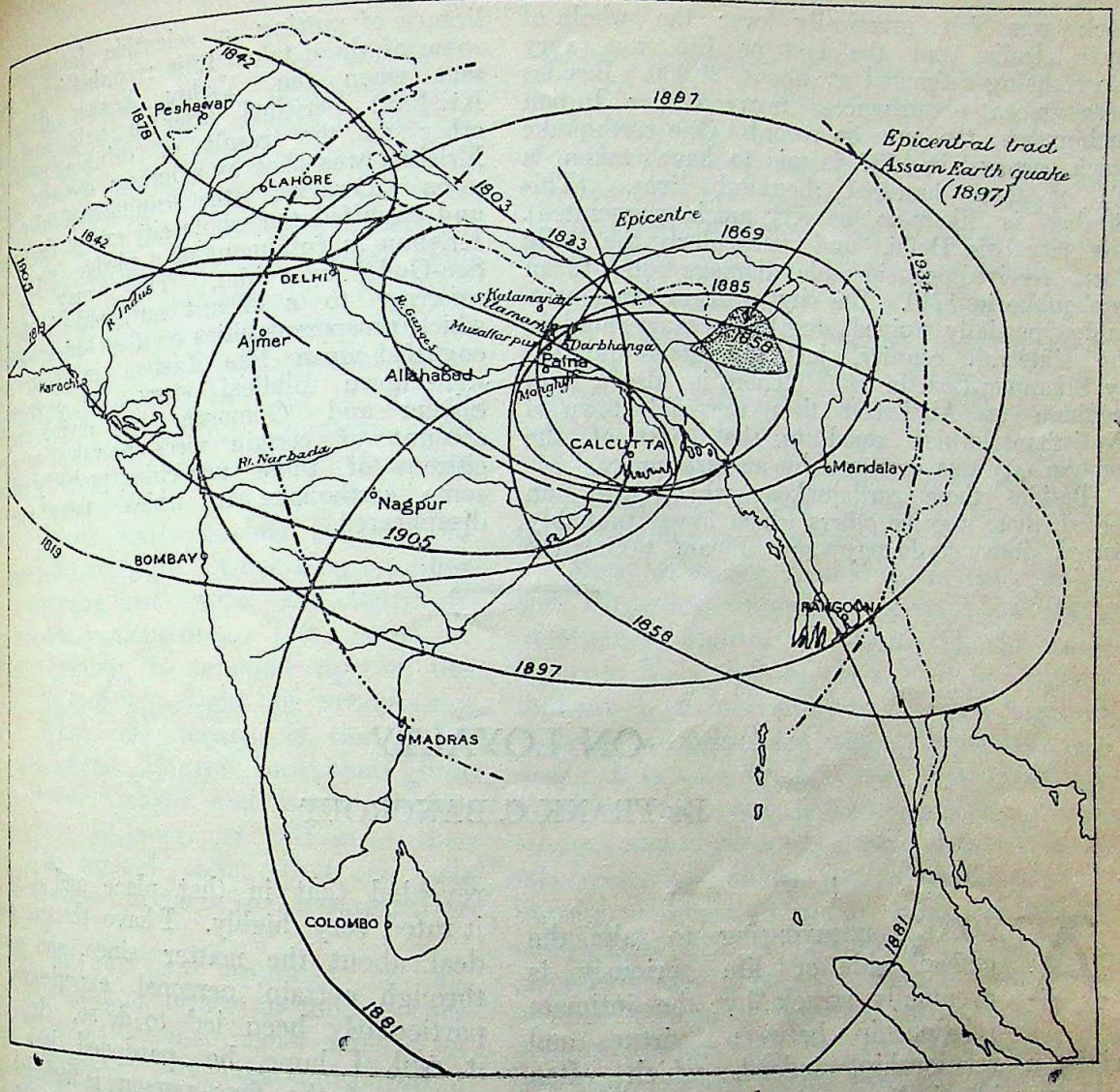

Map of India

that it may be compared to a wicker basket." In either of these structures we ought to have lightness specially in their upper parts. Even in a brick house, much can be done to improve its shock standing capacity by making the roof light by avoiding projecting balconies and by making walls thicker at the bottom and tapering at the top. One portion of the building should not be too heavy while another portion is very light and arches are to be avoided as far as possible.

The recent earthquake in Bihar, however unexpected it might have been to the general public, did not come as a surprise to the geologists. Northern India being a recent geological formation has been quite frequently visited by disastrous earth shocks while Southern India being the remnant of the old Gondwanaland has been practically undisturbed. The geologists know from past experience that the earth's crust under the Himalayas is still in tension and severe earthquakes may take place any day along this region. The map of India which is reproduced here has been redrawn from the memoirs of the Geological Survey of India by R. D. Oldham. It shows the big earthquakes which have visited India since 1800. The black lines represent the areas over which the shock was felt. Particular attention may be drawn to the earthquake of 1819 in which land bordering the Rann of Cutch on the West, having an area of 2000 sq. miles, was submerged. It contained a medieval fort called *Sindri* held by some Rajput Chiefs. Even now, at low water, the top of the Sindri Fort is sometimes visible. The great Assam earthquake of 1897 was one of the most severe, but as the epicentre, shown as a black triangular area, was in a *jungly* region the loss of life was not so severe though the town of Shillong was completely destroyed and many towns in East Bengal were severely damaged. Even at Calcutta many buildings collapsed. The next great earthquake in India was in 1905 with its principal epicentre near Simla in the Kangra valley. The

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shock was felt practically over the whole of North India and the loss of life was very heavy, being estimated at about 20,000. Besides these recent disturbances, many earlier Indian earthquakes too are on record. One earthquake which occurred in 1737 is said to have taken a toll of three hundred thousand lives. (This number is likely to be very much exaggerated). The city of Delhi, and particularly the Delhi Fort, received considerable damage due to an earthquake in 1719. The city of Agra was probably partially ruined due to the same cause in the sixteenth century, just after its foundation by Sikandar Lodi in 1490. There is also a local tradition at Allahabad that the old town of Pratisthan which stood to the east of the modern city was destroyed by an earthquake.

Besides these earthquakes which are on record, there may be others which have probably passed into mythology and I am taking the licence of putting a scientific interpretation some of these tales. It is recorded in the Pura that when the Yadav heroes (kinsmen Krishna) perished after a fight amongst other as the result of drinking carnival, Krishna was shot by a hunter, the sea encroa upon Dwarka, the capital of the Yad and engulfed the whole city except the palace Krishna in fulfilment of a pledge given to Sea-God by him. This may be d referring to a distant earthquake in the pas which prosperous cities on the Guzerat coast engulfed much like Lisbon in 1755. Ano well-known Biblical story, the destruction Sodom and Gomorah by divine angels account of certain vices prevalent amongst citizens of these two cities, probably referred some earthquake in which these two ci disappeared.

ON LOYALTY

By FRANK C. BANCROFT

I

ANYONE endeavouring to take the ethical side of life seriously is eventually struck by the intimate relationship between virtues and vices, a relationship, indeed, which often makes an identical act seem praiseworthy and reprehensible to two persons of equally good character. Perhaps no complex of human attitudes more eloquently illustrates the point than those which cluster about the word "loyalty." Generally reckoned to be a good thing, not a little can be said to prove that it is far from being the royal road to everything desirable in life. What follows is an effort to assay it, as far as possible judiciously, bearing upon both its advantages and disadvantages.

Some years ago, in connection with a news competition in Princeton University, I approached ten leading academic personalities, ranging from the president to the janitor, asking what, in their opinions, were the six most important words in the English language. Prepared independently, six of the lists gave "loyalty" the leading position, which at least revealed that in that place and at that ti it rated very highly. I have thought a go deal about the matter since, and recent through certain personal experiences, ha particularly been led to do so. According it will, I hope, be pardoned, if a certa amount of the first person is included in t analysis, for in such matters we are influenc by nothing so much as the actual choic which we ourselves are called upon to make.

There are various agencies to which man's loyalty is from time to time solicited spontaneously offered and it is largely up the basis of his reactions in these connecti that he is considered loyal or the revers like all the other virtues (if such it be) loyal can be truly known only in action, or at le in attitude. No one is abstractly either lo or disloyal. Let us begin then with the sta which is one of the largest agencies to wh the individual is connected and, incidental the one in relation to which loyalty is m commonly discussed. Should a man at s times be loyal to his country; and, if s what does such loyalty involve? Recen I had a conversation with a member of

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country's diplomatic service in which he inferred that certain actions of mine jeopardized American business interests in another country and were hence disloyal. I could think of no answer but that my actions seemed right and that business interests, whether American or otherwise, would have to arrange themselves accordingly. Not long ago thousands of English university students in many institutions stated publicly that under no circumstances would they go to war to fight for their king and country. And recently, several years back, a noted Canadian internationalist and divine was refused citizenship in the United States because he reserved in his conscience the right of deciding whether future wars were just wars, and therefore worthy of his participation. The acme of loyalty to country is summed up in the phrase: "My country, right or wrong—my country." What this means is that in a certain area of his life the individual gives up both critical thought and moral choice, and surrenders his innermost self to another agency. Many would claim that at just this point he ceases to be either a rational or a moral being.

Leaving till later any appraisal of this situation, let us look at loyalty in another very close connection, that of a man's fidelity to his creed. Most of us are born and baptized (by one rite or another) into one of the five great classical world religions. Does loyalty demand that we should live and die by this creed and do our best to start our children in the same direction? It so happens that I am a *padre* in the Anglican Church, born in America as the Episcopal Church. I took this step because I genuinely believed that in so doing I could use my life to the best advantage, both personally and socially. I suppose later I should come to feel that not only do not wish to be a professional theologist, but that one or more of the other religious systems has much to offer me—perhaps even more than that to which I was born? Am I a disloyal person if I espouse that which seems to me more ample and more true, or if I try to work out for myself a synthesis of the best teachings of several? To quote popular theology again, there is a much-beloved spiritual which runs: "Gimme dat ole-time religion—it's good enough fo' me." *Is* it good enough, necessarily? The question is, if anything, a more serious one than that of national patriotism. Most of the time one's relations to his country are quiescent and demand little thought; but if religion be anything today it is an attitude toward life as a whole and can never for a moment be left aside. Saying the old religion "is good enough for me" is tantamount to parading the fact that in every thought, attitude and deed one has bound up his judgment in a little packet and handed it over to the past, quite regardless of the offerings of the present or the intellectual and spiritual allurements of the future.

Many of us are related as students, professors, directors, or alumni to some institution or other of higher education. Should we be loyal to it, and if so, how? It so happens that my own university in America flagrantly violates two principles which I personally hold dear; it is one of the very few great universities which has never admitted a Negro student and never means to; and it is supported from its oldest foundation-stone to its newest collegiate gothic pinnacle by the endowments of super-affluent capitalists, a class I dislike. Should I wish to send a son of mine to a place which excludes one of the greatest sectors of the American population and should I year after year pay class insurance which goes to swell the already tremendous endowments? Is it disloyal of me thus to write about my Alma Mater in the public press? A similar saw can be quoted in this connection, one which for some time has been quoted in America against perfervid college loyalty: "I'd die for dear old Rutgers." As one looks back over the class-reunions he has seen in his own university, he can think of many middle-aged men for whom college loyalty was the warmest affection enshrined in their breasts. This might be regarded as an earnest of a deeply loyal nature; or, on the other hand, it might seem to some a sign of retarded adolescence, an indication that greater and more inclusive loyalties had failed to come along and put this one in its true perspective.

Once more, there is the question of loyalty to that institution in which one earns his living. If one works for National Biscuit or the Rockefeller Foundation or Santiniketan or

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Tata Steel, how much and what kind of loyalty is forthcoming from him? Must he praise everything which they do, make, or say, even when he believes the exact contrary? And is it indecorous for him to say in public what he believes about their major policies? In the negative this much can be said: There is a possible philosophy of employment which would call only for a man discharging the duties for which he was engaged to the utmost of his ability; meanwhile he is free to think and say what he wishes about the whole, it being clearly understood, of course, that he runs the risk of being discharged as a result. Has a high official in the Public Works Department the right to publish adverse facts about the Education Department, or does the fact that he receives a salary from H. M. I. G. mean that he forfeits the right to an opinion in public on any and all of its departments? Put in its broadest sense the question becomes: When a business concern purchases the services of a man, does it also purchase his conscience, his intelligence, and his human right to express himself in public?

Lastly, we come to the most difficult arena of life in which to compute the value of loyalty, *i. e.*, that of the family. In India, where families ramify indefinitely and where loyalty to them has traditionally been considered one of the very great virtues, the issue is an even greater one than in the West, where it is severe enough. There are many kinds of family loyalty, including obligation to pay back to parents economic hardships borne by them in the child's infancy; shaping one's life so as to carry on the family's traditions and aims; obeying the will of parents in marriage; and upholding a family member when one knows that he is entirely in the wrong. This aspect of loyalty reaches its apogee in marriage, and if it can be shown that even here complete loyalty is not necessarily a good thing, perhaps this will indicate that the other relationships can also bear inspection. We will leave aside such matters as the rapidly-growing acceptance of divorce in the West, and experimentation with *trial-marriage* (both of which are corollaries to the proposition that instantaneous, complete, and eternal loyalty are not necessarily involved in marriage). Let us think of a single pair. If, after ten years conjugal union resulting in three children being born, the husband begins to beat the wife, to neglect the children, to give himself to all the major vices, and to absent himself from home for weeks on end, is the wife called upon to be loyal to the end? And even if after two years and the birth of no children at all, the husband finds that the wife is a chronic shrew and nag, that she shares none of his life-interests, and that living with her only prevents his becoming anything that he might become, should he be loyal for the next forty?

I can well remember the day eight years ago when I came to an understanding with my mother about loyalty. I told her plainly that though I would find the deepest joy in contributing to her happiness when possible, I should, in all matters which seriously affected my own life, make my own choices, even if they were diametrically opposed to her wishes. Although to some this may seem a breach of loyalty, in our own case it only put the relationship on a firmer ground of comradeship, and thenceforth I always valued and sought her advice even more than theretofore.

II

What has preceded is intended by no means as a wholesale indictment of loyalty. No society of any kind is possible without certain adhesions which engender loyalty. The opposite of any kind of loyalty at all is the sheer individualism of the pre-man wandering through the jungle in search of food. Obviously, if there is to be common enterprise, there must be loyalty of some kind. If most of us would agree that crass individualism of this type is undesirable, perhaps there will also be some unanimity that 100 p. c. loyalty in any of the relationships dealt with above is hardly more palatable, and of course it would be very easy to show how terrific conflicts between those two agencies would make it impossible, and eventually throw the matter back upon private judgment. Instances are unnecessary, but just to make the point clear we will recall the case of a man who felt patriotically impelled to go to war but knew that it was to kill his father if he did; or of one whose re-

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ous convictions drew him further and further apart from his wife. Galsworthy has already dealt sufficiently with this point in *Conflicting Loyalties*. It may all be summed up by saying that even if this type of loyalty were desirable, it is clearly impossible.

But loyalty there must be, and it now remains for us only to describe the form which it should take. But "form" it will *not* be, for individuals and societies vary, and one man's meat is another man's poison, one country's is another country's, etc. The trouble arises from seeing the question too narrowly and demanding of all others that they should have the same kind, quantity, and intensity of loyalty as ourselves—or the same lack of it. Loyalty is not so much a virtue or vice as a type of temperament, and there will naturally and inextricably be more or less of it in certain individuals. Although such loyalty may not appeal to us, how many noble books have been written about family loyalty and how many noble lives have been offered at its shrine. Some people's whole psyches are tied up with their own family groups, and if the aims and standards of the families be high, such deep affection and co-ordinated effort produces very valuable results. A few months ago an aged and revered teacher of Santiniketan passed away. He was one of the original staff of the institution and had poured more than forty years of his life into it. There are men in high positions all over Bengal today who look back to his leadership with grateful affection. No doubt in forty years he must have witnessed a good many things which were not as he or anyone would have wished them; this is inevitable in such an institution. But I imagine he never wrote a word against the *Ashram* in his life. It lay too near his heart. Who could deny that such loyalty to an institution has its uses, both in its inner life and in the contribution it is able to make to society as a whole? Again, take patriotism. There is a certain stage in the evolution of national life in which it seems the highest of the virtues. Recently we honoured the memory of C. R. Das, who stated plainly that his religion was patriotism. Garibaldi will always be honoured in Italy, George Washington in America, and Lenin in Russia—all as great patriots and as men who were willing to lay aside lesser loyalties and give themselves to the one great issue at hand—the freeing of their countries. And then there are the Jesuits. Some time back it was my pleasure to meet a group of young Jesuit fathers in Kurseong. Most of them were my countrymen, and they had a warm affection for their motherland, but it was nothing as compared with the deep fire of their loyalty to the Catholic Church. For centuries Jesuits have known no jungle too thick to penetrate, no desert too dry to traverse, and no sea too wide to encircle, in their effort to carry the Gospel to the whole world. Whether or not one can agree with their theology, he cannot deny that they have brought great blessings, both temporal and spiritual, to millions of needy people. Even college loyalty has something to say for it, especially when it represents a forward step in widening loyalties. I can remember three girls at a student Christian conference in America who took a considerable plunge in deciding that they should stop being loyal to their sororities (women's fraternities) and begin to be loyal to the greater good of their university as a whole!

But there is a possible loyalty beyond any or all of these, and it is its adherents who are sometimes branded disloyal by members of the other cults. It is the loyalty to truth in its fulness and to mankind in its entirety. If one once admits that individual development is along lines of expanding loyalties, it is the only logical stopping place. Many who would not feel particularly guilty in jeopardizing American business interests might stop at economic practices and standards which endanger the well-being of man as a tribe. Likewise, those who will not in all cases and under all conditions obey their parents' will might prove considerably interested in measures to humanize child-birth or to provide widows' pensions. And even those who desert their creeds and churches may still maintain a considerable thirst for the truth about God, man, and their relationship. Only they see things dynamically, and are, therefore, chary of hooking themselves up to any specific and limiting loyalties lest these prove lethal to the larger and more universal ones.

The Hindu religion has always been wise

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in realizing that there are at least two kinds of good life on the earth; that which is attached and that which is unattached. There has always been the "holy" man and the "worldly" man. Few of us today would care to be either holy or worldly, but there is nevertheless a good deal of meaning in the ideas behind the words. Some will be agriculturists and herdsmen and some explorers, and both will contribute to human economy. But none will entirely fall into either group, at least none whom we shall take seriously. If a few wish to plunge into fanatic loyalty on the one hand or to fly away into the unreal freedom of the recluse on the other, let them do so. The rest of us will be found somewhere along the middle distances of attachment and detachment. But this much (at least) is sure (to paraphrase the famous lines of Shakespeare): loyalty to any person or agency is worth but little to him or it, to oneself, or to the world, if it be bought at the price of a fundamental disloyalty to the truth as one sees it.

ALL-INDIA ART EXHIBITION—CALCUTTA

By J. K. SEN

THE All-India Art Exhibition held in the Indian Museum this year attracted considerable notice owing to some extraordinary features associated with its success. Calcutta is accustomed to exhibitions and pageants every year during the X'mas holidays and a huge public flock to the many attractions of the city. Some art-exhibitions also naturally open their doors at this time, when the season is in full swing. The All-India Art Exhibition held this year owes its inception to some new ideals. It was held under the auspices of the Academy of Fine Arts—an institution recently started in Calcutta. It invoked a storm of resentment in some other parts of India for no other reason than that it ventures to crystalize an All-India Organization consolidating the multifarious art activities of India as a whole. One would have scarcely suspected that any such institution whose avowed object was an adjustment of the vast field of Art could arouse jealousy or heart-burning in any other place. Coteries and cliques there must be here and there and new schools or passing vogues must exact their homage in their own ways. There could, however, be no question that some place to study all these movements as a whole from year to year is a necessity. A vast amount of art-activities is controlled by the Government of British India and those of the Indian States and they should not be allowed to stand alone, for their co-operation is a *sine qua non* to the success of any All-India Art Exhibition worth the name. The success of this year's affair could be gauged by the fact that the leading Indian Princes not only graced the Exhibition with their presence but extended to it their warm patronage. Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Willingdon also evinced a keen interest in it and their visit was intended practically to put on a firm footing the foundations of this concern. Sir John Anderson too, so long unknown as a lover in this quarter, came forward to shower his blessings and in a neat speech remarked that the Jubilee of this Art Academy would be an accomplished fact in future. These and other features seemed to have created a halo of hope round the activities of the Academy of Fine Arts, one of whose Secretaries undertook the arduous task of visiting the leading centres of art in every part of India so as to enlist their enthusiastic support for the cause.

The scope of the Exhibition was happily wide enough to embrace within it the art activities of both Eastern and Western types and also the new forms of beauty through which the world is now eager to shadow forth its new experiences. The authorities also made arrangements to exhibit original paintings of some western masters, such as those of Sir Edward Burn Jones and Alma Tadema and these produced a great impression on the visitors who had never an occasion in India to see a genuine original masterpiece of this type. There were also types from oriental orthodox and archaic schools and as usual they monopolized the attention of the foreigners who are fond of the "curios" in the East. In fact the corridors of the Indian Museum constituted for a time a picture gallery of an entrancing nature. The range of pictures reflected the many moods India is passing through and the mosaic of her experience got reflected in the many specimens of creative enthusiasm exposed to public view. The common ground of beauty of every type or class could, however, never be lost sight of in

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exhibition of this type. Beauty is not to be relegated from racial or territorial view-points and is a common possession of humanity. No one fails to enjoy a St. Sophia or a Taj—an Ajanta or a Horyuiji—because of their ethnic or racial background. It would be shocking to introduce these limitations in a consideration of the cosmos of beauty. In this Exhibition all the schools that have any chance to impress the Indian mind—the most go-ahead and the most archaic—had their chance to secure the approval or praise of the visitors who thronged the Indian Museum. We noticed the brush-creations of the ultra-modern expressionist of India in a field filled up with specimens of solemn and restrained beauty of Indian ancient type. In fact India confronts today a parting of ways. The lovers of the old and the antique, the bizzare and the archaic die hard and India is hardly free to breathe in the new atmosphere that has overtaken the world as has been the privilege of Japan, China and Turkey who refused to compromise their present outlook with the lingering love for the ancient and the defunct, which had no doubt their unquestionable draws. The nations of the world today whether in the East or the West are confronted with problems that were unknown and unthought of only a few years ago and they are out to express their new experience in fresh terms and settings. This has resulted in the cementing of a common fellowship in the world today. While the other nations have in a common creative call taken on their back—Atlantas-like—the burden of a common aesthetic urge, it does not behove India to remain aloof from this forward march which would mean to her a loss of a most vital nature. The world today is ready in shreds and tatters and it is only the visionaries of both the hemispheres who are trying to create a cosmos out of a chaos. No doubt the tongues of war and disruption are at their sinister business forging weapons for mutual destruction but let no one forget that the infinite man behind is not idle but is rapt in weaving new visions of beauty in the term of the man of today on his Cross. Out of the travail of today the coming order is casting its shadows and the very fetters of the age might prove the charters of a new freedom tomorrow. Not the flicker, the shadows and the mock phantasies of yester-day, whether of the East or the West, but the grim realities frowning ahead that must find their rhythmic imprints on the canvas of modern art. Not fiddling away with the past order becoming itself out before our very eyes but angering forward the joyous ensign of today—that should be the task of the artist today. From Europe is not today what she was a decade ago. New hopes have emerged, new visions flickered and new cycles evolved out of the agony and chaos of a war that left a heritage of strange wealth for ages to come. In the East the shock of that explosive outburst reverberated in no small measure. In Japan the world realized a new transfiguration through the shadows of her wonderful art, which visionaries stirred with hashish of modernism hurried to offer to the world. China also came forward with a grim response born of a realization of actualities which gave no quarter to effete and antiquated dreams. There is no scope for idling away with fantastic dreams, finding solace in a pigtail philosophy offering a questionable solution—nor a fez-worship within the harem of a Turkish bath following the smoky trails emerging out of pipe and conjuring up Arabian Nights with demons coming of pitchers. These were the lullabies to soothe the orientals of yesterday and keep them out of harm's ways. The epoch of 'shorts and shirts' however spells a new philosophy even in the East where the new generation has hurried forth from his home in the quest of a new mirage in the burning sands and under a scorching sun: Who knows what glad tidings of great joy await these new pilgrims on their journey?

The role of India in these new settings must, therefore, be seriously considered. Is she to remain outside the pale of the new march? Should her artist while away their precious soul-force in search of touchstone lost for ever? It is a pleasure to find in this Exhibition silent forces at work which reveal the unity and the universality of the growing world-consciousness. Even India seems to be suffering from the malady of the world and she seems to be anxious to express herself in the new language of art that is getting itself broadcasted from day to day. The world is nearer today to man than at any time in past history; swift means of locomotion, of transference of news, in fact, of expression as a whole have worked out a new miracle undreamt of yesterday. These must have their reflex in the shaping of a common culture today. The age of machine is exacting its toll of victims and while it is effecting a new metamorphosis in international relationship through breakdowns outside and unemployment at home its invasion of our hearths and homes has none the less been less acute. In India a curious amalgam of ideas and an indecision of thought hound every home in no uncertain ways. Some of her people are yet found to harp on the glory of yesterday and thus create a type of pseudo-orientalism based on mock sentiments which are taken quite seriously. The western partiality for oriental curios produced a type of commercial art in Japan and the same has happened in India too. On the other hand, every home is getting daily filled up—there could be no denying the fact—with photographs turned out in their hundreds and hailed in every home. This call for the photo-graph—the most hollow type of realistic rendering—reveal that the outlook in India too is not the same as it was yesterday when the drawings of artists only found universal favour through their old world charms. The orthodox oriental mood,

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therefore, seems to have got suffocated with the pressure of this new lure. This is leading to a steady deterioration of the creative impulse itself. The call of beauty fails under the circumstances to function in a normal way if the artists are harnessed to produce things after defunct forms. The age that has ebbed away must not dictate the terms of the figuration of today. The violation of natural laws leads to a chaos which could never be remedied easily. There is no question about the exceeding beauty of creations of the classic age, but unfortunately the realities of today are different. In this Exhibition we find some of the artists tackling these new problems with courage and vigour. Indian culture, however, must have always in it the creative flavour and aroma of ages gone by and even in expressions through the aesthetic language of today that aroma is not lost and the subtleties of Indian psychology leave their muslin-like impress. Even in the field of portraiture an Indian artist offer rhythmic qualities which it would be difficult to encounter elsewhere. This Exhibition furnishes us with an idea as to how India might contribute to the wealth of creative beauty in the terms of the modern age. In fact, one gets astonished at the achievements of some of the young artists. The black-and-whites, water-colours and the etchings reveal successful fields in which the artists have used their brush with success. In fact, the new nationalism of India is really working itself out in a sphere in which the world can appreciate her at her best. The West, in fact, offers her the hand of fellowship in this new brotherhood in the realm of beauty. To omit these new types of expressions from the category of modern expression even in India means a lamentable blindness to realities that must have their say and probably must sweep away some day the mummied doctrines of a fossilized age. The new desire for world-fellowship in art is working surely but slowly. In India Tagore the Poet came forward to express India's response to the call of the world and he couched it in a language intensely modern—certainly not his own. The music of this poetry was heard from the farthest corners of the earth. His paintings too cast after the modern expressionist type had their queer urge in a kaleidoscopic series of figurations. G. Tagore with his painting was another link to connect India to the world of today while even Abanindra Tagore with his portraits and animal figures show that he refuses to remain for ever in the cell of an oriental hermit away from the multi-coloured expressional epic which the world is anxious to figurate. Neither the world of a Shakespeare, an Angelo or a Dante in the West—not that of an Ajanta or a Genzi in the East—but a world intensely alive and burning with the rush of live problems and forces dashing past us and suffocating us by their urge—should be the immediate concern of this age. In India the problems of the world and their expressions take a new colour in the light of her synthetic outlook. She has always been the haunt of the artists of the world, for her wealth of beauty has no parallel elsewhere. Why should not Indian artist be alive to it so that its many phases might be delivered as messages from the East? The artists of the Exhibition, organized by the Academy of Fine Arts, deserve well of the world. Through them the world of art must be freed from the coarse commercial octopas that is eating into the very vitals of Indian figurations. A ramble through the exhibition gave one an idea of the weird of Indian atmosphere—the weird gifts of nature the marvellous colours of the sky and the dramatic situations with which one is confronted so easily in this country. The panorama of bathing ghats, the village pageants, the misty mornings, the scintillating glows of vanishing twilights, the sun-burnt desert and the variety of ethnic forms—all crowd the canvases in a bewildering way. In no single centre of the world could one find rhythmic wonders of such divergent types. The artists of the west therefore always flock to India for inspiration. It is proper that her artist too should explore the fountain of her expressive beauty. The expressions of India must not satisfy merely the lovers of the antique and the curious who seek to stifle the inspiration of the passing hour. The organizers of the Academy have however given sufficient scope not only to the new artists wielding modern weapons but also to the erratic enthusiasts of the orthodox oriental school. Promod Chatterji, Sarada Ukil, Ramendra Chakravarty, Bhuban, Barman and others are there to occupy a decent niche with their haunting dreams. The charming presentations of an old-world idealism always find a response in this country for the present age is to some of us a nightmare of the worst type. Like *kirtan* music, Vaishnava poetry and old folk-paintings, they have a music of their own that could never be dismissed or rivalled in their own field. Perhaps Jamini Roy's archaic school reveals a stronger creative vigour which must find response in these days of weak sentimentalism and sophisticated fads. Productions of this type produce an effect similar to enacting a Shakespearean drama on a modern stage with which one feels disgusted at this time. But the attempts of other artists in different fields to put new feathers to their caps are very significant too. Excellent landscapes in a setting with wonderful warmth of colour not often found in western products, appeared as revelations before the visitors. Their subtle charm and subdued tones could only be supplied by Indian artists alone. The artist of the West and of India have come and joined hands in an attempt for an expression of universal beauty. The universal language of art is a common medium for all. Let not artists from the East falter and grow nervous when they find new forces, ideals

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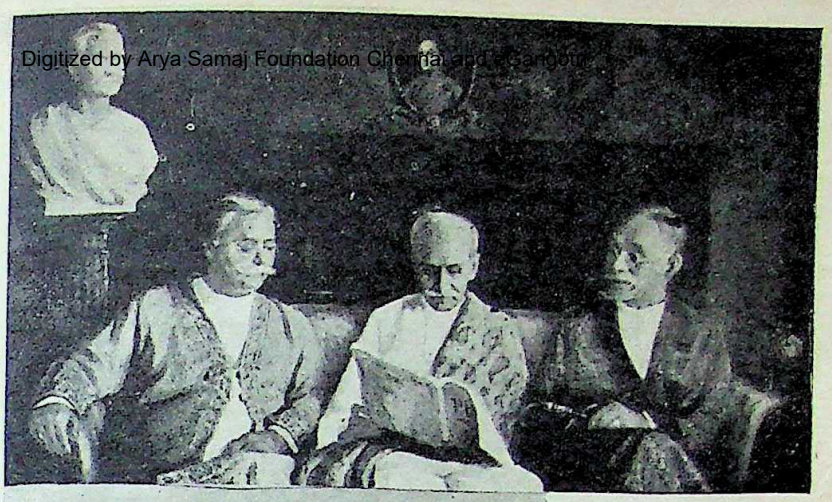
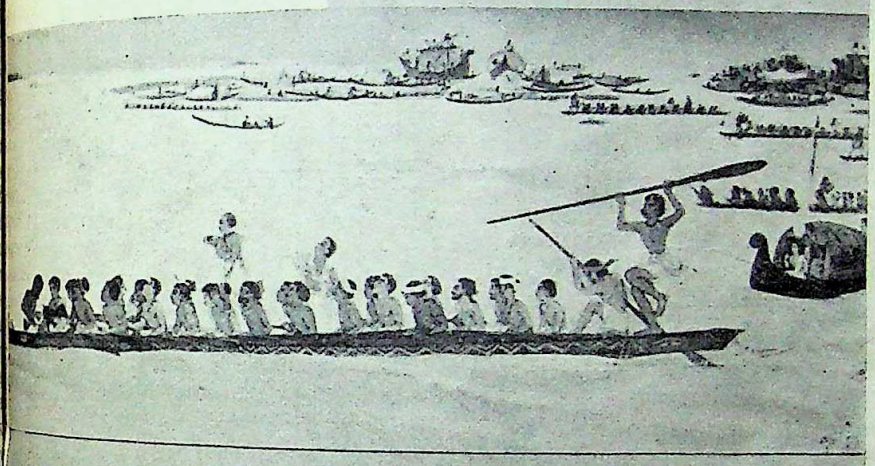


Three Ganguli Brothers.
By Atul Bose



Boat Race.
By Asit Kumar Roy

Left, Grandmother's Pet. By Rash Behary Datta
Above. Cluster of Huts (Muzaffarpur).
By Jogesh Chandra Sinha

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By the courtesy of Elizabeth Dyson

KAMA DEVA

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...modes of expression before their eyes. The ...ctural possessions of the worlds are now in ...e melting pot. The heir-looms of yesterday ...e suffering a strange metamorphosis. A thing of ...ary ventures today to transcend the limitations ...h which it was fettered in days gone by. The ...setting offered today in a common world ...sciousness is far-reaching in the gestures and ...ental propositions are being put forward ...in new colours and rhythms. It is a ...sure to find in this exhibition how divergent ...s have been brought together to constitute ...erb aesthetic feast which all could partake. ...ndranath Prodyot Kumar Tagore, through whose ...s the function had been a great success, must ...ngratulated and the secretaries too should ...e their due share of commendations for their ungrudging labour in this connection. The well-known artist Mr. Atul Bose has been a leading spirit in connection with the organization not only of the Academy of Fine Arts started under happy auspices but also of its offspring, *e.g.*, the All-India Art Exhibition which has been accepted as a great venture of the day. One hears that the sale of the pictures brought in a sum of nearly 25,000 rupees which is not a mean sum for poor artists suffering from neglect and poverty. In fact, it has been a great achievement which has catered to the spiritual hunger of the people and has been instrumental in offering the greatest possible support to artists of all types in these days of depression. We hope that the Academy would continue its beneficent activities in these lines in future as well.

LIQUIDATION OF ILLITERACY IN SOVIET RUSSIA

By Dr. G. S. KHAIR, M. A. (Bombay), A. M. (Columbia), Ph. D. (New York)

Education For All

WHEN I visited the headquarters of the Liquidation of Illiteracy Society in Moscow, the directors told me a touching experience. An old woman ...ed near a department store with a big ...-board over it. She saw this sign a ...sand times in her life, but the big bold ...ers did not mean anything to her. She ...ed one of the literacy circles. After three ...ks, she walked in one evening and burst ... tears. Today she could read the sign-...rd, an unexpected event in her life. This ...y is typical of the transformation going ... in the adult population of the Soviet ...ion.

Russia has produced the educational ...vel of the twentieth century. Within less ...n fifteen years, she has wiped out the shame ... illiteracy from her society. In 1917, ...enty per cent of her people could not read ...d write. After fifteen years of strenuous ...k, the percentage of illiteracy has been ...ught down to twenty-six. This includes ...y old people and those that live in remote ...ts of the country. These unfortunate ...ple lost their chance of learning the letters when they were young. Now the school is being brought within their reach. Take an evening walk through any of the city streets in Russia; you will see hundreds of grown-up people going busily with brief-cases in their hands. They are going to school. If you peep through the lighted windows opening on the streets, you will see one or two schools in each block. Men and women are sitting with books and writing materials in front of them. Thousands of such evening classes are scattered all over the country—in factories, on the farms, in the red army, wherever three or more people can come together and learn the mysteries of the three R's.

Literacy Under the Czars

Today the Russian people seem to be hungry for education. For centuries, they were kept in ignorance and illiteracy by the Imperial Government of the Tsars and their bureaucracy. Occasionally there was an enlightened monarch who favoured education and introduced some free schools. But on the whole education was looked upon with suspicion. The rulers were afraid that ... would only help the forces of freedom dormant

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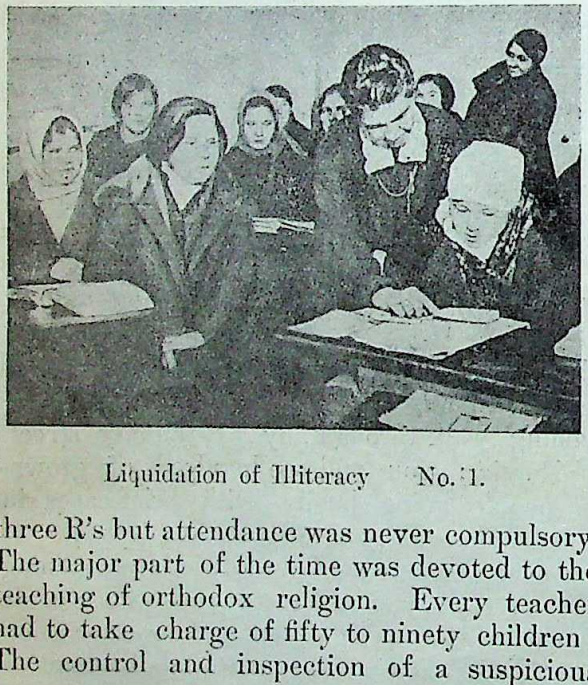
among the people. Shishkov, the Educational Minister of Alexander I, revealed the mind of the Russian rulers when he said, "To teach the mass of people or even the majority of them how to read, will bring more harm than good." No wonder that in the scale of Western nations, Russia stood lowest in the field of education. In 1904, the percentage of school-going population was three in Russia, as contrasted with twenty-three in the U. S. A., nineteen in Germany and sixteen in France and England. A few free schools imparted instruction in religion and in the



Liquidation of Illiteracy No. 1.

three R's but attendance was never compulsory. The major part of the time was devoted to the teaching of orthodox religion. Every teacher had to take charge of fifty to ninety children ! The control and inspection of a suspicious bureaucracy was so thorough that it crushed out of the system everything that had the possibility of enlightening the people.

Education as a Social Tool

Educational change follows in the footsteps of a political change. The United States, after their separation from England, started on a new experiment of democratic education. When the monarchy collapsed and a new form of Government was set up in Germany, the old educational system was overhauled. The recent National Socialistic regime in Germany is ushering in drastic changes in the educational programme. The same is true of Fascist Italy. In Russia, the political change of 1917 was followed by a change on all fronts, including education. I no other country has the cultural change be so thorough-going as in the Soviet Union.

The Russian leaders were faced with t task of uplifting a hundred and fifty milli people, kept in illiteracy, ignorance, a poverty, for centuries. At least a centur more would have been required to teach thes people to read and write through the proces of a normal cultural evolution. The Russian wanted an instrument that would bring abo a speedy transformation in society. Th took hold of education as a means of soci uplift. The development of the Sovi educational machinery with all its varie and immensity, is simply unparalleled in th history of human culture. Many countri have used education as an instrument t achieve national ideals, but no one has be so logical, so definite, and so thorough in th application of this principle to a conscio social purpose.

The political change in Russia had est lished a new social order. To insure the l of this new society, the leaders wanted t educate the proletariat in its underlyi philosophy. Keen students of the histor of radical changes all over the world, th Russians wanted to avoid the errors commit by their leaders. Most of these changes have be followed by reactions, because the comm people were never thoroughly initiated in the principles of the new social changes. T avoid that mistake, the Soviet leaders ha been very quick in taking hold of the educa tional machinery and moulding it in favou of the new ideals. Education in Russia i something more than learning the three R and the other subjects of the school curricul

During the Tsarist regime, the worke and farmers had little opportunity for educa tion. When, therefore, the champions of t proletariat came into power, the gates learning were thrown wide open to the mass of workers and peasants. The emancipati of the people from illiteracy became an im portant item in the programme of the ne regime. On December 26, 1919, Le signed the decree ordering the liquidation illiteracy in all the states of the Soviet Uni For a nation which has to liquidate illiteracy of more than three hundred milli

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...ople, the recent educational activity in ...ussia is worth careful perusal.

Organization for Literacy

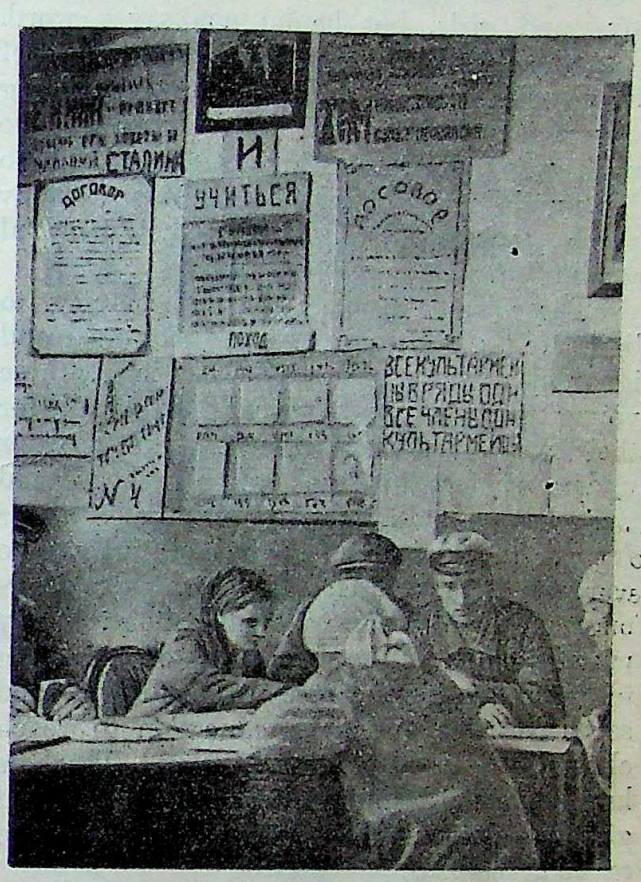
It is important to note that the movement ...w called "Down with Illiteracy," is carried ...o mostly by voluntary agencies backed up ...d encouraged by the State. It is the work ...f the party in power and its branches through- ...the country. The personnel of the move- ...nt is organized on the basis of free service ...the Youths and members of the party. ...the head of the whole organization is the ...preme Council to plan and direct the ...vement. Below this are the Provincial ...ncils and the Regional Councils to carry ...the policies and programmes laid down ...the Supreme Council. To attend to the ...ils of the movement the Supreme Council ...organized into various departments :

(1) Department for organizing Schools
(2) Department of Study and Curricula
(3) Department for mass Activities
(4) Finance Department
(5) Planning Department.

...ll the Provincial Councils have similar ...partments or brigades.

...The local councils start their work by ...ing out the extent of illiteracy in their ...a. Public opinion is then organized in ...our of carrying on literacy activities there. ...th literate and illiterate persons participate ...the movement. Units or Clubs are estab- ...ed in factories, in workshops, on the farms, ...the army or wherever it is possible to ...ther a few persons anxious to learn. To ...rm a unit, it is enough to have at least three ...mbers. There are a number of people ...o are half literate or who have lapsed into ...eracy. Once out of the school, they had ...casion to use their training for a number ...years. These people now attend the ...eracy centres.

The whole movement is self-supporting. All ...e members pay a certain amount of regular ...scriptions. Factories and other organizations ...ve contributions. The subscriptions and ...ntributions of the members are sufficient to ...y educational materials and to defray the ...all expenditure of the local establishments. ...The sincerity and enthusiasm of the ...vement is shown by its symbolism. Buttons ...d insignia of various types are given to the workers of this cultural enterprise. The dynamic force of the activity is shown by the military terminology borrowed for a peaceful propaganda. The departments of the District



Liquidation of Illiteracy No. 2.

Councils are called 'brigades' and the voluntary teachers are called the 'Cultural Army'.

I visited some of the centres where this work is carried on, and there found persons of all ages, men and women. The directing and organizing work is generally undertaken by elderly persons and the responsibility of teaching is accepted by the Komsomols. This is an organization of the party for young people of the age of thirteen to twenty-four. These youths attend to their school or college work during the day, and devote their evening time to social work, literacy being the main item at present. While I was in Moscow last October, I visited a Secondary School by day. Curious to know what these young people did in the evening, I again visited the school at night and found the building alive with human beings. In one of the classes, I saw about fifty boys and girls, about the age of fourteen to eighteen. One of the boys was in the chair

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and two or three others were making some impressive arguments. The Russian language seems especially fitted for fluent speech! A teacher was sitting at the back among the boys and girls, but he did not say a word. The guide explained to me the proceedings of the meeting. The boys and girls were working to promote literacy in their district. The work was not progressing satisfactorily. So the pupils were trying to find out ways by which they could discharge their social responsibility more efficiently.

These are the people that are helping to liquidate the illiteracy of the backward and ignorant masses of Russia. Sometimes, these young teachers are physically so small for their work, that they have to take a chair under their feet to reach the blackboard and write letters for their grown-up pupils. It is funny, but unique for its sincerity. To conduct literacy circles, voluntary teachers ought to have necessary qualifications. They must have had at least four years of schooling to teach the first stage adult students and seven years of previous education to teach classes of second stage literaey. Teachers have to pass also through training courses that give them some elements of pedagogy and teaching methods.

The age of students learning at these centres of literacy ranges all the way from sixteen to fifty. In the beginning they are very pessimistic about their ability to learn at this age. As the veil of mystery over the letters is lifted up, they grow more and more confident. No fees are charged, and even books are supplied free. Owing to the greater percentage of illiteracy among women, most of the work is done among them. When mothers cannot go out of their houses, social nurses visit them at home to give the necessary training.

Eighteen months is the minimum time required to make a person literate, with nine to eleven hours of work per week. The New Russian week has only six days.

Students have to pass through two stages before getting the certificate of literacy. The first stage is reached after nine months when the adult student finishes the two years work of children. A test is given in simple reading and elementary arithmetic. The second stage comes after eighteen months when the stud... has finished the four years curriculum of t... elementary school. He is given a second te... in fluent reading, grammar, arithmetic, histor... and geography. But the Soviet concepti... of literacy does not stop with reading, writi... and arithmetic. In Russia education is nothi... if it is not accompanied with a social ideolog... The definition of adult literacy is given b... M. Kaliniki, Chairman of the Down wi... Illiteracy Society:

> Under the present conditions, to wipe o... illiteracy does not only mean to teach people t... read and write, but it is necessary to make th... understand what they have read, to teach them t... digest the printed matter in their heads, to mak... a man politically literate, to create a new m... You cannot now teach without creating ne... men.

The force of this statement will be realize... when it is known that the text-books for adu... education deal with contemporary soci... political, and economic problems and socialis... ideas. The apathy and indifference of th... masses towards learning is the greate... difficulty in such a movement, especially i... India. Russia overcomes this obstacle b... creating an environment whereby the farmer... and the workers feel that some valuab... experiences are awaiting them when the... learn to read and write. To stimulate th... desire for learning, various programmes s... organized in addition to the regular classe... There are excursions to local museums, movi... libraries, discussions, and the famous Russia... wall newspaper which is practically a featur... of every organization.

Evidence of Progress

One is apt to become suspicious about th... success of an organization which rests mos... on voluntary efforts. The figures show... the rapid fall in the percentage of illitera... during the last fifteen years will speak f... themselves.

Year.	Percentage of literac...
1897	28.9
1920	44.4
1926	52.8
1931	73.6

The special schools for the wiping out... illiteracy have been so popular that in t...

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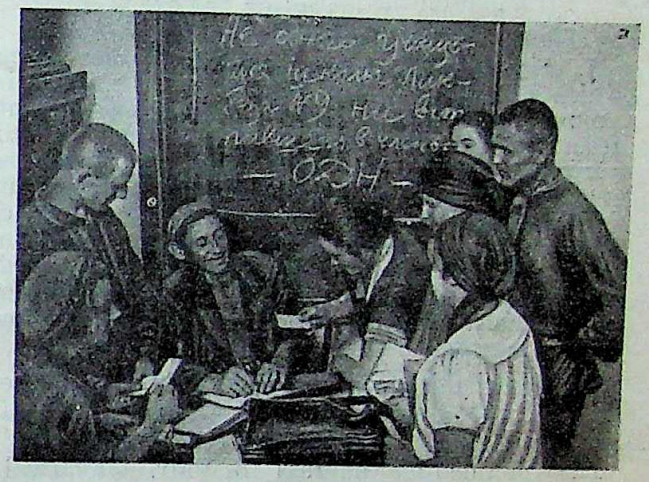
years the number of students has more than trebled.

Year.	Number of Pupils in special schools.
	456,000
1921-22	1,554,000
1926-27	13,631,000
1931-32	

Even these figures seem cold testimony to the growing literacy in Russia when one sees the living evidence of an intellectual awakening among the people. Coming through Europe and walking through the streets of Moscow and Leningrad, I was struck by the number of book-shops along the streets, all crowded with young and old people. The output of literature in Russia is tremendous because the number of readers is rapidly increasing. There is no fear that these people will revert back into illiteracy. Their interest in reading is constantly kept fresh by the publication of literature on living problems affecting the farm, the factory and the army. The publication of the wall newspaper is also a great stimulus for reading and writing. I wanted to test the reality of this advertised literacy. Armed with a Russian dictionary, I walked through the streets of cities. When in difficulty, I showed the Russian printed word to question any person who came across. During my short experience, I did not meet a person who could not read. There is not the slightest doubt that literacy has rapidly spread in Russia. The Soviet leaders are confident that illiteracy will be completely wiped out of the country during the next few years. Dr. Chatsky, one of the leaders of Soviet education, said to me with the conviction of experience, "In five years, our country will be one of the most educated countries."

Literacy is an instrument for building up a common ideology among people to hold them together for a common purpose. The printed word is a powerful means of communication in the twentieth century, but ninety-two per cent of India's people are still unable to make use of it for their enlightenment. The farmers and workers of Western countries are raising up their educational level. This is bound to affect the modes of material production and the standards of life. Can the illiterate farmers and workers of India stand competition with them? To make the whole Indian population literate would take more than two generations even through the immediate introduction of free and compulsory education. To accomplish the same task in a single generation, it must be organized as a mass movement. If the call comes from the right direction, the spirit of voluntary effort and youthful enthusiasm are present in India.



Liquidation of Illiteracy No. 3.

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MR. K. P. JAYASWAL AT THE ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

By K. K. ROY, M. A.

DR. Arthur Berriedale Keith, writing to the President on the papers of the Sixth Session held at Patna, observes (31-1-34):

> I have glanced at a number of the articles from which I learn with pleasure that, as India is prepared to take over the control of her government from British hands, so she is amply endowed to carry on, apart from Western aid, research into the inexhaustible mass of records of Indian achievement in literature, thought, science, architecture and history. This is all the more desirable, since in this country there is clearly visible a diminished interest in research, and since it is clearly easier to accumulate in India the necessary material for serious research.

The contribution of Indian scholarship at the last (seventh) session of the Conference, held at Baroda, will be found still more striking.

The presidential address of Mr. Jayaswal was heard with rapt attention by an audience of some two thousand people gathered on the floor and the galleries of the magnificent Hall of the Nyayamandir (the Baroda High Court); His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad, himself a finished speaker, at the close of Mr. Jayaswal's address broke the printed programme by taking the President's permission to speak once more, and in an extempore speech which was appreciated more than even His Highness' first address, declared that the President had marched from point to point in triumph as his name implied.

H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwad's Opening Address

His Highness Shrimant Sayaji Rao III, Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda, made the occasion of the presidential address a state affair. His Nyayamandir was tastefully decorated and at its Rajput gate was held the State *naubat* music. The President arrived and was received at 4-45 P. M. after the audience had taken their seat An interval passed after the arrival of the President; His Highness accompanied by Her Highness the Maharani Saheba arrived in State in his famous gold coach drawn by four black Arab horses, escorted by a body-guard of horsemen. The National Anthem of the Gaikwad was played and the heralds (*Nakibs*) announced the presence. Their Highnesses were led to a seat placed next to the platform of the President.

In opening the Conference as its patron, His Highness gave a survey of the field of research in general lying before the country, described his "own humble efforts" and pointed out the vastness of the work of publishing texts yet lying ahead of his own Oriental Institute He struck a novel note in pointing out the necessity for making the results of researches available to the general public through vernaculars. The Gaekwad is always practical and he rightly told the country to make the science of history an applied one.

Asiatic Culture

The same note of originality runs through his cosmopolitan suggestion regarding Asiatic culture:

> While we Indians should know our own history to see it in proper perspective, it has to be studied as a part of Asiatic history and requires at the same time some insight into the cross fertilization of cultures and the migration of races both eastwards and westwards, with the consequent conflict and synthesis of cultures. It is time our universities appreciated this aspect of modern education. The countries of Asia must understand one another and prepare to work out a new partnership in the light of past cultural relations.

Chief Points in Mr. Jayaswal's Address

Mr. Jayaswal opened his address with a brief but happy expression of felicitation at the Conference being held at Baroda under the patronage of His Highness the Gaekwad. Describing His Highness as the "modern Bhoja" Mr. Jayaswal said:

> King Bhoja made gems of ancient Hindu literature available to his contemporaries through his treatises and cyclopaedias: Maharaja Sayaji Rao III is repeating the process through his world-famous Oriental Series. He has led Indian renaissance by various measures including personal discourses, the latest being one before the Parliament of Religions at Chicago. The great Hindu Prince of Peace—Lord Buddha—you find installed prominently in his magnificent capital. A bust of R. C. Dutt is honoured in the Hall of Audience at the Lakshmi Vilasa Palace where Dr. Tagore, Sir C. V. Raman and other scholars have almost annually lectured. In his State every village possesses books; in his capital his subjects have at their disposal one of the largest libraries in India.

March of Indian Scholarship

In reviewing the march of Indian scholarship he said that he was relieved of the task as Prof. Sylvain Levi, a former President of the Oriental Conference, had just done it in a letter addressed to him, dated November 7, 1933 in which Prof. Levi said that since 1921

> Indian scholarship in India has made wonderful progress.....The many periodicals now

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published by Indian savants, can, almost all of them, compete with the best scientific journals published in the West.

Inviting Indian scholars to the study of the Avestas Mr. Jayaswal said :

Iranian and Hindu are the twin pulses of that whole grain which is known as Aryan civilization. In the person of Sir Jivanji the two were united and his personality was a constant reminder of that unity in the sessions of our Oriental Conference. That unity, I am glad to see, is being realized both here and in modern Persia which has deputed Prof. Pour-e-Dawood, the leading Persian scholar to Santiniketan whom we have elected as one of our Sectional Presidents.

Pre-Historic Period and the Flood

Turning to the field of Indology proper Mr. Jayaswal observed :

Our work has suddenly taken a new turn. Altogether a new orientation has come into play. Indian matters, recently come to light, are refusing to own geographical boundaries of the present or ancient India. The Indus script is claiming a world-wide range. It seems that we are on the verge of the conclusion that the script on the seals found at Harappa and Mohen-jo-Daro is closely allied to signs recorded from Elam, Cyprus, Crete and probably further. We see on the horizon a light which seems to have lighted the lands from the Indus up to the Atlantic. And if this is established, the credit of the discovery will be that of an Indian scholar, namely, Dr. Pran Nath. Two years back this was the conclusion already formed by Dr. Pran Nath. Since then, Mr. Piccoli (*Indian Antiquary*, November, 1933) has pointed out the identity of our Indus signs with the undeciphered signs found on ancient pottery and sepulchral remains in Etruria. M. Guillaume de Hevesy, in a paper published in the *Bulletin de l' Association Francaise des Amis de l' Orient* [Nos. 14-15, 1933, Paris, Musee Guimet] has shown that 52 Indus signs occur exactly in the same form on tablets recovered on the Easter Island in the Pacific Ocean. In India itself, we have discovered a long inscription at Vikramkhol, in the district of Sambhalpur, the plates of which have been published by Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1933, at a great cost, from copies and photographs taken by the authorities of the Patna Museum. This record seems to show a stage midway between the Indus script and Brahmi. It is inevitable that our views on the origin of ancient scripts be radically revised. This much is certain that we have been brought face to face with a very widespread and longstanding civilization extending, at least, from India to the Mediterranean, traces of which have already been recovered from sites in North and North-Western India, Baluchistan, Sistan, Iran, Mesopotamia and westwards. In India itself the terracottas found at Buxar and at Pataliputra seem to extend the area of that culture much eastwards. It seems premature to limit the "Indus Civilization" to the valley of the Indus alone. Possibilities of its discovery in the Western Coast line of Kathiawad are promised by a passage in the Mahabharata which mentions seals which were considered ancient and peculiar when the Mahabharata was compiled. The sands of Rajputana and certain sites in the Central Provinces may yet disclose similar evidence. There lies an immense task of sorting and collating the mass of material recovered and of deciphering the new documents. This task almost ceases to be Indian as we understand it today. Without a broader area beyond the pale of India proper having been brought within the ambit of our inquiry, we cannot attain a solution. Yet, here I may tell you my personal conviction that the solution of race-origins and the identification of this ancient civilization will be found in the Puranas. The Puranas are amongst the most ancient documents on race-history, and the tradition and data embodied therein go back to the Flood and even earlier. The Flood recorded in the *Satapatha Brahmana* is the greatest landmark in the pre-dynastic history of India. The Flood has been proved to be a historical fact by Dr. Woolley's excavations. The area of the Flood was certainly the continuous land from Mesopotamia to Rajputana, and there is the common tradition at both ends of this area, embodied in the ancient literatures of the Semites and the Hindus. Our dynastic history in the Puranas almost begins from the Flood, and the Mohen-jo-Daro civilization is a post-Flood event. Here I may mention the discovery made by Mr. Karandikar that there is a positive statement in the Puranas that the Narmada valley was not affected by the Flood. In the Narmada valley we may, therefore, expect to find evidence of a civilization which may vie with that of the Nile valley in antiquity. The Puranas are the richest documents on the race-movements in India and its adjacent West. They possess a detailed knowledge of the Central Asian geography which goes back at least to the second millennium before the Christian era. The task of properly interpreting Indian texts, in the light of our archæological finds, requires special training in Assyriology and cognate subjects. It is now becoming clear that the history of our own country is intimately connected with the history of the rest of the Ancient East, lying to the west of India, and that the truly Ancient Indian History passes beyond the control of the Indianist. Our Indi n scholars, if they aspire to the glory of interpreting history from this wider stand-point, will have to acquire knowledge of the science of Etamite, Mesopotamian and Western Asian archæology. States and Universities ought to send out and train special students for the task.

Historic Periods

Continuing Mr. Jayaswal said :

Coming down to the historic periods, welcome finds have been brought to light recently. At Mahasthan in the district of Bogra, North Bengal, a small tablet on a piece of white stone has been found. It is a secular document composed in the Maurya Imperial Vernacular. Its letter forms agree with the Sohgaura copper-plate on the one hand and with the early forms of Asokan letters on the other....The document is an administrative order on famine relief, issued by the Council of Ministers at Pundra. In my opinion, it is a sister document to the Sohgaura notification which I have recently read at the request of Dr. Bhandarkar. The Sohgaura tablet is a copy among several copies cast in a mould, thus serving the

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same purpose which is achieved today by printing a hand-bill. This document also provides against drought (*usagame=ushmagama*) when grain was lent out or freely distributed to peasants. Both these notifications, in my opinion, refer to the prolonged or repeated drought occurring in the reign of Emperor Chandragupta Maurya. The Sohgaura order was also issued by a Provincial Council, the Council of Oudh, called the Ministers of Sravasti. These two Provincial Governments to the north of the Ganges were under Maurya Ministers as opposed to Viceroyalties where a prince royal with a Council of Ministers ruled in the name of the Emperor, *e. g.*, at Takshasila, Ujjain, and other places. We further gather an important piece of information that the North Bengal people at the time were called Sam-Vangiyas, *i. e.*, a confederated community like that of the Lichchavis, Sakyas and others, and were evidently a people allied to them, a non-Brahmanical Aryan community. These are the first administrative inscriptions embodying a governmental order that we get of the Maurya times. These two orders carry the Maurya epigraphy to nearly three quarters of a century before Asoka. On the Sohgaura plate there is a royal monogram devised for the name of "Chandragupta Maurya." There is a *chandra* covering the top of a cluster of three arches, two placed side by side and one on the top of these two arches. They are a combination of the Brahmi letters '*ga*' and a double *ta*,' the whole combination giving the name *Chandragutta*. A similar combination is found on the coins of Agnimitra about a century and a half later. By the side of the monogram we have the letter '*mo*' which is the initial of *Moriya*, the vernacular form of the Sanskrit *Maurya*. The same monogram is found at the bottom of the Kumhrar pillar at Pataliputra dug out from the remains of the Maurya palace, where the word *Moriya* is written in full by the side of the same monogram. I have traced the same monogram on all the ten cast coins, found in the Pataliputra excavations at the Maurya level, and one coin found at the base of the Asokan pillar at Sarnath, and on potteries supplied to soldiers in the Pataliputra palisade fortifications found with their swords and other remains. The monogram was, therefore, the Government mark or Rajanka in the language of the Arthasastra of Kautilya.

Maurya Monogram Identified

This last subject of the Maurya Monograms was further developed by Mr. Jayaswal as President of the Numismatic Society of India which sat on December 29. The Numismatic Society discussed the matter again on December 30, under the presidency of Rev. Father Heras who declared himself to be satisfied with the new discovery. While Mr. Jayaswal was addressing on the subject on the 29th, the Numismatists were so much impressed that one among the audience remarked humorously that they were being hypnotized by Mr. Jayaswal's data and illustrations from coins etc. Their mind was overwhelmed. The recognition of the monogram of Chandragupta Maurya was one of the major achievements of the scholars met at Baroda. The system of monograms was found to be this. The King's name was denoted first by a representation of the Moon—in a crescent form—a system which came down to the coins of Chandra Gupta I of the Gupta dynasty. Below the crescent, an artistic combination of letters completed the whole name. It was followed by the Sungas—the dynasty succeeding the Mauryas. Mr. Durga Prasad pointed out in the Numismatic Society's meeting of December 30, that only the coins with this monogram recognized by Mr. Jayaswal as that of Chandra Gupta, tallied in weight and analysis exactly with what was given for silver coins in the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya—the manual of government supposed to have been written for Chandragupta Maurya. This was a clinching confirmation.

Another far-reaching observation in the presidential address was the recognition of the fact that Sanskrit writing was originally Constropedonic, *i. e.*, reading alternately from right to left and from left to right. In noticing the Yeraguddi inscription of Asoka, newly discovered, which is in this system of writing, Mr. Jayaswal drew attention to the method of reciting, that is, reading, the Vedas in its *Jatapatha and ghana-patha* (जटाप ठ—घनपाठ) methods where syllables are read alternately backward and forward.

Fields Which Belong to Us

Turning to the proposition of inviting or allowing outside agencies and learned societies for undertaking and carrying on archaeological excavations at the well-known sites which the law now permits, Mr. Jayaswal very pertinently observed:

> We cannot shut our eyes to what the academic institutions in Europe and America are doing to fit out costly expeditions of exploration in distant lands. The other day we read of a proposed Italian expedition to Nepal. Are our Universities and other institutions merely to sit and look on while others win undying glory in fields which legally belong to us?

In this connection, Mr. Jayaswal cited the examples—how the Allahabad Municipal Museum has been built up, practically without any cost, by one man—Mr. Vyas, Executive officer of the Allahabad Municipality, and how a private body—the Allahabad Historical Society—has been doing valuable excavation work at Gahdwa and other important sites, to illustrate what private enterprise can do in these fields.

Mr. Jayaswal took this opportunity to record with gratitude the valuable services rendered by several Indian States, notably Gwalior, Hyderabad, Mysore and Baroda by their scrupulous conservation of ancient monuments within their States as well as by valuable publication works. He, however, deplored the abolition of the State Museum by the Kashmir Durbar and the spoliation at the hands of certain State subjects, of the magnificent Parvati-

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Temple at Nachna, in the State of Ajaigarh, Central India.

Significance of "Bharatavarsha"

The new significance that Mr. Jayaswal revealed of the epithet Bharatavarsha stirred the scholars a great deal. It stands, said Mr. Jayaswal, for Greater India as opposed to Bharata, and Manava Dvipa or India proper. Suvarnari, and Manava Dvipa or India proper. Suvarnari includes Insulindia and Farther India to the South-East and up to the Pamirs and Herat in the North. In this connection Mr. Jayaswal referred to the movement started by his friend and pupil, Dr. Kalidas Nag, through his Greater India Society and declared that it was primarily responsible for impressing upon Indian scholars the importance of Insulindia and Farther India; and the Savant took pride in having himself derived inspiration from Dr. Nag's Greater India movement which he acknowledged with a graceful personal touch.

A Critical Editor of Ramayana

While expressing his satisfaction at the materialization of a critical edition of the Mahabharata through the efforts of Dr. Sukthankar, Mr. Jayaswal pointed out the necessity for an early undertaking of a critical edition of the Ramayana on the basis of its four recensions recently established by Dr. Harichand Sastri at the Oxford Session of the Oriental Congress.

Archaeological Department—Indian Antiquary

A matter referred to with considerable regret by Mr. Jayaswal was the starvation of the Imperial Archaeological Department at the hands of our all-India legislators. He appealed to the enlightened members of the Legislative Assembly for treating the Department with greater consideration than it has hitherto received. This commendable solicitude for the Archaeological Department, however, did not make Mr. Jayaswal shut his eyes to some of the sad shortcomings of the Department. He pointed out with regret that not a single pre-Buddha site of importance has yet been excavated in India. The interest of the late Director-General of Archaeology centred round post-Alexander sites, and it was by a mere chance that Mr. R. D. Banerji lighted upon Mohen-jo-Daro and by his genius realized its significance. History in India does not begin with Alexander, and the sites which are well known and are lying in numbers, crying for the spade, remain untouched. Add to this a number of new sites along the fringe of the Khirthar range, in the Ravi valley, in the ancient Sarasvati-Ghaggar basin, etc., which have been recently traced. It will be a great pity if the present apathy and neglect continues. If steps are not taken to direct our energies to this vast and virgin soil, the result will be that expeditions from foreign countries will possess the fields and crowd us out. We must remember that no inscription in Brahmi has yet been found of a period before the death of the Buddha. This is for the simple reason that no truly ancient Hindu site has so far been excavated, with the consequential result that what is mediaeval in the eyes of the Hindu historians is being treated as the beginning of Indian history. In the eyes of the Hindu historian, ancient history ends with the Mahabharata War, at about 1400 B.C., while the spade knows nothing apart from Mohen-jo-Daro, anterior to 500 B.C. If they dig at Kausambi, I am confident that pre-Buddhan remains and documents will be discovered. The dynasty of the Bharatas after giving up Hastinapura came and settled at Kausambi. Personally, I have not the least doubt, if proper operations are conducted and the right sites selected we shall get at the remains of the family of Satanika and Sahasranika.

Again, while expressing regret at the retirement of Dr. Hirananda Sastri from the post of the Government Epigraphist and the editorship of *Epigraphia Indica*, Mr. Jayaswal further observed:

> One by one, we regret, the old batch of Sir John Marshall is leaving the Imperial Archaeological Department, making it for the time-being at least, visibly weaker. I am, however, sure that Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, our present Director-General, will maintain the high standard of efficiency for which his Department has been so far noted. In this connection I might quote here the opinion of an Indian scholar of great standing which may prove of considerable practical value. 'The Department should change its policy and enlist extra-departmental co-operation, and this they can do without loss of efficiency or dignity.' I also think that by a policy of exclusiveness, the Department loses much needful assistance. Publication, for instance, of important documents, will not be delayed as they are delayed at present, if a more liberal policy is followed.

The passing away of the sixty-two years old *Indian Antiquary*, which, of late, was being so ably edited by Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, drew from Mr. Jayaswal a profound expression of regret at this undeserving end of so useful a career with which men like Bühler, Burgess, Bhagwanlal, Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Fleet and Sir Richard Temple were so closely associated.

Towards the end of his address Mr. Jayaswal gave a resumé of the important individual research works done in the various branches of Oriental Studies and Scholars as well as the new and talented entrants came in for a grateful recognition at his hands as did the reputed French, Dutch and other Scholars doing valuable works in connection with Farther India and Insulindia.

History of India By Indians

Mr. Jayaswal concluded his speech with a forcible representation of the imperative necessity for undertaking the preparation of a history of India written from the Indian point of view. With a magnificent elocution both of English and Sanskrit, Mr. Jayaswal went on:

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That every country should write its own history is a settled principle. We have reached a stage where spade-workers have gathered and stacked huge building material. Without architects and builders they are being neglected. The labour spent on them has to become productive. The text-book of Dr. Vincent Smith has, in many portions, become obsolete. That text-book and similarly the one by Prof. Rapson failed to satisfy our wants. In these volumes, Ancient Indian history does not go back beyond 600 B. C., while Indian history, according to Indian historians of the past, stops being ancient at about 1400 B. C. From Parikshit to Maha-Nanda (about 400 B. C.) was their Classical Period, and from Maha-Nanda onwards their Modern or Imperial Period. When they talked of Ancient India they spoke like thus :

Sanjaya to Yudhisthira :

अत्र ते कीर्तयिष्यामि वर्षं भारत भारतम् ।
प्रियमिन्द्रस्य देवस्य मनोर्वैवस्वतस्य च ॥
पृथोस्तु राजन् वैन्यस्य तेषेक्ष्वाकोर्महात्मनः ।
ययातेरम्बरीषस्य मान्धातुर्नहुषस्य च ॥
तथैव मुचुकुन्दस्य शिबेरौशीनरस्य च ।
ऋषभस्य तथैलस्य नृगस्य नृपतेस्तथा ॥
कुशिकस्य च दुर्धर्ष गाधेश्चैव महात्मनः ।
सोमकस्य च दुर्धर्ष दिलीपस्य तथैव च ॥
अन्येषां च महाराज क्षत्रियाणां बलीयसाम् ।
सर्वेषामेव राजेन्द्र प्रियं भारत भारतम् ॥
[भीष्म । ६ ।]

"I say, Now, O Bharata, I am going to tell you the history of your Land Bharata—the land where Indra was worshipped, the land dear to Manu Vaivasvata, the land dear to the first sovereign Prithu, the land of Ikshvaku, the land of Mandhatri and Nahusha, the country of Muchukunda, and Sibi the Ausin ara, of Rishabha, Aila and Nriga, of Kusika and Gadhi, of Somaka, and Dilipa—India of theirs and dear unto them."

There is thus a fundamental difference between the Indian point of view and that of others. To begin Indian history at 600 B. C., is to present a headless body. Imagine an ancient history of Egypt which begins with the Ptolemies and leaves out the Pharaohs! According to Indian historians, they have recorded fully the Dynasty of Manu :

इत्येष कथितः सम्यङ् मन्वंवंशो मया तव।

In view of the new vistas opening before our eyes in the Indus valley, in Mesopotamia and elsewhere, we have to reconstruct our ancient chronology to see where the preceding civilization ends and our own begins. We are extremely fortunate in having a written record of our own.

Mr. Jayaswal also adumbrated a rough scheme for the materialization of this long-felt desideratum. There was no dearth of able scholars to cover the field and there would be no paucity of funds to foot the scheme. "If England can find money for an Indian history, India should and will readily find money for an Indian history"—was Mr. Jayaswal's fervent hope and firm belief.

Its Galvanic Effect

That his hopes were no illusory ones was almost instantly demonstrated. His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad whose face beamed with enthusiasm, could not help rising to his feet again. In an impassioned speech he welcomed the noble project and gave it his wholehearted approval and offerred to do his mite to make it a success. And the proposition did not inspire His Highness alone. Solid support came from the solid phalanxes of scholars and for the next few days of the Conference nothing loomed so largely in the vision of the scholars of India as this proposition of a History of India by Indians written from the Indian point of view.

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WILL THE TORIES SMASH THE EMPIRE ?

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

(Vice-Chairman of the British Committee on Indian and Burman Affairs)

"What I have, I hold" is a good Tory ...ay. It lost to the British Commonwealth ...Nations the United States of America. It ...but lost Canada. But for Lord Durham's ...e advice Canada would now be linked not ...h Great Britain but with the United States ...America.

The same attitude of mind on the part of ...Tories would have lost South Africa to ...British Commonwealth of Nations. Mr. ...mpbell-Bannerman was wiser in his genera... than they, as has since been abundantly ...ved.

This attitute of mind on the part of our ...y die-hards will go far to making India ...rmined to be independent of any connec... with the British Commonwealth of Nations. ...ere yet time to save it for co-operation ...a larger whole, or must India, like the ...rican Colonies, be driven to take her own ...endent line? These are questions that ...s give pause to anyone who aspires to any ...to statesmanship.

Mr. Baldwin in the House of Commons on ...th March 1933, speaking of the proposals ...Indian Constitutional Reform, said :

> I decided after mature reflection that if we ...forward we might save India to the Empire, ...if we did not, that we would lose her.

The White Paper proposals, at present ...re the Joint Select Committee of both ...ses of Parliament, show the feeble extent ...which even the moderate elements of the ...y Party, led by Mr. Baldwin, are prepared .... It is, to all intents and purposes, a ...osal to lead India forward towards the ...of self-government but to put her in ...cuffs and keep her in handcuffs to show ...that we do not trust her. That method ...progress is worse than a frankly backward ...Confidence begets confidence ; trust ...s trust. If we cannot trust India we ...ld say so plainly, and not pretend to give ...one hand what we cling to with the other.

Sir Charles Innes, who has spent the best part of a lifetime as a member of the Indian Civil Service, and has held such important positions as Commerce Member of the Government of India, and later Governor of Burma, and has only recently retired, may be expected to speak with the voice of the "man on the spot" to whom our die-hard Tories would listen. This is what he told the Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament which is at present considering the British Government's White Paper on the future government of India :

> Incomplete self-government is the most difficult form of government : it is always, so to speak, reaching out to fulfil itself.

He instanced the parallel between Canada and India.

> Canada in the first half of the 19th century offers in some repects a parallel with the India of today. There was an irresponsible executive confronted by a powerful legislature, and Canada had its own communal problem in the rivalry of the French and English Canadians. The effects of these factors were much the same as have manifested themselves in recent years in India. There was a tendency towards irresponsibility on the part of the legislature. The tension between the French and English Canadians increased and there was growing bitterness against the Home Government. Finally there was a rebellion, and it was only Lord Durham's report that saved Canada for the Empire. He recognized that responsibility was the only real remedy for the situation that had arisen. History is repeating itself in India today, and much the same phenomena can be seen. The ferment has been immensely increased by the first instalment of self-government. We have set every person in India who understands the matter at all thinking about political advance. It has become an obsession with almost all educated Indians, and they feel that the honour and self-respect of India are bound up with it.
>
> Politically-minded Indians tend to believe that the British are standing in the way of their legitimate aspirations, and that we do so because in your own interests we are reluctant to give up our hold on India.

Mr. Baldwin, addressing a meeting of the Lancashire, Cheshire, and Westmorland area of the National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations at Manchester on 29th

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June 1933, scored some very pointed hits at his own Party, showing how little as a Party it is to be trusted with regard to imperial affairs.

> Your really old-fashioned, hard-shelled Conservative has always been opposed to wide extensions of democratic government, and when responsible government was first given to Canada no language was bad enough, and no prophecies for the Tories of that time could be too bad about it.
>
> We were wrong—our party was wrong—and had we had our way then we should have missed the bus. Looking back we can say that the granting of democratic institutions to South Africa was right. Distinguished Conservatives who voted against it at the time, have since acknowledged that they made a mistake. It was a great act of faith.

As he was speaking in Manchester he dealt with the Lancashire cotton trade with India which has fallen off so much in recent years. He pointed out that since the passing of the Government of India Act in 1919 India had enjoyed fiscal autonomy. We could not now dictate India's fiscal policy from Whitehall, as so many Tories are anxious to do. It was through that dictation that we lost the American colonies. "The day when we could dictate to India what she can buy and where she can buy has gone. It has not gone this year ; it went in 1919."

A bayonet, Mr. Baldwin said, might be a very useful thing with which to open a tin can or to dig with. But it was the worst thing in the world to sit on. We could never sell goods to India by putting cotton streamers on the end of a bayonet.

The Government's White Paper is full of so-called "safe-guards." As the *Morning Post* said, there is a safe-guard in every page—and there are about a hundred and thirty pages !

In addressing the Manchester meeting Mr. Baldwin said :

> Whatever safe-guards you have, the real safe-guard is the maintenance of goodwill.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru said much the same thing in a memorandum he presented to the Joint Select Committee in these words :

> The best safe-guard that Lancashire, or for the matter of that England, can have for trade and commerce in India is the goodwill of the people of India.

There is little in this White Paper to evoke that goodwill and there is no organized party in India that does not deplore the restrictions on their self-government contained in the White Paper.

Indians were promised by the Prime Minister on behalf of the National Government at the Round Table Conference that if a Federation of the Indian States and British Indian Provinces were formed, His Majesty's Government would recognize the principle of the responsibility of the Executive to the Legislature subject to certain safe-guards during a period of transition to full self-government. The Prime Minister, however, promised that in making such safe-guards as might be necessary during a transitional period that it would be the primary concern of his Majesty's Government to see that these safe-guards were so framed and exercised as "not to prejudice the advance of India *through the new constitution to full responsibility for her own Government.*"

No one could suggest that the safe-guards in the White Paper do *not* so prejudice the chance of India's advance. There is no possibility of India attaining to full responsibility for her own government through the new proposed Constitution.

At the last Indian Round Table Conference the Secretary of State for India assured the members that the safe-guards were not intended to obstruct a real transfer of responsible power. He assured them that the British Government "fully accepted the fact that there can be no effective transfer of responsibility unless there is an effective transfer of financial responsibility." How little financial responsibility has been transferred may be gathered from the fact that India's Chancellor of the Exchequer will not have control over more than about 20 per cent of the total Indian revenue. All the remainder is retained in the hands of the Viceroy to enable him to carry out effectively the safe-guards.

India is to have no voice in her Foreign Affairs, and this in spite of the fact that as far back as 1917 the Imperial War Conference passed a resolution recognizing *the right* of the Dominions and India to an adequate voice in our Imperial Foreign policy and Foreign relations. If India, equally with the Dominions, has the right to be consulted on the Foreign Relations of the British Commonwealth of Nations as a whole, surely she should not be denied the right to have some voice in her own Foreign Affairs.

India is probably one of the

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countries in the world, if wealth is reckoned on a population basis. The average yearly income in India has been stated to be as low as about £2 per head of the population. But even if we put it as high as £5 per head, the great mass of the people are miserably poverty-stricken. Yet India has the highest paid Civil Service in the world, chiefly because its members are recruited mainly in this country at very much higher salaries, with pensions attached, than would be necessary if the Indian Governments were allowed to recruit at home for their domestic Civil Service. Indians for long have felt that this recruitment should be done by the Governments in India for themselves. This view is shared by many Europeans serving with the Indian Civil Service. Yet the White Paper proposes to retain the recruitment for the Indian Civil Service for a further period of five years in the hands of the Secretary of State at Whitehall; and there is no undertaking that even then it will be transferred to India, but merely that there will be a Statutory Enquiry to consider the matter. This denial to India of one of the first essentials of self-government has caused more dissatisfaction than almost any other proposal in the White Paper.

Under the present Constitution the Defence of India is decided on by the Governor-General along with his Cabinet, on which there are three Indian members. The White Paper proposes that Defence shall be entirely reserved to the Viceroy who will be authorized to appoint a Counsellor (not necessarily from India) to advise him with regard to Army matters. Indians will thus lose such opportunities as they have at present of influencing Army expenditure. It is an absolutely reactionary proposal and has brought many protests from India.

India has been constantly told that she is unable to defend herself and therefore cannot have self-government. Yet whenever she puts forward proposals for training in self-defence, she is constantly balked.

These are a few of the more obvious objections to the Government's proposals for the new Indian constitution. One could fill a volume with enumerations of the futilities and shackles on the kind of self-government which it is proposed to offer to India.

If the White Paper proposals go through Parliament in the form of an Indian Constitution Bill and become law there is little chance of Indians co-operating to work it except for the belief that many of them have, and rightly, that our present Tory Government cannot now last for very long. They have seen the signs of Labour's advance to power in this country and they pin their faith to the fact that British Labour has pledged itself to frame a constitution for India, in co-operation with Indians, giving them real, responsible self-government on a basis of equality with the other Dominions of the British Commonwealth of Nations, subject only to such safe-guards as they would agree are "in the interests of India," as was promised to them. This is probably the last chance we should have to save India, by her consent, as a willing partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations. The Tories, by their present policy, would smash the Commonwealth: Labour alone can save it. Let us see to it that we do not fail.

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THE FOOL

By SITA DEVI

RAMNIDHI Ghoshal was a rich man through God's grace, but he was not a fortunate one. Death was a regular visitant at his door, and every year he took away one of Ramnidhi's near and dear ones. As soon as Ramnidhi was born, his mother died. His father was somehow bringing up the motherless child with the help of a widowed sister, but he, too, died suddenly, when the boy was only five years old. From that day Ramnidhi had nobody to call his own, except that aunt. But the aunt soon got help in her task of guardianship, from an unexpected and unwelcome quarter. It was from her stepson Jogesh.

Jogesh had hitherto kept his distance from his stepmother for a very good reason. She was poor, and might have asked pecuniary help from him quite legitimately. So he remained discreetly aloof and silent. But as soon as he heard that his stepmother had become the sole guardian of a rich orphan, he could not remain silent a moment longer, and rushed at once to her assistance.

But he was disillusioned very soon. The prospect was not as good as he had thought before. Ramnidhi could hardly be called a clever or an intelligent boy, but he had unbounded trust in his aunt. He was ready to die at her command. Jogesh's stepmother, too, had no illusions left about her stepson, as she had a good memory. She had not forgotten his past behaviour.

Still, Jogesh did not want to give up hope too soon. His stepmother could not last for ever, and Ramnidhi had no other relative left in the world. So Jogesh's patience could not go unrewarded for ever. Jogesh had been married rather early, but his wife remained at her father's house. She was a spoilt child of her mother's, and could not stay away from the maternal fold for long. As long as Jogesh had remained in his own house, he had succeeded in bringing her over once or twice, but after he had settled down here, these short visits, too, had ceased. His mother-in-law did not want to send her daughter to a place where she might be unwelcome. Jogesh also did not dare to press his claim, as he was not sure about his stepmother. She might not like his wife to come, and his wife might be very much offended. She happened to be the only person of whom Jogesh stood really in awe.

Though his wife Radharani did not come herself, she sent for Jogesh, ever and anon. Sometimes he went, but more often he did not. He never had money to spare nowadays. Besides, he was afraid to stay away from Ramnidhi for any length of time, lest his stepmother should steal a march over him. Jogesh had established a certain hold over the boy through dint of perseverance. The boy would now and then bring him small sums of money surreptitiously. Jogesh kept the boy near him, three or four hours every day, on the pretence of teaching him. He was now busy persuading the fool to buy a harmonium. The dealer had promised Jogesh fifty per cent commission if he could take the rotten thing off his hands.

The house in which Ramnidhi lived with his aunt was situated in a suburb of Calcutta. The residents were mostly poor people, who lived in huts. There were only three or four brick-built houses ; these, too, of a very old style. There were wide stretches of field and wood and any number of ponds all around. You could hear jackal's howling even during daytime.

They had much landed property in their native village, and a house too. But they never kept good health there, so neither the aunt nor the nephew liked to stay in the village. They had leased out all the cultivable lands and the aunt went to the village twice every year to collect her dues. Jogesh wanted to help her in the collections but his stepmother ignored all his offers of assistance in this direction.

Days passed on, and Ramnidhi was fast approaching his youth. "I have become old and might die any day," said his aunt one day, in course of conversation, "I would die content, if I could get him married to a suitable girl."

Ramnidhi and Jogesh were having their midday meal then. Ramnidhi was glad but he felt shy, too, and bent down his head. "Why do you want him to be married now ?" said Jogesh. "He is but a boy of sixteen or seventeen, and he has had no education, worth mentioning."

"It does not matter," said his stepmother, "we must not be so particular in his case. It is true, he is rather young, but we could get a young bride too. As for education, he will never have any. And what is the use ? People want education for making money, and he has got enough money. He will never have to earn for himself. On the other hand, he will maintain many idlers always."

Jogesh felt furious at this covert sting, but he remained silent. He felt very anxious all the same. If the old lady really wanted Ramnidhi to marry now, Jogesh must be on his guard. His old stepmother watched over the fool's money with lynx's eyes, and if a bride too appeared on the scene, she would certainly not be less watchful. Between the two, Jogesh would have a bad time. The only thing he could do was to

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look out for a silly girl and get Ramnidhi married to her.

A few days later, Jogesh approached his stepmother with a letter in hand. The old lady was busy in her store-room. "Are you very busy?" asked Jogesh, "I wanted to tell you something."

His stepmother looked up from her work and said, "I must finish these. Can't you tell me what it is, from there?"

"You were talking the other day about the boy's marriage," said Jogesh. "I know of a good party. If you permit me, I may open negotiations."

His stepmother did not look at all enthusiastic. "Who is the girl?" she asked. "Where is their home?"

"Not very far off," said Jogesh. "She is related to my wife, in fact, she is her cousin. She is good looking and just the age for our Ramnidhi. She is quite intelligent too, and would be able to manage everything in time."

Ramnidhi's aunt did not seem much more impressed by this description. "What does the bride's father do?" she asked. "Are they well-to-do people?"

Jogesh lost heart a bit at this cool reception. "Her father is dead," he said. "The girl is an orphan and has been brought up by my mother-in-law. But why do you bother about money? Your Ramnidhi has got enough of his own, he does not need a father-in-law's money."

"Still I don't want the bride's people to be paupers," said his stepmother, "and neither do I want to marry my boy to an orphan girl. He has lost his own parents, and he must have parents-in-law, who would look after him. He is not intelligent enough to stand alone. I won't be there for ever to guard him and his property."

Jogesh made a wry face and moved away. If he could have married Ramnidhi to this girl, it would have improved matters very much for him. His prestige would have been enhanced at his father-in-law's house and the girl too would have been grateful to him. She was quite young and not overburdened with intelligence; so it would have been very easy for Jogesh to manage her. But the expression on his stepmother's face did not encourage him to hope for any good result.

But he was not a fellow to give in so readily. He brought home information about new brides everyday and drew his unwilling stepmother into long consultations with him. He even tried to open direct negotiations with Ramnidhi. But the boy was too much of a fool to understand even his own good. And it was utterly impossible to make him do anything on the sly.

One morning, the old lady went to clean her nephew's room. As she was rolling up the bed, she found three or four photographs under his pillow. All were of young girls and all were fairly good looking.

Jogesh had then gone out for his morning stroll. The old lady sent for Ramnidhi and asked him very sternly, "What are these?"

"How should I know?" he replied in a deeply injured tone.

"You don't know?" asked his aunt, still more sharply, "then who knows, pray? How did they come here?"

"Dada (Jogesh) brought them and gave them to me. He wanted to know which was the most beautiful."

His aunt suppressed a smile, and began turning over the photographs. Then she asked again, "Can you tell me, which is the most beautiful?"

Ramnidhi shook his head violently and made good his escape. His aunt took away the photographs to her own room. Though she did not like the brides whom Jogesh proposed for Ramnidhi, yet she, being a lonely widow, could not arrange a better match. She had no one to help her. So she decided to choose one of these four girls, if she proved even fairly suitable. That none of them would prove entirely satisfactory, of that she was certain. Otherwise Jogesh would never have tried to help them to marry Ramnidhi. But the old lady was ready to accept a girl now who was healthy and who did not come from a very bad family. About everything else, Ramnidhi must take a chance. The names and addresses of the girls were written on the back of the photographs. So she decided to make enquiries about them through one of her own friends.

She finished her midday meal in a hurry and then started for her friend's house with the photographs. Her friend, another widowed lady, named Chandramukhi, received her cordially and looked the photographs over. Then she said, "If you really want a bride for your nephew, why don't you oblige your poor friend then, instead of going for strangers?"

Ramnidhi's aunt was a bit surprised and said, "I knew you had only two sons. Have you got a daughter, too?"

Chandramukhi gave her a playful push and said, "I may not have a daughter, but can't there be a girl in our family? Don't you remember my niece, Susila?"

"Of course, I do, she was a very beautiful child. But would you really give her in marriage to my nephew? You know, he has received no education."

"Oh, it does not matter," said her friend. "He may not be educated, but he has got enough money to feed a family. We cannot have everything, and we are conscious of our own limitations, too. My poor sister has lost her husband and she cannot pay any dowry at all."

Ramnidhi's aunt remained silent for a while. Then she said, "My poor boy is destined to remain without a guardian. Every proposal that came for him proved to be about fatherless girls. Still, this one is better than the others, the girl being your own niece. You two will look after

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the poor boy. But where is the girl? I had seen her when she was quite a child, I must see her once now."

"She is in Calcutta, and you can see her anytime you wish to," said her friend. "It would please us very much if you and Ramnidhi will take your midday meal here on Sunday. I shall ask my sister and her daughter too and you can see her."

"That's the best arrangement," said Ramnidhi's aunt. "I shall try to come early," saying this, she took her leave.

Ramnidhi was lucky enough this time to catch sight of a real flesh and blood bride and not a mere picture. It must be admitted that Jogesh had less wisdom than his stepmother. Ramnidhi fell in love with the girl at first sight. The girl was really pretty, according to Bengali standards. Her complexion was fair, her figure good and she had large, trustful eyes.

Ramnidhi's aunt, too, liked the girl very much. Still she said, "The girl looks too big for my boy. I could have done with a younger bride." "True, my dear," said her friend Chandramukhi. "But don't reject the poor girl for such a slight fault. She is a very good girl. You will understand that as soon as she enters your family. A very young bride would have been too troublesome. She would have cried day and night and disgusted you. My Sushila will help you in everything. She knows all household works and can manage everything perfectly."

So the match was finally settled by the respective aunts of the groom and bride. Ramnidhi looked supremely satisfied with the arrangements.

Jogesh was furious when he heard about it. He rushed to his stepmother and blurted out, "So you are bringing home an orphan girl after all? Then why did you reject the proposal, I brought? Because it was I that brought the proposal, you did not even give it a hearing."

The old lady knew only too well the reason for so much heat. She was going to utter some hometruths, but restrained herself and said, "I liked this match much better, that is why I accepted it. Though she is an orphan, I know her personally from her infancy and I know her to be a very good girl."

Jogesh had many things to say, but he knew that it was fruitless now. The marriage was a settled fact. He could do nothing to prevent it and he could not foment any kind of trouble. There was no question of a dowry, so no trouble could arise through non-payment, which is the most fruitful cause of trouble in Hindu marriages. The bride's people might give her some presents, again they might not; it entirely depended on them. Jogesh's stepmother knew the girl's people thoroughly, so no falsehood about them would upset the match. Many schemes crowded into his brain, but he rejected them all as useless. The day fixed for the ceremony steadily approached.

At the time of the marriage, Jogesh's aunt invited his wife Radharani, but she did not come on the excuse of ill-health. Jogesh's stepmother did not repeat her invitation. She had grown accustomed to Jogesh, but Radharani could never pull on with her.

Ramnidhi's marriage was solemnized in due course, without any hitch. There was no great show, but all the relatives on both sides gathered together on the occasion and blessed the pair. As the bride was departing for her husband's home the girl's mother requested Jogesh to be kind to her girl. Jogesh's lips turned in a crooked smile but thanks to his bushy moustaches, nobody saw it.

Sushila entered her new home. Ramnidhi's aunt had the whole house repaired and repainted as soon as his marriage was arranged. So the house now looked quite new. It was full of people now for the festive occasion and was suitably decorated.

The bride was ceremonially welcomed into her new home and loud blasts of the conch-shell published the news to everyone.

Ramnidhi's aunt first came forward to see the face of the bride. She had a large jewel box in her hand. Jogesh stared at her in dismay. The old lady opened the box and took out a mass of shining gold ornaments and put them on the bride, one by one. Then she looked at the persons, who stood around and said, "Please bless her and wish that she may never have to take off these ornaments."

There was a murmur of admiration from amongst the guests. What a number of ornaments! It must at least have cost ten thousands. The girl was really lucky. She came from her father's house dressed in the cheapest of wedding dresses and with no ornaments, save a pair of thin bangles, and now as soon as she set her foot in her husband's house, she got enough ornaments to suit a princess.

Jogesh had retired to his own room, biting his lip in anger. He knew well enough whence all this money for jewels had come. Ramnidhi's father had lent one of his neighbours a few thousands, who had mortgaged his house to him. The interest had hitherto been accumulating, so a year or two later, the house would surely have come into Ramnidhi's possession. But the old lady had been foolish enough to let the interest go, and had given them back their house in repayment of the capital alone.

Jogesh had strongly been in disfavour of this foolishness, but the old lady had done it behind his back. Else, whence should she get so much money? Jogesh felt as if someone had taken away his own birthright. He had seen a pair of very cheap rolled gold ear-rings as present for the new bride. But so furious was he that he locked these up again in his desk.

When the feast was over and all the guests had departed, he went up to his stepmother and said, "Do you think, you did well by giving up so much money? What was the necessity

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"Would it have been better, if I had taken money the poor old Brahmin's house for a large sum of money? And I really wanted large money for the ornaments. Why should she remain without ornaments? So the day she came, I gave her everything a bride her need."

"You could have waited," shouted Jogesh. "What was the urgency? Ramnidhi is a fool, but you should look after his interests better."

His stepmother frowned. "I try my best in that direction, you may be sure," she said. "I have grown old, and I think I know what is best." She went away, without waiting for Jogesh's answer.

Jogesh was fully conscious now of the seriousness of the situation. If he did not look out he would soon be compelled to change his present abode for another. It was not merely a question of eating three meals free, and sleeping in a well-built room, that he was staying on here. He could have had them in his own village home, too. He had left his own wife and his native place, and was putting up with all his stepmother's insolent behaviour, in expectation of gathering a substantial harvest for himself, in the future. If that hope proved futile, then what was the use of his staying on any longer? But the future looked really dark now. Formerly there was only his stepmother to contend against, but now there was Ramnidhi's wife too, backed by all her relatives. The old lady was spending money most foolishly on that chit of a girl. She had not only got jewels and ornaments worth ten thousand, she was getting new dresses, ornaments and what not, everyday. All these were mere wastage. Jogesh had made plans for living in Ramnidhi's money, but he had no claim through which he could claim a share in the bride's jewels or her silks.

The old lady had really got Ramnidhi married in the nick of time, for after this her health began to decline rapidly. Jogesh was a little more hopeful at this, still he was without fears that the old woman would yet steal a march on him. He was very much enraged when he saw that his stepmother was selling off all the village property and making plans for building another big house in Calcutta with the sale proceeds. The new building was to be the property of Ramnidhi's wife.

The time approached for the Durga Puja festivals. Ramnidhi's aunt suddenly made a vow for holding Puja in her own house. Jogesh protested with a sour face, "We never thought of having it in our house. What is the use of this expense. Now that Ramnidhi has married, we must be more careful than ever."

"Oh it is not much of an expense," said the old woman. "My boy won't become a beggar through it. Now that he is married, he must try to please the gods. I always had a desire to do it and am going to do it this time."

Radharani was again invited. She had to come this time, as repeated refusals to come to her husband, might give rise to ugly rumours. She came just before the Puja. She had heard all about the new bride's magnificent ornaments and dresses, so she had to borrow some finery and some jewels from her relatives in order to keep up appearances by the side of Ramnidhi's wife.

Jogesh had hitherto lived alone. So the room allotted to him was rather small. He had not noticed it hitherto, but his wife now pointed it out to him. "What is the use of your slaving away your life here?" she asked, "You have not got even a decent room to live in."

"It is no use getting impatient," said her husband. "We must bide our time. Besides, there are no large rooms available. There are only two in the house, one being occupied by the old woman and the other by the new bride. I cannot ask either of them to vacate it for me."

"That girl is really lucky," said Radharani. "From the dustbin, she gets elevated to the king's throne. And look at me! I am destined to remain a poor dependent for ever, in my father's house."

"Wait and see," said Jogesh.

"Wait indeed!" said Radharani sharply.

"I must wait till my death, I suppose? Did you hear that Sushila is to get some diamonds as Puja presents? I wonder why I came here to look like a fool."

It was night, and Jogesh turned his back to his wife, feigning sleep. He kept awake till the small hours of the morning, but did not venture to speak to his wife again.

The Puja was celebrated with due pomp. Much discussion was caused by Sushila's new and old ornaments, both at home and outside. Radharani could not refrain from trying her sharp tongue on poor foolish Ramnidhi, too. "I say brother," she said, "are all the jewels for your beautiful young bride only? Can't the old and ugly sister-in-law get one or two?"

Ramnidhi felt very much embarrassed. "I have not given her anything," he said. "Aunt has given all."

"That means that," said Radharani. "The money belongs to you and not to your aunt."

Ramnidhi stared foolishly at her, then went away, saying, "Very well, I shall see what I can do."

On the day of the Vijaya, the last day of the Puja, Ramnidhi came to Radharani with a gold chain, and after giving it to her, bowed down to her feet. Radharani pretended to be very much surprised and cried out, "Oh dear, what is this brother? Did you think, I was speaking seriously? I was but jesting."

"How should I know that?" replied Ramnidhi. "I thought you meant it, so I told aunt and she gave me this."

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Jogesh called his wife in, and said in a tone of suppressed rage, "Why do you make me appear a fool, like this? Have we got to beg for them, because we cannot afford to buy ornaments?"

"Now then, shut up," screamed Radharani. "The more worthless a man is, the more he tries to tyrannize over his wife. Do you want me to go about looking like a servant of the new bride?"

Jogesh went out of the room in a towering rage. He did not again come in for the rest of the day. In the evening, he sent word that he was going out of town on important business and might be absent for two or three days. Radharani's face turned dark in anger. But she had no one at hand, on whom she could vent her rage, so she had to remain silent. Ramnidhi tried his best to console his sister-in-law, but he did not get much attention from her.

At the end of the protracted festivals, everybody was extremely tired and the whole family was fast asleep by ten o'clock. But they were not destined to enjoy the bliss of peaceful sleep. Suddenly shriek after shriek in a terrified female voice rung out in the night, and woke up the whole quarter. A bewildered crowd soon gathered round Ramnidhi's house. But the thieves had made good their escape by that time after gathering a rich harvest. The whole night was passed in needless lamentations and reproaches. The police arrived with the morning, and Jogesh followed them pretty soon.

As soon as his stepmother saw him, she burst out in rage, "Where have you been, you good for nothing? Can't you even stay in the house? We have been absolutely ruined."

Jogesh's eyes seemed to be starting out of his head. "What has happened?" he asked.

Before his aunt could reply, Ramnidhi cried out, "Thieves came, and took away all the ornaments of your wife."

Jogesh became pale as a corpse. Why was she alone in the room?" he muttered somehow. "Why did not she sleep with mother?"

"I thought, she would feel afraid to be alone in that room," said Ramnidhi, "so we slept in your room, and sister slept in ours."

Jogesh collapsed, rather than sat down on the verandah. Radharani's wails from inside the room seemed to pierce through, to his brain.

After a while, he got up and dragged Ramnidhi to the outer room. "Who told you to be so solicitous about my wife?" he asked sharply. "was it mother?"

Ramnidhi stared at him like a fool and said, "Why, no. It was not aunt. My wife said that there was too much noise in our part of the house, so she would like to sleep for once in your room. She also suggested that sister should sleep in ours."

Jogesh looked at the fool with murder in his heart. Then he began to tear out his own hair by the handful.

KRISHNA CHANDRA BHATTACHARJYA

By RASBIHARY DAS, M.A., PH.D.

A Professor of Philosophy in a certain college in northern India was recently told, in reply to a query of his, that the present Director of the Indian Institute of Philosophy was Prof. K. C. Bhattacharjya. The Professor got little satisfaction from this answer and again asked "Who is Prof. K. C. Bhattacharjya?"

I think professors of philosophy in Bengal know who is Prof. K. C. Bhattacharjya, though they may not know what order of mind he possesses; but many educated people, even in Bengal, know, I imagine, as little about him as the professor I referred to above. This is what should not be. Professor Krishna Chandra Bhattacharjya is the President of the Ninth Session of the Indian Philosophical Congress held in the last week of March last at Poona. It is well that people should know something about this great scholar and teacher.

Krishna Chandra Bhattacharjya obtained as a student, all the distinctions that usually fall to the share of a brilliant scholar. He joined Educational Service and served as Professor of Philosophy in various Government Colleges of Bengal and retired some years ago as Principal of Hooghly College. After his retirement from Government service he served the University of Calcutta for some time. When he resigned his post in the University, he was approached by the Indian Institute of Philosophy (Amalner) with an invitation to come over to the Institute to guide its work. He accepted the invitation and is now at the head of the Institute.

There is nothing very unusual in his academical or professional career. Many other students have obtained the distinctions which he obtained, and in service many other professors have achieved greater popularity

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with the students and obtained greater and quicker advancement in their career. What distinguishes him from other teachers of philosophy is his great originality which is nowhere very common and is certainly very rare in this country. On any philosophical question he has something to say of his own which is highly significant and is not to be found in any books.

In logic, epistemology, metaphysics and even in psychology he holds definite views which are radically different from what we find in current European philosophy. But he has thought out his positions very well and can maintain them with many subtle arguments. When he elaborates any of his own positions or criticizes any views, which he considers inadequate, one cannot but admire his singular dialectical skill and meta-physical insight as well as the logical vigour of his thought. A few years back, he happened to deliver, at the Indian Institute of Philosophy, a course of lectures which have been published afterwards under the title 'The Subject as Freedom'. There was among the audience a gentleman who was himself a philosopher with considerable power of abstract thinking. He said he had not heard another speaker, like Professor Bhattacharjya, who combined such subtle analysis with such depth of thought. The remark was particularly significant as it came from a person who had studied under James Ward at Cambridge and had heard the lectures of J. M. E. MacTaggart and G. E. Moore who are undoubtedly two of the ablest thinkers of England in recent times.

This is not to say that the views of Prof. K. C. Bhattacharjya will be readily acceptable or even intelligible to those whose strong point is mere common sense or who are steeped in the ideas of current European philosophy. One would require some preparation to put himself absolutely in sympathy with his ideas. The ordinary ideas of common sense appear self-evident only because they have not been subjected to adequate criticism. So are many ideas which are derived from the tradition of Western philosophy. So long as our minds are dominated by these notions, it will be difficult for us to understand and accept ideas which involve their rejection. And many of Prof. K. C. Bhattacharjya's ideas have been so formulated as to imply a criticism, or demand the rejection, of our current notions of common sense and of ordinary philosophy.

One may not, therefore, at once accept the views which Prof. K. C. Bhattacharjya suggests. But if anyone, with a proper understanding of philosophy, discusses earnestly any problem with him, he will almost invariably be made conscious of the many inconsequences in his own thought as well as of the deficiency in many of the current concepts of philosophy and common sense. This is exactly the work expected of a philosopher. A philosopher is not there merely to repeat what everybody knows or to say what will be evident even to the commonest understanding. We want light from a philosopher and his light is not worth much if it cannot make us conscious of the darkness in us. If his light only shows what we ourselves can see, why do we then need such a light?

Prof. K. C. Bhattacharjya.

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Is Prof. K. C. Bhattacharjya absolutely original? Does he not owe his ideas to any other philosopher? Prof. Bhattacharjya will not himself claim much originality. He will probably say that he is merely trying to interpret, in the modern way, some of the ideas he has learnt from Indian philosophy. But whatever he may say, we know that merely from a study of Western and Indian philosophy one cannot acquire the way of thinking which distinguishes him from other philosophers. His mind surely came into contact with certain materials in Indian and European philosophy, but the reaction to them was peculiarly his own, and its product, the views he has developed, at least their working out, may be said, therefore, to be quite original. Still his views, in some respects, admit of being traced to two main sources. One is the Kantian philosophy of the West and the other is the Vedanta of India. There is, I think, no one else in India who has studied Kant so thoroughly and carefully, and can interpret him in such a novel way. And the Vedantic colour of many of his ideas will be at once evident to any one who will take the trouble of considering them seriously.

I do not know if he owes anything to his teacher the late Dr. P. K. Ray, of whom he was a very favourite student and with whom he kept up his personal contact right up to the end. He also came into intimate contact with Sir Brajendranath Seal, and it is just possible that in his many conversations with him he got some suggestions and ideas.

Is he very learned? His learning cannot at all be compared with that of Dr. Seal. But he is certainly more learned than one would take him to be from his extreme modesty. He has a thorough grasp of all the different systems of Indian philosophy and is fully alive to the significance of different currents of modern western thought. But learned though he is, mere learning is not his strong point. Even a mediocre mind with sufficient industry can amass enough learning to astound and confound the unlearned public. His strong point is his peculiar insight which he brings to bear on any subject he chooses to handle. Whatever may be the system of philosophy he takes up, whether Eastern or Western, he has his own light to throw, which illuminates, as by a flash, the whole body of doctrines connected with the system.

From this we are led to another point in his character which makes him such an admirable teacher. Although he holds very definite and radical views, he is never dogmatic or aggressive in their expression. He is never anxious to win over anybody to his side and never gives the idea that there are no alternatives to his views. On the contrary, he can, and is always ready to, see things from standpoints other than his own. Thus a student who fails to agree with him can yet learn much from him, because he sees further than the student, even from the student's standpoint, and can therefore bring real enlightenment to him. He holds his views very firmly, but is also very catholic to the views of others. This catholicity of spirit has led him to the concept of the manifoldness of truth and to the alternative formulations of the concept of the absolute.

I wish I could give an idea of some of his characteristic philosophical views. But that is not possible in an article like this which is meant for general readers; and his achievements are mostly in the realm of advanced philosophy which cannot be presented without a good deal of technicalities. His analysis of consciousness and its three modes, known as feeling and willing, if generally known, will be considered a distinct contribution to epistemology and psychology. His distinction of speakable, meanable and thinkable is original and highly significant. One or two of his radical views in logic may be mentioned here. They will not, of course, be properly understood without much discussion.

One such view is that distinction is a symmetrical relation. Ordinarily it is supposed that if A is distinct from B, B is distinct from A. This is what is meant by the relation of distinction being symmetrical. Professor Bhattacharjya's opinion, if A is distinct from B, B need not be distinct from A. In support of his view, he suggests that what is definite is distinct from the indefinite, but the indefinite is not in the same way distinguished from the definite, for in that case it would become definite.

The second of his ideas which we wish

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mention here relates to indirect or mediate relations. We generally think that if A is related to B, and B is related to C, then A is related to C. Prof. Bhattacharjya says that it need not be so. Even though A is related to B and B is related to C, there is no necessity that A should be related to C. When A and B are related, and B and C are related, A and C may also be related. But the relation of A and B and the relation of B and C cannot themselves amount to a relation between A and C. In other words, he does not think that two relations can be compounded into one relation or that there can be a relation of relations. A relation combines two contents. Therefore a combination of relations, which are no contents (in the sense that they are relations) is not a relation in the first sense.

He has a host of such ideas which acutely challenge the concepts of our ordinary thought.

If Prof. K. C. Bhattacharjya is such a great thinker, how is it that he is so litttle known? The main reason is that his achievements are in a region which is foreign to popular interest. There are not many people in any country who can be genuinely interested in pure abstract thinking. When the nature of his subject itself is only vaguely known, it is hardly surprising that the nature of his achievements in it is not known at all. But those who can know and understand have always appreciated the merit of his work. Dr. P. K. Ray, and Dr. B. N. Seal, than whom there could be no better judges in the country in philosophical matters, always expressed their high regard for his metaphysical acumen. Besides, he has a few students who really understand him and have unbounded respect for his ideas. Some of them have already made their mark in philosophy.

It must be admitted however that the manner of his writing is to some extent responsible for his failure to attract public attention. His lectures are admirably clear. There is no hurry in his delivery. Words are always slowly and distinctly pronounced, each word standing for a definite meaning. He is never in want of happy examples to illustrate his points, and can always point to parallel thoughts in other thinkers. But his writing is altogether different. As a friend of mine once put it, his writings are mere dry bones of logic with no flesh and blood of literature upon them. Illustrations and references are hardly ever given and so his writings on the whole make very difficult reading.

But this does not explain everything. Kant and Hegel wrote in a difficult language. Even today the writings of Husserl and Whitehead are not less difficult than those of Prof. K. C. Bhattacharjya. But they are read, understood and admired in their country. The real fact is that we have no philosophical public in this country. If we had genuine interest in philosophical ideas and had sufficient respect for the thoughts of our own countrymen we should not mind taking some pains to understand the ideas of this great thinker. So if Prof. K. C. Bhattachajya is ignored, it is because philosophy itself, except perhaps in name, is ignored. Jagadisha and Gadadhara, especially the former, used a language which was a hundred times more difficult than the language of Prof. K. C. Bhattacharjya and yet people read and understood them. There was then genuine passion for learning alive in this country.

Since Indians began to be taught in the Western method, they have not made a single real contribution to philosophy. We cannot point to a single original philosophical theory which can be credited to an Indian thinker of today. We expected much from Dr. Seal and he too thought that the next comprehensive system of philosophy, after that of Wundt, was going to be his. He had, I believe, all the capacity to produce such a system. But his sudden physical breakdown tragically ended his own hopes and those of his countrymen. By the grace of God, Prof. Krishna Chandra Bhattacharjya is still there. Though already nearly sixty, he is still in full possession of his mental vigour. We hope he will be long spared to us and will have time and inclination to embody his views in a systematic work which will be a lasting contribution to philosophy and a matter of pride to his countrymen.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

THE BODHISATTVA DOCTRINE IN BUDDHIST SANSKRIT LITERATURE: *By Har Dayal, M. A., Ph. D. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., London, 1932. Pp. XIX+392.*

Having crossed the limits of the land of its birth Buddhism penetrated into different parts of the globe from South Siberia and Manchuria in the North to Indonesia in the South, and from the border of Persia in the West to China and Japan in the East. But what is it in it that attracted the people so much in so many countries? According to its founder himself the truth that he preached was in no way an easy one; for, in his own words, it was very difficult to understand, very difficult to perceive, and as such was intelligible only to the wise. Such being the case, can we ever think that the average people in that time were so wise as to grasp the truth thoroughly? What is it then? It seems that it is the path of salvation shown by the Blessed One, which has the fullest expression in the life of a Bodhisattva 'expirant after the supreme enlightenment.' The first and the most important thing that is to be noticed in the life of a Bodhisattva, is his *mahamaitre* 'great love' and *mahakaruna* 'great compassion.' Here *maitre* is that love for all living beings which a mother feels for her only one and very dear son. And that love which prompts one to offer one's everything including even the body and life to all living beings without any expectation for reward therefrom is *mahamaitre*. And *karuna* 'compassion' is the thought of, or intention for, the deliverance of all sentient beings from the ocean of *samsara*; and that compassion with which a Bodhisattva desires the supreme enlightenment or *nirvana* first not for himself, but for others, is called *mahakaruna*. Actuated by these two great qualities a Bodhisattva prays to become a Buddha for the welfare of the universe (*buddho bhavayam jagato hitaya*), and does not want to attain *nirvana* until every living being is liberated. For the liberation of others he is always prepared to undergo any kind of suffering and is never afraid of any pain. He makes the devout supplication: 'Let whatever sufferings the world has come to me! May the merits of Bodhisattvas make the world happy!'

This ideal of self-imposed suffering for the benefit of others is found also in Vaisnavism, as the following words taken from the *Bhagavata Purana* (IX. 21.12) will show:

'I do not desire the highest state of life from God nor the eight-fold success (*siddhis*), nor the absence of rebirth; but I want the suffering of all creatures being inside them, so that they may be free from it.'

And in this connection the following speech of Prahlada may also be quoted from the same work (VII. 10. 48):

'Almost all gods and saints observe silence wanting their own salvation; they are not devoted to the welfare of others. But I alone do not want to attain my liberation leaving behind all these miserable creatures.'

There is nothing more ennobling, more inspiring than this ideal of life in the whole range of Buddhist literature, and the Mahayana works in Sanskrit or Buddhist Sanskrit are full of it. It should, however, be noted that the Bodhisattva doctrine is found also in Hinayana texts though it is not so much developed here as in those of the Mahayana.

The book under notice is "An important and detailed study of the Bodhisattva doctrine and its place among Buddhist Sanskrit writings." There are seven chapters in it and their names given below will show the subject-matters dealt with in them: (*i*) The Bodhisattva Doctrine; (*ii*) Origin and Development of the Bodhisattva Doctrine; (*iii*) The Thought of Enlightenment; (*iv*) The Thirty-seven Dharmas; (*v*) The Paramitas; (*vi*) The Bhumis; (*vii*) The Last Life and Enlightenment. There are also Notes, Appendix, and Index.

Undoubtedly the present volume is a valuable contribution to Buddhist studies, especially with reference to the Bodhisattva doctrine. It clearly shows its author's deep scholarship and great diligence.

In discussing technical terms the author takes much pain and quotes, though sometimes unnecessarily, opinions of numerous authors, ancient and modern, giving thereby his readers an opportunity for their being acquainted with different views (which are not correct in all cases) in one place. In this connection we may refer one to his discussion on the true significance of the word *Bodhisattva*. It is very

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interesting, indeed. But here arises the question: how we justified in rejecting a traditional meaning supported by great authorities, without any strong ground? Mere grammars and dictionaries may give us a number of meanings of a word, but it is convention or tradition, or both of them, that can greatly guide us to select a true one. The explanation of the word *Bodhisattva* as given in the *Bodhicaryavatara-pañjika*: (tatra (bodhan) sattvam abhiprayo'syeti bodhisattvah) is rejected by Dr. Har Dayal as is done by another modern scholar. But that explanation is supported by Asanga in his *Mahayanasutralankara-vrtti* XIX. 64 (*bodhan sprhayan khalu bodhisattvah*). Haribhadra in his *Abhisamayalankaraloka*, ed. Trivat. GOS p. 2, follows him when he writes: *bodhan bodhyapayo yesam te bodhisattvah*. This seems to be confirmed by the first thing of the very beginning of the career of a Bodhisattva, *i.e.*, his *bodhicittotpada* or the production of the thought of supreme enlightenment.

The temptation of connecting Pali *satta* in this connection with Sanskrit *sakta* was better suppressed than expressed.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

(1) MANASARA ON ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE, (2) ARCHITECTURE OF MANASARA, (3) ARCHITECTURE OF MANSARA: Plates. By *Prasannakumar Acharya, I.E.S., Professor, Allahabad University. Published by the Oxford University Press.*

These are the three concluding volumes of the monumental work on *Manasara*, by the Allahabad Professor. The first two volumes: (1) A Dictionary of Indian Architecture, and (2) Indian Architecture according to Manasara-Silpashastra appeared a few years ago and have been appreciated by the world of scholars, as proved by the fact that the gifted author is already preparing a second edition.

The third volume of the series, which is No. (1) of the three volumes under review contains the original text of the Manasara, with (*a*) a full alphabetical index, and (*b*) *critical notes*. The original text of the treatise is so notoriously and hopelessly corrupt that credit is due to Dr. Acharya for having provided a readable text. Anachronisms and grammatical anomalies with which the text abounds are the common feature of most Sanskrit treatises on technical subjects,—such as Medicine and Astronomy-Astrology. But the text of the *Manasara* is full of other defects as well. It must have cost the editor immense labour and not a little ingenuity to prepare a neat and readable text. The critical notes bear ample testimony to this.

The *Manasara*, it seems, was not meant by the author, whoever he was,—to be a scholarly and scientific work; it appears to have been meant as a Handbook for the guidance of practical builders and architects. This is the only explanation that we can find for the more than ordinary "barbarous Sanskrit" in which the work has been described as having been written. This is also indicated by the fact that the author's name is nowhere mentioned; and it is difficult to find out who the author was. Like many encyclopædic works, it has been attributed by Pandits to the great Scholar-King Bhojdeva of Dhara.

This leads us on to the second of the three volumes under notice,—which forms Vol. IV of the series, viz. the Preface, we are told in regard to the authorship of the original that—"up till now, no tangible statement or proof has been found as to the possibility of the treatise being the compilation of a number of authors instead of a single individual." There is thus a lot of uncertainty on this point, and the only reasonable view to take at prsent appears to be the one hinted at in this sentence. It is a practical handbook, added to from time to time as experience dictated. This also will account for the diversity of language and style.

This volume contains a complete English translation of the original, with full alphabetical Indices of Sanskrit and English terms. The translation is accurate and at the same time readable by itself, which cannot be said of most of our translations, which lose much of their readability through an attempt at literalness. Dr. Acharya has sailed clear of this difficulty and has succeeded in giving us a translation which can be read and understood by itself.

Some idea of the magnitude of the task to which Dr. Acharya set himself twenty years ago may be formed from the contents of the work. The whole work consists of 70 chapters, dealing with all the minute details relating to house-building, such as, qualifications of architects, selection of site, erection of the Gnomons for the orientation of buildings (a matter which is very badly understood by present-day builders), Site-plans, Village and Town and Fort planning, Dimensions, Foundation, Pedestal, Columns, Roofs, Joinery and general features. All these are dealt with in relation to buildings of one to twelve-storeys—(it seems we had sky-scrapers in ancient times). Next follow chapters dealing with Royal Palaces, Royal Entourage, Cars, Chariots, Furniture, Thrones, Arches, Central Theatre and Crowns. Lastly, there come Temples and Images, separate chapters being assigned to Jaina Images, Buddhist Images, Images of Sages, the comparative measures of Images. Special chapters are also devoted to the casting of Idols in Wax and the chiselling of the Eye. There are penalties also for defective construction.

The last volume of the series supplies elaborate plates providing full illustrations (drawn to scale) of architectural and sculptural objects. These are likely to be extremely useful to the extensive town and village-planning that is going to be undertaken in Bihar. It represents the practical outcome of the experience of centuries, and is likely to be more adapted to the climatic conditions of the country than the ideas derived from experience in other climes and other countries.

While congratulating Dr. Acharya on the completion of his monumental work, one cannot resist the temptation of requesting him to bring out, in course of the present year, if possible (in view of the likelihood of its being useful in the rebuilding of Bihar), a smaller volume containing, in brief, the main conclusions, specially those relating to the planning of villages and towns and the building of houses. This volume should not contain more than 200 or 250 pages. The utility of the work would be immensely enhanced if a Hindi translation also appeared simultaneously with the English version.

GANGANATH JHA.

DAYANAND COMMEMORATION VOLUME: *A Homage to Maharshi Dayanand Saraswati from India and the World in celebration of the Dayanand Nirvana Ardha Shatabdi. Edited by Har Bilas Sarda, M.L.A., Diwan Bahadur (Har Nivas, Civil Lines, Ajmer). Printed and Published by Chandmal Chandak at the Vedic Yantralaya, Qaisarganj, Ajmer, 1933. Pp. 418.*

It is a very good omen that we are thinking of our great men both living and dead, and trying to place

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before them, or in honour of their memory, our offerings of thanksgiving and tribute. A volume of appreciations, or of articles of literary or scientific value forms a fitting expression of this homage, and for this idea we are indebted to the West. German and other European scholars began the laudable practice of offering a volume of essays to a great man, usually a great scholar or writer, on his seventieth or seventy-fifth or eightieth year, to which all eminent men working in the same field, as well as eminent men in other departments who are his friends and admirers contribute. In India the first tribute of this kind that was paid to a great Indian was the Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, honouring the life and achievement of the late Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar. Then followed other commemorative volumes—The Golden Book of Tagore, The Madan Mohan Malavya Commemorative Volume, and those in honour of Sir P. C. Ray Professor Dhruva of the Benares Hindu University, Pandit Mahavir Prasad Dvivedi, besides volumes celebrating Pandit Gauri Shankar Hirachand Ojha, and Professor Pathak of Poona which are under preparation. Of these, the Tagore Volume and the Dvivedi Volume represent the high water-mark of book-production in India—the one in English, the other in Hindi. All the above *Festschrifts* are tributes offered to living scholars and writers, who have left their mark in the literary and intellectual life of India during the last two generations.

The Dayanand Commemoration Volume differs from the rest in that it celebrates the memory and the achievement of Dayanand Swami fifty years after his death. It is not a volume of learned and technical papers, it consists mainly of a series of appreciations and appraisements of the personality and the life-work of this illustrious son of India from over 120 men and women of light and leading, mostly from India and some from abroad. The name of Dayanand will go down to posterity as one of the makers of Modern India, and howsoever one might disagree with him in his Vedic interpretations and his opinions on religious matters, one is bound to admire the compelling sincerity and the burning zeal of this great religious reformer. He lashed the inert Hindu community with its passivity of lifelessness and callousness to an active ideal of self-purification and service, of unity and endeavour. We might not accept the bases of his claims for the superiority of his people, but we revere him and think of him with gratitude when we find that his clarion call shattered our tacit assumption of an inferiority complex in our communal existence, in practice if not in theory. Ignorance and Superstition, and Exploitation of these by priest-craft—he was sworn enemy to these; and he strove with his whole soul of a missionary to uplift the submerged masses. It was a most praiseworthy task undertaken by Mr. Har Bilas Sarda to publish so many and so various tributes to the memory of such a great man and he has achieved it very well. He has himself contributed a valuable Introduction with a sketch of Dayanand's career. The Commemoration Volume with its galaxy of contributions viewing the life and work of Dayanandji from many a diverse aspect is a work to keep. The printing and get-up are to be highly commended, considering that the work comes from a provincial press in India. There is a good collection of half-tone pictures of Dayanandji—and of places associated with his name, as well as of some of the more prominent people who came in touch with him.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

RIGVEDA UNVEILED (*Double Crown ... xix+1—296. Price Five Rupees only. Supplement to 'Rigveda Unveiled'—Purusha-Sukta ... Rigvedic hymn to the super-personal self, ... with commentary in English and introduction, ... Caste in true Hinduism.' (Double Crown i—... 1—104. Price One Rupee only). By Deijadatta, M.A., A. R. A. C.*

The task that Mr. Datta, an octogenerian, has ... before himself in these pages is mainly to demonstrate that the division of caste and untouchability ... unknown in the Rigveda and that the Rigveda strictly adhered to monotheism in the midst of what seem... to be polytheism and atheism. Of course, these ... no new discoveries and more than one scholar has dealt with or referred to them. Mr. Datta has, however, dealt with these topics with very great detail which occasionally abounds in repetitions. The supplement which is decidedly superior to the original work in point of typography is expected to be of greater use as well for the detailed explanation it gives of the *Purusha-sukta* which the author regards as the 'grandest of the inspired hymns of the world.' He, however, considers as later addition two of its well-known verses (11, 12) referring to the origin of caste-distinction and not the entire hymn as is done usually.

The works contain much valuable material—extensive citations from different parts of the Vedic literature which with proper arrangement and scientific tran... literation would have been of great use to scholars. What strikes us is the sincerity of purpose and earnestness of the learned writer who looks upon the Rigveda not only as the oldest literary remnant of the world but also as divine revelation and has, at this old age, taken upon himself the self-imposed task of writing this book with a view to giving publicity to his own independent views which were not likely to commend themselves to scholars at large. It is for this reason that he does not hesitate to quote both in the preface and also at the end of the supplement, some of the unfavourable opinions about his work. He seems to feel very strongly on the subject dealt with by him and apparently this has frequently led him to attribute motives to his opponents —ancient and modern—cherishing views different from those of his own and refer to them in strong and uncharitable terms. He is particularly unfavourable towards the members of the priest-craft who are ever supposed to be willing to consign the Rigveda to utter loss (Preface p. XIX). Sankara is stated to have never seen the Rigveda (p. 40) and he, along with Sayana, the great Vedic commentator, is accused of lack of moral courage and courage of conviction (p. 42) which stood in the way of their giving the correct interpretation of the vedic texts. He refers to what he believes to be intentional misrepresentation of Sayana (p. 59) and to his 'desire for making himself popular with the priesthood of his day for his interof fame' (p. 60) which was responsible for the Hindu tional tampering, with the 'true sense of the Holy Writ' (p. 60). Prof. MaxMuller's opinion on the Vedic deities is attributed to his desire 'to please his contemporaries' (on whose pleasure perhaps depended his Oxford job!). As a matter of fact, even admitting that Mr. Datta is quite correct in his conclusions regarding the absence of caste-system and prevalence of monotheism in Rigvedic times one really fails to understand how people who cannot look eye to eye with him

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accused of deliberately concealing the true facts. ...cannot be supposed that all the arguments of Mr. ... are convincing and free from doubt. Taking ...sionary instance, what authority has he to ... that the Aryans settled in five different ...s or branches and consequently were referred ...der the names *pancha kshiti* etc. (p. 48) ?

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

INDUSTHAN YEAR-BOOK AND ...S WHO, 1934 : *By S. C. Sarkar. Second ... of Issue. M. C. Sarkar and Sons Ltd., ... of Square, Calcutta. Price Twelve annas.*

...his book contains a great variety of statistical and ... information on various topics, such as are of ... necessity for journalists and other publicists ... students of current events in general, neatly ...ed and presented in an interesting manner. ...ery moderate price makes it possible even for ...or students to possess a copy, which they all ...t to do.

CHILD LABOUR IN INDIA : *By Rajani ...ha, M. Sc., Ph. D. International Labour ..., Geneva. 1934. Price 1s. 6d. Pp. 79.*

...Like all the other works of the author, this is a ...ssionate and scientific study of the subject, which ... great importance. The tables and other statis... information have been compiled from various ...s with great care. The brochure deserves to be ...d by all economists. Labour leaders, sociologists, ...publicists in general.

C.

THE STORY OF MY EXPERIMENTS ...H TRUTH : *By M. K. Gandhi, Vol. I. ...published in 1927, reprinted 1933. Navajiban ...ngs, Ahmedabad. Pp. iii+602. Price Rs. 5-8.*

...The first volume of Gandhiji's Autobiography has ...en reprinted after being out of market for ... than four years. Considering the demand for it, ...d hoped it would have been issued earlier, but ...s the political turmoils, from which the ...ajan Press has also suffered abundantly, have ...responsible for the delay in its appearance. ...The printing and general get-up of the book are, of ..., as good as they were in the former edition.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

GANDHI : *By P. Brijnath Sharga. In two ..... The Upper India Publishing House, ... Lucknow. Cloth bound Re. 1-8-0 and Paper ... Re. 1 per volume.*

...Mahatmaji's life has been told in many books, but ... has the merit of being a complete and ...ly written biography, bringing the story of his ...n to the 31st January, 1933. The first volume ...with the earlier years from 1869 to 1918, and ...ond dwells upon the emergence of Mahatmaji ...the field of Indian politics when event follows ...in quick succession ; this second volume is ...ovitable, being a running account of his life ... the period whose sounds echo still. The ..., who writes with spirit and, when occasion ... with humour, has ably seized upon the ...phases of Mahatmaji's life, and narrated them with skill, liberally quoting Gandhiji's own words. Gandhi the student, the barrister, the farmer and the spinner, has been drawn with effect and will be enjoyed in the reading.

Mr. Sharga's style is simple, though he is betrayed into an occasional fondness for long words ; the get-up is, however, not quite up to the mark and the typography is sometimes incorrect. In other respects the book is thoroughly commendable and it deserves to be popular.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

REVIVED MEMORIES : *By K. Subba Rao, with Foreword by The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri. Ganesh & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 3. Pp. 518.*

The book is a simple narration of the events which happened in the career of a person who led a chequered and varied life. Mr. Subba Rao had been a teacher before he became a journalist and a journalist before he chose to enter the Mysore Civil Service. As a teacher he had sufficient experience of the working of the Education Department of the Government of Madras, an experience which he has faithfully and unostentatiously reprodueed in the columns of the book under review. As a member of the editorial staff of the *Hindu*, he came into touch with men and things about whom he writes freely in these pages. He deals with the contemporary movements only in short but he gives us a good deal about the great men whom he met and had opportunity of studying at close quarters. G. Subramania Iyer, the founder and editor of the *Hindu*, M. Veeraraghavachariar, Justice Ranade, Sir Narayan Chandravarkar are among the galaxy of the great men of India whose memories have been revived in the book. The style is easy, unadorned, and the narration is interesting. Any man who wants to know something of the public life of Southern India in the last two decades of the nineteenth century would do well to go through this work.

NARESH CHANDRA ROY

THE RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS OF INTERNATIONALISM : *By Norman Bentwich, Weizmann Professor of the International Law of Peace at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Allen & Unwin Ltd., London. Price 10s. 6d. net.*

In this book, which embodies a course of lectures delivered in the Hebrew University at Jerusalem in 1932, the author discusses from the historical standpoint the contributions that the different religions of the world have made towards the development of the idea of internationalism. And his finding seems to be that neither Christianity nor the religions of the East have done so much for the growth of internationalism as Judaism and Islam.

"The Jew in the Middle Ages," we are told (p. 82), "was the 'first European' ; the Jew of today or tomorrow should be the first citizen of the world, spreading from this (?) centre the International of the Spirit, of which the dominant principles are the Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man."

But Christianity, he thinks, has generally erred on the side of nationalism. And "it is doubtful whether, with the exception of Islam, any agency has been so fruitful of wars as the Christian creed" (p. 86). Islam, according to this statement, was more fruitful of wars than Christianity ; but in a subsequent chapter we are told that Islam 'transcends nationalism' and 'aims at being universal' (p. 162). As regards

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Pan-Islamism, Mr. Bentwich thinks that the Great War has 'proved its hollowness' (p. 173).

The author is loud in praise of internationalism. We do not deny that in theory internationalism is a higher idea than nationalism. But when a young nation aspires to attain its full political stature internationalism may easily be a handicap rather than a help. Besides, the Jews who have hardly been a nation but only a wandering race, are not perhaps the people best fitted to hoist the flag of internationalism. Their internationalism is sometimes anti-national, or, else, their expulsion from Germany at the present juncture cannot be explained. And but for the Zionist movement which promised to give them a home of their own, the Jews have been strangers and sojourners in most countries of the world, and hence internationalism was more favourable to them than to others.

The most important constructive idea that the author puts forward is the idea of a *League of Religions* (ch. xii). This is admittedly (*Cf.* p. 265) based on the assumption that the League of *Nations* has been a great success. But since this book was written, there have been many important withdrawals from the League of Nations and it remains to be seen how much longer it will continue to function at all. Is not the scheme of a League of Religions a little premature then ?

We have had at least three 'Internationals' of politico-economic colour and the world is not better than before : Will the 'International of Spirit' professed by this author bring any better result ?

The writer begins his book with praise of Jerusalem as "the place to which half the world looks as the city of peace" (p. 15). But a few months back Jerusalem had been in the throes of a serious communal rioting and the two combatant branches of the Semitic race were kept apart by the arms of Britain as the mandatory power. The most international of the religions of the world—*viz.*, Judaism and Islam,—are at war, and Christianity, so fruitful of wars in the past, is holding the scales of justice.

Whether Mr. Bentwich's scheme is the best or not, the problem, however, of the future of human civilization is certainly there. Either human nature must improve itself, or, if present tendencies are allowed to continue, the future of the world is dark indeed !

U. C. Bhattacharjee

BENGALI

TRIPURA RAJYER CENSUS BIBARANI, *or The Census Report of the Kingdom of Tripura, for 1340 Tripura Era (roughly corresponding to 1931). By Thakur Sri Somendra Chandra Deva Barma, M. A. (Harvard), Census Officer, Senior Nayeb Dewan.*

In Tripura it has been the practice to transact all official business and to write all official reports in Bengali. The Census Report also has been accordingly written in Bengali. It consists of two parts, the first part, the report proper, containing 116 pages and the second part, the imperial and the provincial tables, 181 pages. There are, besides, a map in many colours, other maps in black and white, many diagrams in many colours, several graphs, many half-tone reproductions of photographs of local tribes and castes, etc. It is a very ably compiled interesting and informing volume.

C.

BODHICARYAVATARA OF SANTIDE... *Ninth Chapter entitled Prajnaparamita (Go... Kumar Sanskrit series No. 1), Part I. E... by Gopaldas Chaudhuri, M.A., B. L. ... by Gopendra Kumar Chaudhuri, M.A., ... 32, Beadon Row, Calcutta.*

It gives the Bengali translation and the text in Be... characters of the ninth chapter of the famous ... important Buddhist Sanskrit work *Bodhicaryaval...* of Santideva who is supposed by some scholars ... have been a Bengalee. There is a detailed introdu... in three chapters discussing the doctrines of Bud... philosophy and drawing attention to the close re... in which they stand to similar doctrines of Brahm... philosophy. Both the translation and the introdu... are from the pen of Hariharananda Aranya. *Pra... paramita* is one of the most important topics ... with in great detail in more than one philosop... works of the Buddhists. Mr. Chaudhuri has, there... done well in making an attempt at familiarizing ... reading public of Bengal with an idea of the su... which has been treated only incidentally and be... in the work of Santideva. The work has very l... of sectarianism in it and will be read with profit ... interest by all. The translation has been supplemen... occasionally by detailed explanations. The langu... is, however, sometimes involved and a little s... simplification would have been highly welcome. ... regards printing it needs be pointed out that the ... should have been given in a bold type and not in ... same small type as has been used for the transla... and explanation. In commending this work to ... notice of the public we hope, through the enterp... of the learned editor who is also well known as ... financier of good causes, this work will be ... followed up by similar other works—specially tra... tions of Pali works—as promised in the edito... preface.

Chintaharan Chakravart...

HINDI

VISNUPURANA (*Sri Banarasi Devi Ch... wal Dharmagranthamala No 1.*) *With text, H... translation and eight full-page tri-colour illustrati... Translated by Munilal Gupta. Gita Press, Gorakh...*

The Gita Press is to be congratulated on bring... out this beautiful and business-like edition of ... the most important of the Sanskrit Puranas. ... work is printed in two columns—the left-hand co... gives the original text in bold type and the right-h... column contains in simple Hindi the translation ... which are inserted, within double brackets, explana... phrases, in cases where a literal translation is ... expected to make the sense quite clear. This arra... ment of placing the translation just by the si... the text will be greatly appreciated by the re... reader as this will not require him to hunt up ... the translation of any particular passage. Those ... have not the time to read such a big volume ... profit by going through the portions underlined ... the text. These contain some precious gems ... Sanskrit literature which will give a rough i... the lofty thoughts contained in the work. The ... of the book—rupees two and annas eight only... been made very cheap in consideration of its ... and beautiful get-up.

Chintaharan Chakravart...

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ORIYA

PURNACHANDRA ORDIA BHASHA-KOSHA. *a Lexicon of the Oriya language. By Gopal Chandra Praharaj, M. A., B. L., Vols. I, II and III. To be completed in 3 more volumes. Royal Quarto.*

This encyclopaedic dictionary of the Oriya language has been named after Purnachand Bhanja Deo, the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj, its patron. It gives the English meaning of every Oriya word; Bengali synonyms of Oriya words, wherever possible; quotations and authority to support the meanings of Oriya words; philological, mythological, historical, geographical, biographical, astronomical, medical, scientific and other notes on the lines of modern encyclopaedias; Sanskrit synonyms of Oriya words, as far as possible; and English transliteration of every Oriya word.

It will thus be seen that this lexicon will be of use not only to those whose mother-tongue is Oriya but also to those others who want to learn Oriya, but also to those whose mother-tongue is Bengali or Hindi.

This dictionary shows how close to one another Oriya and Bengali are.

On account of its bulk, it may not be convenient for constant reference. But it will be of great use to scholars. Perhaps when the publication of the work is complete, the author will publish an abridged edition of it, like the abridged editions of Webster's dictionary and Murray's Oxford dictionary of the English language.

We do not know whether it is possible to use smaller Oriya type than what has been used in this voluminous work—much smaller English, Bengali and Hindi types are in use. But if it had been possible to use smaller type, the bulk and price of the work would have been considerably reduced.

The author and his assistants are to be congratulated on their great industry, learning and perseverance.

C.

GUJARATI

JAGAT KADAMBARIO MAN SARASWATICHANDRA NUN STHAN: *By Nanalal Dalpatram Kavi, M. A. Printed at the Kumar Printery, Ahmedabad. Cloth:bound. Pp. 61. Price Re. 1-4-0. (1933).*

Saraswatichandra is a socio-political novel, spread out into four volumes, ponderous and heavy. It has, in spite of it, maintained its premier place in Gujerati literature ever since it was written nearly half a century ago. It is a mosaic of ideas, ideals, precepts, principles, facts and dreams. The well-known poet, Nanalal Kavi, conceived about twenty-five years ago the idea of writing a *critique* of it, and the book under notice is that *critique* or review. It is an attempt to assign this particular production of the late Mr. G. M. Tripathi, the author of this novel, its proper place in the literature of the world, and with that view Mr. Nanalal has passed under his able review the best works of fiction in the languages of the world, English, French, German, Spanish, American, Sanskrit, Arabic, and others. As a bird's-eye view of all these literatures, it presents a picture till now not procurable in our literature, and as such, is a unique production. Saraswatichandra is as yet untranslated into any other language excepting a couple of Indian vernaculars. Therefore, students of the literatures of foreign countries are not expected to know its merits, demerits, or its existence even: consequently they cannot assign it its proper place in any world-wide literature. The only alternative left, in consequence, to people like us, at the other end was to study world literature ourselves and try to assign it a niche, according to our likes, and that is what Mr. Nanalal has done. As to whether the niche assigned is the proper one or is acceptable to the *savants* of the world, we have no means of knowing or ascertaining. That being so, we must follow our own view-point and till dislodged, hold on to it. The book betrays a deep and wide study of the subject, and a very welcome presentation thereof.

K. M. J.

LONDON LETTER

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

The Government's Failures

Since the War the prestige of Great Britain in world affairs has never stood higher than when Mr. Arthur Henderson was at the Foreign Office. It was he who got rid of Lloyd in Egypt—he who put an end to Occupation in Germany and evacuated the soldier from the Rhineland. His Foreign policy was always positive. Everyone could see what he was aiming at and so he inspired confidence. As a French Cabinet minister said of him, he never finessed for effect. "In negotiating he always went straight to the root of the matter." Foreign statesmen showed the respect they had for Mr. Henderson when they invited him to become President of the Disarmament Conference. Because they had chosen him, he took up the office of President even though his own Government had fallen by that time and he was no longer Foreign Secretary.

It may be crying for the moon to imagine how very different would have been the course of world events in the last two years if Arthur Henderson had been at their heart—instead of Sir John Simon, who can never be at the heart of anything, but must always be "detached." Yet such speculations are inevitable at the present time, when an evil crown has just been set on the failure of our Foreign policy in the Far East.

The Far East

This week Pu Yi, the former Emperor of China, has been crowned Emperor of Manchukuo. He has been crowned by his country's invaders, the Japanese. The new State of Manchukuo has not been recognized by any Power except

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Japan whose creation it is. Japan has annexed it after a successful war, a war which she never declared. In the same spirit she says she has not annexed it—and Pu Yi's part is to be the outward and undeniable evidence of Manchukuo's "independence."

What a situation! Japan has introduced a a new method into international behaviour and we have allowed it to succeed. In vain the Chinese Government has issued a statement that the situation in Manchukuo can be regarded as nothing but one of *armed occupation*. It may be. But possession is nine points of the law—and the Foreign Secretary is a lawyer!

During Sir John Simon's tenure of the Foreign Office we have thrown away our influence in the Far East. We used to be a force to be reckoned with, but now that title has passed to the United States. The National Government throughout has acted as if the annexation of Manchuria were entirely a Sino-Japanese issue and of no consequence to this country. While Japan was invading Chinese territory, they refused to express any opinion whatever or to lift a finger to hinder her. In the best legal tradition they delayed and delayed arriving at any decision. And when at last the League of Nations sent out the Lytton Commission, they used it as a further excuse for doing nothing, because the matter could be said to be *sub-judice*.

The inevitable result, of course, of all this moral cowardice was to rob the Lytton Report in advance of any weight it might have carried with Japan. Japan had been dealing out fire and slaughter in China for months and months and no Great Power (with the solitary exception of the United States) had made even the feeblest protest. So that when the Lytton Report came up for judgment before the League, and the League voted solidly against Japan, Japan merely walked out of the League.

And so Pu Yi is Emperor of Manchukuo!

What Sir John Simon and the National Government overlooked was the fact that quite apart from the Lytton Report, and for years before it, this country had been bound in honour to uphold the territorial integrity of China. In January 1921, at the Washington Conference, we were one of the signatories of the None-Power Pact. By the terms of this Pact we are pledged to "respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China."

Things bad begun make strong themselves by ill. Japan's easy evil success in Manchuria has tempted her to look for more territories to conquer. Every member of the Diet who voted supplies for the war in China has been presented with an imperial decoration and now Japan is preparing to attack Russia. She hopes that this new war will enable her to annex the Maritime Provinces.

Yet when Mr. Lansbury protested in the House of Commons against Japanese agres... in China, he was greeted with howls of "... from the Government benches. Well, the f... of our Government's timidity are not peace... the possibility of a new Russo-Japanese War.

Where We failed

What then might Sir John Simon have do... What, we may ask, would Arthur Hend... have done? I think he might, in the first pl... have associated England with the United St... in the latter's declaration that she would recog... no state of affairs in Manchuria brought a... by Japan as a result of using war as an ins... ment of national policy. Almost certainly... could have induced France, and probably sev... other Powers, to join in such a declaration. Y... and unlike Sir John Simon, when he had ... an embargo on the export of arms to Japan ... would have stuck to that embargo, no mat... what other countries did about it or what pr... their armament makers deflected from ours. Ab... all, he would have done everything he could ... make it easy for Japan to retrace her steps a... accept the Lytton Report—which did make ma... concessions to the Japanese view-point and co... have been adopted by her without loss of fa... He would not have treated her in the idiotic a... unfair manner of the National Governme... indulgence first and condemnation when it ... too late.

A policy of moral suasion might ha... succeeded. "Ideals admired and striven for c... stitute human facts," as a famous historian ... observed. But even if Japan had continued ... be intractable, there were other methods besi... war, of putting pressure upon her. There ... for instance, the policy recently advocated ... the League of Nations Union. Last Septem... its organ *Headway* suggested the following s... should China again appeal to the Lea... Ambassadors could be withdrawn from To... In co-operation with America there could ... exercised "concerted economic pressure on Ja... by a general refusal to accept imports from th...

But Sir John Simon did none of these th... and war still rumbles about Asia. The Co... vative supporters of the National Governm... have been revolting against him. Not bec... of his mishandling of the Far Eastern ques... but because of the speech which he made in ... Disarmament Conference last October whe... drove Germany out of the League.

Austria

To have driven Japan and Germany out... the League is a grave enough indictment ... unfortunately that is not the whole count a... British Foreign policy. Neither Sir John S... nor Mr. Ramsay MacDonald can escape ... responsibility for the recent terrible happe... in Austria. For these happenings were ins... by Signor Mussolini—and Mussolini has ...

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given far too much encouragement, especially by the Prime Minister. Their heads were much too close together during all the time that the Four Power Pact was under discussion.

The Four Power Pact was killed just after its birth through the Nazi excesses in Germany and Signor Mussolini then turned his restless ambition to Austria. Austria used to be, in the words of the leader of the Social Democratic Party, "an island of democracy, an island of freedom in the sea of Fascism." Now she is no longer democratic and she may never again be free. She is likely either to lose her identity in Germany or become a Fascist vassal of Italy. Indeed, she seems to be more than half the vassal of Italy already.

The truth about the Austrian tragedy is gradually being unfolded. For some time, it will be remembered, the Constitution had been suspended. The Social Democrats had allowed Dr. Dollfuss to become virtual Dictator in order that Austria might present a united front to Nazi Germany. But it now appears that Dr. Dollfuss, the seeming saviour of his country, in reality sold the pass to Italy last August.

He met Signor Mussolini at Riccione and there struck a bargain with him: Italy would guarantee Austria against German aggression and, in return, Dr. Dollfuss would put the Fascists in the saddle in Austria. Accordingly in September a political crisis developed in Vienna and at the end of it, it was found that Major Fey, the leader of the Austrian Fascists, had become Vice-Chancellor and the real ruler of Austria, while every democratic element had been superseded.

The Fascists soon showed their hand. An order was at once issued establishing Concentration Camps. That same day the Social Democratic Members of Parliament wished to publish a Manifesto—and the Press were forbidden to print it. And yet, according to the figures for the last election held in Austria, the Austrian Fascists polled only 226,000 votes, or *one-third of the individual membership of the Austrian Social Democratic Party.*

Attempts have been made to condone the present Fascist massacre of the Social Democrats on the grounds that the Social Democrats undoubtedly had dome arms and machine-guns. The truth is that both the Social Democrats and the Fascists were armed. The Social Democrats had the Republican Defence Corps, known as the Schutzbund and the Fascists their private army known as the Heimwehr.

It is the crime of Dr. Dollfuss that instead of seeking to disband both private armies, he countenanced and encouraged one of them—and actually employed it against the other. And the one he encouraged had received its arms from Italy. It was already immeasurably better armed than the Schutzbund. But in the September in which the Fascists came into power in Austria, Dr. Dollfuss asked for 16,000 rifles to be given to their Heimwehr

When he did this, he was carrying out the behest of his master in Rome. Foreign Correspondents of newspapers so diverse in tone as the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Morning Post*, and the *Daily Telegraph*, all tell the same story. The Italian Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Signor Suvich, visited Vienna and promised that Italy would occupy Austria if Austria were threatened by Germany, "provided that, in the meantime, Austria got rid of her Socialists and established a Fascist regime on Italian lines."

Thus it came about that on February 11th, the eve of the Massacre, Major Fey, the leader of the Heimwehr and Vice-Chancellor of Austria, told a Heimwehr meeting: "To morrow we shall set to work, and we shall do our job thoroughly…" The "job" was done thoroughly enough. On the plea of searching for illegal arms, the heavily-armed illegal Heimwehr forced its way into every Social-Democratic quarter in Vienna. The Social-Democrats resisted and for the first time in history artillery was brought into action in a city riot. It was turned on the lovely and famous homes built by the Socialist Municipality in Vienna for their workers. Those famous buildings, which so many architects have visited from all over the world were turned into shambles. And all to gratify Italy! The Foreign Correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, writing on 15th February, reported that "Troops and Heimwehr, now openly wearing Italian steel helmets, were occupying building after building."

The bloodshed, and the executions which have followed, do not bear thinking on. Always it is the same story, that Social Democrats went to their death happy on the consciousness of having done their duty "in defence of liberty and social democracy." One can only remember with thankfulness the story of an English socialist, many years ago, who, when told that his men had been deported and his cause was dead, replied: "But I believe in the Resurrection!"

What We Might Have Done

And what might England have done to prevent all this? Well, in the first place we might have tried to do something to relieve the desperate plight of Austria. Austria could never be free and independent unless she could join in an economic federation with Germany or with the other countries of the Danube. But some of the Danubian countries follow France and some Italy, so we stood aloof and allowed the matter to become a bone of contention between France and Italy. Meanwhile the depression and the rise of Nazi-ism in Germany gave Austria her *coup de grace*, with the result that Austria threw herself on Italy's protection. Thus it has come about that there is now an Austrian question in Europe, with a strong possibility of war between Italy and Germany. And where would that war end?

Then we have certainly no excuse for allowing Italy to export arms to Austria. Arms are

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exported under licence and only last year it was pointed out at Geneva that a scrutiny of the returns showed that apparently far more arms were being exported than imported. How could that be explained and where was the margin going? We might have been more alive to that danger while we were drafting Pacts in the company of Signor Mussolini.

But if even the Conservatives are at last beginning to realize the futility of allowing Sir John Simon to remain at the Foreign Office, he is a very difficult person to unhorse. He has thirty-two Liberal Nationals to support him—and if he withdrew with them from the National Government, the last pretence of this Government being "National" would go with him. So, in the interests of electioneering, Sir John Simon will probably remain unless the ruins he has made begin to frighten even his complacency and he goes of his own choosing.

Housing at Home.

Another conspicuous failure of the National Government is the Minister of Health. He has just provoked a storm of indignation by complacently declaring in the House of Commons that "there is no doubt" that the demand for small houses to let at rents of 10/- a week or less is being adequately met. Such an assertion is of course ludicrous. In London alone, at the time of the last Census, 144,802 families were living in one room and 255,484 families in two rooms.

The housing problem has always been, and, until we get rid of poverty, will always be a problem of how to provide houses at rents low enough to be met by workers whose earnings range from 35/- to 45/- a week. But the Minister, as we have seen, denies that the problem exists. And worse still he has made it more acute by repealing the Wheatley Housing Act of 1924 which, as the *Star* points out, "was the means of providing 60,000 houses per annum for letting at standard rents."

A well-known economist, Sir Walter Layton, addressing a meeting of the National Association of Building Societies the other day, estimated that between 1931 and 1951 from 4000,000 to 6000,000 houses required to be built. But what is the Minister of Health doing to catch up on this? His sole contribution has been the 1933 Act. This Act was launched with a flourish of trumpets, but from the beginning it has been ignored or disliked by those who should have put it into operation to—the local authorities, building societies, and private builders. And the one fact that emerges is that since it came into operation, only eighteen local authorities in England and Wales have had anything to do with it.

No wonder the Conservatives are walking up to the indignation that is growing in the country. No wonder there are rumours that the Government may even administer the intolerable snub to Sir Hilton Young of relieving him of part of his duties and appointing instead a Minister of Housing.

But perhaps all that will happen is that the Government will appoint a National Housing Board. There is much to be said for such an idea—and it is worth noting that it has been lifted from the Labour Party's recently published Housing Programme.

Economy by Starvation

If in Foreign Affairs and Housing Policy the Government has been subjected to severe criticism, the severest blow to their prestige was dealt them in the House of Commons a fortnight ago, on the issue of *hunger*. An amendment to the Unemployment Insurance Bill was before the House to increase the weekly allowance to the children of the unemployed from 2/- to 3/-. Such an increase would have cost the country only the relatively paltry sum of £1,000,000 a year. And in any event, who can believe that it is possible to feed a child on 2/- a week?

But the Government rejected the amendment, in spite of the fact it received considerable support from all parts of the House and was in fact introduced by a Conservative member. They rejected the amendment—but their hitherto overwhelming majority dwindled to only 52, and there were even cries of "resign" and "send for the Prime Minister."

This vote for Hunger, and it is nothing less, will take a lot of living down on the part of the Government. It is not even as if we are still in the slough of the Depression. Though even during a Depression, it is hard to see the "economy" achieved by starving children. But it has come at a time when prosperity is returning and there is even a Budget surplus.

It is safe to say that not a single Member of the House of Commons will have to try to feed and clothe a child on 3½*d.* a day. Then how in Heaven's name dare they hand that problem to the unemployed?

With that vote the National Government lost any title it might have to the respect of humane men and women.

Local Government Elections

That the tide is turning in this country against the National Government and all its works has been clearly shown in the recent by-elections. It has been even more strikingly exhibited in the County Council elections that have been held this week. Striking Labour victories have been won all aver the country and now solid Conservative London has fallen to the Labour assault.

This is all the more striking because of the tremendous attack that has been launched against Labour day after day by the Press with its millions of circulation controlled by Lords Beaverbrook and Rothermere. Indeed

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Lord Beaverbrook himself had not only used his newspapers, but has been taking part night after night on the Tory platforms making speeches against Labour and the Co-operative Societies and in favour of the Conservatives.

On the London County Council, at the beginning of this week, the Conservatives held 53 seats, Labour 35 seats and the Liberals 6 seats.

Nobody knows what a Liberal is nowadays in this country. There are so many varieties of them and their opinions are in a constantly changing and fluid state, so that it is not surprising that no single Liberal has been returned to the London County Council.

In addition to the 6 seats which they have captured from the Liberals, the Labour Party has captured 27 seats from the Conservatives—so that it has now a clear majority of 14 and will now control the destinies of Greater London, which have been in Conservative hands for the last twenty-seven years without a change.

It is significant that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's daughter, realizing she would be defeated, did not try to fight her seat. The Tory candidates who were supported by Mr. J. H. Thomas and others of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's so-called National Labour Party, have all been defeated.

This is a good omen for the next General Election and incidentally for India—as Labour is pledged to give India self-government on a constitution framed in consultation with India, with only such safe-guards as are agreed to be in the interests of India.

March 9, 1934.

FINANCIAL NOTES

BY SAILENDRA NATH SEN GUPTA, M.A.

The Indian Tariff (Amendment) Bill and the Tariff Board Report

THE Indian Tariff (Textile Protection) Amendment Bill was introduced in the Legislative Assembly on February 5, and almost simultaneously, the Report of the Tariff Board "regarding the grant of Protection to the Cotton Textile Industry" was released. The Report was signed about sixteen months ago but was deliberately kept under lock and key till its release. During this period, we have had the Indo-Japanese agreement and the Mody-Clare-Lees pact. The Tariff Bill embodies the essentials of these agreements and the recommendations of the Tariff Board have been virtually thrown overboard.

The Tariff Board Report

For the amount of information contained and the cogency of the arguments adduced, the Tariff Board Report has few rivals. It begins with a chapter on the history of the present Protective Duties followed by another on an export survey of the cotton industry in India and the Indian market for cotton products. The latter chapter contains a sound review of the growth of Japanese competition in recent years of the relative decline of the British share in textile imports and of the achievement of the Indian industry "in expanding and improving its production and in securing a larger share of the Indian market." In the next chapter, on the "Progress of the Indian Industry," we find a detailed treatment of the available raw material, of the condition of Labour and a description of the organization of the Cotton Industry as a whole. In the next chapter, the Report considers some criticisms of the Managing Agency systems and recommends legislative measures for the prevention of the abuses. The Report next determines the extent of assistance required by the Industry by an analysis of average costs and on the basis of the three conditions formulated by the Fiscal Commission, considers the claim of the Industry to Protection. The claim is upheld and in Chapter VII, a scheme of protection is outlined. The Tariff Board recommends that protection should be given for ten years at least and that specific duties should be imposed so far as possible in preference to the *ad valorem* duties. A chapter devoted to the Hand-loom Industry and another to subsidiary Industries, such as the Hosiery manufacture and the manufacture of the Braid (Ghoonsi and Muktakesi). In the last chapter on "Supplementary Proposals," duties on artificial silk goods, raw cotton starch and grey yarn are considered. In this chapter it is held that there is no case at present for the adoption of any special measure to counter the efforts ot the depreciation of the yen.

The principles underlying the recommendations of the Report are mainly these:

1. The protection must be assured for *at least* ten years, and there should be no periodic enquiries during this period.

"In view of the difficulties which face the industry at present and equally of the important national interests which are involved, we do not think that ten years can be regarded as too long a period. Unless protection is assured for a period of at least ten years, the capital required by the better class of mills for further development will not be forthcoming. It is rather the stability than the rate of protection which encourages the investment of capital in a protected industry.

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The Indian cotton textile industry……has been recently the subject of many public enquiries. Such enquiries repeated at frequent intervals must militate against healthy development. We think that the industry should now be allowed a period of rest from these harassing enquiries" (p. 142).

The recent Tariff Bill, as will be seen, utterly disregards this principle.

2. As regards the medium counts, there should be no discrimination in favour of British manufactures.

"We consider it of the greatest importance for the future of the industry that this rate of progress should be maintained and for this reason we are of the opinion that protection should be granted to the Indian industry against goods imported from the United Kingdom as well as from other countries" (p. 147). Then "as regards goods of medium counts, we have the following," "……it seems to us essential, in order to safe-guard the Indian industry, that these duties should be *equally* applicable to such goods when imported from the United Kingdom" (p. 151).

In the proposed schedule given in Chapter XI of the Report we find that there is no distinction whatsoever drawn between imports from the United Kingdom and those from other countries.

In the Bill, this principle has also been disregarded and in pursuance to the notorious Mody-Lees Pact, the duties on goods imported from the United Kingdom have been reduced for the period up to March 31, 1935.

3. The third principle is that specific duties should be imposed for protection so far as possible.

"It is generally admitted that specific duties are a more appropriate form of taxation where taxes are imposed for prospective purposes than *ad valorem* duties. The amount of protection received by an Industry under a system of *ad valorem* duties tend to diminish when there is a fall in the price of imported articles. On the other hand it is when a fall occurs in the prices of imported articles that the need for protection is greater" (p. 127).

It is the general custom to provide for both specific and *ad valorem* duties in the Tariff Schedule and to levy the higher duty. In the new Tariff Bill also there is provision for specific duties though the rates are slightly different.

It will be instructive to compare the schedule of the new Tariff Bill with that proposed by the Tariff Board.

The Tariff Bill

The new Tariff Bill, as is well known, has incorporated both the Indo-Japanese Agreement and the Bombay-Lancashire Pact. The Bill is at present before the Legislative Assembly but it is almost certain that the Bill will come out of the legislative anvil without any serious alteration.

It is prescribed (ch. 4) that the operation of the proposed bill is to last for five years only till March 31, 1939, as against the period of ten years recommended by the Tariff Board. There is also provision that the rates of duty imposed would be capable of alteration within this period. On the expiry of the period of agreement between the Millowners' Association, Bombay, and the Lancashire Textile Delegation on December 31, 1935, the adequacy of the rate imposed on British manufactures "will be subject of investigation with a view to its revision if necessary." A second investigation and revision will be necessary when the period covered by the Indo-Japanese Treaty expires on March 31, 1937.

We shall now discuss the rates of duties proposed in the Bill confining ourselves to cotton products only. It is to be remembered that according to the Mody-Lees Pact the duties on cotton piece-goods of British manufacture will be reduced to a basic rate of 20 per cent *ad valorem*, or in the case of plain greys, $3\frac{1}{2}$ annas per pound till December 31, 1935. The rates of duties on British manufactures given below, therefore, hold only for the period subsequent to that date.

Cotton Twist and Yarn: The old rate was (with the surcharge imposed in 1931), $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent *ad valorem* or $1\frac{7}{8}$ anna per lb. whichever is higher. The Tariff Board recommends $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent *ad valorem* or 1 anna per lb. whichever is higher for counts up to 50 and only an *ad valorem* duty of $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent for counts above 50. There is no distinction as to the source of import. According to the Tariff Bill, the duties on counts up to 50 are to be $6\frac{1}{4}$ *ad valorem* or $1\frac{7}{8}$ anna per lb. on non-British imports, and 5 per cent *ad valorem* or $1\frac{1}{4}$ anna per lb. on British products, on counts above 50 only the *ad valorem* duties will apply and at the same rate.

Cotton Piece-goods: The old rate was 25 per cent *ad valorem* on British goods and $31\frac{1}{4}$ per cent on others. The new rates will be 25 per cent on British goods and 50 per cent on others. There are also specific rates of duty on grey piece-goods except chaddar, dhuties, saries etc., at $4\frac{3}{8}$ annas per lb. in case of British goods and $5\frac{1}{4}$ annas per lb. in case of others. The Tariff Board recommended specific duties on *all* kinds of piece-goods *e.g.*, 5 annas per lb. in case of Plain grey, $5\frac{1}{4}$ annas for Bordered grey, $6\frac{1}{3}$ annas for coloured and dyed and 6 annas for bleached and other varieties of piece-goods. No discrimination was made in favour of British goods as far as specific duties are concerned.

Cotton Fabric: For cotton fabric in which cotton forms 50 per cent or less, non-British goods will be charged 50 per cent *ad valorem* while the rate will be 30 per cent in case of British goods, specific duties* are also provided for.

Braids: As regards cotton braids (Ghoonsis and Muktakeshis), the Tariff Board recommends

* That is, the *higher* of the two rates of duty will be charged in each case.

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to levy a specific duty of 6¼ per cent per
d instead of an *ad valorem* duty of 25 per cent)
s been adopted.

Hosiery: On undervests, socks and
Cotton the new rates will be 25 per cent
ckings or 9 annas per lb. The present rate
valorem or 9 annas per lb. The present rate
5 per cent or Re. 1/8 per dozen in case of
dervests and 10 annas per dozen in case of
ks and stockings. The Tariff Board recom-
ded 25 per cent or Re. 1/8 per dozen of
dervests and 8 annas per dozen of socks and
ckings. The new Bill has clearly adopted the
ddle course between the two.

The Railway Budget for 1934-1935

In presenting the Railway Budget for 1934-35, Joseph Bhore, the Member-in-charge, discussed result of the working of the Railways for 33 and also the revised estimate for 1933-34. year 1932-33 was the worst year for the Railways ring recent times. The gross traffic receipts hed the lowest recorded figure of Rs. 84·43 es and the deficit amounted to Rs. 10·23 crores. deficit was met by a temporary loan from the preciation Fund. When Sir Joseph budgeted an increased earnings for the year 1933-34, re were a good many critics who considered the more hopeful outlook of the Railway ster was not warranted by anything more ssential than a facile optimism. As a matter fact, however, Sir Joseph has proved a better phet than his critics. The revised estimates 1933-34 show total receipts at Rs. 86·5 crores d a deficit of Rs. 7·78 crores as against ·23 crores in the preceding year. The net receipts show an increase from Rs. 21·58 es in 1932-33 to Rs. 28·35 in 1934-35. After adjustments the net revenue is: Rs. 22·68 es in 1932-33, Rs. 24·62 crores in 1933-34 and ·73 crores in 1934-35. The interest charges Rs. 32·91 crores in 1932-33 (actuals), Rs. 32·40 es in 1933-34 (Revised estimates) and Rs. 32·05 es in 1934-35 (Budget estimate). The reduction e to the reduction of the borrowing rate for Government of India. The deficit will there-
be Rs. 5·30 crores in 1934-35 up to March 1935, the total deficit of the Railways will ount to Rs. 37·70 crores. Out of this, contri-
ions to the General Revenues in 1929-30 and ·91 account for Rs. 11·86 crores. To meet the at Rs. 27·96 crores have already been taken m the Reserve Fund and the Depreciation Fund and the temporary loan ·56 crores. Thus, it is from their own resources that the ways meet the deficits. The position of the ways in spite of the deficits is thoroughly d. Had they been run on ordinary commer-
l lines, the Railway authorities would have been a position to declare a dividend of 3·2 per cent during these years of depression.

The yield of gilt-edged securities are at present ween 3·3 to 3·9 per cent. This will be enough to show the secure position of the Railways as a going concern. Ordinarily the amount that is appropriated to the Depreciation Fund is considerably more than the actual amount required to be withdrawn from the fund for renewals and replacements. The total appropriations to the fund since 1924-25 to 1934-35 amount to Rs. 135 crores, whereas withdrawals to meet cost of renewals and replacements amount to Rs. 96 crores so that Rs. 39 crores remain as balance. Temporary withdrawals will amount to Rs. 27·56 crores, so that the closing balance of the Depreciation Fund on March 31, 1935 is anticipated to be Rs. 11·44 crores.

Some important changes have been made in the forms of account. The working expenses from 1934-35 are being exhibited in forms which are new. These forms have been drawn up in consultation both with the Public Accounts Committee and the Standing Finance Committee for Railways and are radically different from the forms so long used. The result has been a more scientific and intelligible statement of the accounts but comparison with previous years has become impossible. Another important change has been to include in the form of the estimates the receipts and expenditure of lines belonging to private companies or Indian States, but worked by State Railway Systems for a percentage of the gross earnings. This change is according to the recommendation of Sir Arthur Dickinson and has been approved by the Standing Finance Committee for Railways. The nature of the change has been explained in the following way by Sir Joseph Bhore in his speech:

"The practice hitherto followed was to deduct both the receipts and expenditure of these lines from the total receipts and expenditure of the system by which they were administered. ... The statistics and accounts should properly be based on the total receipts and expenditure of the entire system. As a result of the change the receipts of the worked lines will be added to the receipts of the State-owned lines, and out of the total the Legislature will be asked to vote the gross expenditure for working the railway system as a whole including the worked lines. The Legislature will also be asked to vote the sums which will be handed over to the owners of these lines as the share of the earnings which, under contract, the working agency is required to hand over to them after retaining the percentage fixed in the contract."

Coming to the details of the 1934-35 Budget we find that total gross receipts from traffic will amount to Rs. 94·25 crores. The Passenger traffic will contribute Rs. 28·40 crores (31 per cent) and Goods traffic Rs. 59·33 crores (63 per cent). Of the total Passenger traffic earnings, the upper class will contribute Rs. 3·13 crores, or only 11 per cent and third class will contribute the rest, that is, 89 per cent.

The major items of working expenses are as follows:

Maintenance of structural works	Rs.	8.93 crores
Maintenance and supply of Locomotive power	„	17·02 „

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Maintenance of Carriage and Wagon stock	Rs.	5·82 crores
Expenses of Traffic Department	„	4·96 „
Expenses of General Departments	„	4·26 „

As against this the Emergency deductions from pay will provide a crore of rupees. Miscellaneous charges will amount to Rs. 1·60 crores and Interest charges to Rs. 32·05 crores. Rs. 13·65 crores will be appropriated to the Depreciation Fund. Thus we have

Gross Traffic Receipts	Rs.	94·25 crores
Less Operating Expenses		52·25 „
Depreciation Fund		13·65 „
Net Traffic Receipts		28·35 „
Less Interest Charges		32·05 „
Miscellaneous Charges		1·60 „
Deficit		5·30 „

As regards Capital expenditure, it is proposed to spend about Rs. 14·27 crores. Out of which about Rs. 70 lakhs will be found by Reduction of stores balances, 7 lakhs from Emergency deductions from pay and 15 lakhs from revenue for Hardinge Bridge works and earthquake damages. We are thus left with Rs. 13.35 crores to account for. Rs. 4·57 crores will go to new works on Capital account and Rs. 8·67 crores will be found from the Depreciation Fund. As regards new works the only item of any importance for which any large provision has been made in the budget are the extension of the Khargpur power house, the remodelling of the Hubli station yard, the rebuilding of the Gorai bridge and the remodelling of the Jamalpur workshops. Out of the 8·67 crores from the Depreciation Fund 1½ crores are required for works in progress, about 4¾ crores for track renewals and 3¼ crores for rolling-stock, which includes the purchase of 2900 new wagons.

Two railways in particular have suffered heavily from the effects of the earthquake and it appears likely that the damage will amount to over 75 lakhs and may well reach a crore. Again, the considerable breach caused to the protective works of the Hardinge Bridge (Sara Bridge) would necessitate the expenditure of a large sum in strengthening and extending the protection and training works. The total cost is estimated to be well over a crore. In the present budget Rs. 1·08 crores have been provided for the Hardinge Bridge protection and training works. Of this, Rs. 60 lakhs will be chargeable to capital and Rs. 48 lakhs to the Depreciation Fund. For the earthquake damages Rs. 62 lakhs have been provided, Rs. 10 lakhs being chargeable to capital and Rs. 52 lakhs to the Depreciation Fund. The sum of Rs. one crore debited to the Depreciation Fund will be repaid out of revenue in annual instalments of 15 lakhs a year until complete repayment. Rs. 38·21 lakhs have been provided for expenditure on amenities for passengers. Out of this, Rs. 2·08 lakhs will be spent for providi latrines and sanitary arrangements and Rs. 2 lakhs for additions and betterments to lo class carriages. It is remarkable that except ½ lakhs to be spent by the G. I. P. Railwa the entire amount budgeted for amenities lower class passengers will be spent by company-managed railways (B. B. C. I., M. S. M S. I., and A. B).

As regards fares, the Railway Member stat that, "On most railways efforts are being ma to recover traffic by quoting specially redu return fares between particular stations and introducing extra services. We are also try an experiment on the N. W. R. on the possibi ties of large scale reductions in 3rd cl passenger fares. . .If no increase of traffic resu it is expected to lead to a loss in earnings about 45 lakhs. It is, however, an experim worth making, for it may well be productive results of real value in determining our fut policy in this matter. It is too early to pronou on the results, but there are indications t traffic is responding, though as yet insufficiently

Experiments in job analysis are being carr on on various railways and it is hoped that results will lead to a substantial saving in operating expenses.

We shall conclude this analysis with s brief comments. The policy of meeting def from the Depreciation Fund is bad in princip This means that when the railways will on more begin to make profits, these loans must repaid first so that for a long time to come general budget will not get any contributi This might seriously embarrass the Federal Gove ment of the future since the Federal Finan Committee hoped that the Railways should able to contribute Rs. 5 crores annually to general budget. Moreover, due to the neces of repaying the loan, it might not be poss to lower the fares for some time to co Secondly, the interests of the lower class passeng have almost been neglected in spite of the that they contribute no less than 89 per cen the total passenger traffic earnings. Thir Indianization has not been proceeding rap enough in the higher cadre of Railway emp ments. The Budget speech gives us no de and no assurances. Lastly, the Railways accused of systematically neglecting the In producers in the matter of stores purchase. this respect also, it was expected that somet would be said in connection with the presen of the Budget. But here also we were appointed and even the persistent demand the members of the Legislative Assembly to elicit any clear formulation of the future p from the Member-in-charge.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Ideals of Ancient Hindu Education

Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerjee writes in *Buddha Bharata* :

The ancient Indian teacher believed in individual treatment of pupils, in the efficacy of personal touch, for which scope was given in the homes of the teachers which operated like schools in those days.

It may be described as the domestic system of education and may be compared to small production or Cottage Industry in the economic sphere contrasted with large production or the factory. Modern Universities are like factories providing for mass production in education, turning out standardized products mostly devoid of any special marks. Such a system is based on a radical error which ignores the natural differences of individuals and artificially and mechanically forces them into a class for purposes of a uniform treatment. The absurdity of this position may be understood if uniform treatment is meted out to patients in a hospital irrespective of differences in their diseases and their remedies.

And yet if individual treatment is essential for the diseases of the body of which the causes are visible and even measurable, how much more shall it be necessary for a treatment of the defects and differences of mind, intellect and character, which do not lend themselves to any objective treatment? How very difficult is it to observe the intellectual and moral growth of the tender youths consigned to the care of schools based on classes? It was therefore that ancient Indian education was carried on as a matter of principle in small residential schools, hermitages, in the solitude of the woods, in sylvan and rural retreats away from the cities. Indeed the entire civilization of ancient India was the product of the forest, a rural civilization, and not an urban one.

But India also tried her hand in the modern methods of education when they could apply them. The case of Nalanda is an example on point. It was run like a modern University without some of its disadvantages. Nalanda was a regular University town with an enrolment as many as 10,000 students. But these were all post-graduate students. Admission was very severe test. It was dependent on passing a difficult test.

As has been stated by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsiang-Chwang, who studied at Nalanda for seven years in the middle of the 7th century A.D. The majority of applicants for admission were sent away and only a few could get it. In this way even the strength of the University was more than 10,000 students. The number of teachers was also high in proportion to the number of the taught.

There were as many as 1510 teachers delivering in the same period 100 lectures to different classes of students on different topics. Instruction was given in commodious and storied buildings, each the gift of kings. Both royal and public patronage of the University was quite generous and adequate. It had the grant of more than 100 villages from the income of which provision was made by the University for the free board, lodging, bedding, medicine and tution for its 10,000 students and a numerous staff. In those days both the teachers and the taught were seekers after truth and not livelihood. The system of life was different. The learned men of ancient India devoted themselves in a thoroughly disinterested spirit to the pursuit of the highest truths and had no concern with what may be called the intermediate truths connected with secular ends.

Above all, a system of education must be judged by the quality and quantity of the output. The whole world now recognizes the highest quality of some of the productions of the Sanskrit literature as also Pali and Prakrit literature which will live for all times as complete justification of ancient Indian education and of its ideals and methods.

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The Osmania University

The Educational Review comments editorially :

We have every sympathy with the attempt which is now being made at the Osmania University to impart instruction through the medium of an Indian language, but it must be made plain to everybody at the same time that the language employed for the purpose is not the language of the people, being the mother-tongue of only a small minority of the ruling class which consists of less than ten per cent of the total population. In the course of his recent address at the Convocation of the Osmania University, Nawab Mahdi Yarjung Bahadur maintained that Hindustani—apparently the Urdu taught at the Osmania University—is the only language which can become the *lingua franca* of India. He did not, however, tell the audience that even in the Nizam's

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Dominions in which it is the State language and in which it is encouraged by all sorts of ways, it is not spoken by even ten per cent of the total population, and Telugu, Marathi and Canarese are actually spoken by a much larger number! By making Urdu the medium of instruction you give an advantage to a section of the people and handicap others who are subject, as it is, to many other disadvantages. The Nawab does not make any reference to Hindi, the existence of which he does not probably wish to recognize. He will have to make an effort at getting the millions of Hindi-speaking people in Northern India to accept Urdu before he can hope to make the latter the *lingua franca* of India. In recent years the gulf between Hindi and Urdu has been widening steadily and there does not seem to be much chance of their coming together, though in popular conversation it is possible to get on with a common dialect of what may be called Hindustani.

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The Musical Genius of Tagore

Mr. Somanath Vellatore writes in *The Indian Review*:

At one of the exhibitions of his paintings held in Europe recently, Rabindranath Tagore is reported to have made a statement that his pictures are his gift to the world, while his gift to India is his poetry. Unfortunately, even in India till 1913 very little of Rabindranath's poetry was known outside Bengal and what little is known later on is only through translation into English prose albeit done by the poet himself. Translations from one language into another, however perfect they may be, make full literary understanding and enjoyment impossible. To understand the supremely spiritual utterances of Rabindranath Tagore, one must read him in the original Bengali because in Tagore 'poem and music are inseparably one'.

In one of his plays the "Phalguny", the Watchman asks Chandra: 'Is it your custom to ask questions in songs?' Chandra replies: 'Yes, otherwise the answer becomes too unintelligible.' Watchman: 'Then do you think your songs intelligible?' Chandra: 'Yes, quite, because they contain music.' (He sings.) Rabindranath's poems and plays are saturated with his personality. They bear the stamp of the experiences of his inner and outer life. Not only that. They are the self-expression of his genius woven into subtle songs of rare charm and melody.

The entire poetic creed of Tagore is founded on the ancient Hindu philosophical doctrine of the immance of the Infinite in the finite and the struggle of the human spirit for freedom. This idea is expressed again and again in a number of his songs set to tunes akin to the folk-music of Bengal. That is the reason why his songs are not confined to neatly published dainty volumes but have gone straight into the life of the people in Bengal and 'are sung by lovers awaiting each other in the dark night, by boatmen rowing on the rivers and by wandering Sannyasins'.

Rabindranath's contribution to Indian music as great as his contribution to poetry. He has popularized the song-form and his wonderful genius has invented several other new forms in musical expression. Tagore himself puts great value on his music. A perusal of his reminiscences shows the antecedents of some of his major musical creations. In these days of cantazz and celluloid symphonies it is a real pleasure to hear Rabindranath's songs at Shanti-Niketan. The Viswa-Bharati University would be doing a great service to the country if they send out groups of students well-trained in singing Tagore's songs to all parts of India giving concerts of Rabindranath's songs and poems.

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The Work of the League of Nations

The following appears in *India and the World*:

In the economic and financial field there is the most disconcerting contrast at the present time between the actual practice of governments based presumably upon the common will of their constituents, and the possibilities of co-operative action presented by the economic and financial organization of the League, the International Labour Organization and the Bank for International Settlements. These three international organizations provide machinery whereby governments may co-operate if they so wish in commercial and economic policy, financial questions, labour problems, and monetary policy. Superficially perhaps it is a weakness that the machinery for co-operation should be so divided among three institutions. The problems of international co-operation are closely interconnected, so that monetary policy depends upon trading arrangements, wages agreements, public finance, and *vice versa*. But in fact it is not difficult, provided the will to co-operate is there, to develop the necessary liaison between the international groups concerned. The difficulty is not primarily one of machinery but of motive power. It is the will to co-operate and seek common solutions that is lacking—not among the institution, but among governments. And so, at the end, the problem is one of citizenship in every country, of the development everywhere of a civic conscience which seeks the highest expression of national life in international co-operation.

Weak as the will to co-operate has been and feeble as yet remains the consciousness of world citizenship, some results have already been achieved, results by no means commensurate with the possibilities, but even so not entirely negligible. To start first with the fundamental problem, diagnosis and understanding, attention must

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known to the effectiveness first of the research work of the secretariats in these fields, and, not less important, of the interchange of opinion and information among the responsible administrators who meet on the governing bodies and committees of the international institutions. The formation of an international civil service, exclusively devoted to the service of these institutions, is a great gain in itself. They are, as everyone interested in world affairs knows, a mine of accurate information. Some of their knowledge gets into print; but much of it and particularly that indefinable quality known as experience is available only to those with whom they are in personal contact. This means in practice an increasing circle of responsible civil servants in every country. It is not generally recognized how useful the League machinery has become in facilitating routine co-operation between governments.

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All about the Seals

In an important paper on ancient Indian Art in *The Calcutta Review* Mr. Syama Charan Bhattacharyya discusses the various types of seals used in those days in India as follows:

The earliest cradles of Indian æsthetic inspiration are the seals with images of unicorns, bulls, rhinoceroses, etc., and crude ideographic signs. Of the artistic and religious products excavated at Mohenjodaro in recent years, there are none so interesting and important as the seals which throw a flood of light on a hitherto unknown portion of the history of India. We have it on the authority of Herodotus that in his times every Babylonian carried a seal with him. These seals might have been used for purposes which might have been secular as well as religious. In the ancient world seals with certain motifs were always considered to contain certain magic properties. The Egyptians of old extensively used amulets of wood, enamelled clay or metal with figures of gods and kings to secure health, strength, stability, greenness, beauty, vigilance, protection, life, etc. In the talisman was usually depicted a story of a particular adventure of a powerful god. (Amulets with representations of sheep, ram and squirrel have also been obtained in Mohenjodaro.)

The seals which might have their origin in the recognition of private rights or ownership were an indispensable convenience to the merchants of the old, old world. Seals might not have prevented theft, but surely they helped greatly in identification after the arrest of the thief. The men of ancient times without many other suitable substitutes used it to a greater extent than we do. Mr. Newberry in his work entitled *Scarabs* justly remarks: "What locks and keys are to us, seals were to the people of the old world." When a man closed his shop, he put pats of clay on the doors and impressed his seals on them. A householder also did the same thing. They thought that by the impressions of the seals, they made it impossible for anybody to enter the house and the shop without breaking the seals. Deeds, documents and letters also bore the seal of the ultimate owner.

Of the animals on the seals, the unicorn occupies the pride of place with 312 representations. The short-horned bull is a bad second with 22, the rest in order of numerical strength being the elephant 17, the Brahmani bull 14, the rhinoceros and the tiger 7 each, the buffalo and the Gharial 3 each, and the antelope 2. The lion, the symbol of majesty in Mesopotamian art (which depicts the creature always in deadly combat with Gilgamesh, the inevitable conqueror), has not been found in a single seal.

Of the other animals who have found place in the seals, the following deserve mention; the jungle fowl, the duck, the fish, the goat, the serpent and the scorpion. On one seal is depicted a man with bow and arrow and on another a man is sitted in the conventional *yogi* attitude on an elevated platform, on his two sides being two worshippers with cobra hoods behind their back.

Art for art's sake is a phrase which was unknown in the ancient world. The artist's institution was wheeled to the chariot of the prescription of the priest, who wielded enormous power and influence. But there is one fact to remember, the artist believed in the myths of the priest with absolute faith. He did not question the occult nature of the priest's restrictions but made his own fine sensibilities vibrant with life on the material he handled. The unicorns and the bulls are so beautiful because the artists has lived for some time in these.

The spirit of the animals looks through the material representation and the material representation speaks of the spirit. We can even today feel the great strength of the bull and feel the muscles underneath the silky skin. Though standing across many millennia, the bull is to our emotion a reality,—a spark from the flaming forge of the ancient world. It can snort and bleat, create and uncreate an epoch of civilization.

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Juvenile Libraries

About the Juvenile Libraries in Britain and America Dr. M. O. Thomas writes in *The Modern Librarian*:

Libraries for children, like all other modern library ideas, is Western in origin. Some would claim it to be a purely Anglo-Saxon idea. Although we are not much concerned about origins here I cannot help remarking that the position that all modern library ideas are exclu-

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sively Anglo-Saxon in origin is quite untenable, the simple evidence being that of the report of the Select Committee appointed by the British Government in 1849 which states that in library matters not only the United States of America but also several of the Continental countries are far in advance of the United Kingdom. It is true, however, that when once the modern library idea caught the imagination of the Anglo-Saxons, they went ahead and made a more 'through job of it' than any other race. That is perhaps more true of children's libraries than any other phase of library development. There are, no doubt, a few juvenile libraries in France, Germany, Holland, Russia, Sweden, Norway and Czecho-Slovakia yet the system is by no means widespread as in the U. S. A. or in Great Britain. Most of those countries think that school libraries should suffice to meet the requirements of children and hence juvenile libraries seldom form a part of the public library programme, except perhaps in most important cities and towns. Nor are there many children's books available in the languages of those countries with which to stock a juvenile library.

Conditions are entirely different in the United Kingdom and the United States of America. Both these countries began to make provisions for children's reading as early as the last quarter of the 19th century. But such provisions in those days never assumed the importance which they have to-day. As a matter of fact, compared with juvenile libraries of this decade, the early attempts to educate children through libraries seem to be mere mockery.

In America the idea of juvenile libraries originated in the eighties and came first as a report says, as if by inspiration to a lady by the name of Miss Emily S. Hanaway.

Three main features characterise a modern juvenile library. They are, 1. Accommodation and furniture, 2. Reading materials and 3. The librarian.

1. Time was when children used to be accommodated in dingy and ill-ventilated basements with nothing but hard benches without backs to sit on. But library authorities today have recognized the children's claim for better accommodation and furniture.

Children's literature as a work of art takes into consideration its literary merit the wholesomeness of its imagination, the quality of its wit and humour as well as the soundness of its morals.

In the first place juvenile books should have distinct literary merits. They should be written in good style, should have the qualities of wit and humour, accuracy and modernity, simplicity and directness and should be full of short descriptions of quick actions and incidents.

Secondly, juvenile books should help to develop the imaginative faculty of children. It is this faculty which needs most development till the age of fourteen or fifteen and no literature develops it better than stories and novels. Children naturally love to read them more than any other kind of literature. Works of imagination, however, should as far as possible be true to life. The principle has sometimes been carried too far particularly in America where some of the libraries exclude even fairy tales. But most educators and librarians are agreed that fairies though not true to actual life have an actuality for the child mind which does not hinder his real conception of truth. The child lives in a world of imagination all his own and Santa Claus, fairies, talking animals and birds belong to that world. It does not conflict with his actual world.

Thirdly, children should be given not only imaginative works which are mainly recreative in character but also works of an educative and informative nature. Besides fiction which forms the majority of books, juvenile libraries stock a fairly large collection of simple works on history, geography, travel, biography, natural science, sociology, religion, etc.

Lastly, in order that children may be in touch with the latest information about their little world whether informative, educative or imaginative, they are supplied with suitable magazines and papers, the literary quality of which is the same as that of their books.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Dr. J. T. Sunderland Busy at 92

Mr. Joseph W. Emsley writes in *The Poughkeepsie Evening Star* for February 10, 1933:

Dr. Jabez T. Sunderland, crusader for the public good, will observe his 92nd birthday tomorrow. Not many of us hope to knock off 92 birthdays and many of us might be a bit leery on approaching such an age, but not Dr. Sunderland! He seems destined to live on for a good many years yet, with passion for work in hand and a certain tranquil attitude toward life mixed in such proportions that he forges right ahead serenely.

I called on him this week at his Poughkeepsie home which is with Mr. and Mrs. William J. Bolton at 214 Union Street. He spends part of his time here, and part of it with relatives in Michigan. A minister of the former Unitarian church here for 14 years, he likes Poughkeepsie and enjoys being with his friends here from time to time.

It was a surprise to learn that Dr. Sunderland who is the author of numerous books including the widely discussed *India in Bondage* is still writing. He is now busy on a book to be known as *Emerson and His Friends* and another, "The Best from All Religions of the World," a spiritual anthology on religion of the world. *India in Bondage* was completed in his late 80s!

Indeed, Dr. Sunderland even now devotes six or seven hours a day to writing, and with it appears to be enjoying the best of health. He is an ardent believer in the school of philosophy which holds that work is one of the principal things that keeps you going. He is not a crank in this respect, however, and probably idles his share of hours; he likes to take automobile rides; and he likes to talk. He still preaches occasionally, and his wealth of knowledge about men and things is such that it is no great effort for him to preach.

I asked him to impart his idea of how a person should live to reach an unusually old age.

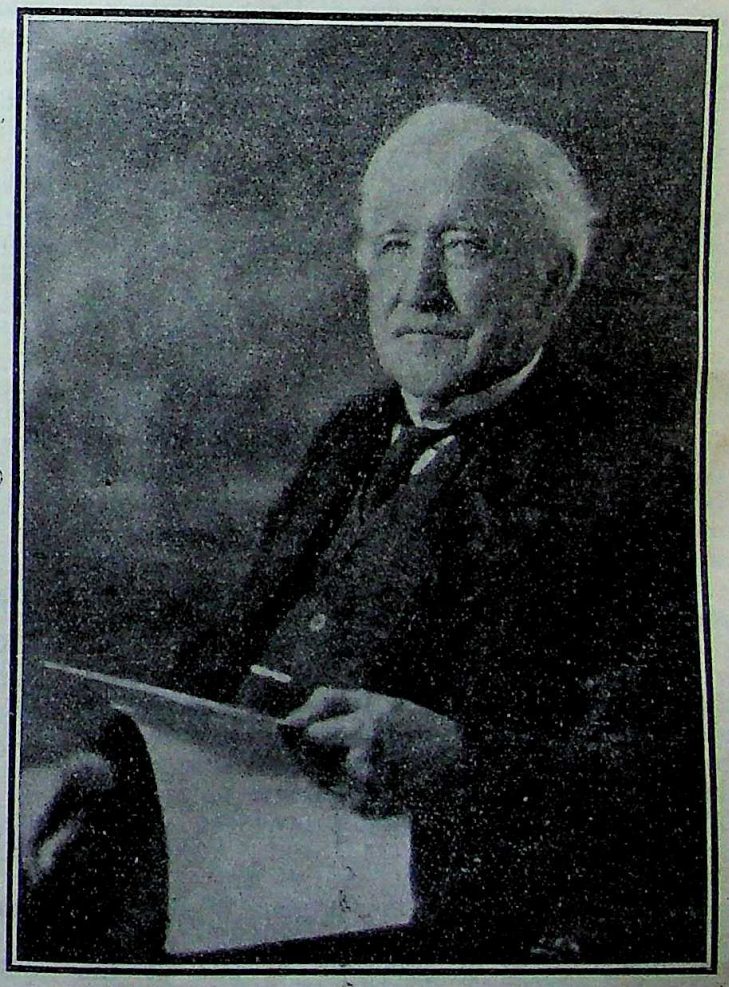
"Take care of your health," he said. "Study the laws of life and obey them. Be cheerful and hopeful. Work hard and have an interest in something and stick to it!"

He eats his three squares, sleeps eight hours a day ordinarily, and when overtired sleeps nine hours.

Dr. Sunderland gave two addresses at the World Fellowship of Religion in Chicago last summer, and about a year ago preached a sermon at the First Congregational church here.

His attitude toward life seems to be summed up in his observation:

"I don't want to live after I cannot be of any more use to humanity."



Dr. J. T. Sunderland

Coming from some people, that assertion might seem to indicate an over-zealous attitude in the interests of others, but from Dr. Sunderland

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it was quite a natural thing to say. He wasn't gilding the lily. In fact, he has a robust sense of humour and appreciates his limitations, enjoys a joke on himself and all that. It is just that he has proved himself to be useful. He has scores of friends in India who keep writing to him. They constantly ask him to write things for Indian publications.

Dr. Sunderland is seriously interested in the welfare of humanity. He has become internationally known as outstanding among Americans in the knowledge of Indian affairs. His book, *India in Bondage*, has been described as one of the most scholarly and truly representative works on the Indian question, from the standpoint of the Indian people themselves. Publication of the book in India has been banned by Great Britain, and that act alone has been taken by some leading thinkers as a reliable indication of the influence of the book.

It is said that whatever side you take on the Indian question, whether you believe that Great Britain is doing right by her subject people or not, a broad understanding of the problem cannot be had without knowledge of Dr. Sunderland's studies in the matter. A native of England himself, he loves and respects his home country, although taking issue with its policies in India.

Dr. Sunderland was born in Howarth, Yorkshire, England. He came to this country with his father, Thomas Sunderland, when he was two, the family settling in Jamestown, N. Y., in the region of the Chautauqua lake. His father died when he was a child, and his mother was left with five children. His lot was not easy, and it was entirely through his own efforts he received an education.

The family moved to Iowa when Dr. Sunderland was a boy. He attended Burlington college institute, Burlington, Iowa, and spent two years at Colgate University. His studies were interrupted by the Civil war; he joined the boys in blue of the Seventh N. Y. Heavy artillery, serving on the Potomac for about a year and a half. He came out of the war uninjured and resumed his studies at Chicago University.

Dr. Sunderland married Eliza Read who was a school principal at Aurora, Ill., and at that time the only woman public school principal in the country. They had three children, two of whom are living. Mrs. Gertrude Safford, a daughter, is the widow of Dr. Safford, who was a physician of Detroit, Mich; she is a former president of the largest women's city club in Detroit. A daughter, Florence, who died eight years ago, was a teacher at one time in the George Washington high school, New York city. Dr. Sunderland's son Edson R. is a professor of law at the University of Michigan.

He received his bachelor of arts degree at Chicago in 1867, completing his training in the divinity school of the same institution in 1870. He then became pastor of the Baptist church at Milwaukee.

Most of his years of service as a minister were with the Unitarian denomination. He served first at the Unitarian parish in Northfield, Mass., and held charges in Ann Arbor, Mich., Chicago, Hartford, Conn., Toronto, Canada, and in London.

Dr. Sunderland spent two long winters in India, in the years 1895-96 and 1913-14, and made special studies of Indian art, literature, philosophy and religion. He has written three books about India. They are *India and World Brotherhood*, *The Causes of Famine in India*, and *India in Bondage*. One or more of these have been published in translated form in India, France, and Japan, as well as America. *India in Bondage* has been in special demand, and has been distributed in 500 libraries in the world. There are 26 copies of it in the New York city library, and 12 in the Boston library. A new and enlarged edition was printed last year in this country. It contains eight new chapters.

The author of 20 or more books, Dr. Sunderland is widely known through his *The Origin and Character of the Bible*, which went into six editions, and was circulated in Russia, Bulgaria and more recently in India. Among his works are a number of pamphlets in exposition of the Unitarian faith which have been in great popular demand.

In all his writings, Dr. Sundreland had been a fighter for peace. "I fought in the Civil war," he said, "but I am a pacifist to the marrow. I have travelled a good deal and wherever I went I never could see why nations should resort to the destructive and demoralizing forces of warfare to settle their differences."

Yes, there will be a simple birthday party tomorrow! Some of Dr. Sunderland's friends are planning to call on him, among them some persons from Vassar college.

—

League of Nations

International peace and economic stability can only be restored if the warring nations adopt the principles of a World Federation. Mr. Newfang's lucid exposition of this fact in *World Unity* should, in the face of a world-wide discontent, be therefore much appreciated.

The nations of the world can have permanent and universal peace whenever they are ready to pay the price. Until they are ready to pay the price there will be wars and rumours of wars, and the peoples of the earth will continue to be heavily burdened by war preparations, murderous wars and the aftermath of war-caused depressions. What is that price? It is the abandonment of international anarchy and the establishment of orderly government in the relations of nations to one another. As long as the nations of the world are unwilling to give up any part of their so-called sovereignty, their right to

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exactly as they please without any control whatever, there will be collisions of national policies, international friction and wars.

If the universal history of the human race has taught any lesson at all, it has proved that anarchy and peace cannot co-exist. There is no record in history of any people, however low in the scale of civilization, that has been able to maintain peace within its borders without government. Peace has been possible only by restricting the anarchy or sovereignty of the individual members of the community, their right to do exactly as they pleased without any control, and by establishing justice through laws and compelling compliance with those laws.

The development of the League of Nations into a world federation would in itself remove most of the causes of war. It would gradually abolish the barriers to trade between the members of the federation, allowing all traders of every member State equal access to all the raw materials and to all the markets of the world. It would gradually remove the barriers to migration, thus equalizing the pressures of population in the various parts of the world, and abolishing one of the most deep-seated causes of warfare. It would gradually do away with all restrictions on the movements of capital, thus equalizing investment demands throughout the world; it would stabilize price levels on a worldwide basis; it would make possible a world central bank carrying the world gold reserve as a basis for a world currency and carrying accounts of all national central banks for the clearing of international balances and for seasonal credits to minimize the present disturbing international gold shipments. To put it in a nutshell, a world federation would remove the economic causes of war, which are at the present day by far the greatest war causes.

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Forest Camps for the Unemployed in U. S. A.

Unemployment impairs the very structure of society and every thoughtful nation is trying hard to cope with this deadly enemy of humanity. Not to speak of others, even rich countries like America has been threatened by this pest of society, to remove which extensive schemes have been suggested. The following extracts from an article by H. Dubreuil in *International Labour Review* may therefore be read with much interest in this country:

Unemployment had been rife for many long months in the United States.

In the countries hardest hit by unemployment this enforced idleness of the young has been viewed with particular concern; unable to find work on leaving school, they have been exposed to grave risks of moral corruption and have at the same time constituted a social problem of the first importance.

In the United States family ties were already weakening, a spirit of brutality was spreading, and the street-corner life to which the young were condemned offered greater moral dangers than in perhaps any other country.

On March 21, 1933, only seventeen days after his inauguration, Mr. Roosevelt, in a special message to Congress, outlined a general plan to help these young people who had never had a chance in life, and at the same time to confer undoubted economic advantages on the country.

The young who were unemployed were in need of a chance to recover, or at least keep, their physical and moral health. The proposed plan offered them the means of improving both by giving them healthy work in the open air of the forests under men carefully chosen for their capacity as educators as well as leaders.

Not least among the various kinds of natural wealth of all sorts of which the United States can boast are the magnificent forests still standing in every part of the country. It is, however, realized that their existence is menaced by the intense commercial demands made upon them.

Besides this danger of destruction by human agency there is the fire danger.

Like other forms of life, trees are subject to specific diseases of a highly destructive nature; they are also often attacked by insects whose invisible ravages may have incredibly disastrous effects.

A systematic campaign against these various dangers was thus in itself enough, in such an enormous country, to provide employment for large numbers.

Instead of receiving cash relief and remaining idle, young men are taken on as regular wage-paid workers; their wages are, it is true, only 30 dollars a month, but in addition they are clothed, fed, and housed under canvas in organized camps. It should be added that special arrangements are made for their families to benefit by this employment, for of the 30 dollars only 5 are paid to the worker, the remainder going direct to the home.

This modern Grand Army received the name of the Civilian Conservation Corps, and is usually known, according to the fashion for abbreviation, as the C.C.C. Men are taken on for six-monthly periods, but are free to leave the camp if they can themselves find jobs in industry.

At the end of the six months the men may sign on again or go home.

The C.C.C. is composed mainly of young men from 18 to 25 years of age; older men with special knowledge of forestry work, who are engaged in order that the campers may have the necessary technical direction, number only 25,000.

On a basis of 200 men per camp, the number of camps at the end of August was 1,440 1,446 in September), 1,301 for unemployed young men and 139 for ex-service men. Each camp has about 15 woodmen whose duty it is to give the

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campers the benefit of their special knowledge and experience and teach them how to work and how to adopt safe methods in operations which may be dangerous.

The War Department's share in the scheme is to outfit the men, transport them, condition them and supervise the construction of the camps. The Army is responsible for the administration of the camps, medical care, the organization of sports, etc.

The only buildings were wooden huts for use as kitchen, dining room, offices for the administrative staff, and tool shed.

The tents, with a plank flooring raised above the ground and a double canvas roof, belonged, it was explained, to what is known as the "tropical hospital" type. Nearby was the line of lorries used to transport the men and materials to the forest workplaces ; twice a week they also carry those who want to go to the movies in the nearest township.

The dining room also acts as a recreation room for the evenings and bad weather. There is a wireless set for the use of campers and a circulating library. The library consists of a packing case, with divisions inside which act as shelves.

—

Whither Science ?

The attack by Sir Arthur Eddington and Sir James Jeans on materialistic determinism has been aptly defended by Prof. Max Planck, whose expositions are altogether favourable to the main principles of scholastic philosophy. His latest work* which has been prefaced by Albert Einstein is a challenge to the modern English school of mathematical philosophers. The following review by Mr. H. V. Gill appears in *The Month* :

It need hardly be said that Max Planck is the great German scientist whose "Quantum Theory" has revolutionized physics,† for it has been so definitely confirmed by all recent work that it is now a received "law of nature." In all branches of physics Max Planck has distinguished himself, so that today, in his seventy-sixth year, he is one of the leading physicists in Europe. The reasoned words of such an authority must, therefore, have very great weight with those who wish to see modern science in its true perspective, and we need no further warrant for calling attention to them.

Einstein repudiates in the following words that he ever corroborated the theories (that the outer world is a derivative of consciousness of Sir Arthur and Sir James :

No physicist believes that. Otherwise he would not be a physicist. Neither do the physicists you have mentioned. You must distinguish between what is a literary fashion and what is scientific pronouncement. These men are genuine scientists and their literary formulations must not be taken as expressive of their scientific convictions. Why should anyone go to the trouble of gazing at the stars if he did not believe that the stars are really there ? Here I am entirely at one with Planck. We cannot logically prove the existence of the external world, any more than you can logically prove that I am talking with you now or that I am here. But you know that I am here and no subjective idealist can persuade you to the contrary.

The following passage from this well-written book will undoubtedly be of much interest :

There can never be any real opposition between religion and science ; for the one is the complement of the other. Every serious and reflective person realizes, I think, that the religious element in his nature must be recognized and cultivated if all the powers of the human soul are to act together in perfect balance and harmony. And, indeed, it was not by any accident that the greatest thinkers of all ages were also deeply religious souls, even though they made no public show of their religious feeling. It is from the co-operation of the understanding with the will that the finest fruit of philosophy has arisen, namely, the ethical fruit. Science enhances the moral values of life because it enhances the love of truth and reverence—love of truth displaying itself in the constant endeavour to arrive at a more exact knowledge of the world of mind and matter around us, and reverence, because every advance in knowledge brings us face to face with the mystery of our own being.

* "Where is Science going ?" By Max Planck, with a Preface by Albert Einstein. Translated and edited by James Murphy. London : George Allen & Unwin. 1933.

† Towards the end of the last century, and in the beginning of this, difficulties arose which could not be met by the ordinary laws of the wave theory of light. In order to solve them Planck advanced the view that light energy was transmitted in small indivisible units, each unit being a multiple of a certain amount or "quantum"—called after him "Planck's constant." Einstein's contribution was to assert that the energy of each "photon" or light-quantum could be expressed by $h\nu$, where h is Planck's constant, and ν the frequency of the light as measured by the spectroscope. The surprising way in which this theory has been found to agree with experiment is one of the triumphs of intuition. Thus, the present state of the theory of light is that there is one set of phenomena which can be fairly well explained on the wave theory, but which seem incompatible with the quantum theory, and another which can be explained with reasonable accuracy by the quantum theory, but not at all by the wave theory. Much of the ingenuity of modern physics has gone to reconcile these contradictions.

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THE AUSTRIAN RIDDLE

By SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

THE world conflagration in 1914 started from Austria. So people everywhere are now asking: "What will the Socialist Revolution of 1934 in Austria lead to?"

The European situation is so complicated today that it is difficult to predict the future. About the middle of 1933 in Vienna, I was discussing the Austrian situation with an exceedingly intelligent and well-informed English journalist who had travelled widely. The atmosphere in Vienna was then full of excitement and people were talking of a *coup d'etat*. "No," he said, "there will be nothing of the kind. The Austrians are a genial-hearted people. I have seen matters approaching a crisis several times but on every occasion the storm blew over. This will happen once again." He was right and yet he was not.

Talking of the events of February, 1934, in Vienna the *Manchester Guardian* remarked pithily: 'The Socialists of Austria have been overthrown but unlike their comrades in Germany they have gone down fighting.' The attitude of the *Manchester Guardian* has been sympathetic towards the Austrian Socialists, whom it regards as the upholders of Parliamentary Democracy and Liberty in Central Europe. The tone of the London *Times*, on the other hand, has been distinctly sympathetic towards the present Austrian Government. The victory of the Austrian Socialists would undoubtedly have strengthened the Socialists throughout Europe and a Conservative paper like the *Times* will naturally take up an anti-Socialist attitude. The attitude of the Italian Press has on the whole been in support of the present Austrian Government. It is well known that the Austrian Government are on very friendly terms with the Italian Government and the former are drawing up a Constitution for Austria based on the Italian model. The attitude of the German Press has not been friendly towards the Austrian Government though the latter were engaged in suppressing the Socialists whom the Nazis in Germany regard as their enemies. People say that two factors account for this attitude on the part of the German Press. In the first place, the Austrian Government before attacking the Austrian Socialists, had surpressed the Austrian Nazis and in doing so, had incurred the wrath of the German Press. In the second place, by adopting a friendly attitude towards the Austrian Socialists, the Germans hope to win over to their cause the immense following which the Socialist Party had, and probably still has, in Austria. An additional factor, sometimes suggested, is that since the Austrian Government have been getting the support of France in their efforts to suppress the Austrian Nazis, it is but natural that they should antagonize the Germans, even though they may be engaged at the moment in overthrowing the Socialists.

Twelve months ago, I wrote the Indian papers about three-cornered fight that had been going on between the Socialists, Nazis and Heimwehr and I stated that the ultimate fate of Austria would greatly influenee the future trend of European politics. Today, one of the parties, *viz.*, the Socialist, has gone out of action and the future therefore lies between the other two. If the Nazi Party comes into power then with or without the formal union or Anschluss, Austria will become virtually a part of Germany. This would mean a considerable accession of power to Germany and the three great Powers in Europe are therefore opposed to it. Italy with her population of forty million and odd will not, moreover, like to see a Germany of more than seventy millions stretching from her northern frontier right up to the North Sea. And the German-speaking people in the Italian (now Italian, but formerly Austrian) Tyrol may begin to get restless, particularly when Germany has, time and again, broadcast her intention of unifying the German-speaking peoples in Europe. Therefore, while the Austrian Nazis get the moral support of Germany, the Heimwehr Party who are opposed to them, get the moral support of Italy. But whatever the present position in Europe may be, to an impartial student of History it appears inevitable that after the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the German-speaking peoples of Germany and Austria should ultimately be drawn into one political unit. In their extreme vindictiveness, the Allied Powers at the Treaty of Versailles tore up into fragments the old Austro-Hungarian Empire and did not pause for a moment to realize that it was impossible for small countries like Austria and Hungary of today to exist as independent political units. It is only now that thinking men and women in the Allied countries have begun to realize that Austria can exist only as a part of Germany or as a part of a political unit like Austro-Hungary. Nearly a year ago when I was discussing Austrian politics with an American journalist, I ventured the remark that if the Allied Powers really wanted to keep Austria away from Germany, they should encourage, from the point of view of political strategy, a restoration of the Hapsburg Monarchy in Austria and Hungary. I distinctly

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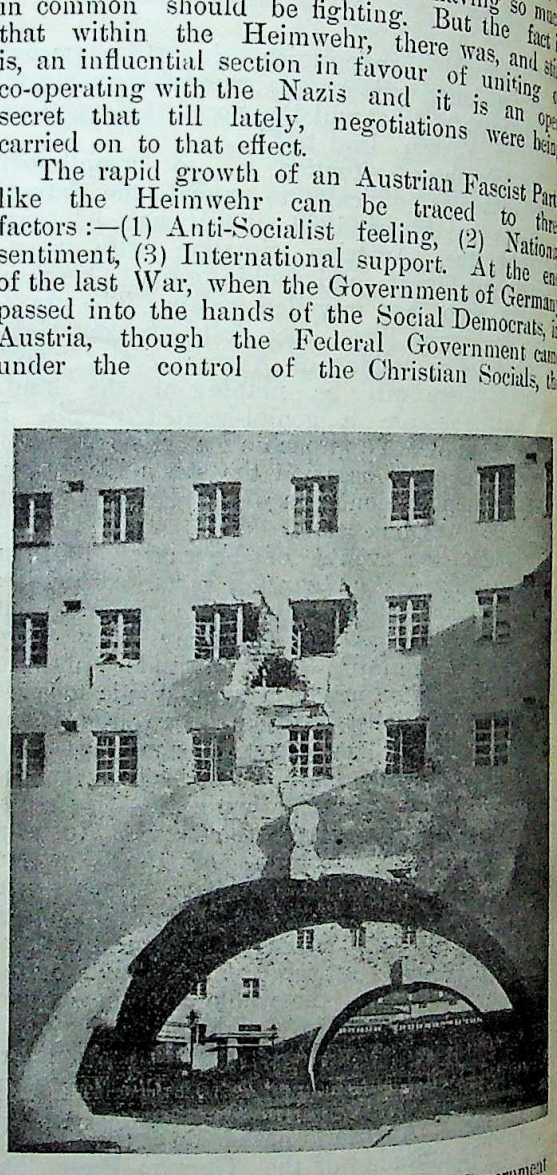
remember that at that time the American journalist looked at me as if I were a political babe—so strange my remark appeared to him. But today when I find that people in different countries are freely discussing the idea of a revival of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and when I read in the European Press that the supporters of Monarchy in Hungary and in Austria have recently been meeting in Vienna for discussing common problems, I feel satisfied that my conjecture of a year ago was not altogether wrong. Whatever our own political predilections may be, there can be no doubt that if the Allied Powers really wanted to divide the German-speaking peoples of Central Europe, they should have forgotten their prejudice against the Hapsburg Monarchy and after recognizing the self-determination of the Czechs, Slovaks and other Slav races, they should have left Austro-Hungary intact. As a student of History, to me at least it appears probable that in the long run Austria will have to join with German Reich or she will have to join Hungary in one political unit. The present position is in any case an unstable equilibrium and it cannot last.

To a superficial observer it will appear that the contrary of what I have just said is the truth. Order has been restored throughout Austria. The Austrian Nazis have been checkmated, while the Austrian Socialists completely suppressed. Great Britain, France and Italy have guaranteed the independence of Austria in a public communique and this move has been rightly interpreted as a determination on the part of these three Powers to keep Austria away from Germany. There is also no doubt that these three Powers would also be willing to help the Austrian Government with loans, etc., in order to help her out of the present financial morass. But will that be enough to satisfy the Austrian people and put them on their legs? To answer that question we shall have to go a little deeper into recent Austrian history.

The present Austrian Government has been composed mainly of three parties :—(1) the Christian Socials, (2) the Heimwehr and (3) the Agrarians. The Heimwehr Party are at the moment the most important element and following the example of Russia, Italy and Germany they are trying to have all the other political parties in Austria forcibly dissolved. The latest news goes to show that Herr Dolfuss, the present Prime Minister of Austria and the leader of the Christian Socials, has agreed to the dissolution of his party. If the Heimwehr succeed in the task of suppressing all the other parties, then the future development of Austrian politics will depend to some extent on the internal politics of the Heimwehr Party.

The Heimwehr are the Austrian brand of Fascists who draw their inspiration from Italy. While the Austrian Nazis dress in brown like their German comrades, the Heimwehr dress in green and white and their flag consists of these two colours. They have much in common with the Nazis in their ideas and in their methods. Both are opposed to Parliamentary Democracy and believe in Dictatorship. To an outsider, it appears strange that two parties having so much in common should be fighting. But the fact is that within the Heimwehr, there was, and still is, an influential section in favour of uniting or co-operating with the Nazis and it is an open secret that till lately, negotiations were being carried on to that effect.

The rapid growth of an Austrian Fascist Party like the Heimwehr can be traced to three factors :—(1) Anti-Socialist feeling, (2) National sentiment, (3) International support. At the end of the last War, when the Government of Germany passed into the hands of the Social Democrats, in Austria, though the Federal Government came under the control of the Christian Socials, the



Karl Marx Hof after bombardment by Government artillery

administration of Vienna Municipality and of the Vienna province passed into the hands of the Socialists. The Austrian Socialists have all along had the reputation of being the most radical Socialist Party in Europe and the Conservative elements in Austria did not therefore view with favour the idea that such a radical party should be in control of the most strategic position in Austrian public life. The post-War situation in Austria has all along been one of unstable equilibrium. In a country with a population of six and a half millions the Federal Government has been com-

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...ed by the anti-Socialist Christian Socials but ...y have been unable to dislodge the militant ...rian Socialists from the administration of the ...al city and the major province of the country. ...the other hand, the Socialists have been ...le to extend their influence further and ...re the Federal Government of the country ...se in the countryside, as distinct from the ...s they have had less influence than the other ...parties. In such a situation the ultimate ...row of one of the parties was to be ...ted. To entrench themselves more securely, ...ialists had organized a private army called ...hutzbund A purely political party like ...Christian Socials of Herr Dolfuss stood no ...e in an ultimate struggle for power with the ...sts. Therefore, to fight the latter, a militant ...like the Heimwehr had to be born. This ...was anti-Socialist in its objective from the ...beginning and therefore an alliance was at ...struck between the Christian Socials and the ...wehr.

...Some other minor considerations made the ...wehr and the Christian Socials bitterly ...ed to the Socialists. The Austrian Socialists ...on the whole been anti-religious, or at least ...t the domination of the Catholic Church ...s long as the Socialist Party was ruling in ...ny, they were in favour of the Anschluss ...Union with Germany. The anti-religious ...de of the Socialists gave the Christian ...i.e., the Catholic Party, an immense ...ing among the peasantry, who all the world ...are well known for their conservative ...ts. And the danger of ultimate absorption ...rmany under the auspices of the Socialist ...gave the Heimwehr Party an opportunity ...ring the support of the Austrian Aristocracy ...r cause. It should be remembered that as ...Empire, Austria is much older than Germany ...it is Austria that had inherited the halo of ...Holy Roman Empire. As long as Austria ...ained separate from Germany, the Austrian ...racy would have some position in the ...but if Austria were to be absorbed into ...German Reich, then they would be nowhere. ...fore a well-known and wealthy aristocrat ...Prince Starhemberg came forward to lead the ...rder (literally, the Defenders of the Home) ...preserving the integrity of the Austrian State ...the power and influence of the old aristocratic ...ass.

...History was utilized in order to give an ...ge to this party. In June, 1933, when I was ...enna, the Austrian Government celebrated ...250th anniversary of the victory over the ...ks. In 1683, the Turks, after overrunning ...ern Europe, has laid siege to Vienna and ...of those responsible for the ultimate defeat ...the Turks was Starhemberg, an ancestor of the ...ge Starhemberg, the present leader of the ...mwehr. The June celebration naturally had ...support of the entire Austrian population but it was so manoeuvred that one important result of it was to enhance the reputation of Prince Starhemberg and therefore of his party. As a part of the celebration, 40,000 Heimwehr volunteers in their green and white uniforms came to Vienna from the country and had a route march

The Socialist Volunteers (Schutzbundler) in custody at the Police Station in Floridsdorf, Vienna

through the streets of Vienna. Throughout the route march I heard the supporters of the Heimwehr shouting "Heil Starhemberg" while the Nazis in reply shouted "Heil Hitler"—and were chased by the Police for doing so. At the end of the celebration I congratulated a Heimwehr leader on the fine discipline shown by his volunteers, but he did not seem to be at all enthusiastic about the function and he complained that the Viennese public were not on the whole sympathetic to the Heimwehr and that in the working class quarters they had even been pelted with rotten eggs. That was in June last year. But within the next eight months they improved their public position to such an extent as to render it possible for them to make a direct assault on their enemies, the Austrian Nazis and the Austrian Socialists. To follow the steps taken one after another, for undermining their enemies, will afford an interesting study in political strategy.

At the end of the last War it was generally thought that the era of Nationalism had ended in Europe and that of social reconstruction had begun in right earnest. It is now clear, however, that the era of Nationalism has not ended. As long as the principle of self-determination is not consistently applied throughout Europe the nationalist struggle cannot cease. While the Treaty of Versailles did justice to the Czechs, Poles and the Italian-speaking people then under Austrian rule, it did considerable injustice to Germans and Hungarians who were placed under the rule of some other races. This injustice was possible at the time of the Treaty of Versailles because a feeling of extreme vindictiveness inspired the victors at Peace Conference preceding the Treaty. Until this wrong is righted, the era of nationalist

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struggle cannot end in Europe nor can the possibility of war be averted.

In spite of a favourable soil for the growth of the Heimwehr Party in Austria, and in spite of the fact that the Heimwehr from the very beginning entrenched themselves on national sentiment and tradition, they could not have achieved much progress without the help of another party in Austria and without international support outside. It is here that the help of an able political leader like Herr Dolfuss proved to be invaluable. Under his leadership, the Federal Government has been formed, commanding the support of the Christian Social, Heimwehr and Agrarian Parties and in opposition to the Socialist and Nazi Parties. Without a militant party like the Heimwehr, Herr Dolfuss would not have been able to cope with the militant Nazis or with the militant Socialists who had their disciplined corps of volunteers,

Herr Schmitz, the Special Commissioner appointed by the Federal Government, arriving at the Rathaus to expel the Socialist Mayor of Vienna and take forcible possession of the Municipality

called the Schutzbund. So Herr Dolfuss naturally welcomed the alliance with the militant Heimwehr. The Heimwehr, on their side, stood to gain even more. Through Herr Dolfuss they got the support of an influential party like the Christian Socials and through this party, of the entire Catholic Church. Through Herr Dolfuss again they got the support of the Allied Powers in the struggle against the Austrian Nazis who had the moral support of Germany. Last but not least, the political wisdom and sagacity of Herr Dolfuss was of great help to them. Without his caution and restraint, they would in all probability, have courted disaster by rushing things prematurely.

In 1933 it appeared as if Herr Dolfuss and the Christian Socials were making use of the Heimwehr in their double fight against Socialists and the Austrian Nazis. And is no doubt that much of the internat support which the Austrian Government been getting was because of the impre abroad that they were engaged primarily suppressing the Austrian Nazis The international support would not have forthcoming if it had been then realized the Austrian Government would soon strik brutally at the Socialist Party in Aus The Austrian Socialists had friends in Britain and in France and since they had aside the proposal of the Anschluss or with Germany, since the Nazis got into there, there was no reason for Great Br or France to be enthusiastic in their sup of Herr Dolfuss if he was to strike against Socialists in Austria. Therefore, it was tactics for the Austrian Government to the Nazi Party in Austria and rally the fullest mea of international support doing so. After getting opinion on their side checkmating the Nazis in Au they could safely proceed the task of dealing with Socialists. It would have them in disaster if they attempted to deal with Socialists first. After the throw of the Socialists it agre as if the Heimwehr will use of the Prime Minister Dolfuss more than he will able to exploit them.

In March, 1933, when I came to Vienna the Aus Government had a bare maj of one in the Lower Cha of the Federal Parliament was a precarious position any Government and could last indefinitely. So, t advantage of the resignati the Speaker, the Government, one fine morn March, 1933, suspended the Parliament an gan to govern the country by decree. then, Parliament has been in a state of sus ed animation. In March, 1933, the atte of the Nazis to power in Germany had focu public attention in Europe on Germany. Austrian Socialists did not therefore what was happening in their own home over, since the Parliamentary opposition consis both the Socialists and the Austrian Nazis Socialists were foolish enough to think that Government aimed primarily at the Nazis a at themselves. After the suspension of Pa ment, the Government hurled their attack against the Nazis than against the Socialis and this was largely responsible for t the latter into a sense of security.

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was going on, one could discover sympathy for Herr Dolfuss in his parliamentary activities against the Nazis, part of certain Socialists. In discussing politics with the Socialist rank and those days, one clearly had the impression that they did not realize the gravity of menace that loomed large in front of them. impartial outsider like myself could feel those days that the time was not far off the Austrian Government would turn aside attack the Socialists. It must be said to credit of Herr Dolfuss that on more than one he made it quite clear that Government were fighting on a double i.e., against the Nazis and the Socialists.

When in March, 1933, the Government called Parliament the Speaker who belonged the oppositionist Party, opened Parliament in defiance the Government. Great was curiosity and excitement of people and every one was —What will the Govern- do?" The Government the Police to prevent ment from assembling, but they could arrive on the the oppositionist deputies to get into Parliament and at the appointed hour, proceedings commenced. The leaders and their supporters not present, of course; nevertheless, the action of the nist deputies was not value. The only regret Parliamentarians should have that the opposition did not up their first act of The entire responsibility devolves on the leaders Socialist Party. When the ment found that the nist Parties had taken suspension of Parliamentary down, they prepared for a further on public liberty. The International Day celebration on the first of was banned. Such an order had been made even under the rule of the burg Emperors. Police and military were out in order to prevent the Socialists demonstrating within the City though they allowed to hold a public meeting and a exhibition in the Municipal Stadium. I able to attend this meeting and was pro- very impressed with what I saw. There were at sixty thousand people present. Five and girls and elderly women gave a demonstra- of physical drill. Boys and grown-up men gave a similar demonstration. The element youth present on the occasion was very and it showed clearly that the Socialist Party had a considerable following among the younger generation. The Party leaders spoke with great passion and sincerity; nevertheless it struck me at the time that they were a trifle older than what they should have been. And I remember having remarked to young Socialist friends that their Party should throw up younger leaders. In contrast with the Socialist Party, the Nazi leadership was younger and more virile. On the first of May, the Nazis also had their meeting in a closed arena though they could not demonstrate within the City. Their attendance was nothing like what the Socialists had commanded, but they displayed greater enthusiasm and virility.

After the first of May, the Government did not make any further direct attack on the Socialist Party but directed their attention to the Nazi Party. Thereby they lulled the Socialists into a sense of security and also rallied international support in favour of their anti-Nazi policy. True, the Government banned the Socialist Schutzbund (Volunteers) not long after the May Day affair but the Socialist Party did not appear to be at all excited over the ban. They thought that they could continue to function secretly and they got some consolation in the fact that the Nazi Volunteers had also been banned by the Government. The premier Socialist organ, *Arbeiter Zeitung* was placed under censorship but it was not suppressed, whereas not long after this, the Nazi papers began to be suppressed one by one. Simultaneously, an order was issued prohibiting the Nazis from wearing any uniform in public. And the climax of the attack was the forcible seizure of the Nazi Headquarters throughout the country. While this

Street Scene in Vienna during the February events

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attack on the Nazis was going on in Austria, they were not idle, nor did they take things lying down. They continued their demonstrations and their activities in spite of the Government ban. The Socialists during this period continued to grumble about the restrictions placed on some of their activities and also about the seizure of some of the funds of the Socialist Municipality by the Government but they did not organize any resistance or opposition. If they had joined hands with the Nazis in a common resistance against the Government of the day, it is difficult to say what would have happened. Unfortunately for them the Nazi menace was looming so large in front of them that they were unable to realize the true dimensions of the Governmental menace. I had sometimes remarked to some Socialist friends that it was not unlikely that the Government was doing for the Austrian Nazis what the Von Papen Government had done for the German Nazis but to that remark no reply was forthcoming. Just as the Socialists had remained quiet while the Government had been attacking the Nazis, so also the Nazis remained quiet when the Government attacked the Socialists this year. The future alone will show whether from the point of view of political strategy the action of the Austrian Nazis was correct. It was idle for the Socialist leaders to have expected last year that the Government would ruthlessly suppress the Nazis but would allow them to exist. Nevertheless there are Nazis who view with perfect equanimity the suppression of the Socialists in Austria this year and who think that the Government have only made their ultimate task much easier for them.

Last year I was of the opinion that the Austrian Government were acting contrary to the laws of political strategy by carrying on the struggle on a double front and that if they wanted to succeed, they should make up with one of the two opposing parties. I must confess that as a student of History, I never expected that they (the Government) would be so successful in overthrowing both the oppositionist parties. The credit for this belongs largely to the political sagacity displayed by Herr Dolfuss. During the last twelve months he has always acted in the fulness of time. He has never shown any weakness in dealing with his political enemies nor has he been guilty of premature rashness in action. I must now refer to two important steps that he took last year in order to prepare for the final knock-out blow that he gave his opponents this year. The first step refers to the arming of the Heimwehr and their absorption in the ranks of the Governmental police. The second step refers to the holding of the Catholic Congress in Vienna last year.

It was said by many people last year in Vienna that while the Government could command an armed force of approximately 30,000 (including soldiers and police), both the Socialists and the Heimwehr could command an armed fo about the same number. The problem fo Government therefore was how to increas armed forces at the disposal of the Govern in preparation for a civil war as took pla February this year. The Government s this problem by taking over large num of the Heimwehr and giving them full mil training. The important part which the Hei Volunteers were called upon to play in figh the Socialist Schutzbund this year, shows helpless the Government forces would have without their assistance. This additional was all the more necessary because co members of the police and of the Military h be dismissed by the Government because of pro-Nazi sympathies. (It is now an open s that Nazi propaganda was active in the r of the Austrian Police and the Military.)

I have already referred to the want enthusiasm on the part of the Viennese p which the Heimwehr and the supporters of Government experienced in June last year. convert the Viennese public, it was necessary impress upon them that the Government h large following. The Heimwehr demonstrati June, 1933 served some useful purpose in connection but it was not enough. Therefore September of last year, the Catholic Congress German-speaking peoples was convened in Vie I was fortunate to be present again in Vienna the occasion. The Government had made el arrangements for Catholic people to visit Vi from different parts of Austria and of German-speaking Catholic countries. His Hol the Pope was prevailed upon to send his Apos Delegate on the occasion. At a modest esti 200,000 people must have visited Vienna for occasion. A fair had also been arranged Vienna at about the same time and special way facilities had been offered for those visited Vienna. The additional crowd co for the Vienna Fair and for the Catholic Con meant more business for the hotels and boarding-houses of Vienna and for the bus community of Vienna in general. This m put into the pockets of the Viennese peop times of financial stringency helped to bu their support, though in an unconscious Further, the colossal crowds of countryside p who had come to Vienna for the Catholic Con at the instance of the Government gave one the impression that the Government h large following in the country and that the Catholic Church, including His Holiness Pope, supported the Government of Herr Do To an outsider like myself who moved in out of the huge crowds, the religious sincerity the people was quite evident. But it was ev evident that the Government were making p capital out of the Catholic Congress, though arrangement was so clever that the ordinary in the street did not probably realize it.

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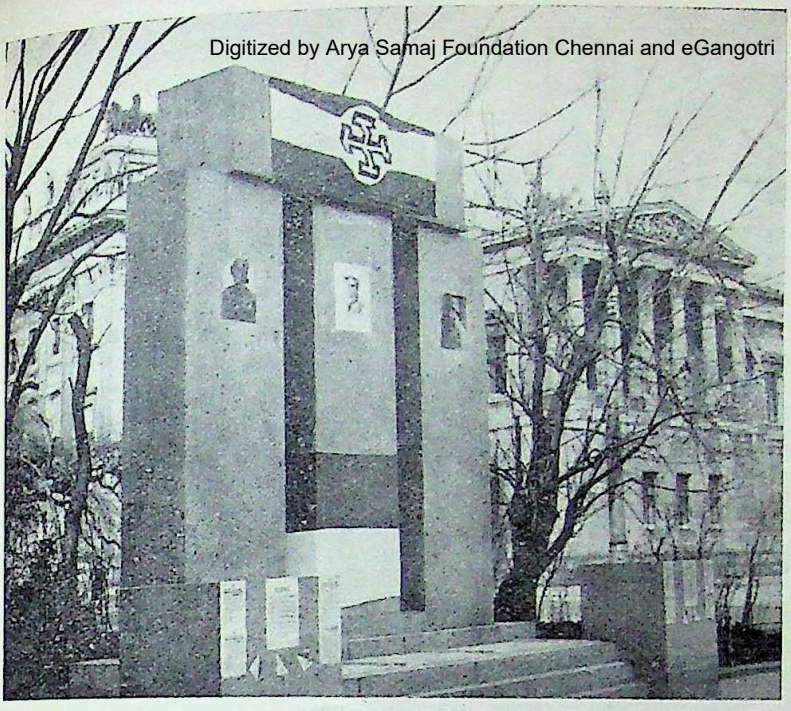
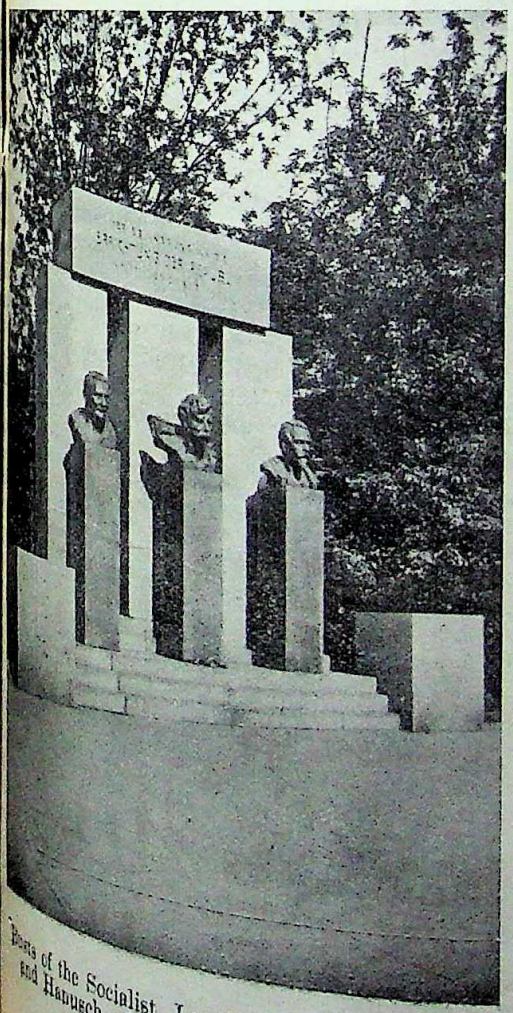
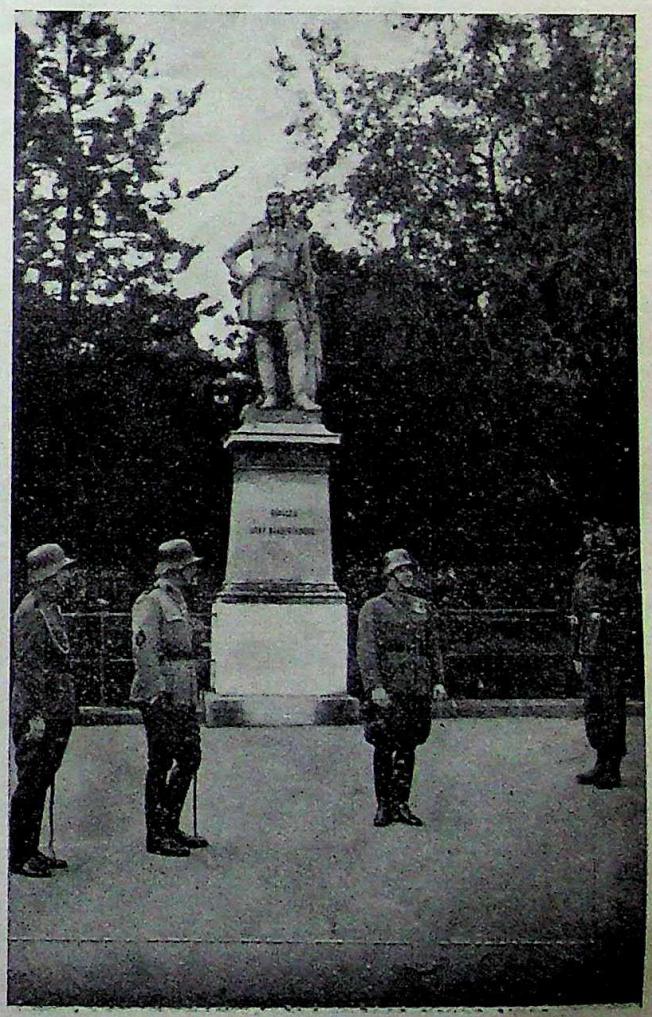


The portraits of Major Fey, Herr Dolfuss and Prince Starhemberg, substituted for the busts of the Socialist Leaders. (After February 1934.)
See the symbol of Herr Dolfuss on top—called the Krukenkreuz (Crooked Cross)



Busts of the Socialist Leaders, Reumann, Adler and Hanusch—the founders of the Austrian Republic,
(Before February 1934)



Heimwehr Volunteers parading before the statue of Graf Starhemberg in June 1933.
Graf Starhemberg was one of those who saved Vienna from the Turks in 1683 and is an ancestor of Prince Starhemberg, the leader of the Heimwehr at present.

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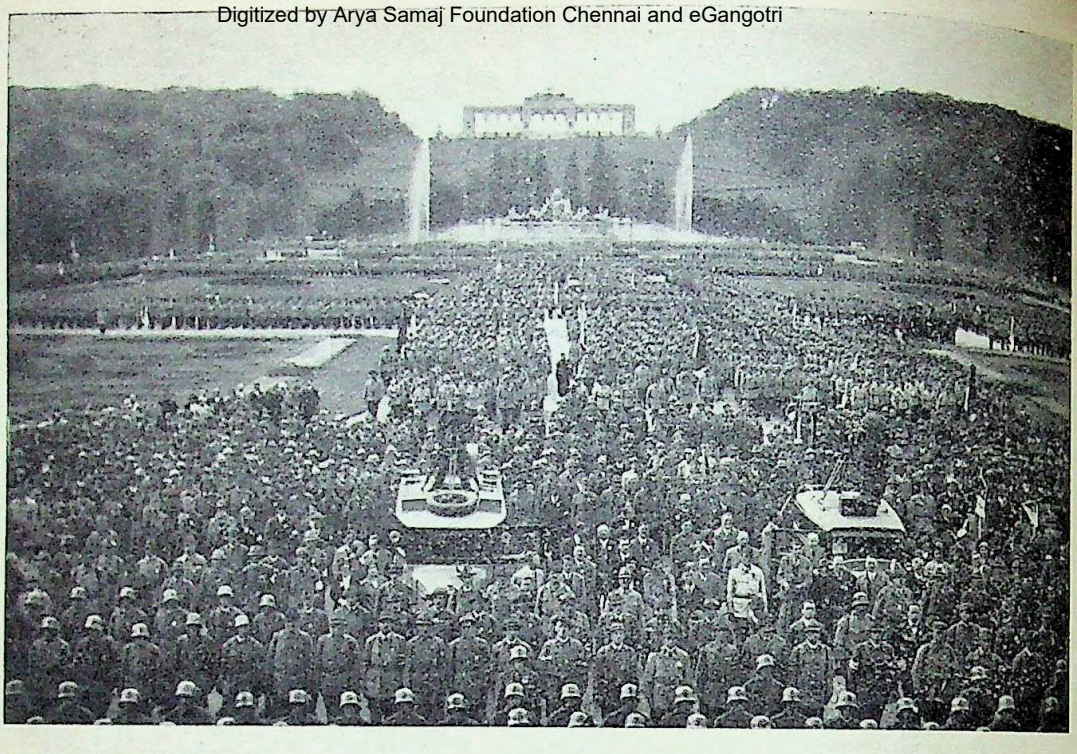
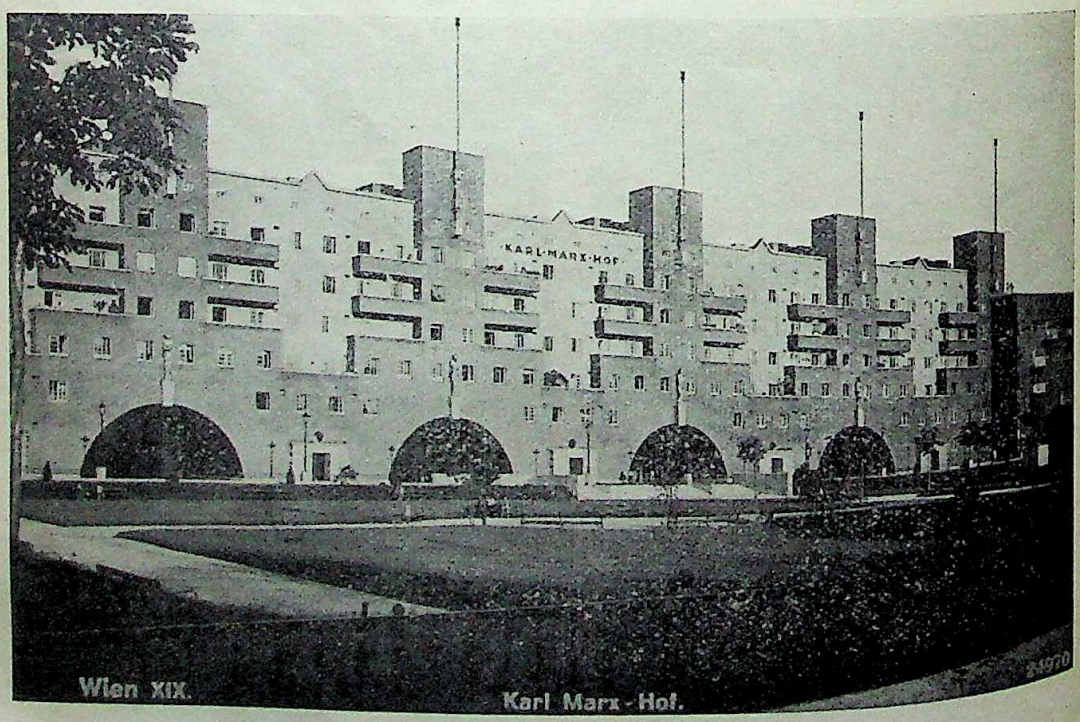


Rally of Heimwehr Volunteers in Vienna in June, 1933



"Karl Marx Hof"—the quarters built by the Municipality of Vienna for workmen—now renamed as "Dolfuss-hof."

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demonstrations were also held in connection with the Catholic Congress demonstrations. The net result of the September ceremonies was to give people, and particularly the Viennese public, the impression that the Government had an extremely strong position, having the support of the Catholic Church, the Army and the countryside people of Austria. And the prestige and reputation of Herr Dolfuss stood higher than it had ever done before.

I remember an incident that took place in Vienna at about this time. In one of the demonstrations that took place near the Rathaus (i.e. the Town Hall where the Mayor holds his office) one of the Heimwehr leaders pointing to the Rathaus said that he hoped that the day would soon come when the Government would turn out the Bolsheviks (meaning the Socialists) from the building and purge Vienna of their party. When I read the other day that the Government and Heimwehr forces had forcibly taken possession of the Rathaus and had made a prisoner of the Socialist Mayor, the speech of the Heimwehr leader appeared to me almost prophetic.

After the September ceremonies, the Government felt strong enough to proceed ruthlessly with its task of suppressing the oppositionist parties. The first few months were devoted to the suppression of the Nazis and when this was almost complete, the Government, with the advent of the new year, prepared for the assault on the Socialists. Looking at recent events in their proper perspective, it seems clear that the Socialists were fighting a losing game. Though they controlled the administration of the Vienna Municipality and of the Vienna province, their position was always weak. Abroad they had hardly any international support, while the ignominious failure of the Social Democrats in Germany had produced a demoralizing effect on Austria. The Catholic Church was dead against them and recent events have demonstrated what a strong hold the Catholic Church still has in Austria. Within Austria, they had to fight two powerful enemies, the Nazis on the one side and the Christian Socials and Heimwehr on the other. In these circumstances, could they have done more? It is quite true, as the *Manchester Guardian* reported, that the Socialists of Austria, unlike their comrades in Germany, have gone down fighting. It is a tragedy of history that a party with such a glorious record of public and social service as the Austrian Socialist Party should be overthrown and crushed in this manner. The only consolation is that they have created history. As Mr. Harold Laski wrote in the London *Daily Herald* the other day, in the history of the Socialist struggle, Vienna will rank alongside of the Paris Commune and of the Russian Revolution of 1905. While admitting all that, I cannot at the same time help thinking that if the Socialist leadership had shown greater political sagacity, events might have taken a different course. From admission made in Socialist circles now, it appears that till the very last, the Socialist leaders were negotiating for a compromise with the Government. There can be no complaint about the character of the Socialist rank and file, because, at the bidding of their leaders, they have shown of what stuff they are made. But were the leaders justified in lulling the party into a sense of security and in putting off the final struggle till the eleventh hour had struck?

While the Socialist Party has ceased to exist in Austria, the same cannot be said of the Nazis. As long as National Socialism rules in Germany, the Nazis will exist in Austria. Germany is putting the fullest economic pressure on Austria in order to bring about the downfall of the present Government. Will the present Government be able to solve the economic problem of the Austrian people? And will the Allied Powers, who are so anxious to keep Austria away from Germany, render adequate financial assistance to the present Austrian Government? If history answers both these questions in the affirmative, then undoubtedly the present Government will have a long lease of life. Otherwise there are only two alternatives for the Austrian people—a federation with Germany or with Hungary.

One of the conclusions to be drawn from the February events is that a comparatively small but well-disciplined armed force as the Austrian Government had, can overpower with the aid of artillery, any well-armed force that may be pitched against it.

Things are quiet now in Austria and will remain so for some time at least. The work of transformation is going on briskly. The green-and-white flag of the Heimwehr is flying on the top of Rathaus in order to proclaim the explusion of the Socialist regime. The triple busts of the leaders who founded the Austrian Republic have been removed and the busts of Herr Dolfuss, Prince Starhemberg and Major Fey (Heimwehr Leader) have been substituted instead. The palatial building built by the Socialist Municipality for the workers and named as Marxhof has been renamed as Dolfusshof. As a substitute for the Horned Cross or Swastika of the Nazis, Herr Dolfuss has designed a new cross as a symbol for his party. All the tactics, methods and devices employed in countries like Russia, Italy and Germany will be introduced in Austria as well. But the main problem on which will depend the future of Austrian politics is the economic problem. Till this problem is solved, there can be no peace in Austria.

A lot of speculation is going on now as to what course Herr Dolfuss will follow hereafter. Will he be able to maintain his independence or will he surrender completely to the Heimwehr? When his party—the Christian Socials—has been dissolved, where does he stand now? What kind of Constitution will he force on Austria?

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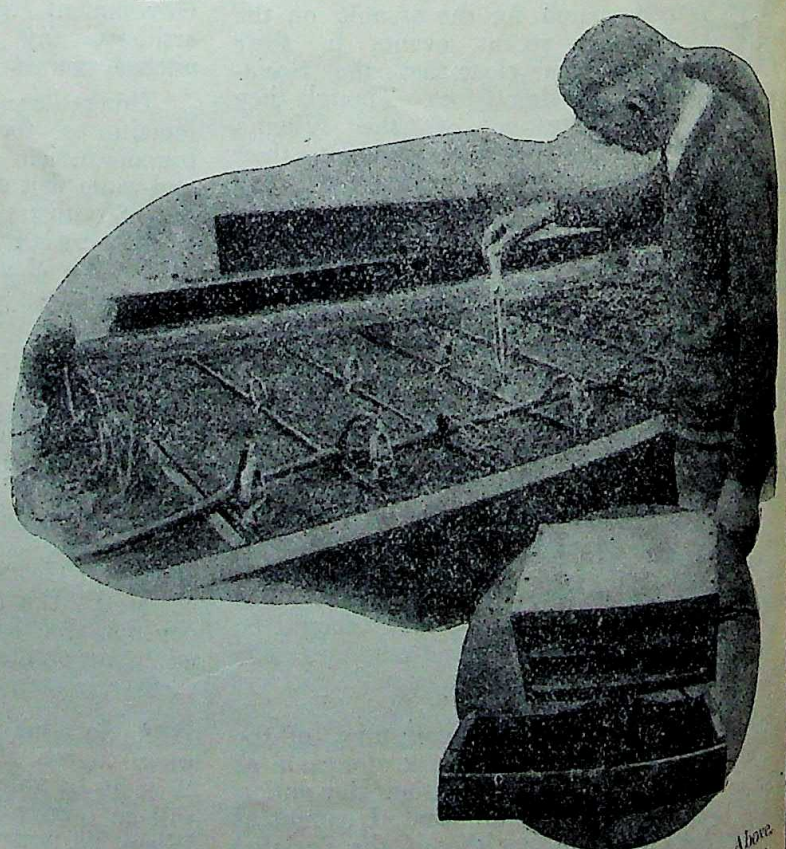
Will it be an imitation of the Italian Constitution or a modification of it?

In an exceedingly well-written article in the February (1934) number of the *Nineteenth Century* Elizabeth Wiskemann has pleaded passionately for a rapprochement between the Catholic Church and Socialism in Auatria in order to save the country from going over to the National Socialists. In view of the virtual extinction of the Socialist Party after the February events, the appeal is a belated one. To any outside observer it will appear clear that the Heimwehr have now got the upper hand and it will not be possible for Herr Dolfuss to maintain his independence as against them. The inner politics of the Heimwehr Party will determine the future of Austrian politics. Within the Heimwehr there has been a pro-Nazi group and also a monarchist group. The pro-Nazi section have, for the time being, been suppressed but the monarchist group have gained in importance. The latest news from Vienna goes to show that members of the Royal family are now openly identifying themselves with the Heimwehr Party and that monarchists in Austria and in Hungary have not only become active but have been holding deliberations jointly. Interesting developments may therefore take place at any time. But whatever happens, there is no doubt that for some time at least, the Allied Powers will be able to do much in the way of influencing the trend of Austrian politics. Austria still continues to be the storm-centre of European politics, though outwardly she may appear to be calm. The Vienna Correspondent of the London *Times* seems to think that the best course for the outside Powers would be to back Herr Dolfuss and his Government and he also seems to think that the Constitution which he will give Austria will have only a 'Fascist leaven.' But in view of the influence of the Heimwehr in Austria today and the relations between that party and Italy, it seems more probable that the future constitution will be based on the Italian model. No doubt the earlier declarations of Herr Dolfuss referred to 'a Christian Corporative' State but he was then really under the influence of the Catholic Church and he was probably drawing his inspiration from the Papal Encyclical of 1931 which laid down the views of the Catholic Church on the question of social reorganization. But today it is well-nigh impossible for Herr Dolfuss to do anything in opposition to the Heimwehr and it is extremely doubtful if the latter would go as far as the Prime Minister in following the directives of the Catholic Church. Whatever happens in Austria hereafter will be of interest to the outside world and will have far-reaching repercussions throughout Europe.

Electric Current in Soil Kills off the Bacteria

Home gardens and greenhouse men may now rid soil of disease and pests by sterilizing it with electricity, through the use of apparatus recently developed by a Seattle, Wash, research engineer. Though it resembles electric heating devices previously applied to gardening, the apparatus is not designed to heat the soil by contact but by passing electric current directly through it, between electrodes that are buried in the earth. The mild heating is said to kill all parasites.

—*Popular Science*



At top, electric soil sterilizer in use. Above, close-up of insulating material and plates

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NOTES

ducation of Negroes in America and of Indians in India

Literacy and education are not indentical the one should not be confounded with the other. Nevertheless, it is true, broadly speaking, that education cannot be imparted to an adequate extent without literacy. Hence an attempt will be made in this note to give some idea of the progress of education in India, assuming that it can be roughly measured by the percentage of literacy of its population.

The education of the Negroes of the United States of America will be compared with that of Indians in India for the reasons stated below.

Originally the Negroes were not inhabitants of America. Their ancestors were taken from their homes in Africa and sold into slavery in America. Not to speak of any indigenous literature of their own in Africa, they had not even any indigenous alphabet. Lived in America they lived in a state of slavery. So long as they were slaves, they were not given any facilities for education. On the contrary, their education was penalized. So, though before the emancipation of all the Negro slaves in the U. S. A. in December 1865, a certain proportion of the free Negroes and a smaller one of the Negro slaves had become literate, the progress made by the Negroes in literacy and education has been made since December 18, 1865. Even after that date up till now the Negroes there have not enjoyed all the educational facilities which the white Americans have enjoyed.

It has been stated above that so long as there was slavery in the U. S. A., the education of the Negroes was penalized. The exact character of the punishments provided for the absence of Negro education will be understood from the following extracts made from Farmancorth *History of the World*, vol. iv, p. 2814, by Major B. D. Basu in his *History of Education in India under the Rule of the East India Company* :

> "... the education of Negroes was expressly forbidden. Here for instance, are some passages from the Code of Virginia in 1849, 'Every assemblage of Negroes for the purpose of instruction in reading or writing shall be an unlawful assembly. Any justice may issue his warrant to any officers or other person requiring him to enter any place where such assemblage may be and seize any Negro therein ; and he or any other justice may order such Negro to be punished with stripes. Again, if a white person assemble with Negroes for the purpose of instructing them to read or write, he shall be confined to jail not exceeding six months and fined not exceeding one hundred dollars."
>
> "Here is another paragraph from an Act passed in South Carolina in 1834. 'If any person shall hereafter teach any slave to read or write, or shall aid in assisting any slave to read or write, or cause or procure any slave to be taught to read or write, such person, if a free white person, upon conviction thereof, shall for every such offence against this Act be fined not exceeding one hundred dollars and imprisoned not more than six months ; or, if a person of colour, shall be whipped not exceeding fifty lashes and fined not exceeding fifty dollars : And if a slave, shall be whipped not exceeding fifty lashes."
>
> "Simillar Acts were passed in Georgia and Alabama."

When the Negroes were freed in 1865, such laws ceased to be operative. In 1930 in the U. S. A. 16.3 per cent of Negroes were illiterate and 83·7 per cent were literate. This means that mainly in 65 years, from December 19, 1865, to 1930, an orginally uncivilized people, without any indigenous alphabet and literature of their own, had become literate to the extent of 83.7 per cent. This has been possible because of the desire of the Negroes for knowledge, the intellectual atmosphere of America, the facilities provided by the State for their education, though less than those provided for the whites, and the facilities created by the Negroes themselves for their own education.

The facts relating to India will now be stated.

This country possessed scripts and alphabets at least two thousand years ago.

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This date is given in order that it may not be challenged even by those European scholars who are most obsessed with the notion of Indian inferiority. The most ancient Sanskrit literature of India is, according to the same class of scholars, at least three thousand years old. Pali literature is also more than two thousand years old. The literatures of many modern languages of India are at least a thousand years old.

Indian literatures of the pre-British period contain not only poems, dramas, and works of fiction in prose but also valuable philosophical and scientic works of various descriptions.

It is generally admitted that in ancient times Hindus had made great progress in the art of education, though the extent of literacy in those days or in the Pathan and Mughal period cannot be definitely ascertained. But the records, reports and statements of British officers and writers go to show that in the years immediately preceding and following the establishment of the rule of the East India Company there was a greater degree of literacy in India than now. Major B. D. Basu, in his book cited above, quotes the following passage from the late Mr. Keir Hardie's work on *India*, p. 5 :—

> MaxMuller, on the strength of official documents and a missionary report concerning education in Bengal prior to the British occupation, asserts that there were then 80,000 native schools in Bengal, or one for every four hundred of the population. Ludlow, in his history of British India, says that 'in every Hindoo village which has retained its old form I am assured that the children generally are able to read, write, and cipher, but where we have swept away the village system as in Bengal, there the village school has also disappeared.'

Major Basu's book gives extracts relating to the Madras and Bombay Presidencies also.

Mr. Edward J. Thompson, whose worst enemy will not accuse him of overestimating the achievements of India or Indians, has been constrained to admit in *The Reconstruction of India* (Faber & Faber Limited, London, 1930) that in India "there was more literacy, if of a low kind, than until within the last ten years." But this grudging admission is not accurate. For, whereas "official documents and a missionary report concerning education in Bengal prior to the British occupation" mention 80,000 schools in Bengal or one for every 400 of the population, the latest Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bengal, for the years 1927-1932, mentions only 69,036 educational institutions, including not merely schools, but universities, arts colleges, professional colleges, secondary schools and primary schools, for a population of 5,01,14,002 souls, or one educational institution for every 725 of the population.

Let us, however, not lay stress upon the fact that in pre-British India there was more literacy, "if of a low kind," as Mr. Thompson says, than now. Let us merely record the existing state of things.

Before that is done, it must in all fairness be recorded with profound feelings of appreciation that neither the Government of the East India Company nor the Government of India under the British Crown has ever enacted laws providing the punishment of fines, imprisonment or whipping for Indians receiving education or for Europeans giving education to Indians. In this respect the European branch of the Anglo-Saxon race can claim to be vastly superior to the American branch. It may be objected, that the Negroes of America were slaves, whereas the Indians were and are merely a conquered people and that not all parts of India were brought under subjugation by fighting. But though there is a difference between slavery and political subjection, what really matters is that the British people had the power to make the giving and receiving of education on the part of Indians a penal offence. It was extremely generous and merciful of them, therefore, not to exercise that power in the way that the white Americans did with regard to the Negroes before 1865.

It has been stated above that mainly in the course of 65 years 83·7 per cent of the originally uncivilized Negroes in America have been made literate.

Assuming that the people of India, before being brought under British rule, were uncivilized, alphabet-less, literature-less, without arts and crafts, at least 83·7 per cent of them should have been made literate in the more than 65 years of British rule—at any rate the more than 65 years which have elapsed since the Education Despatch of 1854, commonly, though not correctly, styled the "Intellectual Charter of India," and accurately

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spoken of as Wood's Despatch after Sir Charles Wood, then President of the Board of Control of the East India Company. As against the 83·7 per cent of American Negro literacy in 1930, may be mentioned the 8 (eight) per cent literacy of the people of India in 1931. So American Negroes are ten times as literate as Indians under British rule. In this respect, therefore, the European branch of the Anglo-Saxon race is vastly inferior to the American branch of the same race. Our observation is strictly limited to literacy. Racial and political treatment should not, therefore, be brought in.

Literacy in India

It does not much matter if some Provinces and States are ahead of others in literacy. For the shameful fact is that 92 per cent of Indians are illiterate and only 8 per cent are literate. Nevertheless, as the Provinces and States will have to make independent efforts to reach at least the American Negro's level of literacy, namely, 837 per mille, the following table taken from the Census of India Report for 1931, showing the number of literates per mille, may be found useful as a reminder :

Burma	368	Central Provinces	66
Cochin	337	Panjab	63
Travancore	289	Assam States	61
Baroda	209	Bengal States	61
Coorg	182	United Provinces	55
Andamans & Nicobars	176	Baluchistan	54
Delhi	170	Bihar & Orissa	53
Ajmer-Merwara	163	Central India	52
Western India States	125	Hyderabad	50
Madras States*	125	N.-W. F. Province	49
Bengal	121	U. P. States	49
Bombay†	111	Gwalior	47
Madras	108	Rajputana	43
Mysore	108	Panjab States	42
Assam	106	Panjab States Agency	42
Bombay States	93	Jammu & Kashmir	40
* *Excluding Cochin & Travancore.*	71	B. and O. States	39
† *Including Aden.*		Sikkim	35
		C. P. States	23

There is a wrong notion that in India some communities are very much advanced in education. The following table taken from the Census Report for 1931, showing the number of literates per thousand, makes it plain that no community has reached the American Negro's level of literacy :

Parsis	791	Indian Buddhists	90
Jews	416	Hindus	84
Jains	353	Muslims	64
Christians	279	Tribal	7
Sikhs	91	*All exclusive of Burma.*	

The Baidyas of Bengal, the Tamil Brahmans of the Madras Presidency and the Kayasthas of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh are said to be very advanced in education. But they are all far below the American Negro's level of literacy. Among Baidyas 635 per thousand are literate, among Tamil Brahmans 626, and among U. P. Kayasthas about 446.

We have spoken above of the American Negro's level of literacy. Of the native-born American whites, 98.5 per cent or 985 per thousand are literate. The Japanese figure is slightly higher.

"Educationally almost saturated"

The latest official Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bengal, 1927-1932, observes that "these two communities (Christians and 'educationally advanced' Hindus) are "educationally almost saturated." Perhaps in proof of this statement, this official publication says that "the number of their pupils has not shown much variation during the last decade." As a matter of fact, as the same official report mentions elsewhere (p. 8), "the advanced Hindus have lost ground in the primary and the secondary stages, in which their enrolment was 6,31,531 at the end of the quinquennium as against 6,40,309 in 1926-27."

A substance is said to be saturated with some other substance when the former has absorbed and holds the greatest amount possible of the latter. But can it be said that any Hindu caste, however 'advanced' educationally, has absorbed the largest possible amount of education? If it be found that almost all persons above the age of, say, 5 belonging to any caste are at least literate, or that almost all its boys and girls of school-going age are receiving instruction, then it can be said that it is educationally saturated. But as the Quinquennial Review nowhere says which Hindu castes are officially considered educationally advanced, nor what percentage of the total population is officially held to be of school-going age, the accuracy of the official

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remark cannot be tested. The only test that can be applied is to see whether any Hindu caste in Bengal is literate to as great an extent as, say, the native-born American whites, of whom 985 per thousand are literate. Now, in the Bengal Census Report for 1931, the most literate castes mentioned are: Baidya, 635 per thousand literate; Brahman, 452 per thousand literate; Kayastha, 401 per thousand literate; Agarwala, 344 per thousand literate; and Shaha 268 per thousand literate. These figures show that none of these castes approach the native-born American whites (or even the American Negroes) in literacy, and that there are numerous adults and juveniles among them who are illiterate. Therefore, it is undoubtedly incorrect to say that the 'educationally advanced' Hindus of Bengal are 'educationally almost saturated.' They are nothing of the kind. The reason why there has been a decrease in the number of pupils from those classes is, not because there has been excessive education among them, but because economic depression and unemployment have struck them hard, and consequently they have become less able to send their children to school than they were before.

Lady Clerks and Soldier Clerks

On the 6th of March last Mr. S. C. Mitra asked some questions in the Legislative Assembly relating to lady clerks and soldier clerks, obviously employed in military offices.

> Mr. S. C. Mitra put a number of questions asking why British soldier clerks and lady clerks were given a higher pay, whereas the pay of Indian clerks was further reduced for future recruitment.
>
> Mr. Tottenham replied that the Government were satisfied that soldier clerks and lady clerks of suitable qualifications could not be obtained at a lesser salary, while Indian clerks could be obtained on rates considerably lower than those they now received. Lady clerks were necessary, as they performed certain duties more efficiently and better than men (laughter).

The Government may be satisfied that soldier clerks and lady clerks could not be got for lesser pay, but Indians think that, as there is much unemployment in Britain, Government could have got white clerks of both sexes on lesser pay if they could have brought themselves to take advantage of white persons' neediness just as they have taken advantage of unemployment among Indian educated men to reduce the pay of Indian male clerks.

> Mr. S. C. Mitra: "May I ask the Hon. Member whether the Government of India have decided to recruit lady clerks for certain classes of work in the civil departments as well?"
>
> Sir Henry Haig: "I must have notice of this question."
>
> Mr. B. Das: "May I take it that lady clerks are employed because they exercise a healthy influence on the conscience of officers which leads to efficiency?"
>
> Mr. Tottenham: "No Sir."
>
> Mr. Maswood Ahmed: "Are they asked to leave service when they get married?"
>
> Mr. Tottenham: "That's so."
>
> Mr. Maswood Ahmed: "What's the reason for employing unmarried girls?"
>
> Mr. Tottenham: "Reasons are obvious. Married ladies have other duties to perform" (laughter).

Do the unmarried lady clerks perform these "other duties" of married ladies while unmarried, so that on getting married they cannot perform them both at home and in office because of the fatigue of reduplication?

> Sir Henry Gidney maintained that there was a considerable scope for reduction of expenditure under overhead charges. He objected to soldier clerks being given a higher pay. He recalled the fact that for ten years he had been urging economy in the medical services, but unfortunately though India had to foot the bill the War Office dictated the policy and insisted on a costly British personnel in the ancillary services. The speaker pleaded for a small army, a unit being raised from among Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans who must have a higher pay than Indian soldiers.
>
> Addressing Mr. Tottenham, he added: "They are sons of your own soldiers. Give them a chance of bearing the military burden and taking part in the defence of their own country."

The following "Twilight Twitters" from *The Bombay Sentinel* relate to the foregoing bits from the Assembly Catechism of March 6 last:

> Mr. Tottenham told the Assembly that the Army officials wanted "lady clerks" on higher salaries than Indians, because they could perform "certain duties" more efficiently and better than men.
>
> We believe you, George!
>
> To another Member Mr. Tottenham said that "lady clerks" left the service when they got married because the Army officers had no longer any use for married "lady clerks."
>
> He seems to know something.
>
> The Army Secretary further explained that "married ladies" had other duties to perform at home, which possibly they could not do in the office, though it was admitted that they did not exercise a healthy influence on the conscience of officers leading to efficiency.
>
> We had thought as much. But the bad example of the Army is now being copied by Civil officers who, too, can't be denied the efficiency of their "lady clerks" in performing certain duties.

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Sir Henry Gidney made a moving appeal to the Army Secretary to raise a small army unit of Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans, since "they are the sons of your own soldiers." Of course, it had no reference to this Army Secretary's explanation about lady clerks. The Army Secretary wisely refused to commit himself either way, and the parentage of the Colonel's Anglo-Indian wards remained undecided. We must now wait for a further appeal to soldiers by the gallant Colonel—who can never say die in such a good cause.

Commander-in-Chief on Wordy War-path

Sir Philip Chetwode, the Commander-in-Chief, said in the course of his speech during the debate on the Capitation Tribunal's Report in the Council of State that most of the speeches in both houses against excessive army expenditure were in the nature of special pleading in which "an economy of truth was practised." It was perhaps his extreme courtesy which led him to say that he would not like to characterize some of those speeches, in the words of a well known British politician, as "frigid and calculated lies." Was it because they did not want to be outdone in courtesy that the valiant Members of the Council of State referred to did not like to say or even to think that Sir Philip's speech abounded in tepid and effortless "terminological inexactitudes" involving a holocaust of truth? That Sir Philip had no regard for truth will appear from the fact that he has said that the army in India is kept solely for Indian purposes, whereas it is well known and was repeated in the House of Commons on March 7 last by Sir Samuel Hoare and Earl Winterton, a former under-secretary for state, that India is a training ground for the British troops and the army in India had been repeatedly used in the past and would be used in the future also for imperial purposes. The certificate of frugal use of truth which the aforesaid members have received from the Commander-in-Chief should stand them in good stead on the outbreak of the next world war. They should then apply for jobs in the British Imperial War Lies Department.

"Respectful" Co-operation

In giving relief to the sufferers from the earthquake in Bihar, it is not only unobjectionable but necessary that there should be co-operation between the Government and all the non-official agencies engaged in the work of philanthropy in that province. Such co-operation implies mutual confidence and respect. Therefore, Congress workers did nothing wrong to offer their co-operation to the Government unasked. But it would have been enough if simply co-operation or cordial or wholehearted co-operation had been offered. The addition of the word 'respectful' was at the best superfluous. On account of the use of words like 'respectfully' and 'most respectfully' in petitions and the like, the word 'respectful' in similar contexts has come to be associated more with conventional obsequiousness than with any sincere feeling of respect.

It is needless to emphasize that it is not here insinuated that Mahatma Gandhi has been obsequious. Such an insinuation would be absurd.

Reconstruction of Bihar and Hindu Architecture

As many towns and villages in Bihar will have to be reconstructed, all those who are directly and indirectly connected with the work of reconstruction should have their attention drawn to the ancient Indian ideas of village-planning, town-planning and architecture in general. They are to be found in Professor Dr. P. K. Acharya's masterly edition of the ancient standard Sanskrit work *Manasara* in five sumptuous volumes. Those who do not know Sanskrit need not think that the work will not be of any use to them. For Dr. Acharya has given a full English translation of the work with critical notes. There are also numerous plates, which will help architects, engineers and builders in their work.

European architecture has not been a complete success in India either from the artistic or from the economic point of view. We should give a trial to our own architectural rules and plans, which were not crude but scientific.

The eighty chapters of this monumental work deal with various subjects, among which may be mentioned, as of immediate importance, the selection of site, the examination of soil, site-

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plans, the village, town-planning, the dimensions of buildings, the bases and pedestals of columns, the features of buildings one-storeyed to twelve-storeyed, courts, temples, pavilions, mansions, dwelling-houses, royal palaces, etc.

As the Government and non-official relief societies and the Maharajadhiraj of Darbhanga are going to spend lakhs of rupees, they would do well to spend a very much smaller sum to purchase copies of this work, for the preparation and publication of which the author has received encouragement and assistance from the Government of India, the Government of the United Provinces and other governments, and some high officials. The work has been published by the Oxford University Press.

It has been reported in the papers that in Nepal old temples, constructed according to ancient Indian methods, have not suffered so much from the earthquake as more modern buildings. There is reason to believe that buildings on the *Manasara* plans and methods would be durable and beautiful, as well as comparatively inexpensive.

The patriotism of Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Babu Rajendra Prasad and other leaders need not be referred to. But it is not to their or anybody else's patriotism that it is necessary to appeal. The appeal is to common sense. And the common-sense view is that an elaborate and practical handbook of architecture, which has come down from antiquity and which embodies the age-long experience of many experts native to the soil and the climate, should at least be given a trial. To dismiss it without such trial, is to insult ourselves as well as our ancestors. Of course, there should be adaptations to modern conditions, wherever necessary.

Sir Abdur Rahim on the Capitation Charges

During the Budget debate in the Assembly, Sir Abdur Rahim moved a token cut in respect of the demand for the Army Department. In the course of his speech he said :

> India had been treated very inequitably in the matter of capitation charges. Only very meagre facts had been placed before the Assembly, but even those were enough to make the assertion that, while the Government of India had fought for fairplay, they had been treated very b... The Army Secretary had admitted during ... last debate in the Assembly on this question t... India was entitled to more than two crores.

Mr. Tottenham, the Army Secretar... wanted to correct him by saying : "I nev... said we were entitled but that we had press... for more." Sir Abdur Rahim replied :

> "Supposing your figure had been accepted, ... would have been much more than two crores."
> Mr. Tottenham : "Yes, but that doesn't m... we were entitled to more" (laughter).
> Sir Abdur Rahim : "I dare say you did ... put forward the case which you did not bel... as being just and fair. These two crores app... to be a sort of a gift to India and it does ... meet the situation. We want full justice to t... Indian people. We are not asking for dole ... charity. British garrisons are maintained ... India for imperial purposes. This was a statem... made in the Simon Commission Report, which ... the political bible of die-hards, whether in Engl... or in India.
> "As for the Frontier problem, which is f... in our face every time, I ask whether the s... of things is the same now as it was in ... Then, what about economies that are possible ... the administrative and ancillary services of ... army ?"

Sin and the Bihar Earthquake

According to the *Associated Press*,

> Patna, March 20.
> Mahatma Gandhi addressed the first pub... meeting at Mangles Tank, Patna City, this af... noon, when large crowds numbering about 40... gathered to hear him. An address on behalf ... citizens was presented to him.
> Gandhiji in the course of his speech sai... terrible calamity had befallen them as a pun... ment for their sins. Their duty after the terr... disaster was to purify themselves.

According to the *United Press*,

> Patna, March. 20.
> "Sin is the cause of this great calamity, th... I cannot say whose sin it is. Sin must be expi... by those who still survive." Thus said Maha... Gandhi addressing a largely attended p... meeting this evening held at Mangles T... Patna City.

Both the news agencies agree in reporti... that Mahatmaji said that sin was the cause ... the Bihar earthquake. The *United Press* ... the words "though I cannot say whose sin is." That perhaps means that Gandhiji does ... know definitely who the persons are whose ... has been punished in this terrible man... But these persons must be either the pres... generation of Biharis, killed or wounded by ... earthquake, or their ancestors. For it is ... well-observed fact that for certain kinds

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wickedness on the part of men and women their descendants suffer, as they likewise profit by the virtues of their ancestors. In the case of infectious or contagious diseases, men also sometimes suffer for the faults of others. Similarly, the good example and the influence of the good character of persons benefit others. All such cases of suffering and benefit admit of scientific explanation.

But Mahatmaji has not explained the laws according to which untouchability, lying, personal impurity, dishonesty, thieving, etc., can bring down strong buildings and thereby kill or wound men, women and children, cause fissures in the soil, spread sand over fertile lands, choke up wells, and so on and so forth. Nor has it been clear to us why God should punish the Biharis alone for the sins of Indians in general, including themselves;—for we are not among those who are in His secrets. It has never been demonstrated or asserted that the Biharis are the most wicked among Indians, or that untouchability, dishonesty, personal impurity, thieving, lying, etc., prevail in Bihar to a greater extent than in any other province or area. Are those in Bihar who have not suffered in life, limb or property by the earthquake entirely sinless or at least more virtuous than those who have suffered? Are those who have suffered most the most sinful? Justice requires that there should be gradation in punishment. Can anybody point out such gradation in the case of the sufferers from earthquake in Bihar? As regards untouchability, in certain parts of the Madras Presidency, for example, this evil custom prevails to a greater extent and in a more heinous form than in Bihar. If untouchability be the cause of the earthquake, why should Bihar be made the scapegoat for the sins of other areas? Of course, according to orthodox Christians, Jesus Christ suffered for the sins of all mankind, so that they might be saved. We do not believe in this doctrine of vicarious punishment or suffering. But even if we did, we do not know that anybody has claimed that the people of Bihar are like Christ and have been punished for the salvation of other Indians.

Somewhat figuratively it is true that all Indians are one family, the inhabitants of Bihar being part of the family. It is true in the same way that all men, including the people of Bihar, are one family. It is also true that sometimes innocent members of a family have to suffer for the faults of others. But if the theory that the Biharis are suffering for the sins of all Indians is to be accepted, it should first be established that the earthquake is really a visitation for sins, the causal connection between sin and the destruction of houses etc. and the like and human lives by earthquake should be established and it should be clearly proved why Bihar should have been chosen to suffer for itself and the rest of India. The Mahatma believes what he says and says what he believes. But mere assertions of even the greatest of men without proof cannot and ought not to satisfy all modern minds.

It is as well known to us as to the most loyal and devout of Gandhiji's disciples and followers that he is incapable of knowingly insulting or being cruel to anybody. But it seems to us that to tell the sufferers from the earthquake that they or their near and dear ones who are dead or maimed were or are sinners is to add insult and cruelty to their losses and sufferings. Not that they or any of us are immaculate. But why *practically* mark them out or brand them as sinners *par excellence*?

If sin be the cause of the havoc wrought by the earthquake, piety must be its remedy. And, therefore, if the people of Bihar be pious again, their ruined houses, lands, wells, etc., should be restored to their former condition without any engineering or other effort on the part of official and non-official agencies. We certainly want that men should be virtuous and pious, but not in the expectation that virtue and piety will prevent the loss and suffering caused by earthquakes, hurricanes, inundations etc.

We have said, we are not in the secrets of God, and we, therefore, profess complete agnosticism regarding the moral and spiritual causes of earthquakes, if any. Scientists may or may not have been able to discover the causes of all cosmical or terrestrial convulsions and disturbances. But of some they have been able to find out the causes. Meteorologists are trying to know beforehand the time of the breaking of storms or the approach of floods. On many occasions they have actually been

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able to give useful warnings beforehand, though so far as earthquakes are concerned scientists have not to our knowledge received or published premonitions. But it is our belief that if anybody were to say that hurricanes and floods were caused by the sins of sufferers from them, he might be instrumental in misleading people to believe that such terrestrial disturbances being caused by human sin, they could likewise be prevented by human piety, and therefore, meteorologists and other similar scientific men need not carry on their investigations or be listened to.

The idea of punishment should not at all be connected with terrestrial phenomena like earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, etc. They have happened in the past and would happen again in the future irrespective of whether particular continents, countries, provinces, districts, towns and villages are inhabited by the most virtuous people or not. Such things happen in consequence of the operation of natural laws, which also are no doubt expressions of God's will, for not even a leaf falls without His knowledge and will. But it is not correct to think that natural phenomena happen directly or necessarily to punish vice or reward virtue. The same forces of Nature which in some places and on some occasions cause loss and suffering are beneficial and cause happiness in other places and times. It is all in the day's work, and we should accept both kinds of occurrences with equanimity. Sudden or untimely death is not worse or more terrible than death of the opposite kind. Nor is death necessarily a punishment. It dissolves the body but not the soul. As for property, we cannot take it with us to the next world.

Moreover, we should bear in mind the fact that the anthropocentric idea of the universe is not applicable in all cases. It cannot be said that the Creator of the Universe does everything solely with a view to either rewarding or punishing men. There are other worlds than our own; aud other creatures, other organisms, other things than man even in this world. Cosmic and terrestrial phenomena have a bearing on all of them, which ought to be borne in mind, if not also studied.

In conclusion, we should like to add that justice requires that punishments should fit and be appropriate to offences. Decades ago Rabindranath Tagore wrote a poem which contains two lines in which, referring to the treatment received by the so-called untouchables and other similar classes in our country, he says: "O my luckless country, to those whom you have humiliated—you will have to be equal to them in your own humiliation." That India is a pariah among nations, appears to us to be a more appropriate and scientifically explicable punishment for the evil customs of untouchability and the like than the Bihar earthquake.

As an example of the opposite kind of thing happening to a nation, take the case of Japan. That country had the *Samurai* as its highest caste whose profession was to fight and to rule, and its *Eta*, who were the lowest caste and were untouchables. The Samurai gave up their privileges of their own accord and the stigma of untouchability was removed from the brows of the Eta. Japan's high place among nations is due in the last resort in part at least to the uplift of the lowly and the relinquishment of privileges by the aristocracy.

Independence for the Philippines

According to a Reuter's telegram,

> President Roosevelt has signed the Philippine Independence Bill already approved by the Congress granting independence within ten to twelve years. The messure is subject to approval by the Philippine Legislature, which must accept the terms of the Bill by October 1, otherwise the Bill lapses.

The terms of the Bill have not yet been cabled. But if the Filipinos get independence or even internal autonomy twelve years hence, they will get after 46 years of American occupation of their islands what India has not got after more than a century and a half of British occupation. Even now, the Filipinos have a far better constitution than what the White Paper *promises* to India.

Lord Willingdon on Lord Irwin

In Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* Antony begins his funeral oration thus:—

"Friends, Romans, countrymen, lend me your ears; I come to bury Caesar, not to praise him.

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In unveiling the statue of Lord Irwin, who is happily still in the land of the living, Lord Willingdon might have said :

"Friends, Britons, Indians, lend me your ears ; I come to praise Irwin, though I buried the Irwin-Gandhi pact."

Devanagari As Common Script

The address of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda as president of the Hindi Conference at Delhi, which was read out for him in his absence, contains the following passage :

"As to the question of a common script for India, I am opposed to Roman for the same reason that I am opposed to English vernacular. It is not rooted in our soil. It is like the esperanto, an artificial product, not admittedly great, dozens of alphabets added to the confusion of tongues. But as in Hindi we can arrive at a Lingua Franca, so Devanagri is our natural common script. Any one who knows the Sanskrit characters can easily learn to read all the derivative scripts. Enlightened patriotism calls for a national tongue and reason urges that we achieve a standard and universal script. Our great neighbour China with four hundred million people is now teaching a common set of characters to all, and producing a new literature in the common tongue. If China in turmoil can do it, we can."

The adoption of Hindi or Urdu or Hindustani as the Lingua Indica does not involve the giving up or the suppression of the other living languages of India. When there is such a Lingua Indica, it will be used by those whose mother tongue it is not, only for interprovincial communication and for All-India purposes ; but at the same time those whose mother tongue it is not will continue to use their mother tongue and cultivate its literature. If, however, there is a common script for India of Indian origin, it must lead to the giving up of all other indigenous scripts. For, otherwise, except in the areas whose script is to become the common script of India, there would be two scripts, *viz.*, the All-India and the provincial. But that would be very inconvenient. In Andhra-desa or Tamil Nad or Orissa or Bengal or Assam, for example, it would be necessary to print Telugu, Tamil, Oriya, Bengali or Assamese books in two scripts. But if the All-India script alone were used in supersession of every other script, it would be necessary to print all books only in one script. That would be very convenient.

But we should be very careful in our choice and adoption of a script. Supposing all provinces of India agreed to have a Sanskritic script, of which we are not sure, though our personal predilection is in favour of such a script, it would by no means even then follow that Nagari would be the most suitable. It is neither the easiest nor the most convenient to read, write or print and perhaps it is not also the oldest.

It is true the Roman script is not rooted in our soil. But it was not rooted in the soil of Turkey, yet Turkey has adopted it. In saying this we are not arguing in favour of the adoption of the Roman script. What we mean is that, if a change has to be made, let us adopt that script which will make reading, writing and printing easiest for our children and children's children. There was a time when the Deva Nagari script did not exist. There were then older scripts which appeared to be rooted in our soil. Yet they have disappeared. If we make a good choice now, it will become rooted in the soil in course of time. It should also be borne in mind that no alphabet, no script, is perfect as a whole ;—some letters may be taken and kept as they are, others may have to be rejected, still others may have to be altered a little and some new ones may have to be added.

If unobjectionable from other points of view, that script would be preferable which would make it most practicable for Indians to have cultural and commercial relations with the largest number of men in and outside India.

Khan Obeidullah Khan Not to be Released.

It is much to be regretted that the Viceroy has refused to intervene in the matter of the suggested release of Khan Obeidullah Khan who is lying seriously ill at Multan jail. No doubt, the matter is strictly within the jurisdictiou of the N.-W. F. Province Government. But the Viceroy could have influenced that Government if he chose to do so.

"Why Not Poison Him ?"

With reference to this same gentleman (Khan Obeidullah Khan) Mr. Maswood

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Ahmed, M.L.A., asked the Home Member in the Assembly, "If the Government propose to get rid of the man for ever, why not poison him?" This was to be sure a most astounding question, one the like of which has been, we believe, never asked in any legislative chamber. Does Mr. Maswood Ahmed know or suspect or imagine that the Government ever wanted to get rid of once for all and therefore poisoned any prisoner, internee or detenu, that he asked such a question? The matter arose thus:

New Delhi, Mar. 16.

Replying to Mr. Maswood Ahmed whether any correspondence had passed between the Government of India and the Government of North-West Frontier Province in connection with the illness of Obeidullah Khan, a political prisoner, now confined in Multan Central Jail, Sir Harry Haig stated that the Forntier Government had reported to the Government of India the facts which were subsequently published in a communique. The Government of India did not propose to take up with the Government of North-West Frontier Province the question of Obeidullah Khan's release, as the prisoner was undergoing imprisonment in default of giving security under section 40 of the Frontier Crimes Regulation and the Government of India were not prepared to interfere in the matter of his release, which was a concern of the Frontier Government.

Volleys of supplementary questions were asked from all corners of the House regarding the release and illness of Obeidullah Khan.

Mr. Maswood Ahmed asked whether it was not a fact that Obeidullah Khan has been suffering from tuberculosis.

Sir Harry Haig: I understand that is so.

Mr. Maswood Ahmed: Did he not first contract the disease at Multan?

Sir Harry Haig: I have no information as to when and where the disease was contracted.

Dewan Lalchand Navalrai: Are not the Government of India in view of the prisoner's serious illness and in view of the Frontier Government not taking proper steps prepared to interfere in the matter?

Sir Harry Haig: Certainly not. The prisoner resorted to hunger-strike and in my judgment the Government of India cannot interfere.

Mr. Maswood Ahmed: Is not Obeidullah Khan's case a peculiar one, inasmuch as he has been sent to the Multan Jail by the Frontier Government while responsibility of his health lies with the Panjab Government?

Sir Harry Haig: I don't think there is any serious complication there. The responsibility of his release lies with the Frontier Government.

Mr. D. K. Lahiri Chowdhury: Why did the prisoner resort to hunger-strike?

Sir Harry Haig: Shortly after his deportation he resorted to hunger-strike and this is the fifth occasion of hunger-strike apparently as a protest against his retransfer to Multan Jail.

Mr. Lahiri Chowdhury: Who will be responsible for the prisoner's death?

Sir Harry Haig: If a man resorts to hunger-strike and dies, the responsibility lies with him.

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed: Obeidulla Khan contracted the disease at Multan, the climate of which place does not suit him. Why, then, has he been sent back there?

Mr. Navalrai: Who will be responsible if he dies?

Sir Harry Haig: The man himself who resorts to hunger-strikes voluntarily.

Mr. Maswood Ahmed: Haven't the Government of India intervened on similar occasions in the past?

Sir Harry Haig: I have no recollection, except in one case, which we do regard as peculiarly our own, namely, the case of Mr. Gandhi. (Laughter).

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed: As he contracted tuberculosis in Multan is not it an essential part of jail discipline that he should not be kept in Multan?

Sir Harry Haig: He was sent to Multan, as the Government considered it to be in the interest of his health.

Mr. Maswood Ahmed: Will the Government enquire if he had tuberculosis at Multan?

Sir Harry Haig: I don't propose to make any enquiry.

Mr. Maswood Ahmed: If the Government propose to get rid of the man for ever, why not poison him?

Sir Harry Haig: That's not a reasonable way of looking at a hunger-striker who chooses to do so voluntarily, with the result that he has impaired his health.

Mr. Gayaprasad Singh: Are the Government aware that the mother of Obeidullah sent telegrams to the Members of the Assembly stating that the condition of the prisoner is precarious?

Sir Harry Haig: I am quite aware of the pressure that has been brought to bear on the members.

Mr. Gayaprasad Singh: How a telegram appealing for justice and sympathy can be regarded as pressure being brought to bear? (applause).

Sir Harry Haig: Members assume that certain action ought to have been taken. There I differ.

—*United Press.*

The impression in the mind of the public is that in many cases prisoners, internees, deportees or detenus do not get the treatment to which they are entitled even according to the jail code, that they seek remedies through the proper channel, and when they fail to get justice that way, they resort to hungerstrike. And at this stage Government officers refuse to enquire into the matter on the ground that the hungerstrikers want to force the hands of the Government. A sort of vicious circle comes into existence in this way.

It is encouraging to find that members of the Assembly from different provinces and communities interested themselves in the tragic case of Khan Obeidullah Khan. It is to be hoped this attitude would be kept up

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other cases also. The number of men deprived of their liberty without trial is bigger in Bengal than elsewhere. Some of these men contracted tuberculosis or some other serious illness while in a state of detention, which ended fatally in not a very few cases. To be interested in the cases of such persons, one must remove from one's mind the assumption that they are terrorists (and the assumption that they are terrorists is one that has never been proved), as also the assumption that terrorists are not entitled to humane treatment, for the worst of human beings are entitled to humane treatment.

Vernacularization of Calcutta University Matriculation

The Hon'ble Khwaja Nazimuddin, Education Minister of Bengal, has recently stated that the Bengal Government approve of the vernacular vehicle of instruction and examination being adopted for the Calcutta University Matriculation, and that details are to be settled at a conference to which the University will be asked to send six delegates.

The approval could and should have been given long ago. But perhaps the Khwaja Saheb could not make up his mind until His Highness and Holiness the Right Honourable the Aga Khan, who is not a Bengali and does not know Bengali, gave an unsolicited and unwanted certificate to the Bengali language and literature and asked Mussalman Bengalis to cultivate it.

As for the details of the vernacularization to come to be settled at the Conference, there is some curiosity and much greater apprehension felt. The conference, one may be sure, will consist of at least 13 members, so that, even if all the University nominees were left-wingers, they might be easily outvoted.

"Whither Britain"

Mr. G. B. Shaw gave a broadcast talk in London in February last in the series named "Whither Britain." A summary of his talk runs as follows:

Mr. Shaw said that the instinct not only of the peasant Indian but even of the nearby Welshman, the Irishman, and the Scot, was to resent and repudiate Imperial dominance, so that if we were to preserve the connection, we must make it appear flattering and advantageous to all the parts of the Empire, giving them Home Rule, calling them Dominions instead of Colonies, and putting them on the same footing as what we called the Mother Country, or even on a better one. But let them think what that might lead to. There was only a handful of English-speaking people with pink skins in the Dominions. The Indians outnumbered the rest of the Empire, including England, five to one. Consequently, the effect of making India a Dominion, in the Canadian sense, would be that England would become, in effect, a Dominion of India, and England might not like that. England might break off from the Empire, as the United States did.

He could not feel sure of the permanence of any intimate political combination not based on homogeneity—on the people in the combination being reasonably like one another in their tastes and religious faiths, their traditions and hopes. A combination of the northern States of Europe with the United States of America, and with Australia and New Zealand, would be far more homogeneous than any possible combination of Europeans and Asiatics. If he were a stranger from another planet he would say that an attempt to combine England with India before England was combined with the United States on the one side and with all her Western European neighbours on the other was a crazy reversal of the natural order of things, and could not possibly last. If we did not make the constituents of the Empire so independent of England that England would have nothing to do but support an enormously expensive Navy to protect them, they would break off as the American Colonies did; yet if we granted them that independence, the tail would wag the dog, as it did very vigorously at the Ottawa Conference.

Mr. G. B. Shaw dared to refer to Indians, Welshmen, Irishmen and Scots resenting and repudiating Imperial dominance, because, unlike Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, he talked in a place outside the jurisdiction of the Calcutta police and Chief Presidency Magistrate! Is it not?

A Gratuitous Jibe at the Bengali's "Babu English."

The following passage occurs in the presidential address of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda, read at the twenty-third session of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan held at Delhi last month:

> That Hindi can be made the vehicle of a great literature Tulsidas and Kabir showed. And a Bengali can learn it in a few days—whereas it takes him many years to speak even the Babu-speech which makes him a joke to those whose Macaulayan English he apes.

It is not clear why the Bengali or his "Babu-speech" has been brought in here. Rivalry or professional jealousy, or offended

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dignity could not have been the cause. For the Maharaja is not an aspirant for clerkships to which Bengali Babus aspire, nor do the Bengali Babus want to become ruling princes. There are numerous Bengalis who speak Hindi as well as the average man whose mother tongue it is. Some Bengalis have written and others continue to write good Hindi. The Maharaja has great wealth and power to serve the cause of Hindi. But some Bengalis, too, have served and continue to serve its cause according to their resources.

The Maharaja's address has appeared in the papers in English. It is not stated whether it was originally written in English. If it was written in English, not in Hindi, which it ought to have been, that would go to show that the Maharaja was lacking in a sufficient knowledge of Hindi.

As for Babu-English, it is no discredit for a foreigner not to be able to speak and write English like Englishmen; but if a Bengali cannot speak and write Bengali correctly, that is discreditable to him. Bengalis are not the only foreigners who cannot speak and write English like Englishmen. And in spite of their Babu-English some Bengalis have attained distinction as writers of English. For example, in a letter to Rammohun Roy, one of the earliest Babus to speak and write English, Jeremy Bentham, the English philosopher, wrote: "Your works are made known to me by a book, in which I read a style, which, but for the name of a Hindu, I should certainly have ascribed to the pen of a superiorly educated and instructed Englishman." In the same letter, he praised the *History of India* by James Mill, but added: "though as to style I wish I could with truth and sincerity pronounce it equal to yours." Rammohun Roy's writings, however, have no place in English literature proper. But perhaps Babu Rabindranath Tagore's writings may occupy a small corner in it, as also those of Toru Dutt and Sarojini Naidu, daughters of Babus.

The Japanese Budget and The Indian Central and Provincial Budgets

For weeks past, newspapers have contained discussions of various items in the Central and the many Provincial Budgets and the council chambers have rung with debates relating to budget allotments and proposed cuts. Whether the Central Budget or any Provincial Budget is considered, one thing must strike the observer, *viz.*, the poverty of India. In spite of the Central and Provincial Governments having taxed the people to as great an extent as they can bear, how small, comparatively speaking, are the amounts budgeted for! One need not consider the budgets of wealthy Western countries like the U. S. A. or Great Britain. Even the budget of a comparatively small Asiatic country like Japan gives evidence of greater wealth than India. The weekly edition of the *Japan Chronicle*, dated February 2[illegible] last, states that the 2,120,000,000 yen budget was passed after feeble debate. According to the normal value of the yen, it is equivalent to 2 *sh.* and 1½ *d.* or say, roughly, Re. 1-8. So the amount budgeted for is Rs. 318,00,00,000 (three hundred and eighteen crores of rupees). The population of Japan proper is 6,44,50,000 (Oct. 1, 1930) and of the Japanese empire 9,03,96,043. The population of British India is 27,15,26,933. If the Japanese budget is the budget for the whole empire, then, according to the proportion which British India's population bears to that of the Japanese empire, *viz.*, 3 : 1, our central and all the provincial budgets combined ought to be for Rs. 954,00,000,000 (nine hundred and fifty-four crores of rupees), *if India were as rich as Japan.* But if the Japanese budget is for Japan proper alone, then as British India's population is more than four times that of Japan, our central and provincial budgets combined ought to be for Rs. 1,272,00,000,000 (twelve hundred and seventy-two crores of rupees). The budget estimates of all the provinces for 1934-35 are not before us. In the *Statesman's Year-book* for 1933 the total revenue (revised estimates) of the central and all the provincial Governments in 1931-32 is given as Rs. 203,72,52,000. It is stated in the same book that the above excludes the revenue of municipalities and district and local boards. Perhaps the Japanese budget does not include the revenues of Japanese municipalities and district and local boards. But if it does, let us add to our central and provincial revenues for 1931-32 the gross

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income for 1929-30 of all our municipalities —Rs. 37,77,90,999—and the gross income in the same year of all our district and local boards, namely, Rs. 16,36,58,453, which are given in the aforesaid work. The total then comes to Rs. 257,87,01,452. Even this is much less than the amount budgeted for by Japan, and very much less than what our revenues ought to be according to the Japanese scale.

Japan is rich because she can spend much more in her "nation-building" departments than India, and she can spend much more than India because she is rich. So, that which is the cause from one point of view is the effect from the other point of view. From whichever point of view we consider the matter, Japan is able to do what she does, because she is self-ruling. India cannot become wealthier unless more is spent on her nation-building activities, and she cannot spend more on them unless she is wealthier. And it is obvious that she cannot be or do either until and unless she is self-ruling.

Therefore, though discussion of the details of the central and provincial budgets has its limited uses, the essential and main Indian endeavour should be directed towards the attainment of self-rule.

Schools for the Feeble-minded

In the United States of America, with less than half the population of British India, there are 303 schools for feeble-minded children in 1923 with a total of 1,04,021 pupils—58,966 boys and 45,055 girls. So far as we are aware, in the whole of India there is only one school for Indian feeble-minded children at present. One such school is in the Midnapur district of Bengal. It has 8 pupils—7 boys and 1 girl. One of the boys belongs to Hyderabad, Sindh. Even this small school is sorely in need of financial help. Recently Mr. Bottomley, the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, visited the school and was satisfied with its working.

The Meaning of Austria

Austria is at present a very small State, containing a population of about 68 lakhs. But the political changes which have already occurred there are in importance out of all proportion to this small population. The leading article in *The Inquirer* of London for March 3 last, goes so far as to say that "it may well be that the fate of democratic government in the West has been decided by the crushing of Austrian democracy." According to *The New Republic* of America:

> The meaning of the Austrian tragedy, beneath all the surface complications, emerges. It is but a step in preparation of a new European holocaust, in which the workers, having been defeated at home and absorbed into capitalist states, will be set murdering one another across national boundaries.

From these two brief extracts the reader should be able to judge of the timeliness and importance of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's dispassionate and informing article on Austria in the present number of *The Modern Review*.

Bengal, Not "the favoured child"

It is a misfortune that in India there are communal dissensions, jealousies and bickerings, that there have cropped up linguistic jealousies, and that there are provincial jealousies to boot. While it may be a painful necessity to have sometimes to try to remedy injustice and wrong to particular communities and provinces, no Indian should knowingly say or do anything to aggravate the state of tension produced by the afore said jealousies, dissensions and bickerings. Some one has called Bengal a 'naughty child.' He ought not to have used the expression. But it is not necessary to take further notice of it. Others have spoken of Bengal as the "favoured child" of the Government. If Bengal were really favoured by the Government, Bengalis would not be proud of the fact. Sir Bampfylde Fuller spoke of the Mussalman Bengalis as his favourite wife. That expression was not appreciated by sensible Mussalman Bengalis.

As a matter of fact Bengal is not the favoured child of the Government. It is reluctantly and with some pain that in proof of our assertion we have to repeat certain facts which have been published in this *Review* more than once in previous numbers.

The following paragraph is from the Report of the Bengal Government's Retrenchment Committee, 1932:

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"The total revenues of the Government of India in the same year 1921-22, amounted to Rs. 64,52,66,000, of which Bengal contributed no less than Rs. 23,11,98,000. Its unfortunate position, therefore, was due, not to the natural poverty of the province, but solely to the method of allocating the total revenues of India between the provinces and the Central Government. The difficulties of the Government of Bengal were enhanced by the fact that the sources of revenue assigned to it were inelastic and gave little prospect of expansion in the near future.

Of the sources of revenue assigned to Bengal, excise is one. With more than double the population of Bombay Bengal's excise revenue is less than that of Bombay by Rs. 161 lakhs. With a population smaller than that of Bengal by more than three millions, Madras has an excise revenue exceeding that of Bengal by 336 lakhs. Bengal can, of course, make this source of revenue elastic by greater addiction to drink. But Bengal prefers temperance and inelasticity of this source of revenue.

The paragraph quoted above from the Bengal Retrenchment Committee's Report shows that in 1921-22 the Government of India derived more than 35 per cent of its total revenue from the one province of Bengal. That was not a favour shown to Bengal.

Nor was 1921-22 the only year when the Central Government took an excessive amount from Bengal. It has been a continuous process. Take another year, the year 1928-29, for example. In that year the provinces contributed to the Central Exchequer the sums shown against them in the following table :

	Rs.
Madras	7,14,00,000
Bombay	5,84,00,000
U. P.	7,17,00,000
Panjab	3,46,00,000
B. & O.	5,76,00,000
C. P. & B.	2,25,00,000
Assam	1,27,00,000
Bengal	16,59,00,000

This table shows that in 1928-29, next to Bengal the largest contributors to the Central Exchequer were the United Provinces and Madras. But these two provinces combined contributed only Rs. 14,31,00,000, which was Rs. 2,28,00,000 less than Bengal's contribution! Forced contribution, of course. This was not a favour shown to Bengal.

Our point is, not that more money ought to have been taken from the other provinces, but that less ought to have been taken from Bengal. revenue that That can be done by the Central Govern effecting economies in its expenditure.

The Permanent Settlement

It is usual to assert that, if it were not the Permanent Settlement of land reve Bengal would have got sufficient money for kinds of expenditure. But the existence the Permanent Settlement cannot be a justifi tion for taking an excessive amount in Bengal by bleeding her white.

The Permanent Settlement was not conc ded by the Government with a view to show favour to Bengal. Let us see what Rammoh Roy, who had nothing to do with our presen day provincial jealousies and controversi wrote about it. Said he :

"The amount of assessment fixed on the la of those provinces (Bengal, Behar and Orissa the time of the Permanent Settlement (1793), as high as had ever been assessed, and in m instances higher than had ever before been rea by the exertions of any government, Mohamm or British. Therefore, the Government sacrifi nothing in concluding that settlement. If it h not been formed, the landholders (*Zemind* would always have taken care to prevent revenue from increasing by not bringing the wa lands into cultivation, and by collusive arran ments to elude further demands; while the m of the cultivators would not have been at all be than it is now."

We refrain from quoting Rammohun R further to show how the Government at t time got more revenue by concluding i Permanent Settlement than by periodi settlements, as in this note our object is mer to point out that the Permanent Settlem was not concluded as a piece of favour Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, but as a measure necessity. It should also be borne in mind t as Rammohun Roy was a champion of peasants, he cannot be accused of spe pleading on behalf of the landholders.

If the Permanent Settlement has b beneficial to the landholders, which we do it has benefited solely or mainly that s body of men, not all Bengal or Bengalis general. On account of it, the zemind as a class, with some exceptions, have be indolent and unenterprising spendthrifts, consequence of which hundreds of their est in district after district have been sold fo song owing to their inability to pay the

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As regards the number of men in Bengal who may have got more money from the land owing to the Permanent Settlement than they could have otherwise done, a definite idea can be formed from the number of estates in the province, which is 1,01,594. As landholders generally own several estates each, the number of zemindars can be counted only in thousands, whereas the total population of Bengal is more than fifty millions.

Exaggerated ideas prevail as to the land revenue which Bengal *should* pay. The following table shows the areas in square miles of the bigger provinces of India, and the land revenue in rupees collected from them in 1930-31, the latest year for which figures have been given in the *Statistical Abstract for British India*, 1933 :

Province.	Area in Square miles.	Land revenue.
Madras	142,277	488,61,964
Bombay	123,679	474,45,139
Bengal	77,521	308,93,102
United Provinces	106,248	647,98,933
Punjab	99,200	269,42,631
Bihar and Orissa	83,054	180,03,708
C. P. and Berar	99,920	218,59,292

This table shows that in area Bengal is the smallest of the major provinces, but it is not Bengal which pays the smallest amount as land revenue. Considering area, the United Provinces have to pay an exorbitantly high land revenue, which explains the genesis of the agrarian movement there.

It is, no doubt, true that the area of the cultivated and cultivable land in each province is not in every case proportionate to its total area. So let us see how much such land each province has.

The figures are in millions of acres.

Province	Net Area actually sown	Current fallows	Culturable waste other than fallow
Madras	34	10	12
Bombay	32	10	6
Bengal	23	5	5
United Provinces	35	2	10
Punjab	26	4	14
Bihar and Orissa	24	6	6
C. P. and Berar	25	3	14

In this table also Bengal is found to be at the bottom as regards the net area of land actually sown, as also the total of such land *plus* current fallows and culturable waste other than fallow.

So, from whatever point of view we look at the matter, Bengal should not be expected to pay a very much larger land revenue than she does. It may be that some of her land is very fertile. But that is the case with most other provinces. On the other hand, Bengal labours under two disadvantages ; *viz.*, she has to support a larger agricultural population than any other province, and she does not enjoy to any appreciable extent the advantage of productive Government irrigation works, which most other provinces do.

Statue of Sir Asutosh Mukhopadhyay Unveiled

That men should be known or characterized by their being likened to some lower

Statue of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee
By the Courtesy of *Ananda Bazar Patrika*

animal or other is not a practice to be proud of. For Man is higher than the highest of

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lower animals. But even the ancients in India and foreign countries used to compare some men to lions, tigers, bulls, etc., and even the gait of beautiful women used to be likened to the movements of elephants! So there is no help for it. But for all that, it is not because Sir Asutosh Mukhopadhyay has been styled by his admirers "The Bengal Tiger," that he has deserved a statue—though, of course, if wolves, foxes, jackals and asses have statues erected to their memory, a Tiger among men certainly deserved one. The reason why Sir Asutosh deserved a statue is that he had a high and comprehensive intellectual ideal for the Calcutta University and did great things courageously and sagaciously to realize that ideal.

He was a Swadeshist. And it is, therefore, fitting that his statue should have been made by an Indian artist, Mr. Deviprasad Roy Chowdhury, principal of the Madras School of Arts. It is to be hoped that in future the casting in bronze of such statues would also be possible in India.

Irrigation in the Provinces

The following two tables, taken from the *Statistical Abstract for British India*, 1933, show the advantages of Government canal irrigation enjoyed by some provinces.

PRODUCTIVE WORKS

Province	Mileage	Capital outlay
Madras	3,749	126553942
Bombay	4,986	194475766
Bengal	Nil	6743541
United Provinces	2372	220025636
Panjab	3266	327802051
Burma	354	21221281
N.-W. F. Province	86	7407400

UNPRODUCTIVE WORKS

Province	Mileage	Capital outlay
Madras	716	40394528
Bombay	2832	128287004
Bengal	70	8492053
United Provinces	447	31186812
Panjab	1047	5967198
Burma	140	17030509
Bihar and Orissa	718	62763915
Central Provinces	352	66317678
N.-W. F. Province	138	22014647

These two tables show that in irrigation Bengal has not been treated as a favoured child, though she stands sorely in need of irrigation. Another table is given below to support that conclusion.

Province.	Acres irrigated from Government canals
Madras	3700567
Bombay	3209387
Bengal	77188
United Provinces	3060320
Panjab	10238527
Burma	663356
Bihar and Orissa	775241
N.-W. F. Province	392055

Education: Agricultural and Training Colleges

Bengal is the most populous province. But its educational expenditure from Government funds is less than that of Madras, Bombay, U. P. and the Panjab. The actual figures were given in our last number. This does not show that Bengal is a favoured child.

While there are agricultural colleges in Madras, Bombay, U. P., Panjab, Burma, and C. P. and Berar, of which the expenses were given in our last number, Bengal has no agricultural college. This does not show that Bengal is a favoured child.

The Eighth Quinquennial Review of Education in Bengal, 1927-1932, says:

> "When we consider how many schools there are in Bengal and how few trained teachers, the output of the training colleges seems a mere drop in the bucket; 78 per cent of the high school teachers in Madras are trained, and 81 per cent of the middle school teachers. In Bengal there are only 13 per cent trained teachers in high schools and only 27 per cent in middle schools."

These figures do not show that Bengal is a favoured child.

Revenues Left to Different Provinces for their Expenditure

It has been shown before that the Central Government takes from Bengal a much greater proportion of and a much greater actual amount from the revenues collected within the province than from any other province, with the result that an utterly inadequate amount is left for her provincial expenses. With populations of 21, 23, 48, and 50 millions respectively, Bombay, the Panjab, the U. P. and Bengal are to be allowed by the Central Government in 1934-35 to have for provincial expenditure 1522, 1066, 1150, and 907 lakhs respectively. This does not show that Bengal is a favoured child.

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Meston Award and the Provinces

The Meston Award has hit some provinces hard, Bengal being the hardest hit, as shown above. But Bengal has never stood in the way of any other province obtaining justice, nor called it a favoured child of the Government.

Bengal and Jute Export Duty

All this talk of Bengal being the favoured child has arisen out of the fact that the Central Government has been convinced that the appropriation of the jute export duty by the Central Government has been unjust to Bengal, and also to Assam and Bihar. But instead of allowing Bengal, Assam and Bihar to have the whole of what is collected in these provinces, the Government of India has decided to let them keep only half of the proceeds of the duty.

Now, this is not charity, not dole, but only very partial reparation of a wrong. From the year in which the duty was imposed, the Government of India has got from this source some sixty crores of rupees. To this large sum, the Central Government was not at all entitled; as the duty was not an import but an export duty, and the thing exported was a monopoly, mostly of Bengal, and in small part of Assam and Bihar.

If any other province is entitled to get or keep the whole or part of any other tax, it should certainly have it. Bengal will not stand in the way or be jealous or say that that province is a favoured child of the Government.

Excise Duty on Matches, and "Assistance" to Bengal!

The mischief is due in great part, if not entirely, to the language used by Sir George Schuster, the Finance Member, in stating how he would remedy the wrong done to Bengal. By the Central Government's legalized misappropriation of a great part of Bengal's revenues, Bengal has been reduced to poverty. Therefore, if the legalized misappropriation is to cease entirely or in part, the honest thing to do is to repent and to say that there will not be any legalized misappropriation any longer. But instead of doing that Sir George Schuster describes Bengal as a beggar who requires charity. Mark his language. Paragraph 33 of his budget speech is entitled proposal for financial *assistance* to Bengal. First the province is artificially beggared and then there is talk of assisting it!

Then we are told, "the need for some special help to Bengal has been recognized in the White Paper; . . ," because Bengal has been piling up deficits! As the Central Government has been exacting forced contributions, what could Bengal do but pile up deficits?

Not only the people of Bengal but successive Governors of Bengal have protested against the Central Government taking away the proceeds of the jute duty. Moreover, the Aga Khan, in a recent speech of his, has supported Bengal's claim to the whole of the jute export duty, stating that he and those with whom he was associated at the Round Table Conference and the Joint Parliamentary Committee's sittings had throughout supported this claim as entirely just.

It was wrong on the part of Sir George Schuster to state in paragraph 34 of his budget speech that the imposition of an excise duty on matches was meant to *help* Bengal. This led non-Bengalis in particular to think that they were being taxed to give alms to Bengal. It should be borne in mind that, but for the 60 crores of rupees of the jute export duty taken mostly from Bengal, all the provinces would have had to be taxed to a much greater extent, and that Bengal, being the most populous province, would have to pay a greater portion of the matches duty than any other province.

Not that we support the matches duty or sugar duty or any other duty going to be imposed. The Central Government should and could have met all just claims and expenses by wise economy without fresh taxation.

Some Advantages Accruing to Provinces other than Bengal

Many persons have thought and said that Bengal has been greatly favoured by the Government by the Permanent Settlement. We have briefly stated some facts relating to it in a previous note. Let us assume, however, that it has been of great advantage to

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Bengal. The question is, have not the Government done other things which have benefited mainly provinces other than Bengal ?

Vast sums have been spent on irrigation works. Very little of these have fallen to Bengal's share.

The Government have spent very much less for giving education to Bengal than to many other provinces.

The textile protective duties have brought wealth mainly to Bombay, and Bengal, having few cotton mills, has only had to pay higher price for cloth and yarn. Of course, Bengal may be foolish and wanting in business ability and enterprise, and may be to blame. But we are stating facts.

The iron and steel protective duties have benefited mostly Bombay. Bengal has had to purchase iron and steel goods at a higher price.

The import duty on wheat has benefited mainly the Panjab and the U. P. and next to them C. P. and Berar, Bombay, and B. and O. Bengal has had to purchase wheat at a higher price, cheap Australian wheat having been made dear by the import duty on wheat.

Being the largest consumer of salt Bengal has suffered from the salt duty most, the Government have not helped or encouraged Bengal to manufacture salt, and the Bombay-Aden merchants have gained most.

It may be that it is due to Bengal's lack of ability that she has not gained any advantage from these duties, etc. ; but she has at least refrained from insulting the other provinces by wrongly saying that they are the favoured children of the Government. For the promotion of Swadeshism and national unity Bengal has cheerfully paid higher prices and suffered in other ways, and is prepared to do so in the future also. She does not grudge any province's good luck or reward for enterprise.

"Favoured Child" Indeed !

Bengal, which is mostly a uni-lingual province, has been dismembered three times—once, when some Bengali-speaking areas were tacked on to Assam in the last century ; secondly, when Bengal was partitioned to create the province of East Bengal and Assam ; and thirdly, when in the alleged act of unsettling the Curzonian Partition of Bengal, some Bengali-speaking areas were separated from Bengal and tacked on to Bihar. Hundreds of Bengali youths have been detained for indefinite periods at Deoli, Buxa and Hijli detention camps and in some ordinary jails without trial. Nobody has ever proved or even tried to prove that they are terrorists. In the two houses of the present Central Legislature Bengal has not been given the number of representatives she is entitled to on the basis of population, or on the bases of cultural progress, volume of trade, manufactures, agricultural produce, extraction of minerals, etc. In the White Paper proposals also Bengal has been given a smaller number of seats in the Central Legislature than she would be entitled to on the basis of population or any other basis.

These facts do not show that Bengal is a favoured child.

The Late Princess Kamala Raja Scindia

The accidental death of the Princess Kamala Raja Scindia of Gwalior so soon after her marriage is a great tragedy. She was an educated and accomplished princess—educated

Princess Kamala Raja Scindia

and accomplished not only in the ordinary sense also in the Maratha sense. A brief character sketch of the princess by Professor Hira Lal Chatterjee has to be held over for our next issue on account of want of space in the present number.

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Disabilities of "Harijans" in Madras

Mahatma Gandhi has published in *Harijan* of March 9, 1934, a catalogue of the disabilities of 'Adi-Hindus of Tamil Districts' which he has condensed from a memorandum received by him at Coonoor. This indictment of Madras 'caste-Hindus' consists of 17 counts with many more sub-counts, concluding with the 18th count, which runs :

"We feel sorry that your august person has not taken birth in the Adi-Hindu community to realize our practical difficulties."

The list of disabilities is really formidable, Gandhiji says, and reflects the greatest discredit on the Hindu community of South India. In going through it one does not wonder that a person like Mahatma Gandhi, who feels so much for the 'Adi-Hindus', thinks that the Bihar earthquake was caused by the sin of untouchability.

Gandhiji has appended the following remarks to the catalogue :

This is a formidable catalogue. There is no exaggeration in it, if one or two mental reservations are understood. Every statement is true of some place. No disability is universal. Some are rare. And all are being abated by voluntary effort. These reservations should be known in order to get the proper perspective. They do not in any way reduce caste-Hindus' shame or warrant inaction on the part of reformers. The shame of caste-Hindus will continue so long as these disabilities are practised in the name of religion, no matter to how little or great an extent. It is the clear duty of Sanatanists, so-called, to denounce the disabilities in the severest possible language and join hands with the reformers in protecting Harijans from humiliation heaped upon them under the sanction of religious custom. The eighteenth grievance which the signatories have specially underlined I regard as a compliment paid by them to me. Yes, it is quite possible that I would have felt the force of these terrible grievances much more, had I been born an Adi-Hindu. Not having had that luck, I have become one by adoption. There will be no rest for me, nor society, so long as untouchability persists.

The late Pandit Shyamlal Nehru

The late Pandit Shyamlal Nehru, whose sudden death was announced last month, had been recently taking much active part in public life. His activities in connection with Mrs. Besant's Home Rule movement and with the Congress movement, and what he did in addition to the now defunct *Independent* of Allahabad and as an M. L. A., were recalled by several members of the Legislative Assembly when appropriate references were made to him.

The late Raja Sir Motichand

At the public meeting recently held in the Calcutta Albert Hall to pay respect to the memory of the late Raja Sir Motichand of Benares, references were made to the culture and philanthropy of the deceased gentleman. He made a gift of one lakh of rupees to the Benares University, founded and maintained the Anath Ashram and gave regular help to many institutions. He was a champion of the Swadeshi movement and founded the Benares Bank. A memorial meeting in Calcutta in honour of a Benares *rais* must not be considered a formal affair, for cordial relations existed between many men of Bengal and Raja Sir Motichand and his relatives like Babu Shivaprasad Gupta, Babu Gokulchand and the late Babu Mangalaprasad.

The late Babu Nafar Chandra Pal Chaudhuri

The late Babu Nafar Chandra Pal Chaudhuri of Natuda, who was the premier landlord of the Nadia district, died recently in Calcutta at the advanced age of 86. He belonged to a generation of which there are not many survivors in Bengal today. He will be remembered for his educational donations, for having established and maintained a high school, and a charitable dispensary and hospital, and for his work as Vice-Chairman of the District Board. Above all, he will be remembered for having successfully and stoutly fought the powerful European indigo-planters of his district, thereby recovering a great part of his extensive property from their clutches and saved the tenants from their oppression.

The Late R. B. Sundar Das Suri

The late Rai Bahadur Sundar Das Suri, who died recently at Lahore at the age of about 77, was a noted educationist of the Panjab. The last appointment which he held in the public service was that of Inspector of Schools. He was a Fellow of the Panjab University and a Trustee of the Dyal Singh College and Library from their very inception. He had a wide knowledge of economics. His

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book on "Some Aspects of the Gold Standard" was published in February last. He was a pioneer of the education of girls and women in the Panjab. He introduced co-education in the Dyal Singh College.

Communalism in Education in the Panjab

For some time past efforts have been going on for the introduction of "communal representation" in the Panjab University. Dr. Lucas's recent resolution in favour of so-called adequate representation of different Indian communities in it is a thin (or rather thick) end of the wedge. The idea of communal representation is nowhere more absurd and mischievous than in the sphere of education, particularly when "adequate" is taken to mean, not in proportion to the number of educational institutions maintained by a community, not in proportion to its educational endowments and the number of its educated men and students, but merely in proportion to the numbers of men, women and children, however illiterate, which belong to it. Such attempts are being made in Bengal also. The movement is at bottom one for jobs and more jobs, not the advancement of learning.

The Right to Live

In Bombay, Karachi, and some other places labourers have made demonstrations with slogans like "give us work or give us bread." These betoken the increasing self-consciousness of the masses, and, whatever the "Haves" may think, are welcome signs of the social changes which are inevitable.

Every human being who is born has the right to live. This right to live is more sacred than the right to property. The right to live consists of the right to food, raiment, dwelling, knowledge, health and happiness. No society, no State can be said to be alive to its duties which does not in practice recognize this right. History records numerous instances of unrest and revolutions due to the practical non-recognition of this right.

Alleged Conduct of Soldiers in Midnapur

An Associated Press message, dated New Delhi, March 19, runs as follows :

> During the discussion on the Finance Bill in the Assembly today Mr. S. C. Mitra in the course of his speech read out to the House grave allegations regarding the behaviour of soldiers posted in Midnapore District (Contai Sub-division). He said that the profession of a soldier was respected in India but it was now being disgraced. All instances quoted by the speaker mentioned names of the parties concerned and many cases of alleged included unusually harsh treatment for persons refusing to salute the Union Jack under compulsion and invitations to the people to attend receptions of the District Magistrate and to soldiers under threat that absence would mean disloyalty. A number of offences against women were alleged and wanton destruction of property and stealing of cash and ornaments.
>
> He further related how schools had been forced to receive batches of soldiers at the time of their visit and how tea-parties and 'dallies' or in lieu thereof cash payments were extorted from the public. (Cries of 'shame' 'shame' from the non-official members).
>
> Mr. Mitra complained that the Commander-in-Chief never attended the Assembly now. The speaker said that he was prepared to hand over to Government the complaints he had made. He recalled that he had made similar statements last year, but no information was available as to what action was taken by Government.
>
> Dealing next with the case of detenus Mr. Mitra pleaded that political prisoners should be given better treatment and that detenus kept so long should be released. He felt that the spirit of patriotism once kindled could not be killed by repression but Government could devise means for bringing these men towards constitutional methods of agitation. Yet Government had done nothing in that direction.

Sir Harry Haig, the Home Member, was not present (which he ought to have been when Mr. Mitra made all these allegations). He replied to the charges on March 21. Mr. Mitra had mentioned the names of the parties concerned and had given specific instances. Sir Harry said :

> It was impossible for any Government Member to give a categorical answer to the points raised in the course of a debate and he would ask the Bengal Government to supply the information.

The allegations made by Mr. Mitra had been made previously at a public meeting in the Calcutta Albert Hall and in newspapers, and a public inquiry had been asked for. But no such enquiry has been made. A statement made by a government that allegations are entirely unfounded or exaggerated, do not at all convince the public. For such official statements proceed in the last resort from the very men whose acts are complained against or from their superior officers. Now, just as Sir Harry Haig cannot be assumed to be superior to the public opinion of India in general, so those who complain of the conduct of soldiers, etc. and

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information to M. L. A.s and other public men cannot be assumed to be less reliable than the village chaukidars, constables and other policemen, sepoys, etc. It is only a public enquiry which can supply data for arriving at a correct conclusion. When the conduct of some soldiers in Burma was complained of Lord Curzon had a memorable inquiry instituted and punished the offenders and their blows, for which he became very unpopular with the Army and was hissed at at the Durbar. But he was a strong man and did not deviate from what he considered to be his duty. His example should be emulated by the present-day rulers of India. More recently, in the Hijli affair, even an official inquiry publicly made exposed the untruthfulness of the parties complained against and the false statements which had emanated from the secretariat.

"Monopoly of Patriotism"

Some sentences in Sir Harry Haig's speech in reply to Mr. S. C. Mitra's allegations require a little comment.

Referring to the problem of detenus, Sir Harry Haig was astonished at Mr. Mitra's charges. Mr. Mitra had declared that Government should not imagine that by merely keeping in restraint a few thousand young men they would kill the ideas of patriotism.

Sir Harry Haig asked: Does Mr. Mitra think that we are keeping these young men in order to kill the ideas of patriotism? The problem of detenus is practically confined to Bengal. Are there no patriots in other provinces? Has Bengal the monopoly of patriotism? Or is it not that Bengal has the monopoly of something different (political murder)? What Government are seeking is not to repress patriotism, but the desire for murder. That is the justification for the policy of keeping those young men under restraint. We fully believe that they are terrorists. The Bengal Government check their information by placing it before two Judges. If they proceed on wrong information, it is only in a very small number of cases.

Mr. Mitra, interrupting, stated that the procedure was only in respect of State prisoners.

Sir Harry Haig replied, "As regards State prisoners we follow exactly the same procedure as is followed by the Bengal Government in regard to prisoners under the criminal law. I would invite Mr. Mitra to make it clear whether by expressing his feelings, as he did, he in any way desired to support the murder of Government officials or their friends."

Mr. Mitra immediately answered in the negative.

Sir Harry Haig: I have no doubt that he did not desire to encourage that feeling, but somehow his language was open to that doubt.

Just as Sir George Schuster's statement in his budget speech that the duty on matches was meant to "help" Bengal had the tendency to rouse and did rouse feelings of hostility to Bengal, so Sir Harry Haig's question, "Has Bengal the monopoly of patriotism?" was likely to rouse undesirable feelings against Bengal which would be injurious to the cause of Indian national unity and solidarity.

As Sir Harry Haig and other Government officers of his ilk "fully believe" that all the detenus are terrorists, it is not to be surprised at that he misunderstood Mr. Mitra. But Mr. Mitra's real meaning was quite plain to the non-official public. In Bengal at any rate, the belief (it may be a wrong belief) very widely prevails that the presence of some terrorists in the province has been taken advantage of by the police to bring about the detention of a much larger number of non-violent workers for the cause of freedom. It was understood that Mr. S. C. Mitra must have spoken under the influence of that belief. Neither he nor any other Bengali public man is so foolish as to say or suggest that Bengal has a monopoly of patriotism. Bengal has not. There is patriotism in other provinces, too. The Government's reaction to and treatment of the malady may be different in different provinces.

Sir Harry Haig says that the Bengal Government check their information against detenus and state prisoners by placing it before two Judges. "If they proceed on wrong information, it is only in a very small number of cases." Thanks for that small admission. But the cases may really be much larger. Whatever may be the real state of things, mere examination of information in camera by two Judges (or more) can never be a substitute for a public trial according to the ordinary processes of the law, with the right of the accused to examine and cross-examine the prosecution, to bring forward defence witnesses, to engage counsel and to exercise the right of appeal.

Sir Harry Haig says that Bengal has the monopoly of political murder in India. That is true of recent times but not of all time, as history would tell him.

The Viceroy on Unemployment

In the course of his inaugural speech at the third inter-university conference at New Delhi H. E. Lord Willingdon said:

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It is heart-rending that many young men who have fought their way successfully up the educational ladder and have gained high degrees and distinctions, often in spite of many obstacles and handicaps, are yet unable to find means either of maintaining themselves or of serving their fellow men. From the point of view of the country it is disastrous that the labours and initiative of these young men should be running to waste.

Keen and unmerited disappointment, accentuated by irksome inactivity, are apt to lead high-spirited young men into dangerous and unexpected channels.

When, for whatever reasons, high-spirited young men are found to have actually been led into dangerous and unexpected channels but not to have actually committed under or aided or abetted in murder actually committed, the remedy provided by the latest criminal law in Bengal is to hang them.

Inter-University Conference

Eighteen universities for 352 millions of people are not too many, but too few. The number of Indian University students is not too large but too small. Indian Universities teach not too many but too few subjects. If any of them attempt to teach any subjects for which they have not got adequate resources, the remedy is not to restrict their freedom of teaching any subject they like, but to provide them with sufficient resources. If the State cannot or will not do that, neither should the State deprive the Universities of freedom. In Great Britain, in U. S. A., in Germany, and in many other countries, the same subject is often taught in more than one University. If in a large country like India, Universities do the same, it is unnecessary, nay mischievous, to call it overlapping.

If the Inter-University Conference be in official leading strings and want really only or mainly to control and restrict but not to give substantial help and guidance to Universities, it cannot discharge any useful function.

Sudden Coup in Nepal

According to a long *Associated Press* statement, from which we make brief extracts,

> There was a dramatic scene when on Sunday March 18 in the presence of His Majesty the King of Nepal the five senior members of that branch (Class C) of the ruling family which cannot claim "pure descent" were formally deprived of their appointments and of all rights of succession and power as members of the ruling military oligarchy, of which His Highness the Maharaja Sir Jodha Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana, G. C. I. E., is the head.

The reason for this *coup* is given in p in the following paragraph :

> The three classes of the family are compos of (A) those descended from Bir Sadu or one of his sixteen brothers, of whom present Maharaja is the only survivor, by w belonging to the same caste. Class B is compos of those descendants by wives of high but caste to that of the ruling dynasty. Clas has always been excluded from the succession from the hierarchy of persons composing military oligarchy. Class C, however, descen from women of low caste, had always been tole ed owing to the fact that the children w brought up with their fathers, who were unw to make any invidious distinctions. But as next person in the line of succession belonged this class, trouble was foreshadowed owing to probability that the Nepalese people, who have great regard for purity of descent, might not prepared to accept as the ruling chief a member this class, with the result that the permanency the dynasty might be jeopardized.

As among the senior members of class Rudra had attained the rank of Commande in-Chief and is stated to enjoy great popular with the army, he was obviously a very ab man. Statecraft of a certain character mig have necessitated his and his kinsmen degradation, but the step cannot be defende on grounds of justice. It is fortunate th there has not been any bloodshed.

S. B. Samaj Earthquake Relief Work

The Sadharan Brahmo Samaj has be giving relief on a small scale to perso rendered helpless by the earthquake Monghyr and at Bishanpur near Sitamarhi.

Up to 23rd March, 1934, the relief wo done at Monghyr has been as follows :

> Cloths and blankets have been distributed am the needy people of the *bhadralog* class in the town of Monghyr and some rice given to poorer people living on the outskirts of the t In the village of Mai, Hussanpur and Sandi materials have been issued for the building 75 huts by the poor people without distinction caste and creed on their own homesteads Steps are now being taken to enable these villa to complete the construction of their huts. In work the Government Housing Committee been helping us by selling bamboos to us at a discount on the cost price and the Bihar Co Relief Committee has been supplying us coir ropes at cost price.

But funds being very inadequate it will be possible to continue the good work much longer. The need is great and urgent. Those who want to help, will kindly send their subscriptions to Secretary, Sadharan Brahmo Somaj Office, 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

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TO THE MARKET

By Sobhagmal Gahlot

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THE CRIME OF COLOUR

BY NAGENDRA NATH GUPTA

PROBABLY there has never been a time when men have not prided themselves and considered themselves superior to other men for one reason or another: it may be the possession of wealth, the consciousness of greater physical strength or higher intellectual powers, or the membership of a superior race. A distinction has to be made between individual pride and racial pride. A Roman was proud because he was a citizen of Rome even if he had no claim to any individual achievement entitling him to fame. An Israelite was proud because he belonged to a tribe reputed to be the chosen people of God. In such and similar cases pride was looked upon as a birthright.

There were various shades of this feeling of pride. There was the pride of race or national pride, there was class pride, and finally, there was individual pride. This last may be left out of account, because it is scarcely a matter of public concern. When a nation has the misfortune to be subject to another the scornful pride of the ruling race is easily explicable. The pride of class is a different thing. The patricians and plebians were both Romans, both had equal right to call themselves Roman citizens, and yet the plebian grovelled before the patrician. The Brahmin and the Vaishya were both Aryans, but the Vaishya dared not keep his seat on the approach of a Brahmin. Superiority and contempt were expressed in various ways: one proclaimed that he was a Roman, another contemned another as an Anarya; the Greeks prided themselves not only on their valour but on their looks. To them physical beauty was a high cult.

There is no evidence, however, in the ancient literature of any race that the colour, or the absence of colour, of the skin was ever regarded as a source of national or racial pride. The pigment of the skin is due to the sun. Near the equator the fierce heat of the sun tends to darken the skin; in temperate and cold climates the skin becomes light and fair. The whiteness of the skin is no indication of the greatness of a race. If so, the Laplanders should have become a great nation. According to the weight of evidence as collected by European Egyptologists the ancient Egyptians were the oldest of the civilized nations of the world and they were by no means a white-skinned race. On the other hand, the children of Israel, who exceeded the Egyptians in numbers, were a fair-skinned people, but were held in bondage for a long time by the Egyptians. In the end, they did not rise and overthrow the power of the Egyptians, but escaped from captivity and crossed the Red Sea and settled in Palestine. The Israelites themselves claimed all sorts of privileges as a chosen people, but they never prided themselves upon the colour of their skin. They despised the worshippers of idols and the uncircumcised,

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but it is nowhere mentioned that they looked down upon black-skinned races and tribes, nor is there any proof that they were proud of their complexion.

The ancient Romans were not a white race but the world has never known another nation so proud as these ancient people. Combined with all the arrogance and insolence of a powerful nation the Romans had a splendid poise, a superb self-reliance. No nation in Europe or anywhere on the face of the earth today can claim equality with the Romans. Modern Europe lives in the shadow of ancient Rome. The language of Rome is the mother of many European tongues, high academic addresses are still spoken in the language of Rome, the laws of Rome are the model on which the laws of the most advanced countries in Europe are framed. To be called Cæsar would be the highest ambition of any crowned monarch—there are very few now left—in Europe. A proud or an ambitious Italian calls himself a Roman, but it is a memory and nothing more. The blue-eyed, white Saxon was conquered and ruled by the olive-skinned Roman, who regarded the conquest of a part of Britain as a trivial incident. There was no such thing as the pride of skin among the ancient great nations of the world and most of them were not white-skinned.

In the wide range of Shakespeare's creations two black-skinned characters are to be found: the first is Othello, one of nature's noblemen, the hero of the play, which is named after him. He was a moor of Venice and there can be no question as regards the ebon of his skin. Othello was a great captain; he lived and spoke as a great man, and never said or did anything ignoble. His one weakness was his unreasoning jealousy of his white wife, Desdemona. The villain who poisoned his ears and was responsible for the murder of Desdemona and the suicide of Othello was Iago, a white-skinned Greek. The second black-skinned character is the Prince of Morocco, a suitor for the hand of Portia in the *Merchant of Venice*. Portia was not free to choose a husband. Her deceased father had arranged that she should be the prize in a lottery and the man who opened the right casket out of three should have her for wife. The Prince of Morocco, before proceeding to the hazard of the ordeal, addressed Portia in apologetic words while declaring that he was as red-blooded as 'the fairest creature northward born':

> Mislike me not for my complexion,
> The shadow'd livery of the burnish'd sun,
> To whom I am a neighbour and near bred.

Portia was a woman of nimble wit and adroit speech with forensic subtlety that might have put many King's counsel to shame, and she put the Prince at once at ease:

> The lottery of my destiny
> Bars me the right of voluntary choosing:
> But if my father had not scanted me
> And hedg'd one by his wit, to yield myself
> His wife who wins me by that means I told you,
> Yourself, renowned prince, then stood as fair
> As any comer I have look'd on yet
> For my affection.

These are gracious words and courteous; yet when the Prince failed to pick out the casket containing Portia's likeness and so passed out of the running for her hand she gave frank expression to her sense of relief:

> A gentle riddance.···
> * * *
> Let all of his complexion choose me so.

Portia did not want a black husband but if the Prince had opened the right casket she would not have refused to marry him. That was her position. There is no contempt, express or implied, but merely the instinctive reluctance of a white woman to mate with a black man. It is equally true that coloured women of good families do not desire white husbands.

It is after the age of Shakespeare and in comparatively recent times that white races have been displaying an unmeasured contempt for coloured races, specially dark races. The word 'nigger' is full of concentrated venom. Distinguished writers and even a winner of the Nobel prize for Literature have represented coloured people as devils incarnate. I am not in a position to say anything about books written in different European languages but such French, Russian and German books as have been translated are free from any particular prejudice against coloured people. From the works of fiction written by many English writers it is evident that the great crime of the villains of their stories is

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colour of their skin. The almond-eyed, yellow-skinned Mongolian is very often a fiend in human shape; the brown Indian is a liar and a cheat; the black African is a criminal of the worst type. Asiatics and Africans alone are not singled out for this distinction. The Dago, who is either of Spanish or Italian origin, is a favourite villain of the English story-writer. Most of these writers have no first-hand knowledge of the coloured people about whom they write, but they know what will go down with the reading public—the shallow-brained public incapable of reading anything more serious than works of fiction—and they cater accordingly. It is impossible to exclude the inference that writers and readers are equally interested in associating crime with colour. It is true that most of these books are fugitive and are soon forgotten, but even if they belong to the genus ephemera they make up for the lack of durability by a never-ending supply.

A slight incident bearing on this subject may be recalled. When Dadabhai Naoroji was a candidate for election to the House of Commons as a Member of Parliament, Lord Salisbury, who was Secretary of State for India and afterwards Prime Minister of England, spoke scoffingly of Dadabhai Naoroji as 'a black man' in a public speech. Man against man the Parsi had a fairer complexion than the swart Englishman, and if Dadabhai Naoroji and Lord Salisbury were to stand side by side, the latter would have appeared quite dark as compared with the former. But it was undeniable that the English nobleman belonged to a white race and the Parsi politician to a brown one. Lord Salisbury's contemptuous expression could have only one meaning and that was that a black man as such was unfit to represent white man in the legislature. Yet as Secretary of State Lord Salisbury never hesitated to accept his salary from the black people of India.

The contemptuousness for coloured races never assumes that form for the colour of their money is quite good and entirely acceptable. Coloured people are despised by white people in books, in conversation and when they meet, but white races have no objection to trade with coloured races. For many years white traders have carried on an extensive trade with the black African people. It is a matter of common knowledge that large quantities of ivory, elephant tusks, and other valuable articles were obtained from tribes of the Negroid race in Africa by white European traders. Very little money changed hands; the trade was carried on by a system of barter; in exchange for ivory the white traders gave glass beads, cheap prints and worthless gewgaws pleasing to the eyes of the savages. To the white traders this was a perfectly equitable and honest form of commercial business. With equal alacrity white traders sold large supplies of dope and intoxicating liquors to coloured people, either openly or surreptitiously. Can it be denied that the Red Indians of North America and the Maoris of Australia were practically exterminated by alcohol, the 'fire-water' which wiped out whole tribes and which was liberally supplied by white people?

Since white races consider themselves incomparably superior to coloured races it may be very reasonably expected that there should be no connubial relations, far less promiscuity, between white and coloured races. But no such distinction has been observed anywhere. Men belonging to white races have consorted indiscriminately with women of black, brown, yellow and red races, and white women have taken coloured men for their husbands. These men are not always the dregs of society, or wastrels and beach-combers. It has been found necessary to issue strict orders prohibiting alliances between officers belonging to a white race and coloured women. Men of white races may be found living with coloured women in every part of the world.

Wherein, then, lies the vaunted superiority of the white races over the coloured races of the human family? True, several coloured races are at present ruled by white races, but that is merely a turn of the whirligig of time. No race rules for ever, or for long, by virtue of its skin. Some of the most powerful nations of ancient times were not white-skinned and they often conquered white races and held dominion over them. In trade relations with coloured races white people have frequently shown that they have no commercial honesty,

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and they are notoriously lax in sex relations with people of coloured races. The claim of superiority as put forward for white races in works of fiction and other books as well as the disparagement of coloured races are unfounded and untenable.

EDUCATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT

Need for a Bureau of Vocational Guidance

By J. M. KUMARAPPA, M.A., PH.D.

THE present problem of the "educated unemployment," which is challenging the attention of most of our thinking leaders, is due largely to the fact that the development of our system of higher education has been determined by the political and administrative exigencies of an alien Government. In fact, the whole system of education, such as it exists today, still continues to be a striking commentary upon the results of associating Government posts with success in University examinations. Sad though it is, it is true, nevertheless, that the Universities in India have been crushed under the burden of a system which diverts their energies from the pursuit of sound learning to the production of candidates for Government clerkships. Students unfit for a University career are driven there to seek a degree or certificate to serve as a passport for service. This policy worked well enough when colleges were few, and the candidates turned out were small in number. But now as the number of young men who graduate from year to year, exceed by far the Government's power of absorption, the country is over-flooded with educated men, and the army of the "educated unemployed" is ever on the increase.

A Doubtful Way-out

How then, one asks, is this problem to be solved? The Nawab of Chattari thinks that it could be solved by not allowing all students to go up for higher education. Likewise Sir H. Suhrawardy maintains that higher education should be regulated and limited. Though there are others who follow this way of thinking, one seriously questions if this is the right method of attack. Higher education is calculated to impart general culture and such culture is essential for success even in business. Any educational policy which tends to limit the democratization of the privilege of culture, must be considered not only as dangerous but suicidal. Further, the method of limiting student admission to the University as a way out of our present problem does not go far enough to be a satisfactory solution. This method of elimination, to use a technical term to describe what happens when educational standards are not meant, illustrates only too strikingly one prevailing evil of the present educational system. Besides, those who are thus eliminated as unfit for one career or type of education come very close to being stigmatized as unfit for any other occupation. They are led unfortunately to regard themselves either as inferior material for the particular occupation in which they would like to engage or as material fit for some occupation of a supposedly inferior sort.

Recently His Excellency Lord Willingdon remarked, in the course of his address while opening the Conference of Indian Universities at New Delhi, that from the point of view of the country the problem of ever-increasing unemployment among the graduates and matriculates was disastrous in that the labour and initiative of young men were running to waste. Keen and unmerited disappointment, accentuated by irksome inactivity, were apt to lead high-spirited young men into dangerous and unexpected channels. It was within the province of the educational authorities so to adjust the general scheme of

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education that the bent of the students and girls should be turned towards occupations best suited to their conditions and capacities. In this observation the Viceroy, I believe, is right. Colleges must, in fact, seek, not to prevent students from going up for higher education but, to give those better fitted by temperament and natural endowments training in agricultural and commercial occupations, and also advice and encouragement to those competent to undertake independent business enterprises. A system operated in this spirit would, instead of "eliminating," "shift" or "transfer" its students from one social or educational unit to another. But then how are the educational authorities to determine who should be thus diverted from one type of education to another? To determine the fitness of a student for a particular line of work, we need to perfect aptitude tests. The aim of all such tests should be to discover not who are inherently unfitted to pursue any particular occupation but rather better adapted to one occupation than to another. Such tests should be utilized at the end of successive stages of general education to assist the authorities to determine into what subsequent stages the student shall be encouraged to proceed.

How American Colleges Meet this Situation

This important function of giving wise guidance to students in their vocational choice is now receiving more and more recognition in the progressive countries of the West. Within recent years a number of colleges and Universities in the United States, for instance, have undertaken in an organized way to provide more or less vocational guidance service for their students. The nature and the organization for providing such service differ greatly with different institutions. Oberlin started in 1913 with a "vocational secretary for women students." Her business was to investigate vocational opportunities suited to college women, and also conditions of employment; further she was expected to get information regarding vocational schools and to inform herself on the relation of the student's major electives to her choice of vocation. In the same year, a faculty committee on vocational guidance was appointed at Stanford University. Both Oberlin and Stanford, the former in 1917 and the later in 1919, published hand-books descriptive of occupations open to college graduates. The Stanford Committee has also established in the University Library a vocational section and filled it with books, pamphlets and bibliographies relating to all kinds of trades and occupations. It now provides occupational talks on particular vocations, holds vocational conferences on opportunities other than teaching, and arranges individual conferences between students and members of the faculty. When a student enters the University, he is expected to fill out a vocational guidance blank which gives the members of the committee some idea of the student's interests, his physical condition, vocational experience and so forth.

Somewhere about 1920, Dartmouth College appointed an Associate Dean, whose title was later changed to Director of Personal Research, to develop a vocational guidance programme for that institution. It became the duty of this officer to bring together the large amount of information on file in different departments of the college about each individual student. From the registration card of the student, this officer is expected to collect information concerning the student's personal and family life; from the office of the Director of Physical Culture the record of his physical condition; from the Dean's office, his record of prizes, scholarship, honours and delinquencies; from the department of psychology a record of his intelligence rating based on the test given each autumn to the first year class, and from other members of the faculty a personal estimate of the student's capacity and character. With these data at hand, the Director tries to have at least one private interview with each undergraduate. And this interview takes the form of an analysis of the student's scholarship, his physical condition, his general intelligence, his interests and aptitudes, his choice of a life career and his preparation for it. All available facts about the individual are used in ascertaining his fitness for the occupations selected by him. Further, the student's experience up-to-date is considered and analysed, and finally he is urged strongly to take up such work during

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the summer vacation for the purpose of trying himself out.

Occupational Advice for Women

Many women's colleges are also experimenting on these lines. Vassar College, for example, maintains a Vocational Bureau, with a Director in charge, who has the same professional standing as a full professor. The Bureau is, in fact, organized as an essential part of the academic administration of the college. The vocational interests of students and of its alumni are registered in the office, and the Bureau serves as a centre for vocational information and guidance. The Bureau seeks to guide and direct the student along the lines of her greatest development whether it be for further study or actual placement in a given position. A very definite effort is always made to bring before the students a fair and comprehensive picture of useful work to be done during the summer vacations and after the college course is completed. Annually a general Vocational Conference is also held at the college to stimulate the students' occupational interests and to give them a bird's-eye view of different trades and professions open to women. At various times during the academic year representative business and professional men and women are also invited to the college, and interviews are arranged for students to enable them to get first-hand information in a given field. These are only a few of the many American colleges which have inaugurated a definite programme of vocational guidance. There are many other higher educational institutions which are now working out elaborate plans for vocational guidance in the light of the experience gained so far. Here is ample evidence therefore of the rapidly growing interest on the part of American college and University authorities in the problem of vocational guidance.

Vocational Guidance in Indian Colleges

In India also we must follow much the same line of attack. This work of vocational guidance can only be done satisfactorily by a well-organized Bureau of Vocational Guidance whose programme may include the following:

I. *Personal Information Service.* Bureau of Vocational Guidance in an Ind college should seek to bring together as m information as possible concerning each stud for the purpose of study and use in intervie and in placement work. The student's rec in schools previously attended, his physic examination and health record, his gener intelligence, the subjects taken in college w his standing in each, his behaviour a conduct record in college, term reports on l extra-curricular activities, a personality rat by his instructors, his employment record, any, before entering college, his choice occupation with the plans he has made prepare himself for it are among the da which should be brought together. With su information on hand, our educational advise could more easily help the student in h vocational choice or in placing him in the kin of work where he is most likely to succeed.

2. *Vocational Counsel Service.* Though t oldest form of vocational guidance is individu counselling, yet a great majority of thos who make up the adult population of tod received but little counsel from their teacher A solitary pupil gets this sort of help now an then. This sort of individual counselling, it mus be mentioned, is unscientific in that it is near always based upon very meagre knowledge o occupations and of the qualities and spec aptitudes of the one counselled. In the la few years attempts have been made to organi vocational counselling in a more scientif manner as we have already noticed how suc work is being carried on in American colleges. we, in India, also wish to give satisfactory an up-to-date counsel service to all our colle students, a Bureau of Vocational Guidan must be organized in every college. Only th could interviews be given to individu students, as often as conditions warrant, o matters affecting vocational choice and prepara tion. If an occupation has been chosen, th the Bureau would consider its suitability i the light of such information as is availab concerning the nature of the occupation an the aptitudes of the student. It would als give attention to the student's plan f preparation and self-improvement after enter ing the chosen occupation. If no choice o occupation has already been made, the Bure

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ould naturally consider a plan of procedure making a choice, and seek information concerning occupations which have some terest for the student and then give him the cessary guidance.

3. *Vocational Information Service.* Most our students know little or nothing about e opportunities and requirements of various cupations, and even graduates of our iversities know next to nothing about the portunities afforded by the world of affairs the college graduate. Nor do our students ssess any adequate information concerning eir own abilities, special aptitudes and rsonality traits. If the day arrives when y simply must have a job, then they jump the first one that comes their way, regardless their natural fitness for it. This procedure highly irrational since it entails great onomic loss to the individual and society. spite of that terrible wastage involved, our leges have not yet come to realize that one their important duties to their students is to ve them wise guidance in the choice of their cation. We need an agency interested in cational guidance to make a systematic effort give occupational information to our dents. The Vocational Information Service ust provide a library of books, pamphlets d other material concerning occupations of terest to college students, and make rangements for gathering pertinent formation about occupations not adequately vered in the printed material. Some attempt ust be made not only to gather occupational formation but also make such information sily accessible to students. Only a well-ganized Bureau of Vocational Guidance uld give satisfactory help both in the way of bringing together occupational information and giving to students definite help regarding ecific employment opportunities.

4. *Placement Service.* Placement service y be regarded as one of the most important nctions of a Bureau of Vocational Guidance. ecuring a proper start in the chosen occupation is quite as important as choosing it, and there is no more reason to expect the unaided pupil to do the one to the best advantage than the other. He is just as likely to choose unwisely among several opportunities to enter the chosen occupation,—if, indeed, he is so for tunate as to learn of several,—as he is to choose the occupation unwisely in the first place. And the economic waste involved in entering unsuitable occupations applies equally well to unfortunate entry into suitable occupations. A well-managed placement office will have available, or be in a position to obtain much more complete and reliable information concerning the different openings in a given occupation,—where these openings are their peculiar requirements, opportunities for promotion within the organization concerned and the like,—than an individual student can possibly obtain on his own account. The placement office will also have all the necessary information concerning the students who have chosen to enter their particular occupations, and can provide the employer such information better than any other agency. It must be granted that bringing these two together is a service of great value to the prospective student worker and to the empolyer alike when performed in an honest and discriminating manner.

5. *Research Department.* No college or University programme of vocational guidance can be considered comprehensive which does not provide for research. Investigations, which deal with organization and administration of a guidance programme, must be carried on. The technique of counselling and placement calls for extensive study. Occupational information needs to be gathered and evaluated. More scientific study must be made on the significance of intelligence ratings for vocational guidance. We need better methods of determining special aptitudes and also more reliable methods of rating personality traits of students. Some investigation must also be made regarding the possibility of providing vocational exploratory experiences for college students. In fact, the nature of vocational guidance and its relation to business, industrial and professional life are such that no work of this kind could be carried on satisfactorily without cultivating the spirit and methods of scientific research. Indeed, a Bureau of Vocational Guidance cannot do justice to itself without a well-equipped department of vocational research.

Some may oppose a vocational guidance programme of this character, maintaining that college is not a vocational preparatory institu-

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tion but one for providing a liberal education. In reality, however, the programme discussed above merely recognizes facts and conditions as they exist. The real need for work of this kind becomes all the more urgent when we ponder over the extraordinary circumstance that so large a portion of our students come up to the end of their senior year in college with little or no plan for the future, with little or no knowledge of their opportunities and with no decision as to the field of work which they will enter. In view of this wasteful procedure and of the prevailing discontent in our country in respect of the present problem of the "educated unemployed," we can ill-afford to ignore much longer this important function of our educational institutions. Our educational authorities must regard vocational guidance as an integral part of education. Nothing is of such great vital interest to college men and women as the question choosing and entering upon a career. cannot solve our present problem of educated unemployed merely by limiting admission of students to Universities. single authority is competent enough to de mine who are qualified to continue education into higher branches. Only careful analysis of the pupil's academic his his intelligence and academic achievement during his school year, his family's vocati history, his character qualities and his pers feeling about vocations, is it possible to g him to choose wisely. Arbitrary prohibi of students is an unwise method. The to put greater meaning and effectiveness the work of the college is to recognize fran and attack scientifically, the problems invol in the transfer of students from colleg vocation.

MANILAL C. PAREKH

By IDA M. GURWELL

ONE of the outstanding speakers from the Orient, who attended the World's Fellowship of Faiths held in Chicago during the past summer, and who took an active part in the Conference, was Manilal C. Parekh.

Mr. Parekh is not a stranger in America as was evidenced by the welcome he received everywhere. We like this calm man. We like his understanding and his deep-seated spirituality.

Mr. Parekh is a follower of Christ. It is rather unusual in the Occident to know a Hindu Christian. A Jain by birth, he became a member of the Brahmo Samaj, and later in 1918, of the Church of England. He lives with his people and is of high caste. For ten years he was a missionary of the Church of Keshub Chunder Sen; and for a year after becoming a member of the Church of England was connected actively with churches and missions. He severed connections later, believing he could do work independently.

The man is a broad religious student an author of several religious books incl translations. Among his religious books biography of Mahatma Gandhi, writte collaboration with the Rev. R. H. Gray, has also written a biography of Ke Chunder Sen, and one of Rammohun Roy, in English. Mr. Parekh knows and India and has contributed much inform concerning its beauty and traditions. chapter in "An Indian Approach to was written by him. Born in Western he is one of the few followers of Christ has asserted the right to adhere to traditional ways of India. This is unique.

The lecture given before the Fellowship of Faiths by Mr. Parekh follows:

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Dear Brothers and Sisters of the World's Fellowship of Faiths:

I appreciate very much the courtesy of the organizers of this Conference in asking me to be the spokesman of this meeting on the last day of the Conference, and I wish to speak to you on the message that India has to give to this Parliament of Religions, and to the world.

During these days when we, belonging to different creeds and religions, have met together, we have found the Fellowship of Faiths a living reality, and we cannot be too thankful to God for it. You will be interested to know, however, with many of us in India, and in the Orient, that this kind of Fellowship is an integral part of our Religions, and it has been so throughout the centuries. During the last century two great religious movements arose in the Orient; Bahaism in Persia, and Brahmo Samaj in India. Both these have preached the harmony of Religions. Of the latter of these the seed was first sown by the great Hindu Raja Rammohun Roy, whose Centenary we are celebrating on a grand scale in India at this time. It is indeed in the fitness of things that we should hold this Conference so close to this Centenary. He was certainly one of the first prophets of such Fellowships. He was followed in the course of time by Devendranath Tagore, the father of the great poet, and Keshub Chunder Sen. The latter was indeed a great prophet and his life's work was to bring the Religions of the world together. Few men in modern times have done so much to bring the Religions and Races together.

The chief message, however, of the Brahmo Samaj, and through others of India, with its great past is this: That the foundation of such a Fellowship of Faiths must be laid in a close vital Fellowship with God, who is our Father and Mother, Friend and Companion. Fellowship apart from this is a mere intellectual pastime, and is a mockery of the true Communion which should be ours. We who claim to be *Broader* than others, should also be *Deeper* in our realization of God, and should know first-hand the infinite love of Father and Mother. We, in India, know God as the Mother, for we know nothing higher than Motherhood in this world.

We should also have a closer Fellowship with great Teachers and Prophets of the world. In fact we should be greater disciples of Buddha and Jesus, than the Buddhists and Christians themselves are. It is only in this way that we can speak with authority to the world.

This Fellowship with God and Jesus Christ and other Prophets must result in higher moral and spiritual life on our part, and our love for mankind should be a great passion with us. Our righteousness should be greater than that of others, if we lay claim to something higher than the world has found. I shall go farther and say, that we should include not only mankind in this Fellowship, but the whole Universe. Let our love be so great that it includes the entire Creation. It is then we can go to the world and say, we have found something that is great and wonderful, a revelation not only to us but to all.

Manilal Parekh's message to this great Conference that registered the best thoughts of practically every known cult, ism and creed in the world, was received in the devout attitude in which it was given and catalogued as helpful building material for Spiritual Oneness.

Rudyard Kipling said, in speaking of the East and West, "Never the Twain Shall Meet." We who know Manilal Parekh and other high-thinking men of India, and America, feel that the Occident and Orient have met, and in the meeting; because the problems have loomed big on the horizon of the Nations of the World; and because of the serious intent on the part of all to understand; that there is an honest attempt everywhere towards real Brotherhood.

India's age-old Traditions: America's Youthful Contributions. One hopes for a magnetic fusion; a harmonious combination of the best in both, and that the East and West shall join in reaping a harvest of well-sown, tenderly-nurtured, Religious Ideals, that shall benefit all mankind.

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LEGISLATIVE PROCEEDINGS AND PRIVILEGE OF THE PRESS

By PARIMAL ROY, M. A.

IT has been in the past a question of considerable dispute whether privilege of the Parliament extends to the publication of Parlimentary proceedings in the Press. There was a time when the Parliament itself repeatedly declared such publications as a breach of privilege.* There were Standing Orders of the Parliament prohibiting such publications; and it was argued with some force, that no privilege could attach to any report which was published in contravention of the Standing Orders. For, then, it was in itself a contempt of the House. Orders are also in record which the Parliament issued from time to time, forbidding the publication of the debates and proceedings of the House, by newspapers. The earliest reports of Parliamentary proceedings were only published in fear and trembling as "Debates in the Senate of Lilliput" with the names of the speakers disguised. And even for such camouflaged reports, the editors had to answer charges of breach of privilege, while Johnson's pen had to withhold completely "those ponderous speeches for Whig dogs"! At a later date, however, the reports began to be published in the form of "letters from an M. P. to a friend in the country" And although after 1752 they were frankly published as reports, the Standing Orders had not even then lost their force, and the initials of the speakers could only be ventured.†

At the present moment, however, the Standing Orders are quite obsolete; and the prohibitions having thus long since fallen into disuetude, it is at once important and interesting to know in what directions privilege attaching to Parliamentary proceedings has since been allowed to develop in Britain It should be noted incidentally that we are not concerned here with the official reports of Parliamentary proceedings which are indisputably protected by the orders of the Parliament,** under which they are prepared, but with such reports as may be published outside the Parliament, beyond the precincts of the Houses and unauthorized by the Legislature.

We can approach this problem to some advantage, through an examination of specific cases in which the question as to whether reports of Parliamentary proceedings are privileged, came in some form or other, under investigation. For, any principle, other than statutory, that may have been established in this matter, can have no better authority than dicta of learned judges having reference to the point in question.

Two remarkable cases have established the "if a member publishes his speech, his printed statement becomes a separate publication unconnected with any proceedings in Parliament." What follows from this is that when a member of the British Parliament himself publishes a speech made in the Parliament, he virtually repeats it outside and must therefore take the consequence as an ordinary citizen on proof of malice. A newspaper, if it publishes such a speech, reported *mala fide*, is also equally liable to action, as the speech in such circumstances will be regarded as a vehicle of slander. The two cases referred hereto are *Rex vs. Lord Abingdon* (1713) and *Rex vs. Creevey* (1813), and the view of law they have established is that the publication in newspapers of speeches made in Parliament, reflecting upon the character of individuals, is actionable. The decisions in these two cases are thus entirely with reference to single speeches, and not to the proceedings of the Parliament, in their entirety, with which we are concerned.

In a later case, *viz*, *Davison vs. Duncan*, the rigour of the above decision was relaxed to a little extent. It was held that while the privilege of publishing a speech made in the British Parliament was certainly limited, "a publication of a report of his speech by a member of the House of Commons, *bona fide* addressed to his constituents would be privileged."† The privilege in such a case would arise simply because such a publication would be regarded as nothing more than a mere communication between a member and his constituents. In the same case the proposition was laid down by Wightman, J., that reports of Parliamentary proceedings are in complete analogy with those of legal proceedings in a court of law so that the principle on which exemption from legal consequences is extended to the publication of the latter is applicable with equal force to that publication of the former.§ It is however needless

* May: Parliamentary Practice, p. 74.

† This account of the earlier reports is based upon Odger. See his "Libel and Slander." 4th edition, p. 308.

** Also by Parliamentary Paper Act 1840. 3 and 4 Vict. C. 9.

* May: Parliamentary Practice, p. 100.

† L. R. 4. Q. B.. p. 79 & p. 95.

§ A newspaper report of public judicial proceedings is the subject of statutory privilege under 3 of the Law of Libel Amendment Act, 1888. The privilege is absolute if the report is (*i*) fair and accurate, (*ii*) published contemporaneously with the proceedings, (*iii*) not forbidden by the Court and not indecent, blasphemous or seditious. If any

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to point out that the principle alluded to is that the public interest and advantage of publication must outweigh the private and personal injury, i.e. a few may be injured with impunity for the good of the many.

There is, however, difference of opinion on the propriety of this analogy between legal proceedings and Parliamentary proceedings.

But even accepting the plausibility of the analogy, it must be admitted that the case of *Wason vs. Duncan* does not decide whether an action of libel can be founded on a report of Parliamentary proceedings published in the Press. For the present case arose out of a report of the proceedings at a public meeting,* in which the conduct of an individual was called in question; and the Court was not therefore called upon to determine how far the privilege would extend to a report of the proceedings in the Parliament.

The case of *Stockdale vs. Hansard* leaves us in better situation. In this case a report by the Inspector of Prisons containing defamatory statements "of a most disgusting nature" about the plaintiff (Stockdale) was printed and sold inside the House by the defendants (the printers of the House of Commons) by orders of the House of Commons. The defence pleaded orders of the House and privilege of Parliament, but the Court decided in favour of Stockdale. We need not, however, hastily conclude that this gives us authority to withhold protection from publications of Parliamentary proceedings outside the House. The decision in this case was purely to the effect that the House of Commons cannot by mere resolution, under plea of privilege, change the law, and make legal what is illegal under the laws of the land. No opinion was thus expressed on the subject of the publication of the reports of Parliamentary proceedings in the Press, which was evidently beyond the scope of the enquiry. "The question is not whether the act complained of, being unlawful at law, is rendered lawful by the order of the House and protected by the assertion of its privilege, but whether it is, independently of such order and assertion of privilege, in itself privileged and

We have mentioned elsewhere* that fair and accurate contemporaneous reports of public judicial proceedings, published in a newspaper, are now privileged on statutory authority. This privilege has been granted on two important grounds. In the first place, it has been held that reports of proceedings of Courts of Justice are generally published in newspapers, not for any malicious purpose, but solely with the honest intention of giving information to the public and incidentally for the service of society. The presumption of malice, if any, being thus rebutted, no legal consequence should attend such publications. In the second place, the privilege is justified by the Doctrine of privilege itself, which says that a publication should be privileged if, by injuring a few, it can contribute to the benefit of many.

On the basis of this immunity granted to the publication of proceedings in a Court of Justice and the analogy between a Court of Law and a legislature, a solution for our present problem, may, however, be found in the case of *Wason vs. Walter* of 1867. The facts of the case may be briefly stated. A Mr. Wason presented to the House of Lords a petition in which he prayed for the dismissal of Sir Fitzroy Kelly, lately appointed Lord Chief Baron, on the ground that Sir Fitzroy had in the past deceived a Committee of the House of Commons by a deliberate lie. A debate naturally ensued on the presentation of the petition in the House of Lords, and the charge was utterly refuted by a Committee appointed for the purpose. *The Times* published the proceedings of the House of Lords, together with the reports and the debate, and a leading article described Lord Russell who presented the petition on behalf of Wason, as "an instrument for the circulation of calumnies." An action of libel against the proprietors of *The Times* was brought before the Court, and among other things, the question arose as to whether the publication of proceedings of either House of Parliament in the newspapers, was privileged.

This then is a case in which the position of public Press in respect of the publication of Parliamentary proceedings, was directly in issue. Cockburn C. J., in delivering judgment emphasized upon the allied characters of a Court of Justice and the national Parliament† and declared that whatever would afford immunity to a report of the proceedings in a Court of Law "will equally apply to a report of proceedings in Parliament"§ The publication in *The Times* was, therefore, declared to be privileged; and it was thus established that a faithful report in a public newspaper of Parliamentary proceedings "containing matter

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these conditions fails, the privilege is qualified. See Salmond: *Law of Torts*, 5th ed. Pp. 498-99 & Odgers: *Law of Torts*, Ed. 8th. Pp. 203-04.

* It is now provided by Sec. 4 of the Law of Libel Amendment Act, 1888, that fair and accurate reports in a newspaper of the proceedings of any public meeting or of any other kind of meeting referred to in that Sec., shall be conditionally privileged, provided that the publication of the matter decidedly advantages to public advantage.

For definition of 'public meeting' *vide* foot-note at p. 499 Salmond: *Law of Torts*, 5th Edition.

† L. R. 4. Q. B., p. 87. Note that the first question submitted in the statement has been met by the Parliamentary Papers Act, 1840 (3 and 4 vict. c. 9.) which extends protection to publications under the orders of the Parliament.

* Foot-note (2) at page 3.

† "The analogy between the two cases is in every respect complete."—L. R. 4. Q. B., p. 93.

§ L. R. 4. Q. B., p. 95.

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disparaging to the character of an individual··· is not actionable at the suit of the person whose character has been called in question!* The privilege was evidently extended on the principle "that the advantage of publicity to the community at large outweighs any private injury resulting from the publication."†

Here, therefore, is a definite judicial decision on the vexed question of the privilege of the Press in the matter of Parliamentary proceedings. The view of law that has been established is that faithful and fair reports of the proceedings of the Parliament, published in newspapers, are definitely privileged. In laying down the law, however, reliance, it will have been observed, was put more on the fundamental principle than on any written law or authority, neither of which was forthcoming at the time. The decision of Cockburn has not admittedly been embodied in a statute even to this date. But the judge-made law has certainly been accepted and acted upon by the British Courts as a precedent, and now stands as a charter for the British Press.

Having thus examined the view of law that has been established in England, we are naturally inclined to examine the nature of privilege that the Press in India enjoys, if at all, with regard to the proceedings of the Indian legislatures.

In February, 1932, the question was put to the Home Member in the Legislative Assembly 'if under any Ordinances, or rules made or orders issued, by the executive authority, newspapers could be penalized for publishing reports of the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly.'§ The Home Member in reply said that "no rules or orders of the kind suggested....have been issued"; and the Honourable Members were assured that the right of free speech in the Legislatures was secured to them by Sec. 67 (7) and Sec. 72D (7) of the Government of India Act, 1919. But it was at the same time pointed out "that the protection afforded···does not extend to the publication of reports by newspapers *of which the liability is determined by the ordinary law.*§ The ordinary law, according to the Home Member, included not only the Press Act of 1931 but also the Ordinances of 1932. This naturally gave rise to a heated discussion in the Assembly as some of the members thought** that the Ordinances, by restricting the publication of the proceedings in the newspapers, affected the privilege of the House granted to it by the Government of India Act of 1919. They put forward a two-fold objection. In the first place, an Ordinance, it was submitted, although a law, is nevertheless not made by the Assembly and should not therefore, for expedience tamper with the privilege of the House; whi secondly, it was argued that a provision (t which the existence is questionable) made by t Sovereign Parliament cannot be affected by subordinate law-making authority. In windi up the debate that ensued the President ask the Home Member if he was prepared to s "that so far as the publication of the proceedin of this House in the newspapers is concerned, Ordinance will affect them."* The Home Membe however, could not make any authoritative sta ment on the question because he was not s what the precise legal effect of an Ordinan was; and indeed the following extract† from t proceedings is not a very happy reflection up the conviction with which he spoke:

> Do I take it that the publication of the repor of this Assembly will be subject to the provisio of these Ordinances and law..... ?
>
> —In certain circumstances it is *possible* tha publication *might* fall within these provisions.
>
> Even though the speech may have been allow by the President and the Hon. the Leader of t House took no objection ?
>
> —I *think* that it is *possible* that that *might* happe

The Home Member having thus failed, t question was then put to the Law Membe 'whether issue of the Ordinances makes an difference in the matter of the publication of th proceedings of this House in the newspapers'. The Law Member, apparently taken by surpris wanted time for his answer, and having presumabl looked up a large number of authorities ove night, declared next day that "the Ordinance have made no change in the ordinary law of th land in the matter of publication in the publ Press or otherwise of the proceedings of th Legislature."§

The ruling of the Law Member thus purport to make it clear that the Press in India enjo no privilege in regard to the publication proceedings of the Legislature. And although th Ordinances** alluded to, increased the possibili of unwittingly committing a breach of law, th possibility certainly existed even before th Ordinances were enacted. It may be incidental pointed out here that the Home Member w wholly irrelevant when, in reply to a ques whether similar provision existed elsewhere, said that the same principle existed also England, referring in surpport to his statement May's *Parliamentary Practice.* This was misle

* *Ibid.*, p. 73.
† *Ibid.*, p. 73.
§ Legislative Assembly Debates, 10 Feb., 1932, p. 545
§ *Ibid.* Italics are mine.
** *Cf.* Legislative Assembly Debates 12 Feb. 1932, p. 659.

* Legislative Assembly Debates 12 Feb. 1 pp. 662-63.
† Legislative Assembly Debates 10 Feb. 1 p. 545; Italics are mine.
§ Legislative Assembly Debates 12 Feb. 1 p. 663.
§ Legislative Assembly Debates 13 Feb. 1933, P Particularly Sec. 63 Ordinance No. II of 1

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...ge. For, Erskine May* dealt with the maintenance ...f Parliament of the Standing Orders, and that ...rtainly has nothing to do with the law that ...e are seeking here.

The rigorous view of law is this. The statutory ...rivilege in India is limited to the actual making of ...peeches in the houses of Legislature and to ...fficial reports thereof, in pursuance of Sec. 67 ...) and Sec. 72D (7) of the Government of ...dia Act.† It does not strictly extend to any ...rivate report or publication in the public Press. The fourth exception to Sec. 499 of the Indian Penal Codes affords protection only to publica...ons of the proceedings of a Court of Justice ...d not of the Legislature. The result is that ...ere is no statutory provision to protect news...pers reporting the proceedings of the Assembly ...the Councils.

And yet it is not a fact that proceedings of the Indian Legislature—not infrequently defama...ry—are not published in our newspapers. So ...at we are naturally led to suspect that the ...ess in India does after all rely upon a protec...on which is not as imaginary as it may be ...agined. It will be remembered that we ...proached this problem of the privilege of the ...ess for England through a review of cases ...in which the question in some form or other ...me under investigation. Unfortunately for ...dia there is a total absence of any case in ...hich this question was directly in issue. The ...evance of the Press which may have arisen ...t of this lack of protection, is as yet purely ...eoretical. For, no Court in India has to this ...te been given an occasion to pronounce ...dgment upon this important problem of the ...ess.

But this strange absence of any judicial ...cision over the matter may be accepted with ...ixed feelings of not despair only but also hope. ...For, the very fact that no private individual ...as ever brought an action of libel against a ...wspaper for having published a libellous report of the proceedings of the Legislature, shows (besides pointing to the degree of free-masonary that exists among our people!) that the plaintiff fears, that in the event of a litigation, he would be forthwith put out of Court. And that gives us additional reasons to suspect that the privilege *naturally* exists even though a case like *Wason vs. Walter* is yet to come up for decision in India. We shall state our reasons.

It is a well-known fact that the High Courts in India have always relied upon the principles of English Common Law and equity where there has been no written law or authority to help them. It will be irrelevant to discuss here how far the English Common Law and equity have gone to build up the law and procedure in India. But it will be admitted without ado that the High Courts have exercised the Common Law powers and jurisdiction of the King's Bench for more than a century and a half, and have freely drawn upon its principles for the protection of the rights and liberties of the people in India. Besides, every law-court in India is by statute a court of equity and as such is entitled to decide all doubtful questions of law according to the principles of equity, justice and good conscience.

Having regard to all this, it is not, therefore, open to an Indian judge to say that the protection accorded to the members of the Legislature does not extend to report, other than official, of the proceedings of the Legislature. It is true that there is no statutory protection against anybody aggrieved by a libellous report, bringing an action against a newspaper. But the absence of any specific legislation need not prevent the Court from drawing upon the Common Law powers of England. For, is it not well settled that in the absence of local statutes English Common Law applies to the ordinary original jurisdiction of the High Court in India?* And if so, is not the Cockburn law as valid in India as it is in England?

As a matter of fact, it is this applicability of the Cockburn law that is emphatically the reason why the newspaper-editors in India have so far been left undisturbed by aggrieved parties. The plaintiff is sure to be put out of Court, as the law already exists in spite of its absence in a statutory form. We have mentioned that the fourth exception to Sec. 499 of the Indian Penal Code, extends protection, not to the proceedings of the Legislature, but only to the proceedings of a Court of Justice. That, however, does not show that the exclusion of the newspapers from protection was out of any deliberate design. The Indian Penal Code must necessarily be silent over the question simply

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* *Parliamentary Practice*, Ch. 4: It used to be argued that no privilege could attach to anything published in contravention of the Standing Orders of the two Houses.

† The Government of India Act provides: "Subject to the rules or Standing Orders affecting the Chamber, there shall be freedom of speech in both Chambers of the Indian Legislature. No person shall be liable to any proceedings in any Court by reason of his speech or rote in either Chamber, or by reason of anything contained in any official report of the proceedings of either Chamber." The provisions with regard to the Provincial legislatures is also the same *mutatis mutandis*.

‡ The protection is from criminal action for defamation, although civil action is in order. But even if a civil action is brought, the plaintiff will be put out of Court as will be shown hereafter (*Cf.* Sec. 3 Law of Libel Act 51 and 52 Vict. c. 64.) The civil privilege will be *prima facie* more and not less than the criminal.

* Quoted in *The Statesman* editorial on 21 Feb. 1932. In the mofusil, however, justice, equity and good consience may help to bring the Common Laws into force.

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because it was compiled long before an Assembly of the present type was contemplated.*

The applicability to Indian cases of the Cockburn law has already been clearly and definitely recognized in the case of *Lala Lajpat Rai vs. The Englishman Ltd.* (*Appeal case*).† The facts of the case were briefly as follows : *The Englishman* published in its Calcutta edition a statement which purported to give an explanation of the 'real reasons' as to why Lala Lajpat Rai was arrested and deported by the Government of India in 1907. The statement was considered libellous, and *The Englishman* having refused an apology which was demanded, the plaintiff brought an action of libel against the proprietors of the paper and was awarded damages to the extent of Rs. 15,000 The defendants appealed and it was argued on their behalf that prior to its publication§ in *The Englishman*, the 'libel' in question was already stated in the House of Commons by the Secretary of State for India. But although the damages were reduced to Rs. 1,500, the appeal was dismissed on the ground that "no authority can be cited for the proposition that a person is entitled to publish Parliamentary proceedings as a statement of his own and in the form of an offending article." "I agree," said Harington, J., "that the defendant was entitled to publish that Secretary of State for India has made in the House of Commons such and such a statement, and as long as he published a substantially accurate account of what was said in the House of Commons, not as a statement of his own, but a statement made in the place, then I think he would be doing nothing unlawful."**

This clearly shows that it has already been recognized by an Indian Court that in the event of an action of libel brought by an offended person against a newspaper for a faithful reproduction of proceedings in the Legislature, damaging to his character, the verdict must always be given in favour of the newspaper, on the authority of the law laid down by Cockburn. The report in such a case will be indisputably privileged and the newspaper "would be doing nothing unlawful," although it would be a wide and undue extension of this privilege if it were to cover any independent statement of facts drawn from the proceedings of the Legislature.

The situation is thus cleared up. As in England, so in India, a faithful report in a public newspaper of the proceedings of either house of the Legislature, containing matter disparaging to the character of an individual which occurs in the ordinary course of proceedings, is not actionable at the suit of the person offended. A faithful report of a *debate*, as differentiated from the proceedings taken as a whole, is also equally privileged on the authority of the same law.* And in both these cases the privilege is of course qualified. As for speeches, the opinion of Mr. D. N. Banerjee is that "there is nothing in the Act to protect a member from being legally dealt with in a Court of Law if he himself publishes his speech which is actionable. In England 'if a member publishes his speech his printed statement becomes a separate publication unconnected with any proceeding in Parliament.' (May, p. 100). In the absence of anything to the contrary it may be presumed that the publication of a libellous speech delivered in either Chamber of the Indian Legislature, otherwise than officially, is punishable."† In the absence of a definite law this is of course the exact legal position. But the point of view from which we have considered the whole of this subject permits us to venture the opinion that in the event of specific cases, laws are sure to be laid down by judicial authorities much on the same lines as in England.

But while the conclusions are thus plain enough, the Indian Government has not so far given to the Press the necessary statutory protection which is indispensable for a democratic country. On the contrary, some of us have watched with dismay the recent encroachments made upon legitimate journalism in India. It is, indeed, time that the law is made plain as well to the Press as to the public through proper channels, without leaving it to its remote chances in a Court of Justice.

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* Read *the Statesman* editorial, 21 Feb. 1932.

† *Cal. Weekly Notes*, Vol. 14, p. 724.

§ It should be noted that priority of publication under privilege is no justification for republication. See *Blake and Odgers*. p. 176.

** *Cal. Weekly Notes*. Vol. 14, p. 724.

* L. R. 4 Q. B., p. 90.

† D. N. Banerjee : *Indian Constitution*, 2nd edition, p. 194.

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N. R. A. (NATIONAL RECOVERY ACT) AND WORLD TRADE

By SASADHAR SINHA

To understand the crisis to which the world until the other day had more or less resigned itself with a philosophic calmness, one must have a clear conception of the fundamental facts as to how the different sources of production and the various developments (industrial, capitalist and imperialist) went through a series of revolutions.

The origin of British foreign investment, as Keynes very ably discusses, was the booty brought by Drake and followed by the formation of the Levant Company. "Largely out of the profits of the Levant Company, there was formed the East India Company—the profits of which during the seventeenth and eitghteenth century were the main foundations of England's foreign connections; and so on." Even as far back as 1600, real wages in England were only half what they had been 100 years ago and during this profit inflation, advantages and fruits of economic progress went to profiteers only. A profit inflation is, according to Keynes, almost certain to bring about a more unequal distribution of wealth and the abnormal growth of capital-wealth always accompanies this profit inflation. It was under such auspices that modern capitalism was born and the root of the evils is, therefore, centuries old. Economists from time to time advanced theories to solve current problems but the gravity of the situation was never realized until lately. The central features of the crisis today are cut-throat competition among capitalist countries, over-production and narrowing down of market, changes in the technique of production, difficulties of further exploitation, contradictions between production and consumption, break-down of the machinery of distributions, etc.

The finances of the world were in a stalemate until the beginning of 1932. England was the first country to protest though very mildly against orthodox economics, but it was left to America to challenge it and shake its very foundation. The American experiments are comparable to the first and second five-year plans of Russia though the respective aims are poles asunder.

England went off the gold standard in September, 1931. A national government was returned by an overwhelming majority under panic conditions and English capitalism was stimulated to restore some of its lost ground. There have been changes but the Victorian structure still remains and added to it, the proverbial characteristic of English people who are always shy of launching bold experiments, may very well be the limit of British sphere of influence in the World recovery—the alternative of which is chaos.

The newspapers with one or two exceptions are all unanimous that the worst is over and that British prosperity is within sight. They forget that the crisis may be over in this country but the depression is certainly not. The economics of these islands are so bound up with the rest of the world and the face of the earth has changed so much since the last war, that Great Britain has been obliged to concentrate all her attention on an area of 89,041 square miles and population of 44,932,884 persons compared with U. S. A., Germany and Japan (to mention only a few of her competitors) with areas of 2973776, 180985 and 147592 square miles, and populations of 122,775,046, 62,410,619 and 64,450,005 persons respectively, all these countries being more favourably supplied with such materials as keep the industrial centres active. The Empire free trade is one of the many counsels of despair and so far the results have shown, they only deserve a lip service.

The British efforts to tide over the depression were not preceded by any plan, they were based on the traditional confidence that Great Britain, given favourable conditions, as a matter of course was entitled to take its old place among industrial nations. Thus

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did the English capitalists shun an excellent opportunity to give a much-desired lead.

The British achievements during 1931 were essentially safety first though in a short view sane. The Tories put a stop to credit expansion, drastic cuts were made, most of the public and social services were suspended and dole was restricted. There was a controversy in the Press and the Parliaments on Cobdenism, various arguments were set forth for and against and ultimately England became protectionist. For the last two years English trade is doing much better due to mounting and widening tariff and we find factories within customs walls producing articles formerly imported despite trade union exactions. Quotas and agricultural marketing schemes and the recent trade nationalism give one the impression of apparent prosperity but the size and population again are England's greatest handicap.

However much the British market may be steady today, the statistics are not very encouraging and it is very difficult to say how long this progress of upward trend can be maintained in spite of all its soundness, more so in view of the American National Recovery Act and other world factors (we are deliberately excluding Russia from our consideration). Once the N. R. A. (National Recovery Act of the United States of America) succeeds, capitalism will assume an entirely different form and individual capitalism as practised in older countries will be doomed to its logical conclusion.

The crisis had generally come to be regarded as chronic but thanks to Roosevelt, the issue now is simple—we are in the thresholds of a new society and our choice lies between the American and Russian methods.

The statistics of post-War American industry are very interesting. We may not go into details about figures but it will be sufficient to say that before the new experiments U. S. A. had lost $\frac{4}{5}$ of their world trade and the output of iron and steel—the key industry of the country, was reduced by $\frac{9}{10}$. The American exports of industrial machinery were $ 338,027,000 in 1929 and in the first eight months of 1933 were only $ 31,779,967 (with a marked tendency to improvement). The textiles showed a drop during the corresponding period from 135,115,000 to about 23 million dollars. The average receipt of farmers from 1923 to 1929 amounted to $ 11,000,000 but they amounted to 9,000, 7,000, and 5,000 in 1930, 31 and 32. Unemployment stood at 12 millions including 3 millions who can be classed as permanent.

Roosevelt, since he entered the White House, knew his own mind. He had a programme in his sleeves and up till now he is truly and faithfully carrying out (or at least attempting to) that programme item by item even with a fanatic's zeal. He did read the situation clearly and at once blamed the financial instability and the reduced price level with its consequent fall in purchasing power for all the ills of the world in general and U. S. A. in particular. Here a student of Economics may enter into a serious controversy. Fall in prices leads to restriction in production which is identical with reduction of employment. The question arises whether the fundamental cause of a crisis is due to fall in prices or to production beyond the capacity of market.

Artificial respiration to bring back to life a dying system would be useless, nothing but a planned economy could save the American or the world situation. So one of the first things Roosevelt did was to stabilize that part of the economic process wherein lies the final determination of whether or not practically all of the individuals in the nation will be brought the necessities and few of the comforts of life. Planned economy, therefore, cannot ignore the ramifications of the cost of living. Further, a nation exists as a result of productive effort and all productive efforts must, therefore, be disciplined for the benefit of the whole, *i. e.*, the State. Hence the National Industrial Recovery Act and the codes—the colossal magnitude of which can be grasped from the following data of expenditure:

Public Work	$3,000,000,000
Liquidation Corporation	$1,500,000,000
Reconstruction Finance Corporation	925,000,000
State Relief	500,000,000
Miscellaneous	1,275,000,000
	$ 7,200,000,000 or £1,250,000,000

The immediate aim of Roosevelt was to raise prices in U. S. A. and incidentally elsewhere by a redistribution of wealth with

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the States to the advantage of farmers and other debtors. He armed himself with the following powers—(*a*) gold embargo, (*b*) depreciation of dollar in foreign exchange, a process that leads to readjustment of ratio between American and non-American prices, (*c*) inflation, (*d*) processing taxes, (*e*) restriction on farm produce, (*f*) reduction in working hour. The word inflation has a natural prejudice against it and Roosevelt has been very careful to avoid it but this undoubtedly is his last weapon which he will not hesitate to use whenever he thinks the time is most opportune or when the pressure from the farmers becomes irresistible.

The earliest results of N. R. A. were rather encouraging. The yield of the first three months was the largest and during the second and third stages, any progress visible was diminishing. The reasons for such set-backs were complex and many, but they can be explained under the following heads :

(*i*) Buying ahead of commodities and merchandise gradually discounted after the first impetus and stimulus.

(*ii*) Speculation in stocks specially grain, cotton etc. collapsed.

(*iii*) In textile industry particularly, selling prices had doubled, production costs had reached such a point where purchasing of textile and volume of output might be curtailed.

Against all these odds there was an encouraging sign in retail trade. Though we should bear in mind that wages, cost and prices were far from balancing one another, the latest bulletin of the American Federation of Labour states that a 6 per cent increase in wages has been eaten up by an 8 per cent increase in the cost of living. Only in oil production where the scheme conferred a virtual governmental dictatorship, things worked smoothly. Roosevelt knew his was an uphill task and the first disappointments to convert the country from rabid individualism to a faith in reorganization, planning and the rest did not deter him. He instituted his famous codes, the chief object being to win labour's support. The only working conditions of labour were determined but practices for obtaining custom that are to be regarded as improper were specified. This has been one of his greatest master-strokes and the American labour today is said to be behind him to a man, and he can very well defy the brickbats showered on him by Ford and other individualists. Within a few months Roosevelt had some satisfaction at least. Cost of living had risen by 9 per cent higher in September compared with March but 1·7 per cent in September, 1932. Compared with March pay roll increased by 55 per cent and employment by 30 per cent. August indexes revealed that in 14 of 89 industries employment was higher than in 1926 ; on the other hand, employment in 30 industries and pay rolls in 69 were less than $\frac{2}{3}$ of the 1926 level. As regards manufacturing activity, the highest proportionate rise (11 p. c.) was reported in iron and steel group where wages increased by $9 (33 p.c.) and employment by 92,000 (28 p. c.).

In agriculture which is America's most critical problem and where the "farm strike" and other threats are causing Roosevelt greatest anxiety, the effects of N. R. A. seem to be slow and tiring. The entire activity of the farmers had been dislocated through the appreciation of money from 1926 to 1933. Therefore, it is held that to restore their fortune by reversing the monetary process is the only proper way to help the whole nation. The farmer's contention appears to be to "jerk up" prices to cover the cost of production and the prescription of a minimum price below which dealers would not be allowed to buy. Behind the demand is the ultimate object of resorting to the pre-War ratio between agricultural and industrial produce which is obviously impossible of achievement. Roosevelt's remedy is to raise prices by increasing consumer's demand. He has been very liberal in his reliefs. Only recently there was an announcement that for corn and hog raiser alone, Federal Government intends to pour upon them $500,000,000, thereby increasing the farmer's income by 50 per cent. The latest returns show that employment and pay roll in agriculture are well above the level of a year ago (August figures for employment and pay roll record an increase of 7.3 per cent and 11 per cent respectively).

We are now in the fourth and perhaps the final stage of the recovery plans. It is still based on original plans, the whole machine

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is now assembled and upon the success or failure of Roosevelt depends the very fate of capitalism already assailed from many sides. The crux of the whole problem is how to push up price level, that and that alone will bring back prosperity or recovery, whatever one may choose to call and Roosevelt will stop at nothing until he has brought this about and avert the inevitable collapse.

Rise in price means the fall in value of money and this is precisely why Roosevelt wants to buy up gold at higher and higher price until it is dear enough over against other commodities. American price level depends on gold value of dollar, gold would have to fetch more than $40 an ounce before 1926 level is reached. Hence the attempt to raise prices by the control of the gold value of dollar.

One of the most principal functions of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is to buy and sell gold at predetermined price and thus determine the gold value of the dollar. R. F. C. is fully able to prevent the external depreciation of the dollar going any farther than it desires. Since America went off the gold standard and refused to stabilize the dollar which left the World Economic Conference in the lurch, Roosevelt has been rushing onwards with his monetary policy very shrewdly and carefully backed by the support and advice of Moley, Irving and Warren—the sponsors of the now famous Commodity or Rubber Dollar theory which, in other words, is nothing but the price index fixation of the value of gold. The sacrifice of sound currency at the altar of national exigency does not necessarily mean currency competition. Such competition tends to have a boomering effect and returns to strike at the point from which it started.

The inflationists in U. S. A. are farmers who have been most hard hit by depression. A managed currency which has no fixed value in gold but gives it a new gold content, is the nearest equivalent to a full-fledged inflation that can restore the price level on 1926 level. Roosevelt is extremely reluctant to resort to actual printing press inflation but if his relief measures for the middle western farmers are not successful and their discontent is increased, a limited amount of paper money may be issued backed by a considerable gold reserve that permits a much larger paper money than is now in circulation without inflation.

When Roosevelt took the American situation in hand, the choice was lying between stabilization and inflation with a view to raising of general price level. Prices in November have risen 20 p. c. but is still only 70 p. c. of the average sought to be attained. It is no wonder therefore that the possibilities of an early stabilization are remote. Roosevelt however, prefers credit expansion to inflation.

The secret of Roosevelt's success lies in an intelligent manipulation of dollar and in this past experience is likely to be of greatest help to him. From 1914 to 1928 world's gold stock had increased by 38 p. c. and the world's production of basic commodities by the same percentage; therefore, the world gold supply was just about adequate to support pre-War prices provided all the world returned to the gold basis. But prices in England were 45 p.c. above pre-War and in U. S. A. 41 p. At that time the countries were trying to return to gold, France returned on June 28 1928 and the gold panic was soon on. With the panic, hoarding became inevitable. The moment thrift or hoarding got ahead of enterprise, it positively discouraged recovery of enterprise and set up a vicious circle by its adverse effects on profits, for the vital force of enterprise is not thrift but profit. Therefore less than pre-War prices were to be expected. There were other factors too that aggravated the slump. Shortage of capital in Germany and Central Europe and certain structural and financial maladjustments which were the legacies of the war-time dislocation and other perverse policies left the situation rather hopeless for a natural recovery. We have also to take into consideration the profit inflation in France and the international deflation caused by the drain of gold in France and U. S. A. in 1929. This accumulation of gold the effect of which was scarcity in rest of the world, increased the price of gold in terms of other commodities and decreased the price of other commodities in terms of gold.

Unlike England who was driven off the Gold Standard because she had to send gold abroad to meet her debt charges and an adverse balance of trade and the refusal of American and French Banks to advance

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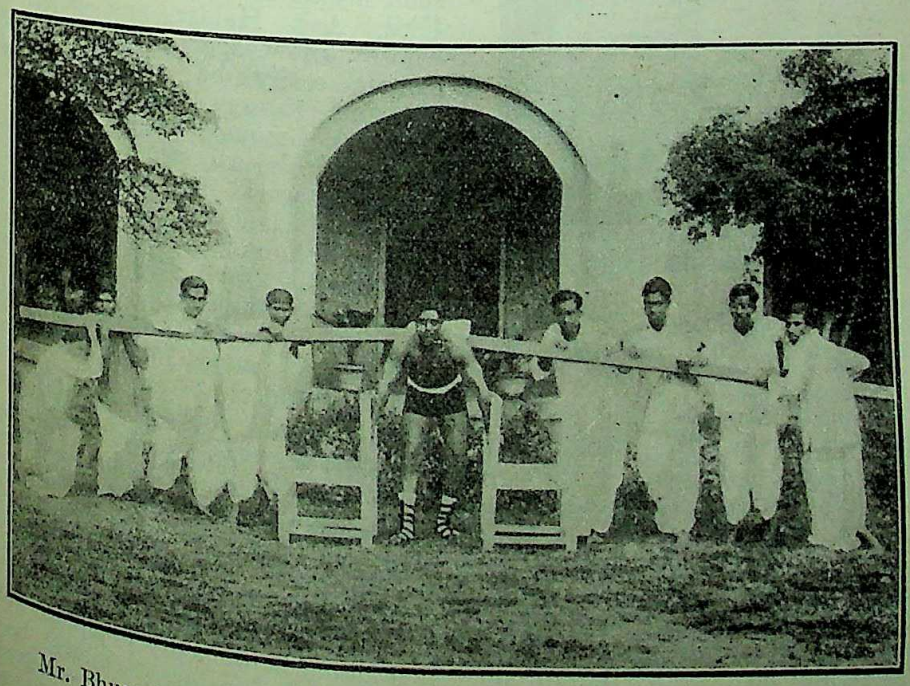
more loans beyond £130,000,000 to prevent withdrawal of gold from England by foreign countries; there was no need for the United States to go off gold but she had to do it as the first and immediate of a series of measures for the purpose of raising prices. There was, however, another question—that of liquidating the unbearable burden of internal indebtedness.

As the situation stands today, until the Congress meets one can safely prophesy that Roosevelt's activities will be confined to take control of the international gold market which he believes to be the only way to raise the price level. The effects upon American government bonds and upon other foreign countries even if a cheap dollar reduced their purchasing power, are only matters of secondary consideration to him. By purchasing gold from France he can even drive the Gold Standard countries off the gold and thus remove a major obstacle for the revaluation of the dollar. As it is, franc is today being kept artificially overvalued. The British Treasury is arraigned for forcing a rate of 83 when 100 would be proper. The question now is—can U. S. A. drive its own dollar down without breaking down its own credit at the same time? The reader will do well to observe what Prof. Gregory has to say on the subject. According to him the commodity dollar is only a means to an end, as soon as it is realized that depreciation of dollar is leading to unsettlement in commodity markets and the fall of the dollar is being offset by a fall in world prices, inflation will at once proceed according to plan. Roosevelt is bent upon devaluing the dollar by the full extent of 50 p. c. and he counts upon resultant inflation to achieve the advance in commodity prices.

The British industry must be on its guard because the N. R. A. can react upon it bitterly. The potential dangers of under-cutting from American manufacturers are great in the near future if N. R. A. works according to plan. Repercussions on machinery, electrical goods and automobiles will be greatest. American exports of iron and steel, textiles and chemicals are normally of a specialized character and in these fields Russian market may be closed to England. British-canned foodstuffs, rubber goods, paints, woollen textiles and leather goods will also feel the wind a little but prohibitive customs can spoil the advantages of a depressed dollar.



Mr. Bhupesh Chandra Karmakar, an athlete of Calcutta, is bending an iron rod 18″×3″×4″, two maunds in weight.

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KATHAKALI: THE CLASSICAL DANCE ART OF INDIA

By G. VENKATACHALAM

KERALA is a fascinating bit of coastal country in the extreme south-west corner of India. Its wooded hills with vegetations of variegated kind; its green paddy fields running in serpentine curves, flanked by thickly planted plantain and arecanut groves and garden-houses; its backwaters with little islands, and lovely

Rama and Lakshmana
Kathakali dancers in their full costumes.

lagoons reflecting dreamily the blue sky and the fantastically bent palms on the banks; the gray huts and the red-tiled roofs peeping through the rich foliage of garden compounds; the big bare-breasted women working bent all day long in the fields, singing sad songs to forget their hardships; the dark, strong-limbed men at their ploughs and oxen; the white-clad and clean-looking Nairs and their womenfolk of soft, olive complexion, dark eyes and shy looks; the proud exclusive Nambudri with his caste arrogance and social tyranny; the oppressed untouchable and the unseeable with their long drawn

and misery; the magic and mystery that st surround life here; all these exert a strang fascination on a visitor. Kerala is a tropic paradise, with palm-fringed horizons and sun swept beaches, only to be rivalled by Lank or Java.

Kerala is rich in arts too. The old temp and palaces contain fragments of fresco painting as interesting as any in India, and some of t figures and groups on the walls of the Trich temple and Mattancheri palace are not muc inferior in artistic quality to those of Ajanta Bagh. Stone-carvings and bronze images of t gods are also to be seen in abundance. Fol arts here have met the same fate as in oth parts of India, and, of late, some interest being evinced in their revival, especially in t two popular folk-dances of *Kummi* and *Kai tukali*, which are being taught to girls in schoo But by far the most unique and famous art Kerala is Kathakali, the dance art *par excellen* in India.

It is one of the ironies of Indian life and a that real talent and genuine merit are not much recognized and appreciated as spuriou ones sponsored by vested interests. The N Delhi scheme was a well-known instance. W such master-artists like Nandalal Bose, Venkatapp Ukil, Asit Halder and others in the countr whose knowledge and skill in fresco paintin cannot easily be equalled or surpassed, it w amusing to see the Government holding co petitions among school students and third-r artists for the execution of that work, with w result the world now knows! It is the same w the art of dancing. Much of the so-called In classical dances, "performed" by both professio and amateurs, is neither classical nor Indian a quaint jumble of Arabian, Egyptian a Indian dances, with sensuous bodily movement meaningless steps and gestures set to s popular tune.

The even so-called Ajanta dances preposterous impostures, for there is nothing the whole series of Ajanta paintings, excepting single dance scene in Cave No. 2, that can a student of dance art any valuable inspir save certain *motifs* and ideas for costume ornaments, head-dress and, perhaps, some group and dignified poses and postures. And yet h that name is wickedly exploited and what kinds of dances are exhibited under that name A notable exception was the interpretation g by Mrinalini Sarabhai (Mrs. Leila Sokhey), entitled *A*

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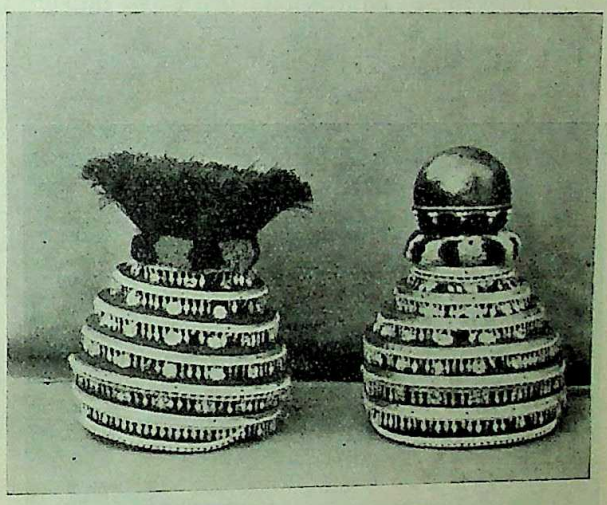
Parishan, which was a sincere attempt to bring to life something of the spirit of Ajanta.

But how many in this country who have seen the so-called classical dances of India have heard of, not to say, seen Kathakali, *the only genuine hundred per cent classical dance art of ancient India*, one of the most highly perfected dance arts in the world? Kathakali is not merely based upon the science of *Bharata Natya Sastra*, but on traditions more ancient than that; and this art has remained, save in its own birth-place, unknown, unhonoured and unsung even by the enthusiastic exponents of Indian cultural renaissance. But thanks to the genius of a poet and its flaming enthusiasm, it refuses to remain any longer in obscurity, and the day is not far off when it will take its place in the world of art as prominently as the Russian *Ballet* or the Javanese *Wayang Wong*, and also considerably influence the future dance art of the world.

Kathakali, in its present form, may be said to date back from the early eighteenth century, and its association with a prince of Travancore may, to a certain extent, be historically correct. But its real beginnings can be traced to a race and civilization much anterior to the Aryan, and its antiquity must indeed be very remote considering that it has certain primitive elements in its rhythm, music, make-up, dress and ornaments, and also that it gave birth, at a distant past, to the Javanese and Kandyan dances. One can also trace elements of Polynesian rhythms and movements in it. It has most undoubtedly absorbed and assimilated the whole of *Bharata Natya*, which gives it its present cultured character.

I have no doubt, whatsoever, that its origin was in magic, and even today its *elemental* nature can be felt by any sensitive person. It must have played a tremendous part in the religious rites of the ancients who knew how to invoke invisible powers, both of evil and good, by symbols of sounds and gestures. Both primitive and civilized nations of the world have recognized and used this symbolic language for communication with subtler worlds and invisible beings. The Egyptian Masonry, the Hindu Vedic Rites, the Chaldean Magic, all these were several forms of magic based on a deeper understanding of the laws of nature and their psychic effects. It was well known to the ancients that sounds and gestures create definite forms and colours in subtler matter, and they have a certain meaning and message to the spirits whose aids are sought by these magical formulas and rites. Some of the sounds and gestures and the accompanying drum-beats in Kathakali, especially as in the opening scene of *Kuchela-vritha* and the like, are distinctly of the spirit-invoking kind. I do not know how far the actors themselves realize the magical quality of their arts—I suppose they feel but do not understand—but I am certain that the powers they invoke and release are tremendous.

Hence I venture to claim for this art an antiquity far greater than is usually assigned to it. To say that this art is only about two hundred and fifty years old is absurd. In the first place it cannot be the work of anyone single individual or a group of individuals, however clever and talented he or they may be; *it is a heritage of a race,* as old as itself. In the second place, it is not humanly possible to evolve and perfect an art of this kind within the short space of two centuries, even if a whole nation had put its whole energy in perfecting it, and we know for certain that this art was dying a natural death during the last two centuries, except for isolated patronage here and there by a few landlords and petty chieftains. I



Head-dress worn by characters like Krishna, Rama or Arjuna.

claim for Kathakali an age anterior to *Bharata Natya* or *Ajanta Chitra* or *Sanchi Silpa;* in fact, this art is as great in its own line as Ajanta frescoes are in painting or Bahrut friezes are in sculpture.

Now what then is this Kathakali, the impatient reader may ask? It is, as its name indicates, Story Play (Katha: story, Kali: play), or the narration of a story in the form of a drama. But in this case the drama is a pantomime or dumb-show, accompanied by music, song and dance. It is a unique dramatic art, as daring in its conception as it is complex in its expression. Even a whole epic like the *Mahabharata* or the *Ramayana* is presented to the public, without a single word spoken by the actors but through an evolved technique of suitable gestures, suggestive poses, clever facial expressions and appropriate song and music. It is more elaborate than a musical play and more exacting than ordinary dramatic acting.

It is an open-air show, meant to be performed in a grove or maidan, and never inside a theatre. It has, therefore, not the usual painted curtains

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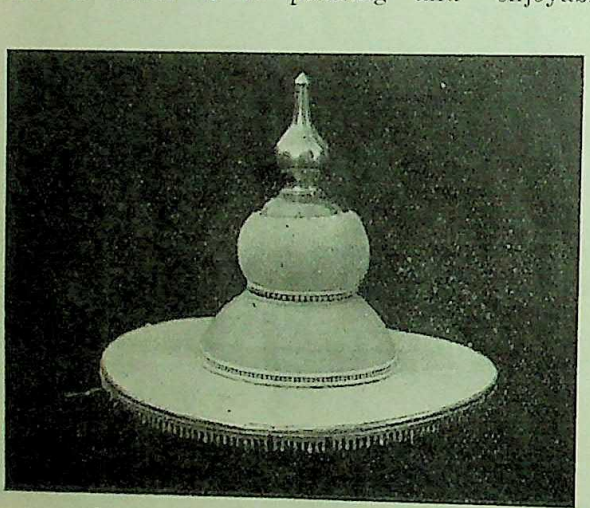
and horrid backgrounds of the Indian stage to mar its general effect. Its settings are simple and admirably serve the purpose. Just a *shamiana*, with a high roof supported by four poles; two tall bell-metal oil lamps burning bright all through the night and shedding cool light not trying to the eyes of both the actors and audience; a beautifully-coloured cloth held in front by two dressed-up boys every time an actor or actors make entry or exit, serving as a drop-curtain; and a stool for actors to sit upon or rest their legs as the case may be. The audience sit in front on matted floor, and the singers and drummers sing and play standing immediately behind the actors. The orchestra consists of two singers (or narrators of stories), a *maddalam* player, a *chendai* player, a cymbal and a gong player. Conch is sounded at the beginning of a show. The first impression of this music is rather loud and harsh, but when the ears get used to them it is pleasing and enjoyable.



Head-dress worn by characters like Hanuman, Vali etc.

Certain changes would need to be effected if they are to be played in a closed theatre, as the sound would be deafening, but as far as possible it is wiser to have them in open air.

The play, usually a story or scene from the Indian classics, lasts a whole night, from 9 P. M. to 6 A. M.; at times continuing for several nights. In its own place and among its own people this may be all right, but when it has to be presented outside Kerala and to people with modern tastes and ideas, there must be a time-limit to it, say, two to three hours at the most. This much-needed reform is being introduced by the Kerala Kalamandalam, under the leadership of the poet Vallathol, who is devoting all his time, energy and money for the revival of this ancient art, with a hope that it would be accepted and appreciated by the world at large in its reformed state. He himself is an expert exponent of the science of gesture, and his enthusiasm is contagious. He has a keen and energetic collaborator in this work in Mr. Mukunda Raja of Kunnamkulum, the Honorary Secretary of the Kalamandalam.

The conventional form of presenting a play is as follows:

First there is the announcement to the villages all around, known as *Kelikottu*, drum-beating about sunset time, and this is followed by *Todayam* and *Vandana-slokams* (dance, music and prayers) behind the curtains, a little before the commencement of the play, and after this the first appearance of characters amidst a loud flourish of drums and conch, known as *Purappadu*, and the interval between this and the actual commencement of the story is taken by *Melappadu*, musical contests between the *Maddalam* and *chendai* players and the singers.

The stories interpreted by Kathakali are in poetic forms set to music, which closely resembles the temple music of South India. Several gifted poets of Kerala, some of them princes of the royal blood, have contributed much to this art in the form of poems and plays written for this purpose, which the actors faithfully try to interpret in Kathakali. The singers here, like the *Dalang* in Java, are not possessed with a good voice, which is unfortunate, and even the drummers should be trained to play softer music than they do now. It would not be a bad idea if *Edaka* (stringed-drum) be introduced in certain scenes where solo dances are performed conveying the *Sringara* or *soka rasas*. For a proper appreciation of this art by the world at large, certain innovations and changes need to be effected, and experiments to that end should soon be made.

There are thirty varieties of dances, some simple and some complex, in Kathakali, and they are based on a sound knowledge of rhythmic laws of body movements. There is very little "foot-work," in the Western sense of the term, and some of the steps are obviously primitive and uncouth. The main emphasis seems to be not so much grace or beauty but strength, but still there are a good number of graceful movements and steps in the dance. A student of Indian sculpture can easily trace in this art the varied bends and flexions, poses and postures that one sees in stone and bronze images.

This art is not merely suggestive and interpretative but highly descriptive and realistic too, such as the Peacock Dance. It is an amazingly truthful portrayal of the bird's moods and movements, its vanity and majesty. The composer of this dance was not only a keen observer of nature, and particularly of the life of the peacock, but also a psychologist who understood a little bird's flutterings of heart and mind. This clever imitation and interpretation of animal and bird life is an interesting feature of Kathakali. Knowledge and originality characterize everyone of these interpretative dances, and

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mere whim and fancy of the artist as in some of the modern dances.

It is here that tradition helps and keeps in check individual idiosyncracies from running riot. A chief feature of modern art is this supreme conceit and folly in art interpretation and creation without the requisite talent or guidance. Tradition can both help or hinder, it all depends upon the artist and his genius. It is my conviction that the traditional forms evolved in Kathakali can greatly help any aspiring student of dance, and I have no doubt that more and more will go in search of it as Ragini Devi and Uday Shankar have done.

Abhinaya, i. e., interpretation and portrayal of moods, emotions and ideas through hand gestures (*mudras*) and facial expressions, is a particularly significant aspect of Indian dancing, and it has developed into an interesting science and art. Body movements and rhythmic footsteps have their own important place in Hindu dancing but not a primary place as in Western dancing. Bharata, the reputed author of the *Natya Sastra*, has elaborated a system of gestures (*mudras*), and it is in use, though in a corrupt form, in the several styles of dance existing today. But the unknown author or authors of Kathakali, either following a more ancient tradition or creating a new one, have enriched this with a wealth of words, idioms, phrases and expressions nearly as complete as the spoken language and capable of interpreting even abstract ideas. Some of these *mudras* are as descriptive as any picture could be and some as suggestive as any symbol. They are based on a profound understanding of life and nature, and when you consider that the whole of the *Ramayana* or *Mahabharata* can be interpreted successfully by this gesture-language, the achievement becomes almost incredible. And that is what has been attempted in Kathakali.

Kerala Kalamandalam
(Staff and Students) Seated : Mukunda Raja, Hony. Secy. : Ragini Devi, Dancer ; Poet Vallathol, Founder and President ; G. Venkatachalam, writer of this article

Gods, Goddesses and Devas ; Siva, Vishnu and Brahma ; Parvati, Lakshmi and Saraswati ; Indra, Varuna and Cubera ; Rudra, Narasinha and Durga ; Gandharvas, Kinnaras and Kimpurushas ; Vyasa, Narada and Agastya ; sun, moon and stars ; clouds, thunder and lightning ; rain, storm and wind ; earth, sky and ocean ; fire, water and air ; man, woman and child ; friend, foe and lover ; king, queen and prince ; saint, sinner and sage ; teacher, warrior and workman ; trees, flowers and buds ; animals, birds and bees ; peaks, valleys and mountains ; moods, passions and thoughts ; hatred, anger and jealousy ; love, lust and affection ; aspiration, devotion and worship ; subtlety, cunning and greed ; birth, death and growth ; speculation, imagination and introspection ; concentration, meditation and contemplation ; description of scenes, incidents and events ; portrayal of persons, character and conduct ; dialogues, soliloquy and conversation—all these have their appropriate *mudras*. Their description is, at times, true to life. Deer, fish, peacock, elephant, lotus, buds, creepers, etc. are picturesquely illustrated ; verbs, nouns, prepositions and even exclamations have their apt *mudras*.

Being a descriptive language it is naturally much more elaborate and intricate than spoken language and takes time to learn. The memorizing of the twenty-four root-*mudras* and their endless permutations and combinations would itself take a long time, but to be efficient in their exposition and to master simultaneously the nine movements of the head, eight glances of the eye, six movements of the eyebrows, four postures of the neck and other sixty-four movements of the feet, heels, toes, ankles, knees, thighs, waist, sides, back, arms, elbows, shoulders, wrists, palms, lips, nose, chin, cheeks and eyelids, as practised in Kathakali, is indeed a matter of strict and careful training for several years. That is why a

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pupil takes six years the least to get some proficiency in the art, and no one is allowed to teach another unless one has learnt it for over twelve years. The discipline and regular practices these pupils have to undergo are very rigorous and exacting, and the course of physical exercises and massage of the body are exceedingly interesting, albeit a little crude and primitive.

What a mockery then it is that after an easy and indifferent training for six months or so, young dancers come forward most brazenly to interpret the classical dance art of India before the public and expect patronage, appreciation and applause! Art is a jealous mistress and the aspirant must pay her price. In the whole of Kerala there are now only two masters of this art, who have been practising it for over forty years, and who now teach at the Kalamandalam, Kunja Kurup of Thakazhi and Narayana Nayar of Kavalapara, both great artists and good men. In any other country their genius would have been proclaimed from the house-tops, but here they live and teach in an insignificant village for no fame or money but for the love of the art and its traditions. All honour to them.

Make-up and *Mask* play a great part in Kathakali. This art is an elaborate process needing years of practice, and there are men who specialize in them. The Kathakali *make-up* ordinarily consists of a white *chutty*, (outline) made of rice paste and cleverly done in relief on the sides of the face from ear to ear, and the face within is painted green, red or black, according to the character, on which one can observe the display of emotions and expressions of the actors. As a *mask* and a work of art this is much more interesting than the artificial paper or pulp *masks* used in dances all over the world. Women characters do not have this *make-up* or *mask*. Personally I should prefer all characters, except the *rakshasas* and demons, to appear without these *make-ups*. To a certain extent they mar the aesthetic effects of the dance; and if any *make-up* needed at all, a little paint of the flesh colour for the face with attenuated eye-brows and slightly emphasized mouth will equally serve the purpose.

This change in the *make-up* will necessarily affect the present costumes and ornaments the actors wear, which are, to tell the truth, barbaric, heavy and cumbersome. The dancers' well-developed bodies and their graceful movements all get lost within the folds of the present long-sleeved blouses and pleated skirts. These dancers, with practically no dress save a piece of loin-cloth, create a far more beautiful impression and reveal more fully their supple form and sinuous lines than in their conventional costumes. The jewelleries too, though picturesque, are not elegant and refined. They are mostly copied from the ornaments of the temple images, and even the crowns (*mukuta*) are heavy and can easily be replaced by a more elegant form of head-dress, like the Javanese dancers.

A bold and courageous reform need to be introduced in this direction; and much of the present misunderstanding about this art, in its own homeland, is due to this barbaric dress worn by the actors and the frightful *raksha* characters presented in their plays. In representing *Bhayanaka* and *Bibhatsa* rasas (fear and grotesque elements) on the stage, the Kathakali actors cannot be excelled by any in the world, and their characterization of *rakshas* is too realistic and terrible. The make-up, costume, gesture, music and the tense atmosphere are all awe-inspiring. This is only one feature of Kathakali, and most unfortunately, it is this aspect that is most emphasized, and hence the misunderstanding that it is inartistic, crude and primitive. This, however, is a mistake. The Kathakali actors are equally experts in presenting *Sringara* and *Soka rasas* (love and grief) or *Vira* and *Karuna rasas* (heroic and compassion), and few actors on the stage can excel them in these. But much of them is really lost in their traditional way of presentment, and it is here the authorities of the Kalamandalam can do much to make this art acceptable by the world. The poet Vallathol and his fellow-workers are eager to accept suggestions and criticisms, and it is for talented dancers and artists like Sri Ragini Devi, Menaka, Shrimati Hutheesingh, Uday Shankar and others to learn the art first and then suggest ways and means of modernizing this ancient and glorious art.

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THE FOLK HIGH SCHOOL OF DENMARK

By Mrs. KIRON BOSE

THE agricultural population of Denmark has developed certain qualities of mind and character which have won the admiration of the whole world. These have enabled the people to adapt themselves to economic changes, and, with their intellectual and moral power, they have achieved success in many-sided co-operation.

They have developed these qualities within the last few years. Only recently they were incapable of co-operation, but today they are resourceful, progressive and capable of associated enterprise. This remarkable change is attributed to a group of patriots who saved their countrymen by their teaching and example. Their teaching was sympathetic and their precepts entered into corporate life.

The idea of the Folk High School did not originate in the mind of a college professor; it was conceived by a spiritual genius who understood thoroughly the life and mind of his people and who had a vision of the especial enlightenment that was needed to promote the well-being of his people. The aims and method of the school are in every way determined by the life of the common people which it is intended to serve. The hymns that he heard sung at home had a vital influence over his later life; and the memory of that good Home became a sort of inspiration. He wrote—

"Forward to help in the hour of need
With the treasure you have on store.
With the peoples' stumbling strength and wits
On! peasant! on!

The great personality of Grundtvig, the pastor, poet, and educational reformer, influenced first a group of disciples and ultimately the peasantry of Denmark. His great idea was to open a Danish High School to which the young people from all parts of the land could have access in order to become better acquainted with themselves and where they could receive guidance in all civic duties and relationship, getting to know all their country's needs; the idea being to rouse the love of the country through the mother-tongue, their national history and by Danish songs.

The High School started by Grundtvig gave the essence of a liberal education to farmers' sons and daughters. The school worked a miracle, and the peasantry was transformed. Danish agriculture was hard hit by foreign competition in the grain market. Corn was the chief product of Denmark. But the Danish peasantry instead of asking for protection turned to technical improvements. They turned their attention from the export of wheat to butter and bacon. But for the people of the High School, the agricultural people could not have shown such great adaptability and intelligence. A liberal education had given the peasantry a practical culture. Co-operative dairies sprung up in numbers. Butter and bacon saved Danish agriculture. Behind the swift and new organizations of the most conservative industries were brains, leadership, and unselfish public spirit.

The Folk High School inspired pupils with fresh energy and a new attitude towards labour, and gave them a wide outlook on life. The school awakened in them a yearning for knowledge and a desire for learning. With this culture young men and women of Denmark saved the Danish farming. The aim of the Danish High School has been to become an educational institution for all, for rich and poor, for town and country and especially for the members of the farming community.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, the Danish farmers had carried through some radical land reform legislation. The farmer who was formerly the tenant of the Manor became a freeholder; and the personal dependence of the peasant on the squire ceased. This brought about a great social development. All the soil which had been cultivated by the village peasants in

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common now came into their personal possession. Through this arrangement the danger was avoided of getting on the one hand a numerous and powerful Association of land proprietors and on the other hand a poor country proletariat. This change has been due to an increase in the number of medium-sized farms and the rapid growth of a number of small holders who were of no importance before. The advent of the small holdings has partly been possible by reclamation of health and moors and partly because individual holdings have been reduced in size.

It is especially from the homes of these farmers that the students of the High Schools have been recruited. In the development of Danish life this condition of land-ownership has been of great importance.

The sense of fellowship and the recognition of common interests are still the strongest bonds that unite the Danish farmers.

The distinction between the two groups, the large and small land proprietors, is so small that there is no place for caste feeling and caste struggle. The democratic distribution of property and the spiritual movement among Danish peasants have created a fellowship which, irrespective of class and profession, family and income, unites all.

A COIN OF DASARATHA MAURYA

By K. P. JAYASWAL

In the Pataliputra excavations a huge quantity of coins were discovered. I have recently examined a thousand of these found at the Maurya level. The main symbol of the coins from the Maurya level is the *Moon-on-hill* device which occurs invariably on the thousand cast coins I have examined. On a numerous issue the *Moon-on-hill* monogram stands as the solitary figure on the face of the coin, and either the letter *Mu* (sometimes *Mo*, *Ma*), or an elephant stands on the reverse.

The symbol does not occur on any coin of the pre-Mauryan level found at Patna. And this is the only symbol of the Maurya-level coins which stands by itself on smaller coins of that level. It also occurs on the Kumbrar pillar at its bottom, that is, it is definitely the Maurya imperial symbol. While the initial *Mu* or *Mo* denoted the dynasty *Muriya* or *Moriya*, the moon denoted the name of the king (Chandragupta Maurya). Similarly later the moon on the coin of Chandra Gupta I of the Gupta was marked as the name symbol, and 'fire' (*Agni*) on the coin of *Agnimitra*.

The symbol in later generations of Chandragupta Maurya was retained as the dynastic symbol. This is evident from a number of finds which will be published shortly. In tracing the symbol on coins before 190 B. C., the beginning of the Indo-Greek rule and its coins at Taxila, I found a coin with this Maurya symbol (on the obverse) which on the reverse has a distinct name in Kharoshthi characters. It is coin No. 5 on plate III of Cunningham's *Coins of Ancient India* (opposite p. 60). This coin has been copied by the Indo-Greeks, and therefore its date is before 190 B. C.

I am reproducing the coin here. Cunningham's book has become very rare (only 200 copies having been printed originally).

The legend begins opposite the face of the horse

(Line 1) दशर [थ *faint*] (*Dasara*[*tha*])
Line 2) स्य (*sya*).

The lettering is bold and clear, except for the third letter which has become faint.

Dasaratha was the grandson of Asoka. His cave-buildings with inscriptions are well known (at Barabar Hills, Gaya).

The dynasty which followed shortly after Dasaratha Maurya did issue signed coins. We hope to recover another signed coin of the Mauryas.

The early Mauryas had name-symbols or initials which have been traced for three generations on Patna finds.

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MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA KAMALKRISHNA SMRITITIRTHA

By Prof. CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI, M. A.

From very olden times down to a time not long past, Pandits (Indian scholars of the old type) held important positions in and exercised immense influence on Indian Society. Though their position and influence have considerably suffered with the introduction of the present system of education and modern civilization, they are still held in deep regard by not an insignificant section of the people. They are still holding the torch of ancient tradition burning—often unnoticed and with very little publicity. Owing to the comparative neglect of the people at large this type of scholars is unfortunately fast dying out and accounts of them require to be preserved for the benefit of the future generation, if not for the satisfaction of the present. It is for this reason that the account of a well-known Pandit of Bengal is given here for what it is worth.

Born in March 1870 in a family of Pandits in Bhatpara, not far away from Calcutta,—a place which is still well known as a centre of Sanskrit learning—Pandit Kamalkrishna peacefully passed away after a short illness on January 25, 1934. He had all the characteristics of the old-type Pandit of India—unbounded humour and wit, an extremely simple temperament, immense love for old culture, plain living and high thinking. Like so many others of this type, the Pandit was satisfied with the plainest national dress of Bengal, that is gradually being discarded even by Pandits, not to speak of others. No coat, shirt or shoes but two pieces of cloth—one for covering and the other to cover the upper part of the body with and a pair of slippers—this was all that made up his formal and society dress.

Plain living and high thinking was the motto of his life. But unlike quite a good number of Pandits of the present day, he all along led a busy literary life. Besides teaching students in the orthodox style without charging any fee and sometimes providing them with free board and lodging, he devoted his time and energy to the publication of old Sanskrit texts. He seems to have received his first training in and initiative for this work from the late Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri, whom he accompanied in his Nepal tour of 1897.

It will not be out of place here to give a brief outline of the activities of Pandit Kamal-

M. M. Kamalkrishna Smritititirtha

krishna in this line. He mainly busied himself with the work of editing and translating old Sanskrit texts—specially those belonging to modern *Smriti* (ancient Indian law as codified by later scholars in comprehensive digests) in which he had specialized. He was a quick versifier as well like many others of this type of Pandits and took delight in composing Sanskrit poems mostly of panegyric and topical character. Many of these were full of humour though very few of them have unfortunately been published. He also took a keen interest in old Sanskrit dramas, in the presentation of which on modern stages he sometimes had an active part.

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He seems to have made his literary debut by taking part in the translation of some of the Puranas that were published together with Bengali translations under the editorship of Pandit Panchanan Tarkaratna from the Bangabasi Press of Calcutta. He was also responsible for the translation of the second half of the *Rajatarangini*, an historical work in Sanskrit, and for editing and translating the *Agastya-samhita*, both of which were published from the Hitavadi office of Calcutta.

For the last thirty-four years, with occasional small breaks, his principal literary preoccupation was that of editing and revising various old texts published in the *Bibliotheca Indica Series* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal as also the edition of a few works in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series of Baroda.* He was engaged in the work of editing texts for both of these series when the cruel hand of Death took him away from this world. His continued service to the Asiatic Society was partially recognized by his election as an Associate Member of the Society in 1924 and his re-election in 1929.

Besides being the editor of old texts Pandit Kamalkrishna was the author of a number of papers embodying the fruits of his lifelong study, some of which were published in different Bengali monthly journals. One of these—quite a big and comprehensive one—called *Prachin Bharatiya Sakshyavidhi* (Law of evidence in Ancient India) won for him the Jogendra Chandra Ghosh Research Prize for Hindu Law. It was published in the *Journal of the Department of Letters* of the University of Calcutta.

In recognition of his lifelong literary activities the Government of India conferred on him the title of Mahamahopadhyaya in 1926. By his death Sanskrit scholarship has suffered the loss of a devoted worker and Bengal has been deprived of a scholar of the old type that is hard to be replaced.

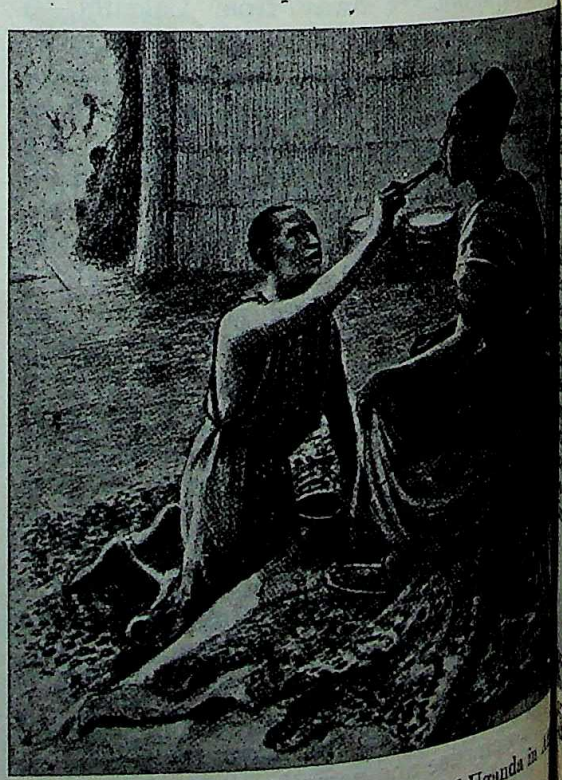
*Altogether ten works—all digest on *Smriti* belonging to Bengal or Bihar composed between the 12th and the 16th centuries of the Christian era—edited by the late Pandit were published in this series. Of these *Haralata* of Aniruddha Bhatta is the earliest. All these works are highly important for the reconstruction of the social history of the people of Eastern India, as they deal with topics like rites and rituals, jurisprudence, criminology, etc.

"The ancient practice, derived from the Orient, of eating meals in a recumbent posture. Among the Greeks at the time of the Homeric poems this practice had not yet been adopted; but in historical times it obtained in general among both Greeks and Romans, and it is illustrated in

Eating meals in a recumbent posture

early vase-paintings. It was customary to eat reclining diagonally toward the table, resting on couches, either flat on the breast or supported on the left elbow in a semi-sitting position. Cushions were provided to relieve the strain upon the elbow and the back. The table was usually a little lower than the couches, for convenience in reaching the food."

"The royal cook humbly feeding a native King of Uganda. To touch the teeth of this African monarch would mean punishment by death for the cook."



The royal cook feeding a native King of Uganda in ...

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RURAL RECONSTRUCTION WORK AT SRINIKETAN

By SUKUMAR CHATTERJEE, M.A.

The Poet's Dream

A poet lives in the dreamland of his own creation. That is the proper sphere of his existence. This does not mean that the idealism of the poet is of no practical importance to human life and civilization. The God-gifted vision of the poet sees unity in apparent diversity. He can sift the permanent from the transitory. With a clarity of vision and a keenness of perception, not possessed by ordinary mortals, the poet gives expression to our highest aspirations and ideals.

But this gift itself removes him from the ken of ordinary human beings. He seems to belong to a separate species. When he does come into contact with every-day life, he is apt to get out of his bearings and to fail to appreciate the practical side of things. He is therefore not quite the fittest person to think about and solve the problems of the field, the factory and the changing mart.

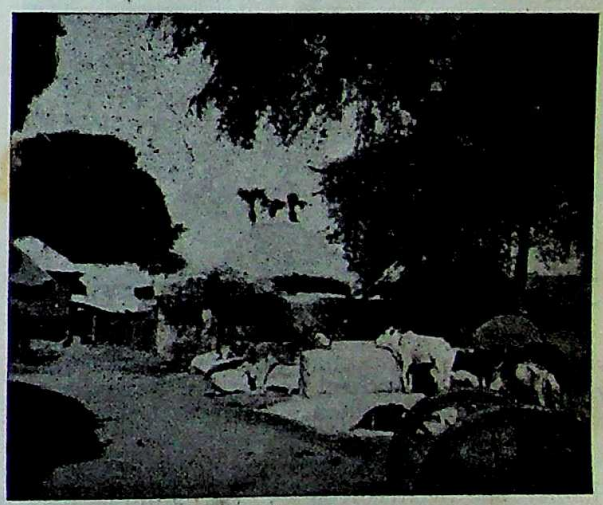
Dr. Tagore is one of the few exceptions which perhaps prove this general rule. Early in life he realized the risk of being completely wafted into dreamland on the wings of fancy, and sounded a note of warning to himself. Of the many characteristic poems in which this mood of the poet found expression, the most striking is the one entitled *Ebar phirao more*—now let me take a turning. The wail of the down-trodden and the destitute masses as well as the stern call of duty has seldom been expressed in nobler and more forceful language.

His mind was particularly well-equipped for the task. In his early youth, when he was employed in the work of managing his paternal estate, when to all outward appearances he was turning into verse of exquisite beauty the play of moonshine on the water, the murmur of the southern breeze and the fragrance of the mango blossoms, the other side of his nature could not remain idle. He was gathering experience of Rural Bengal and making a first-hand study of its problems, and the poet's mind was dreaming dreams of a prosperous "happy peasantry."

The Sriniketan

When the time came for him to take up practical and constructive work, he had to turn his attention to the school which had been growing up at Santiniketan, which later on developed into the Visva-Bharati or the Institute of International Culture. This is not the place to dilate on the distinctive features of this Institute and its message to the world, torn asunder by the conflict of self-interest, particularly the post-War world. The earnestness, devotion and sacrifice with which the Poet applied himself to the task of building up the Institute in the face of tremendous difficulties, are well known. Any man might be reasonably proud of this splendid achievement and feel a satisfaction that his time in God's vineyard has not been spent in vain.

No such sense of satisfaction and complacency came to Dr. Tagore's mind. He knew no peace so long as the dreams of his early youth were not realized, and at a time of life when most



Typical Scenery of village Islampur in Birbhum District

men would lay down their tools and seek the comfort of the armchair "to husband out life's taper at the close," he found it necessary to turn to "fresh fields and pastures new." He founded the Sriniketan, the Institute of Rural Reconstruction.

A site was selected for this purpose at Surul, a village about two miles to the south of Santiniketan. Raipur, the seat of Lord Sinha, is about four miles away. Surul itself was a centre of industrial activity in the early days of British administration and Babu Bholanath Chandra, visiting the place in 1854, found "the deserted and desolate premises used for the silk filature of the East India Company."

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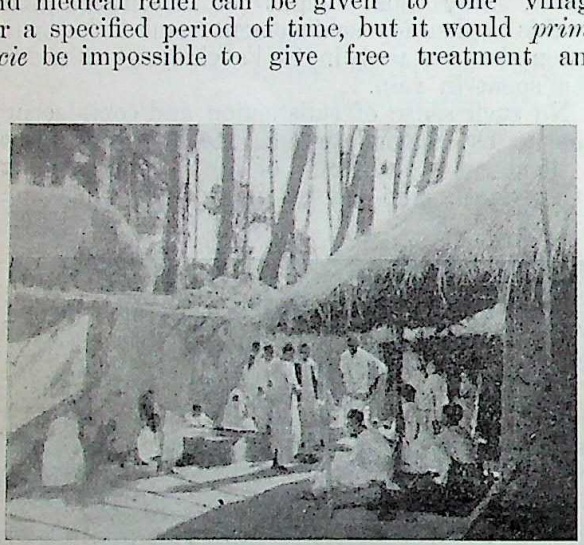
The working of the Institute

(*a*) Medical Relief

Whenever deterioration sets in in any part of our social organism, things move like a whirlpool, in a vicious circle. Such is the case with the question of medical relief. Because the people are poor, they cannot afford the cost of medical treatment, and because they cannot afford the cost, they suffer from Malaria and other diseases and cannot make a sufficient income. Therefore, ever since the establishment of the Institute attention has been focussed on the question of medical relief.

The problem is not quite easy of solution, because the people are so poor. Free medicine and medical relief can be given to one village for a specified period of time, but it would *prima facie* be impossible to give free treatment and



The workers of Sriniketan collecting information from the farmers and peasants of Islampur, Birbhum District

medicine to all the villages and for all time. The difficulty has been solved by the application of the principles of co-operation.

The Co-operative Dispensary

The area of this organization is three or four adjacent villages where a sufficient number of men are available. The minimum number of members with which an organization of this type can work without extraneous aid, is 200.

Contributions are realized mainly in kind and each member is required to pay, at the time of the annual harvest, one-and-a-half maund of paddy, the price of which, on the basis of the present market rate, is about Rs. 2. He has to pay in addition a monthly subscription of anna one only.

With the money thus collected, the society is able to maintain a Sub-assistant Surgeon. Medicine is supplied to the members at cost price. A small fee is payable when the doctor is required to visit the members at their houses. Any amount paid on this account goes to the funds of the society.

In addition to the services of the Sub-assistant Surgeon maintained by the Dispensary Society, the members have the benefit of consulting the Medical Officer of the Sriniketan in all serious cases and of having their blood, sputum, etc., examined at the clinical laboratory of the Institute.

Three organizations of this type have been formed and are working at their centres, namely, Ballabhpur, Bandgora and Goalpara.

(*b*) Rural Education

In respect of primary education, work has been started among the Santals and the depressed class Hindus, and ten schools have been established with a total of 235 boys.

More attention is directed to the development and training of Brati-Balaka. This organization is being built up on the model of Boy Scouts but it has some distinctive features. In addition to physical development and drill, the boys receive regular training in social service. They are expected to help in village sanitation, to nurse the neighbours in sickness and to make *musti* collections (handfuls of rice). Their training includes first-aid, gardening, and observation of plants and soils and an attempt is also made to train them in weaving, carpentry and other suitable handicrafts which might help them to earn a livelihood in later days.

The total number of boys at present enlisted is about 400. There can be no doubt that the organization is suitable for rural Bengal and provides excellent means for early training in the requisites for citizenship.

A start has also been made with a Circulating Library for the villages lying in the sphere of the Institute's activities. The central library consists at present of 519 volumes. There are also four branch libraries. The total number of volumes issued during the year 1932-33 was about 1,5 which were taken by about 600 individuals in different villages.

During the year about eighty lantern lectures were delivered embracing a variety of subjects of popular interest.

(*c*) Economic Uplift

The activities of the Institute in the sphere of economic uplift of the rural population have followed the lines along which improvement is mainly required. A farm has been run for experiment and demonstration, from which the cultivators in the neighbourhood are supplied with improved seeds, seedlings and cuttings. There is also a poultry farm in charge of an expert in which experiments are being made with different breeds. The industrial department of the Institute, maintained with the help of a substantial annual subsidy from the Bengal Government, has been trying to improve and resuscitate

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industries like weaving and lac and to introduce suitable new industries like *durrie* making and leather works. The villagers are taking a keen interest in *durrie* making and already frames have been established in families.

Co-operative Organization

No scheme of rural welfare is complete without arrangements for the introduction of co-operative organizations. A reference has been made to the co-operative solution of the problem of medical relief by the establishment of Dispensary Societies. In order to promote credit facilities to the rural people, a co-operative Central Bank was established at Sriniketan in the year 1927. There are 21 primary societies affiliated to it—most of them are of the rural credit type.

There are some co-operative irrigation societies. These societies are a special feature of Western Bengal where the undulating nature of the country renders the conservation of water a matter of primary importance for agriculture. The workers of Sriniketan recognize this necessity and have included the organization of co-operative irrigation societies in the programme of their work.

There has also been an attempt to organize associations among women. Some such associations (Mahila Samiti) have been formed at Surul, Ballabhpur, Bandgora village and Bandgora bazzar. They are regularly visited by the lady worker of the Institute, who gives practical lessons in cutting, sewing and embroidery and also imparts instructions in hygiene, maternity and child-welfare.

Rural Survey.

The work of the Institute has so long been mainly centralized at the Sriniketan Institute. Those engaged in rural welfare work recognize the practical difficulties in respect of expansion counsel on one hand by the inherent and deep-rooted conservatism of the people and on the other by the distrust of all philanthropic activities from outside. In respect of the latter, the rural people of Bengal are hardly to be blamed. Whenever they have come in contact with the educated *bhadraloks* of the town, whether in the shape of landholders, money-lenders or lawyers, they have often been victimized. It was, therefore, necessary in the beginning to proceed cautiously and to confine the activities to some adjacent villages where the first experiments might be conducted under most favourable auspices in an atmosphere of confidence and goodwill.

In the meanwhile, the workers of the Institute have not remained inactive. They have been conducting a careful, exhaustive and scientific study of the conditions prevailing in the adjacent villages. The survey of two villages has been completed by Babu Kalimohan Ghosh, Superintendent of the Institute, and the information has been published in the form of booklets. They are full of interesting informations and well worth a perusal.

A survey camp

The writer had the good fortune of witnessing the survey of four villages in another centre which was made in the first fortnight of March, 1934. The party consisted of several workers from the Institute; a batch of boys from the Visva-Bharati and a group of Brati-Balaka boys from the Sriniketan school. The party pitched three tents on the bank of a tank on a plot of high land, bare of any vegetation, except for a couple of banyan trees, which marked the ghat of the tank.

The workers of Sriniketan collecting information from the farmers and peasants of Islampur, Birbhum District

The day began with prayers, drill and breakfast. The party then proceeded to an adjacent village where the workers of the Institute began to collect information according to a questionnaire previously decided upon. In the meanwhile, the boys under the leadership of the Superintendent proceeded to clear the jungles and clean the roads and lanes of the village.

The party returned to the camp at midday, when after bath, meal and rest, they met in the afternoon and discussed the information collected in course of the morning. The special feature of these discussions was the keen interest taken in the practical problems of rural uplift by the educated students of the Visva-Bharati, some of whom hailed from the farthest corners of Bengal.

The information collected in the course of the survey is of great importance, especially as it goes deep into the most pressing problems of rural Bengal. It is hoped that the data thus obtained will enable a practical reconstruction programme to be prepared. The present proposal is to put a wholetime trained worker at this centre to guide the villagers on proper lines under the supervision of the experts of the

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Institute, and it can be confidently expected that if the work is carried on in the manner in which it has been started, a great step forward will have been taken in rural welfare.

The Poet takes a keen and personal interest in all the details of the work. He is naturally impatient of the difficulties which make it impossible to accelerate the progress as much as his enthusiasm and eagerness would require.

It is a great thing for him to feel in the evening of his life that close at hand a band of sincere workers are employed in the task of translating the dream of his youth from the realm of fancy to the sphere of solid practical work.

RAJNARAIN BOSE ON THE MIDNAPUR PUBLIC LIBRARY

By BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJEE

THE name of the celebrated Rajnarain Bose is associated very closely with Midnapur. No less than fifteen years of his life were spent there as Head Master of the Zilla School. His activities were not, however, confined to the seminary he was in charge of, but were spread in many other directions as well. While there, he acted also as the Secretary of the Midnapur Public Library and rendered important services to the institution. I have recently had access to a Memorandum drawn up by him, giving a short history of the Midnapur Public Library. This document is now in the possession of Sj. Rathindra Nath Samaddar and, with his kind permission, is reproduced here, probably for the first time.

MEMORANDUM

History of the Establishment of the Library

The Midnapore Public Library owes its origin to the cordial wish of Mr. H. V. Bayley for the improvement of the inhabitants of this Town which he expressed in various ways while Collector of this District. Through his zealous exertions, subscriptions were raised from the Zemindars and other influential persons of this District to the amount of 2400 Rs.; the sum of 1658 Rs. 15 Ans. 7 Pies was expended in the erection of the Library building and the remainder devoted to the purchase of Books, Maps, and furniture of the Library and the printing of its Catalogue and Rules. The piece of land on which the Reading Room stands was presented by the Zemindars of the Town, Nuzurally Khan, whose agent of the time, Mr. W. Terry, exerted himself highly in procuring the gift. Baboo Kartickram Ghose, the Mo Moonshee of the Collector, who is now Hon Treasurer of the Library, was entrusted by M Bayley with the superintendence of the build work, and Mr. Bayley, in his MSS. Memorandu on the Midnapore collectorate, speaks favourab of the manner in which he discharged that tas Before the building was completed, Mr. Bayl was transferred from this District to Hooghly The inaugural meeting of the Friends of th Library held after the completion of the buildin in September 1852 for starting the Institutio was numerously and respectably attended, almo all the covenanted and uncovenanted officers the station, Agents to the Zemindars, Vakee and Amlahs of the Courts were present on t occasion. In this meeting, a Committee wa appointed consisting of three Hindoo and thr Mahommedan gentlemen with the Collecto Mr. G. F. Cockburn as President for th management of the Library. At the ne meeting of subscribers held in October of th same year, a Librarian was appointed on salary of 10 Rs. per month, rules we framed for the management of the Libra and a speech delivered in English by native resident of the Town on behalf of th native community of Midnapore speaking highly eulogistic terms of the exertions Mr. Bayley for the establishment of the Institu tion, and evincing a warm appreciation of h services thereby done by him to them. Th Library is also deeply indebted to Mr. G. Cockburn, the present Collector, the success of Mr. Bayley. He, by procuring gifts of boo from the Bengal and Agra Governments a the Calcutta Public Library and pecunia assistance in the shape of monthly contribution from different parties, by personal exertion manifesting a tender solicitude for the welfa of the Institution, has largely contributed to present prosperity and usefulness.

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By What Funds it is Supported

The funds by which the Library is supported are the monthly subscriptions and a small sum is also received on account of the rent of the bank adjoining it which belongs to the Jail but the right to the fishery was made over to the Library by Mr. Schalch, the then Magistrate of the District, in consideration of the Committee having it kept clean and repairing it and reserving to the Jail Darogah, the right of taking an occasional fish in order to preserve the Government right in the tank.

The Rules

A copy of the Rules is herewith enclosed. The meetings of the Committee are held on the first Monday of every month, besides which there are half-yearly General meetings of the subscribers.

The Present Subscribers

The present subscribers are all the Civil and some of the Military officers of the station and other European residents not connected with Government, the uncovenanted officers of the District, and the principal vakeels and ministerial officers attached to the Courts and other Residents of the Town. There are two classes of subscribers, the first paying one rupee per annum, and the second eight annas. The first class enjoy the privilege of keeping four sets of books at a time and the second only two. The present number of European subscribers is 14 and that of native subscribers 31. The following statement will shew the amounts raised from subscriptions for 13 months from Oct. 1852 to Oct. 1853.

		Rs.	Ans.	Pies
1852	Oct.	15	12	0
,,	Nov.	25	0	0
,,	Dec.	22	1	3
1853	Jan.	29	8	0
,,	Feb.	24	7	3
,,	March	17	0	0
1853	April	14	8	0
,,	May	19	8	0
,,	June	18	8	0
,,	July	28	8	0
,,	Aug.	24	0	0
,,	Sept.	17	0	0
,,	Oct.	29	8	0

The Sources from which are derived the Books now constituting the Library

The majority of the Books in the Library were presented by Mr. Bayley, some of the rest were presented by the Bengal and Agra Governments, the Calcutta Public Library, Mr. G. L. Young, the Agent of Mr. Abbott in this Town, Mr. G. F. Cockburn, His Highness Takajee Row Holkar, Baboo Radhanath Gangooly, the Deputy Collector, and Baboo Rajnarain Bose, the Hd. Master of the School and the others were purchased from the Government Book Agency, the Vernacular Literature Committee, and other sources with the original funds of the Library. Four months ago, the Book Club of the station lent a good collection of Magazines and Reviews for circulation to the subscribers of the Library. Newspapers are given to the Library by the President and some native gentlemen connected with the Institution. The total number of volumes in the Library is 1870.

Rajnarain Bose
Secretary
M. P. Library.

Midnapore,
15th Dec. 1853.

A CLOUD THAT'S DRAGONISH

By VERRIER ELWIN

The swift flame, swift as panther's stroke,
Struck at its victim silently;
Till all that little world awoke
To cries of agony.
The baby's tiny arm was charred;
His tiny face with torment marred;
And I must stand all helplessly
To gaze upon that misery.

O heart of mine, alive to heal,
Why didst thou stand, abashed, afraid?
Cloud of my sin arose to steal
The love that pity made.
And to my heart a whisper came:
'Alas, the sorrow and the shame,
The torment that has never end,
Only the pure of heart can mend.'

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THE WATERS OF DESTINY

By SITA DEVI

I

THE small village Jamral stands on the bank of the Bhairabi, the ruthless. This river is regarded with awe by the people who live on either side of it, on account of the havoc caused by it every year. Villages on both sides are inundated, causing alarming loss in life and property.

One evening, a palanquin, gaily decorated with leaves and flowers, was seen being carried to the riverside, through the village lanes. Behind it came one phaeton and two hackney carriages. The villagers stared at the party in surprise. An old woman came forward and asked one of the palanquin-bearers, "For whom is the palanquin? And why are you taking so many carriages to the river ghat? Are you going to fetch a bridegroom? For whom?"

The leader of the party replied in a deep voice, "You shall know, when we bring him back with us."

The higher castes lived in the interior of the village. The riverside was peopled chiefly by some of the lower castes, mainly boatmen and fishermen. It was difficult to enter or to leave the village, except with the aid of boats. So some boats were always present at the ghat. These were small ferry boats, very simple in construction. When much show or pomp was desired, large boats were requisitioned from other villages.

A small crowd soon collected behind the palanquin and the carriages. The people of the party did not try to turn these folk back, but neither did they reply to any of their questions.

The party came to a halt at the ghat. Then an old gentleman came out of one of the carriages and looked at the broad expanse of the river. "You see the lights on those boats," he said to the attendants. "That is the bridegroom's party arriving. Bring out the torches from inside the carriage and light them."

The torches were lighted, serving to make the darkness all around darker still. The people came out from the huts on the bank of the river and surrounded the party, pelting them with questions. "For whom is the bridegroom?" everybody cried. "It is strange that we do not know—we who live in the same village." The crowd was composed of men, women and children, almost in equal numbers.

"Here they come," cried out the old gentleman, who seemed to be the man in charge. "Now then, ask the band to come out and play with all their might."

The door of the other carriage opened at once and four or five people came out, carrying musical instruments, and set to, with a will. The horses reared and plunged and neighed at this sudden noise. The coachmen were able to pacify them with a good deal of difficulty.

A large house-boat was seen gradually approaching the ferry station. It was full of people, and decorated with festoons of light. The nearer it came the louder and louder did the band play, and more and more loudly did the people bearing the torches shout.

The boat at last came to a stop and about twelve people got down on the bank. The old gentleman hastened forward to welcome them. The leader of the bridegroom's party was a fat bald-headed man, who led a boy of sixteen or seventeen by the hand. This boy was the bridegroom. The remaining ten persons, who formed the party, were of various ages and appearances. The young groom was gaily dressed. He wore a long tunic of pink silk, a *dhoti* of very fine texture, and garlands of flowers. His forehead was besmeared with white sandal paste, and he wore a "topor" (bridegroom's crown) on his head. He was smiling shyly.

The old gentleman received them with a great show of courtesy, crying, "Welcome, Jadab Babu, welcome. Many thanks for your punctuality. Here, my dear boy, get into this palanquin."

Jadab Babu was the bridegroom's uncle, and leader of their party. "Why should we be unpunctual?" he said with an air of importance. "We are only a few in number, merely those whose presence is indispensable. It is only a crowd which is usually unpunctual."

The old gentleman, too, was not the bridegroom's father, he was a sort of maternal uncle. He was all politeness and sweetness to the guests. "Yes, this is a flaw, no doubt, but it could not be helped, under the circumstances. Let the marriage pass off quietly, then we can celebrate the occasion with all the pomp we want. We can invite as large a number then, you know. This way, sir, this way. What are you gaping at, you fools? You there, hold the torch straight, and you, play your loudest. How much there any strength in your arms? How much rice do you eat? Drive on now, it is all right."

The party started forward. This time it was quite a large crowd, as the whole village followed in their wake. Village folks are simple and can seldom conceal their thoughts.

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bride's party came in for plenty of caustic remarks from them.

"How strange!" cried an old woman, "Our Subarna is getting married, and they never told us! What a miser the woman is. That is her only child, and look how she is treating her. For whom is she keeping her money?"

Madhu, the boatman, was following the party with his *hookah* in hand. "Don't talk of these gentlefolks, aunt," he said. "They don't recognize us as human beings at all, because we are poor."

"But they have not invited the gentlefolks either," said his younger brother Sadhu. "Don't you see, how everybody is staring at them?"

It was true. All the village people were staring at the marriage party with wide open mouths. The menfolk were hurrying out to have a better look, the women remained mostly in their houses, giving vent to their resentment from there.

The name of the bride's father was Pratul Chandra Mitra. A string band was already playing before his house. Pratul Babu's wife, Narayani, was an invalid. But as it was her only daughter's marriage, she was working hard. For some private reasons, they had not been able to issue invitations before. Now she and her old mother-in-law were offering their excuses to the neighbours and asking them to come and grace the occasion with their presence. There can be no wedding without proper witnesses, and there must be some ladies for the women's ceremonials. From Narayani's family had come two persons;—one, her widowed sister, and another, her cousin, the old gentleman, whom we had seen as the leader of the reception party.

There was much talk and excitement in the inner apartments. The bride, Subarnaprabha, was after a child of eight. She had been out playing, and had been captured and brought back to the house, by main force. She was very glad at first, seeing so many people, the guests and the music. But when one of the old ladies present told her to sit down quietly and not to jump about like a tomboy, as she was going to be married, Subarna became furious. She made a face at the old lady and said: "Marriage indeed! I am not going to marry. Father has said that marriage is a rotten thing." The old lady laughed aloud and called out to Narayani, "Do you hear what your daughter says? Her father has told her that marriage is a rotten thing and she is not going to marry! But did not your father, too, marry, my clever miss?"

"Certainly not," said Subarna. "Why should he marry? He knows so much—he has read heaps of books." Saying this, she ran away, her anklets tinkling musically.

Narayani sighed deeply. "She is a madcap," she said. "I wonder how I am going to manage it all. I hope God will not put me to shame before so many people. Please go, sister, and coax her back here. We have not got much time left. We must dress Subarna up quickly and keep her ready. Please see that she does not run straight amidst the bridegroom's people in that guise. I must go and see to the cooking. The keys of my boxes are with my elder sister. Please ask anything you want, of her."

Narayani hurried to the kitchen, and the old lady went in search of Subarna. She was easily found. She was standing in the courtyard, gazing at the people who were making some preparations for the wedding. The lady knew how to get round the wayward child. "I say, Subarna dear," she said, "why are you going about in that dirty dress? Don't you see, how all the people have dressed up? Let's go, and I shall deck you out properly."

Subarna loved dressing up; so she followed the lady very quietly this time. They entered the large room where Narayani used to sleep and where she kept all her things.

Subarna's aunt made over the keys at once to the lady and said: "The wedding dress and the ornaments are in that big box. You know I am an unfortunate one (a widow) and should not look at auspicious things. So I am going away to the kitchen. Call me, if you want anything."

A number of girls and young women crowded into the room, to help in dressing the bride. Some did her hair, some began to prepare sandal paste, and some began to put the bridal dress and ornaments on the small person of the bride.

The bridegroom's party had arrived. There was not much pomp, but the bride's party made up for everything with an excess of politeness. The whole village had gathered there by that time. Some had been invited, some had come uninvited. The latter were determined to avenge the insult at the time of the wedding feast and were biding their time.

The women's ceremonials began, as it is the first part of a Bengali wedding. Narayani looked at the boy bridegroom and thought, "The boy looks nice, he will never ill-treat my child. He will make up for all the troubles I had to undergo on account of this marriage."

"What a pity that Subarna's father is not here," said one of the women present. "She is an only child." She looked at Narayani and said, "I don't think you did well in keeping everything from him. You should have informed him after you had settled everything finally. He would not have objected then to the marriage. After all, there is such a thing as social custom. Besides, the bridegroom is quite a nice boy. Why should your husband object to him?"

Narayani wiped her eyes. "You don't know him, sister," she said, "he is hard like a stone,

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you would call him scarcely human. If he knew about it even now, he would not hesitate to carry away Subarna by force from before the bridegroom. Why else should I behave like this? I have to think of my caste and my religion. It was only because my mother-in-law approves of the marriage that I dared to do this. You will see, how he punishes me, when he comes to know of it."

"May your child be happy," said the woman. "She is all that you have. If your husband behaves very badly, you can take shelter with your daughter and son-in-law."

"Don't say that," said Narayani. "I have no happiness in this world. As my husband does not want me, I do not want to be a burden on anybody else. I have decided on going away to Benares with my old mother-in-law, after the winter."

The women's ceremonials were over. Loud blasts on the conchshell rang up to the evening sky. The bridegroom was led out to the outer courtyard, where the real and formal wedding was to take place. Narayani looked at Subarna with tearful eyes. She was dressed in red silk and gold ornaments and was smiling. She silently invoked Heaven's blessings on the innocent child.

Suddenly a hackney carriage rolled up to the front door. Narayani's blood ran cold in fear. Who was the unwelcome and belated guest? Were all her plans going to be frustrated at the last moment? She ran to her bedroom, and peeped out through the half open window. No, it was not her husband. But she was not pleased on recognizing the new-comer. It was a cousin of her husband's, named Shibchandra. He was devoted to Pratul Chandra and Narayani was sure that he would look on this secret wedding with extreme disfavour.

Shibchandra walked straight in, without looking at anything or anybody and came to a stop before Narayani's door. "What are you doing, sister?" he asked. "If I could have arrived an hour earlier, I would have prevented this marriage somehow. Are you mad? You know my brother hates child-marriages with all his heart, and yet you are bringing about that very thing behind his back?"

Narayani remained silent for sometime. Then she said, "What else can I do, brother? You have all become *Sahibs*, since you went to the city; but we have not changed in the same way. We must observe our social laws. Else, nobody would even touch our dead bodies."

"So you are giving away a child of eight in marriage?" cried Shibchandra hotly, "and securing a passport for Heaven? Could you not have waited a bit longer? Was it already too late?"

"I shall give my explanations to the man who can demand it of me, but not to you," said Narayani bitterly. "Since you have come, try to help in the ceremony. If you stand here the whole day and abuse me, that won't prevent the wedding now."

"Even to look at such a marriage is a sin," cried Shibchandra, and walked out as quickly as he had come in. Narayani stood there for a long time, as if petrified; then she wiped the inauspicious tears from her eyes and went back to the store-room.

Her old mother-in-law sat there guarding the sweetmeats. "Is the wedding finished?" she asked, as Narayani came in.

"Yes, mother," said Narayani. "Brother Shibchandra came and took me to task very severely."

"They are a family of 'good-for-nothings'," said the old lady. "Has he gone away?"

Narayani nodded in affirmation.

But she had no time to spare, as the wedding ceremony was over, and the guests had to be fed. So she hurried off at once to make preparations as she knew that the bridegroom's party might be easily offended.

The ladies led the bride and the groom to the largest room of the house. They indulged in all kinds of witticisms, and peals of laughter rang through the house, reaching Narayani's ears now and then. But her heart was gradually filling with misgivings. She had done this deed hastily, without proper thought of the consequences. Would she be able to weather the storm that was sure to break? True, her mother-in-law would back her, but Narayani would be the chief culprit in her husband's eyes. In trying to give a husband to her daughter, she might have lost her own husband for ever. She could not suppress the tears that welled up in her eyes, even though it was considered inauspicious.

But Subarna, who was the centre of this ceremony and all these heartaches, remained absolutely free from fear or care. She was talking and laughing and making counter-attacks on the playful ladies, who surrounded the couple. The bridegroom was sitting silent and shy, and rather amazed at the behaviour of the bride. The ladies humorously proposed now and then to dress up the bride as the groom and the groom as the bride. This made the boy blush and feel still more shy.

The feast was over and the turmoil was gradually subsiding. The ladies began to leave the room one by one and the few who remained sank into sleep on the carpeted floor. The bridegroom looked around him. His newly wedded wife was sleeping quietly, clasping one of her friends round the neck. He sighed and moved off to the bed prepared for the pair and laid himself down.

Next day, the bride had to start for her new home. But Subarna refused to go and cried and shrieked with all her might. The bridegroom's uncle began to frown ominously at these proceedings of the bride. Narayani felt ready to sink into the ground through sheer nervousness. She ...

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reason with Subarna, but the girl would ...rdly listen to her. When Narayani tried to ... force, Subarna broke the auspicious knot ... her *sari* to the *chaddar* of the ...egroom and fled away.

She was caught and brought back. She was ...ed into the palanquin by main force, as if ... were a captive maiden. "I won't go, I ...n't go," shrieked Subarna. But nobody ...ened to her. Narayani ran into her room ... lying prostrate on the floor, went on crying ... anguish.

As the palanquin approached the riverside, ...ilas, the bridegroom, took Subarnaprabha's ...all hand in his own and asked, "Don't you ...e me, Subarna?"

Subarna snatched away her hand and said ...ily, "I will never love you. You are a ...ch; why are you taking me away from my ...ther?"

II

Pratul Chandra Mitra was the scion of an ...odox Hindu family in a village. Before him ... member of his family had ever entered the ...es of a college. Most of them had looked ...r their landed property and had stayed in ... ancestral village content with its simple ... A few, more ambitious, had gone out in ...rch of money, and had entered the railway or ... postal services. Most of them had become ...l-to-do. They were all devotees of Lakshmi, ... Goddess of Wealth, but very few had any ...erence for Saraswati, the Goddess of Learning. So it was a matter of wonder, how Pratul ...me to be such a lover of learning and so modern ... his ways of thinking. His relatives paid ...mage to social laws, the orthodox religion, ... Bramhins, the police inspector, etc., but ...ratul had a way of his own which was quite ...erent. After passing the Entrance examination, ... refused a post in the railway service and went ...ay to Calcutta to continue his studies, depending ... a small scholarship. While he was still a ...dent, he married Narayani. His parents ...ssed him to do it, and he, too, must have ...en carried away a bit, by the sight of the ...l's pretty face. That was the only thing he ...er did against his principles. Himself having ...ried a child-wife, he began to understand ... defects of child-marriage more than ever, and ...d his best to expiate his error, though rather ...ate. But in a Hindu family, a young husband's ...thority is very much limited. His parents, if ...ive, are always the heads of the household. ...o Pratul was not listened to, specially as ...Narayani too was not of his way of thinking. ...e loved and respected her husband of course ...d never contradicted him. But in her heart of ...arts, she thought him wrong and her parents-in-...e right. Pratul wanted to give Narayani a ...per education and for that purpose he wanted ...e her in a boarding school. He was averse to taking her to live with him as his wife, before she had completed the age of sixteen at least. But his parents refused stoutly to allow such an heterodox course, and Narayani, too, refused to go with her husband to Calcutta against the wishes of the old people. Pratul next asked them to let Narayani remain in her father's house for a few more years. But this, too, could not be, as the girl was thirteen, and could not, it was thought, be left in her father's house any more. So she was brought over. Pratul was so much annoyed that he left off coming to his village home for a few years. When he had finished his studies, and had accepted service as a professor, he came back to the village for the first time in many years.

Narayani was already twenty years old then. She thought herself a forsaken wife and was very sad and depressed in consequence. Still she could never make up her mind to follow her husband, renouncing her orthodox way of thinking. Seeing her husband after such a long interval, she began lavishing all the treasures of her heart on him, but she could not prevent his feeling her inmost thoughts. He, too, could not help loving his charming young wife, but he understood that he could never have her as a partner or a helpmate. After this he went back to his work and came to the village but rarely, just like a guest. His connection with the family all but ceased and he became more and more alienated from Narayani.

When Subarnaprabha, their only child, was born, he made one more attempt to bring Narayani over with him and lead the life of a family man. But this time, too, Narayani refused. Pratul's widowed mother, too, protested stoutly against the proposed arrangement. Pratul went back alone. He carried the determination in his heart to give his new-born daughter the best of educations.

He had decided to bring away the child to Calcutta, when she became older. Narayani never opposed him in words, but she knew she would never be able to live away from her daughter. She was the only child, Narayani had, and if she too went off to Pratul Chandra, for whom would she live in this world? She talked to her mother-in-law frequently about this. Both were of the opinion that Subarna must be married off pretty early, in order to foil all Pratulchandra's efforts.

When Subarna was five years of age, another attempt was made by her father to take her away. But the child, never having lived away from her mother and grandmother, shouted so lustily at this cruel proposal that her father went back alone once more. A few more attempts were made afterwards year after year, but all in vain.

Narayani's health was breaking down and her mother-in-law, too, was growing old and infirm. So both of them were becoming increasingly anxious to settle the matter once for all. But it was everything must be done in secret, it was

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a difficult thing to do. They could not arrange a match for Subarna in the village, for it would become speedily known to Pratul. If they arranged it in some other village, the chances of being caught were very much less. But how were two Hindu village women to do it? They could not even go out of the village unescorted.

But luck favoured them. A lady whose birthplace was Jamral had been married into a village situated on the other bank of the Bhairabi. She could not come over to her father's house very often, but her son Shribilas came to Jamral every now and then as a guest in his uncle's house. Narayani had seen him several times. Shribilas was not bad to look at and he was about to finish his school course. His family, too, was known to her to be a good one. But Shribilas's mother Nistarini was a notorious shrew. This was the only flaw. But where could Narayani get a flawless match? Nearly every girl had to suffer a bit in her early married life from this sort of trouble, but they became happy, too, in after life. On the whole, Narayani liked the boy. She told her mother-in-law that she wanted to marry Subarna to Shribilas. She, too, consented, as her anxiety to get her grand-daughter settled in life had become acute. She regarded her son as a heretic who was intent on bringing the family's name into disgrace. As long as she was alive, Narayani had a sort of protection. She could even venture to marry Subarna off, secretly, secure in the knowledge that her mother-in-law was backing her. But once the old lady was dead, Narayani would be totally helpless. Considering everything, Shribilas was not a bad match.

Negotiations and correspondence went on in secret. The other party liked Subarnaprabha for various reasons. The girl was very pretty and came of a good family. She was the only child of her parents. Pratul Chandra might be very angry, if the girl was married off without his knowledge; but ultimately he was sure to relent. Subarna would inherit everything he had. Shribilas's father was dead and had not left much behind. Some paddy fields and a homestead were all they had. So a patron like Pratul Chandra was not to be slighted. He might be of immense service. So the match was finally settled.

Narayani kept the matter a close secret from everyone If anybody came to know about it, he or she would at once inform Pratul Chandra. The only other person who knew about it, was her old mother-in-law. She sent word to her own father's house, asking her sister and cousin to come and help her. She could not manage a wedding single-handed, no matter how simply and unostentatiously she celebrated it. There was no man in the house to help her. So, as soon as the day for the ceremony was fixed, she sent a messenger for her sister and cousin. They came and arrangements for the wedding commenced in secret. The bride's dresses and ornaments were purchased from the city. Narayani had kept by some money in case of contingencies, like this, arising. But she saw now that it would not be sufficient. She wrote to her husband, asking him to send her some money on the pretext that she was ill. Pratul never had any money to spare, as he spent all his salary during the first week of the month, buying books, paying subscriptions to various associations and institutions and helping needy people. But fearing that his wife might really be in difficulties, he raised some money somehow and sent it to her.

But as the fateful day drew nearer and nearer Narayani became increasingly nervous. If something untoward happened and the match were broken off, it would spell disaster. But luck again favoured her and the secret remained a secret to the day of the wedding. The marriage ceremony passed off smoothly. Shibchandra's unexpected and unwelcome arrival gave her a score, but he too did not try to prevent the marriage. And it was too late then to prevent it, even had he wanted to.

So Subarna was married, and next day went away to her new home with her husband. She cried and made a scene, which upset Narayani very much. She felt totally exhausted and did not rise from her bed for twenty-four hours. The child's wails resounded in her ears continually. The poor girl had clung to her mother's bosom so confidently, but cruel hands tore her off and sent her away. Narayani wondered what she would do, how she would behave in that strange place amongst strangers. If they looked at the child with the stern eyes of judges, they would discover countless flaws in her. She prayed to God that Subarna might find favour with her new relatives. She had sacrificed her own life's happiness, hoping to make the child happy. She prayed to God that her sacrifice might not be in vain. Her heart palpitated with fear, whenever she thought of the unenviable reputation of Shribilas's mother.

Though her mind was full of Subarna's thoughts, yet she was intently listening for something, perhaps half unconsciously. She hoped for someone's arrival, yet she feared it. The person for a sight of whom she was ready to give the world away, was strangely also the man whose presence she feared like that of the King of death. What punishment awaited her at his hand, she did not know.

Pratul arrived next day in the morning. Narayani had just finished her bath and was preparing to enter the kitchen. She had gone without food the last twenty-four hours. Her mother-in-law had gone out on some business. Hearing foot-steps near the door, Narayani looked up and saw her husband standing.

Husband and wife gazed at each other silently for a minute. Narayani had nothing to say, she was praying for strength in her mind to bear

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calmly whatever befell her. Pratul did not know how to begin.

After a while, he said, "You did this knowing full well that I had the strongest of objections to marrying our daughter in her childhood."

"I could not help it, I had to do it," whispered Narayani.

"Why, may I ask?" said Pratul bitterly; "was there no one to look after the girl, or was she dead?"

Narayani's body shivered in horror at the very thought of widowhood. "Say what you will," she said, "I am ready to bear any abuse."

"What would I gain by abusing you now?" asked her husband. "But how did you dare do this? Did you think of the consequences? If the girl becomes unhappy, will you take the responsibility?"

"That does not lie in human hands," said Narayani. "Happiness and unhappiness are ordained by fate."

"Certainly not," said her husband. "In this case, you will be responsible and not fate. If you had tried your best to make the girl happy and still she had become unhappy, then you might have laid the blame at the door of fate. But you have sacrificed the girl knowingly. The bridegroom is a mere boy, he has no culture, no education, worth speaking of. His mother is a reputed shrew and a skinflint. If you have sincerely believed that your daughter can be happy in such a home, then you are either mad or a fool. Besides, who asked you to decide the girl's fate for her? What do you know of the world? Your whole life is passed, circumscribed by four walls. You cannot walk a single step alone, you cannot shoulder your own burden for a single day, and yet you dared to seal that girl's fate! Why?"

Narayani stood weeping and made no answer. Pratul's mother now spoke from behind. She had returned quietly by this time. "Don't be so angry, my dear boy," she said, "your wife did this with my approval. Now-a-days you think you are free to do anything, but that is not the custom of the land. In our days the old people decided everything and the young ones obeyed. That is right."

"And the result is what you see in the wretched plight of society," said Pratul. "But since you think you are right, you must try to bear up against the consequences. Though the girl had a father, you have treated her like an orphan. Let her not harbour any grievances against me. Your daughter-in-law has acted according to her will, proud of her superior knowledge. Let that knowledge bear her up through life. The duty that was mine had been denied to me. So I tell you that I am free from this duty, I have no duty towards anyone."

Seeing that he was advancing towards the front door, his mother rushed to him. "Where are you going away?" she cried, "Sit down and be calm. Let the newly-married pair come back. See them and bless them. Your anger won't dissolve the marriage now."

"I have not come for sitting down and chatting," said Pratul, "and I shall never come again. Whom do you ask me to bless? You have tied the noose round the girl's neck and to my utter shame I could not do anything to prevent it. I won't mock her with any blessings now."

He went out with rapid strides. The women cried out aloud. Narayani sank down in a faint on the floor of the kitchen.

III

It was a gloomy evening of July. The only sound that reached the ear was the roar of the river Bhairabi. The villagers cowered in fright. They feared to be swallowed up every moment by the hungry waters of the ruthless river in flood. Everybody sat within closed doors; they did not dare to look at Nature in her fearsome mood. They had finished their work as early as they could. Their fragile shelters, built of a few pieces of bamboo and some straw, guarded them against all the perils that awaited them outside.

But even on such a day, a man had come out of his house and was standing on the banks of that very river whose furious roar was striking terror into the hearts of the other people. His face could not be clearly seen in the gloaming, but sometimes flashes of lightning lit up his features. He looked haggard and careworn.

The river had already overflowed its banks. The place where the fishermen and the boatmen used to live had long been swallowed up. The ferry station, too, had disappeared under the fast advancing waters. The earth shook and trembled against the terrific impact of the furious flood, as if in mortal terror. Now and then huge masses of earth were torn out and disappeared under the muddy stream with deafening crashes.

The man was Pratul Chandra. Nearly five years had passed after that fateful marriage—and he had not been here once. After he had left in anger, his mother too left the village for ever and settled in Benares. She had passed away in that holy city nearly two years ago. Narayani lived with her part of the time and part she spent in her own father's house. But every year she came to Jamral and stayed there for two or three months; for it was only from here that she could obtain any news of Subarna. It was difficult for a woman to live alone in a house. Still she did it for the love of her child. Sometimes she persuaded her widowed sister to accompany her, sometimes she stayed alone.

Her health was growing worse steadily. Her husband's anger stuck to her heart like a poisoned arrow. Her home, too, broke up after her daughter's marriage. Pratul left his home for ever and his mother went off to Benares. Subarna, too, never returned to her mother's arms after

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she had gone back to her husband's house for the second time. Narayani had hoped to get Shribilas as a son, by marrying Subarna to him; but that hope, too, proved futile. Shribilas's mother wanted her daughter-in-law to stay with her and look after the household. When Narayani raised a timid objection, saying the girl was too young, she met with a scornful rejoinder from the lady, who said, "Do you call her young? Do you want to send the girl here when she is fifty? And how will she learn discipline then? I am not for these things. We, too, were married early and came to our husband's homes when quite young and we are alive yet." So Subarna and her mother had to part company for ever.

And these two or three years, Narayani had sent repeated messages and entreaties asking her to let Subarna come once to her, but all had been in vain. She never even got any reply. If she sent a messenger, he came back almost at once and reported that he had seen Subarna, but had not been permitted to speak to her, as her mother-in-law and sister-in-law had stood guard over the girl all the while. Subarna was not looking well. Narayani could only weep. She was now alone in the world and helpless. Pratul Chandra had cut off all connection with his home. He only remitted some money to her regularly. His ominous words had come too true. Narayani's pride had fallen to the dust, she knew that she had consigned her own child to lifelong suffering through sheer folly. This knowledge tormented her all the time. She could not even tell her sufferings to anyone, least of all to her husband.

She knew that her death was drawing nigh apace. So she wrote to her sister and made her come over to her. These two women passed lonely and monotonous days in their village home. Messages were sent to Subarna about her mother's illness, but there was no response. Narayani knew she was dying, but she could not bear the thought of passing away without seeing the face of her child once more. But there was no one to whom she could unburden herself.

At last she became totally bed-ridden. The rains aggravated her illness. Her sister did not dare any longer to bear this burden alone. Narayani might die any day and then she would be held responsible. It was better that her lawful guardian should come and take charge of her. She wrote to Pratul Chandra, informing him about his wife's serious condition and asked him to come down, forgetting and forgiving all her previous faults.

A few days passed off. Then suddenly Pratul arrived without any notice. Narayani's sister was preparing some milk in the kitchen. She burst into sobs, as soon as she caught sight of him.

"Am I too late?" he asked, taken aback at this.

"She is waiting just for a sight of you," she replied, still weeping, "else she would have passed off long ago."

Pratul sat down on a wooden seat and asked, "Has Subarna come?"

"No, they did not send her," said his sister-in-law. "You are an intelligent man and you knew better than we. She has not been married into a gentleman's family; they are nothing but butchers."

Pratul got up with a sigh, then picking up his suitcase, he advanced to the bedroom. Narayani had heard them talking and was waiting. Her eyes, full of eagerness, were fixed on the door. As she caught sight of him, blood rushed into her pale face. But next moment she lay back on her pillows, totally exhausted.

Pratul Chandra sat down by her, stroking her hair and asked, "How are you now?"

Narayani clasped one of his hands in both her own and murmured, "Say once that you have forgiven me, and then I can die content. I want nothing more."

"You must not die," said her husband with tears in his eyes. "You are too young yet. We shall cure you."

"It is beyond any man's power," said Narayani, "my heart is pierced through and through. I am not afraid of death, but I cannot forget that I have sacrificed my innocent child. Try to help her, don't be cruel to her for my sins."

Pratul saw that Narayani was panting. He tried to place her more comfortably on the bed and said, "Don't speak of those things now. First get well, then we shall see to that. Don't be so anxious about Subarna. I shall write at once to them, asking her to come." Narayani was about to say something, when Pratul silenced her with a gesture and went out.

He informed Shribilas's mother in a letter about his wife's condition and asked her with many entreaties to let Subarna come once to see her mother. If Shribilas, too, could come, it would be still better. He despatched the letter at once through a trusted servant.

As the boat carrying the man left the shore he came back and sat down by his wife's side. His sister-in-law made him bathe and take some food, but he did everything mechanically. He was feeling very much upset. Narayani was growing more and more restless. She was moaning constantly, calling on her daughter. Pratul did not know how to comfort her. He sat silent by her side, holding her by the hand.

Night was fast approaching. The last ray of light disappeared from the cloud-laden sky. The wind shrieked more dismally and the roar of the mighty river grew louder. "They won't let my child come," sobbed out Narayani suddenly. "I shall die without seeing my darling."

Pratul got up. He called his sister-in-law and said, "Sit by her for a bit. I am going to the riverside."

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She sat down there and Pratul went out. He stood for a long time by the side of the river. There was no sign of a boat anywhere, only the mighty river rushed along, before his eyes, with thunderous roar. Scenes of destruction met his eyes in all directions. It seemed as if Rudra, the great destroyer, had begun his cataclysmal dance, and the universe was crumbling into ruin under the tread of his mighty feet. He wanted to go back to his dying wife, but how could he do so, without any news of the messenger he had sent? How would he answer the eager strained look in her eyes? He retraced his steps twice, but came back again to the riverside.

At last a white speck appeared on the dark waters. It was gradually approaching the spot where he stood. Pratul strained his eyes—it was really a boat. His heart trembled within his breast; perhaps he would see his child once again after so many years!

But as the boat touched the bank, all hopes died within him, like a candle blown out by a cruel blast. Haran, the man he had sent, was coming alone in the boat. He had a letter in his hand, and was looking very gloomy.

As he got down, Pratul asked in a voice full of despair, "They would not let her come, Haran?"

Haran held out the letter to him, saying, "Here, take your letter, Sir. You have got strange relatives, you must pardon my saying so. I don't call them gentlefolks. They did not even ask me to sit down and did not offer me even a glass of water. I was not permitted to speak to your child. I saw her standing at a distance, and weeping. Her mother-in-law is more like a tigress than a woman, you must pardon my saying so, Sir. I have never heard a voice like hers, not even amongst the fisherwomen. I told her about our mother's illness, but she did not seem to believe it. "Oh, we have heard of such illnesses before," she said with a sneer, "that is nothing but a ruse for taking the girl away."

Pratul was not paying much attention to the man, he was busy reading the letter from his highly esteemed relative. It ran thus:

"My most kind sir,

Your daughter is now a member of the Guha family of Bhatgram. She must behave in a way suited to her new position. She is not a servant of Pratul Chandra Mitra of Jamral, and cannot rush away at his behest. If you want to take your daughter home, you must come for her yourself. I can consider your request then. But I cannot give you my word that I shall certainly send her. My son has come home after his examination for a few days only. This is the first time he has met his wife, after a long interval.

I hope your wife's illness is nothing more serious than an ardent desire to see her daughter.

With due respect,
Shribilas's mother."

Pratul stood with the letter in his hand, like one stunned. Then he advanced slowly towards his home. His legs refused to move, he went on by sheer force of will. What could he say to his dying wife? She was living only on the hope of seeing her child once more. Her only child! And this was her fate! Pratul Chandra himself had cherished great hopes about Subarna, and all had been reduced to dust and ashes. Subarna was nothing more now, than an animal to be sacrificed to the Moloch of social cruelty. He felt intense bitterness against Narayani for a while. But she was dying. What was the use of being angry with her? She had passed beyond the range of human love and hatred long ago.

Pratul entered his house. Narayani's sister came out anxiously and asked, "Won't they send the girl?"

"No," said Pratul shortly. A moan of intense agony was heard from inside. Pratul ran in at once to his wife and stood by her bed. Narayani was sitting up, supporting herself on her pillows and panting heavily. Her eyes were starting out and her ribs rose and fell with her breathing.

"Please go yourself," she cried out. "They won't be able to say 'no' to you. Go and bring home my darling."

"I won't go," said her husband.

"This is my last prayer to you," wept Narayani. "I won't live to make another."

"How can I leave you in this state?" he asked. "I won't see you alive when I come back."

"Yes, you will," she moaned in a hoarse voice. "I won't die before I see her sweet face once more."

"All right," said Pratul. "I shall go. But do you notice what sort of a night this is? And do you hear the roar of the river? How can I cross over in such weather, in that small boat?"

"Go early in the morning," said Narayani.

"I shall try," said Pratul. The air of the sick room seemed to stifle him and he went out.

The night advanced apace. A light was burning in the bedroom, and another in the kitchen. Unfathomable darkness enveloped the village, not a streak of light could be seen anywhere. The roar of the current sounded like that of a furious monster. Pratul sat in another room like an image of stone. Narayani's sister moved about restlessly. She could not sit by her sister. The very sight of her face made her nervous.

Suddenly somebody knocked at the outer door, very loudly. Pratul got up with a start and cried out to his sister-in-law, "Please, bring

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that light here, let me see who has come in such weather."

She hurried out with the light. As Pratul Chandra opened the door, a small slight figure, flung itself at his feet and cried out, "Is mother still alive?"

Pratul looked at his daughter with a keen piercing glance. Was this Subarna? Was this his darling child? But the girl was looking at him with wide open and fearful eyes, awaiting his reply. "Yes, she is alive. Come in," he said.

The boatman stood outside the door, holding aloft a hurricane lantern. "Will you pay me my fare, Sir?" he asked in a beseeching voice.

Pratul took out a rupee from his pocket and flung it at the man. He left, satisfied.

Subarna followed her father into the sickroom. Narayani sat up in great excitement and stretched out her arms, crying, "Come, my darling, come."

Subarna rushed into her mother's arms. Narayani trembled violently, then fell back on her bed, quite senseless. Pratul Chandra dragged back the girl hastily. Narayani's sister rushed forward anxiously, holding the lamp aloft and cried out, "What is the matter, brother? Has she fainted?"

Pratul Chandra bent down over her face, felt her pulse and her heart. Then he moved back from the bed silently.

Subarna shrieked out aloud in fear.

Narayani never woke up again.

(To be continued)

PRINCESS KAMALA RAJA OF GWALIOR

By Prof. HIRALAL CHATTERJEE, M.A.

I

THE Royal Wedding at Gwalior made everyone agog to participate in the festal arrangements.

There had been no such event to stir the hearts of the people for over a quarter of a century. A thousand workers were busy to keep the streets gay—a thousand artists began devising scenic effects to capture the imagination of the royal guests. The palace grounds were a feast of wonder. The decorator's skill was shown to the greatest advantage. It was poetry to the vision. Thousands flocked into the spacious compound to gaze upon a paradise of lights. Prometheus had put forth his highest efforts to illumine the royal seat, "where the air sweetly recommends itself and the heaven's breath smells wooingly" all around. The precincts are as clean as the courts of a temple. There are no avenues where abhorred deeds have been done, no bowers with unsavoury legends clinging to them. There are no subterranean cells stifling the groans of unjustly condemned prisoners, nor halls haunted by Banquo's ghost. There are no secret cupboards hiding uncanny skeletons—no dark chambers holding weeping maidens in duress—no corridors stained with the blood of rival claimants.

Everything is healthy and wholesome. There is romance and art—and culture—and courtesy—and lavish hospitality—and all the glowing ideals of youth.

As one wandered in the well-laid-out park with the artistically arranged bulbs along the palace walls and on the tree tops, memory seemed to catch the glamour of Bagdad in the golden prime of Harun Al Raschid.

> The fourscore windows all alight
> As with the quintessence of flame,
> A million tapers flaring bright
> From twisted silvers look'd to shame
> The hollow-vaulted dark and stream'd
> Upon the mooned domes aloof
> In inmost Bagdad, till there seem'd
> Hundreds of crescents on the roof
> Of night new-risen.

But the fates all the while were weaving an ultra-sombre pattern—within a brief month the suppers and serenades were tumbled into irrevocable ruin. It seemed as if the fairy scene had only been laid upon the frowning edge of a volcano which burst forth in all its violence when joy was at its height. And, to adopt Stevenson's language, when the

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universal music had led the lovers into the paths of dalliance, confident of nature's sympathy, suddenly the air shifted into a terror and death made a clutch from his ambuscade below the bed of marriage.

The late Princess Kamala Raja Sahiba Scindia was born in November, 1914. His Highness the Maharaja Madho Rao Scindia began to train her on certain well-thought-out lines so that she might not adorn a doll's house but infuse her spirit and stamp her personality wherever she moved. He perhaps took his inspiration from the Rani of Jhansi, whose sanctified ashes seventy-five years ago were flung into the air within a stone's throw from the Palace, and made the Princess undergo a course of military training. She and her brother, the present Maharaja, who was born two years later, were both enrolled on Rupee one per month as ordinary sepoys in the State regiment to acquire the necessary momentum—to run the exalted race set before them.

Next, Prospero-like, the late Maharaja took care that she should spend most of her impressionable days amidst scenes of natural beauty, that she should ride along sea-coasts and over hills and through dense forests and escape from the cobwebs which Court-life is so apt to weave to befog the brain. The Princess became a fearless rider and a keen hunter.

Nor was the cultural side neglected. She began to grind at the set books and passed with credit the Matriculation Examination of the Women's University and won many prizes and medals for her excellent painting, embroidery and needle-work.

Thus she became the idol of the populace and when the special train steamed out at 11 a. m. on Sunday the 11th March, conveying the Princess and her royal spouse to Kolhapur, everyone from the highest to the least memorable felt the pang of separation. Before a fortnight had passed the terrible news was flashed on the 19th March last that all was over. She who had been so nobly trained, she who could so marvellously wield the sword, so accurately handle the gun, so delicately use the brush, so delicately sweep the strings—she had been snatched away in the bloom of life. Everyone was stunned and that day there was dole at Gwalior.

Her popularity could be measured by the presents offered by the humbler folk. When two royal families are linked in matrimonial alliance, only barbaric silver and gold flow into the bridal bower in unending streams, only the costliest articles of jewellery are heaped upon the bride—gems with all the concentrated lustre of the mines—pearls with all the shade and the shine of the sea—but among the richest offerings, it was noticed that on the table properly arranged were ordinary things :

(*i*) a riding saddle complete with accessories,
(*ii*) a finely wrought scarf,
(*iii*) a decent tray with tea-cups and saucers washed with gold,
(*iv*) a neatly made cash-box,
(*v*) a handsome dressing-case,
(*vi*) an artistically designed boat with ink-wells and pen-stands,
(*vii*) several albums of pictures by European and Indian painters,
(*viii*) a tannis racket.

But the Princess took a special interest in the paintings of the Bengal School and so Chatterjee's albums and a selection of the pictures by Tagore, Bose, Haldar, Ganguli and Sen with the following lines

"May Hymen, God of marriage, and Ceres, Goddess of Agriculture, bend their double aureole over the royal houses of Gwalior and Akalkot"

were also there.

A souvenir volume in Marathi entitled *Madhu Milan* was presented to the Princess on the wedding day. It opens with a letter addressed by His Highness to his august sister. It will now be read with a melancholy interest. Translated into English it runs thus :

"We have lived together in loving companionship for eighteen years under the same roof and have been nursed upon the self-same hill. We have quarelled many times. We often left each other in a huff. But all these differences were due to excess of love. And now the moment of parting has arrived and I cannot keep back my tears. May you live melodiously and long !

Your affectionate brother."

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The Princess dashingly spent her life and cheerfully hazarded it and has now shot up and become a constellation !

May God grant strength to the stricken Maharani Sahiba and to the bereaved brother to bear the loss.

II

Such then was the Princess who has been so cruelly removed from the earthly scene where she would have played a memorable part, comforting those in affliction and bringing a ray of light into many a darkened home. Her form had been so moulded that she was vibrant with energy and athrill with the noblest impulses, and her august parents had nurtured her into a fine flower of culture and courtesy. Then Nature said :

Myself will to my darling be
Both law and impulse : and with me
The Girl, in rock and plain,
In earth and heaven, in glade and bower,
Shall feel an overseeing power
To kindle or restrain.

When the routine of life so rudely disturbed is resumed, when normal conditions so ruthlessly breached by the blind furies are again restored, when sorrow clothed in black from head to foot recedes from the forefront of the stage and time pours balm into the sorest places of the bruised and bleeding hearts, steps are likely to be devised to perpetuate the memory of the illustrious Princess. Perhaps it will not be utopian to suggest that a University named after her should be established. The late Maharaja Madho Rao Scindia, with that fine vision of the new generation which would come forw to rear the structure of society blown smithereens by the great war, appointed committee to go into the question thorough so that the aftermath of the fateful ye might not obstruct the growth and develo ment of the State, whose interests ha recently become so closely interwoven wi the rest of the country. But before t committee could bring its labours to a sat factory conclusion His Highness fell ill a passed away in Paris in 1925. Since th the scheme has been in abeyance. The ti is now ripe for its revival. In two years t Kamala Raja University can be an accom plished fact ploughing up the old traditio obliterating the ancient unprofitable landmar eliminating the monstrous outgrowths on t body-politic, arresting all digressions of t national genius which eventually lead disintegration, decadence and defeatism, maki the young men and women have new fa flushed with high hopes, and enabling them speak a language with an emphasis new heard before. And just at the psychologic moment His Highness, the present Maharaj will step on to the scene, eager for all progres exulting in strength, action, achievement— all heroic enterprises his heart like thi tempered steel, his blood an incandesce flame.

The present writer has not the shadow a doubt that His Excellency the Viceroy who is so keenly interested in the welfare the State, would facilitate the grant of charter.

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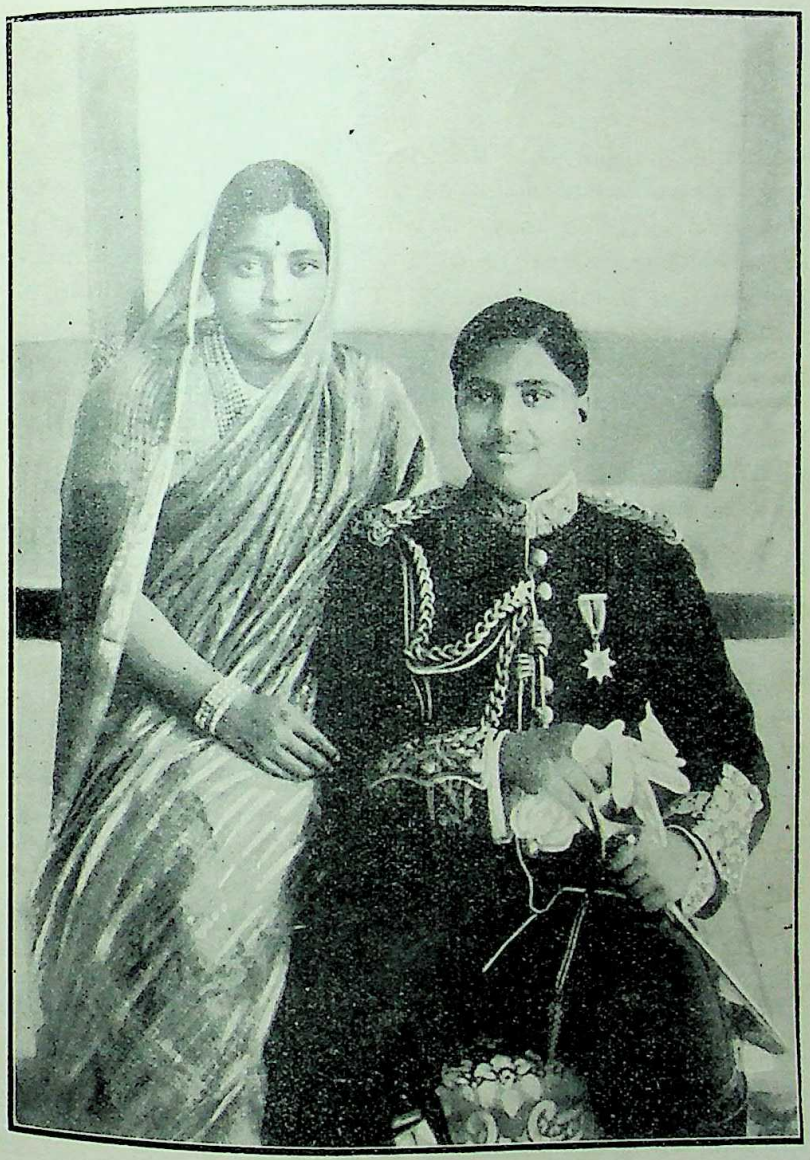

The Late Princess Kamala Raja and Her Brother
H. H. the Present Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior

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THE MENACE TO THE HARDINGE BRIDGE AND ITS LESSONS

By G. C. MUKERJI

THE public is now aware that the Hardinge Bridge over the Ganges which was opened in 1915 with great gusto and was hailed as one of the greatest engineering feats of the world is very severely threatened by a change in the course of the river. A huge sum of four crores of rupees was spent in its construction. The magnitude of the disaster is probably not fully appreciated by the public. It not only means that the capricious river has refused to be tamed and threatens to break the iron chain and the guide banks which were designed to keep it permanently within its channel, but it may also seriously interrupt the traffic with North Bengal thus disorganizing the whole transport system. It is reported that a band of engineers under the guidance of Sir Robert Gales who was responsible for the construction of the bridge are trying their best to fight with the river and we have nothing but sincerest sympathies with the engineers in their heroic efforts. But at the same time it will not be out of place to dwell a little on the history of this undertaking which illustrates the point of view put forward by Prof. M. N. Saha in his pamphlet *On the Need of a Hydraulic Research Laboratory in Bengal* published in Sir P. C. Ray Commemoration volume, and further in his Presidential Address to the Indian Science Congress of 1934. The two points emphasized are :

1. That in all engineering undertakings which deal with the river system of India, the problem of the country as a whole should be borne in mind. Commercial interest alone should not be allowed to get the better of agricultural and sanitary considerations.

2. Before a gigantic project of this type is undertaken the problem should be discussed thoroughly in a Hydraulic Research Laboratory with the aid of models and sufficient data.

Responsibility lies with the Government and not with the Engineers

To do justice to the engineers who are responsible for the design of the bridge and carrying out of the project, it must be said that they made a very honest and thorough-going attempt for studying the problem in all its aspects. If in spite of their attempts, however, the disaster, apprehended by them, has actually come to pass, it is entirely due, to quote Prof. M. N. Saha, "to lack of imagination on the part of those who have taken upon themselves the task of Government and their failure to devise a proper scheme of co-ordinated work in which scientific study in suitable laboratories should form an essencial part of the organization." Nothing illustrates the wisdom of these words better than the impending tragedy of the Sara Bridge.

Short History of the Bridge

A short history of the Sara Rridge which I have gathered together from the official records will illustrate the point. The idea of the bridge dates as far back as 1889 when it was first felt necessary to construct a bridge over the lower Ganges in order to open the North Bengal and Assam valley to better trading facilities. For the Ganges was not crossed by any bridge below Benares, and the need of some bridge at Mokameh Ghat and another further down somewhere in Bengal which would stimulate quick transport between regions lying north and south of the Ganges had long been felt. In response to the feeling, a number of engineers including Sir F. Spring were asked to make a preliminary survey, and report upon a suitable site for the lower Ganges bridge. Sir F. Spring has recorded his investigations in several technical papers, and was the first to realize the immensity of the task.

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"The conclusion to which I have come is that the task of bridging the lower Ganges is an exceptionally formidable one. Of this class of work, nothing approaching it in difficulty has been attempted in India, or indeed so far as I know, anywhere else. The difficulty to which I refer, is not in the building of the bridge which is the usual straight-ahead bridge work, but in the training of the river so that it may not desert the bridge when built."

He was also the first to emphasize the necessity of studying the problem in a River Physics Laboratory before actual construction was decided upon.

In spite of these discouraging circumstances Spring proceeded with his task with great courage. He studied the discharge (the volume of water flowing per second) of the Ganges and found that the discharge varies from 80,000 cusecs in March to about thirty times as much in August when the river is in full flood. The public may not be knowing that, though the Ganges is a much shorter river compared to the Nile or the Mississippi, its total discharge of water is only second to that of the Amazon, and seven times that of the Nile, exceeding that of the Mississippi by a small amount. Such a large volume of water flowing through a country which is built up by its mud deposit is liable to cause dangerous erosion, and wash out whole villages and even districts. The problem of bridging such a river is therefore extremely difficult. Spring surveyed the river-banks from the celebrated pass of Sakrigali where the Ganges enters Bengal, right up to Saraghat in search of some tract of hard soil which could be expected to resist erosion by the river during floods. Altogether three types of sites were found. The Ganges at Sakrigali flowed between banks which consisted of hard rock on the south side and hard clay on the north side. Therefore, both the banks were permanent. This site was discarded because the main consideration was to provide a short-cut to the jute districts of North and East Bengal, and this site was too far to the West. Lower down Spring found a place where the north bank was of hard red clay called Barind while the other bank consisted of sandy soil which was liable to erosion. This site (Mirgunj-Isabpur) was also discarded because the railway line had to be taken too far to the west. Then came the site near about Sara where an examination showed that the river was wandering in a most erratic fashion within a bed about seven miles in breadth. The banks on both the sides were non-permanent though there was some hard clay deposit on the south side. Spring was not very enthusiastic about this site for two reasons. First because the banks were very *kuchcha* and he found that they must be protected by linings of stones and concrete (technically known as the guide banks) so that the river may flow permanently through the channel over which the bridge is built. But he was afraid that all these precautions might prove useless because the river here flows in the shape of an inverted S and takes two sharp bends. Due to these bends powerful eddies and dangerous scours are produced in the river specially during the floods and these may injure the guide banks.

Besides, the river might change its course and make a short-cut through the peninsula leaving the bridge on dry land, or it may revert to one of its old channels taking the guide bank on the flank or the rear. Time has shown that Spring's fears were almost prophetic. It is to be seen whether the efforts of the engineers can now save the bridge. When the actual construction was begun Spring had retired and the construction was put in the hands of Sir Robert Gales. It appears that Spring's fears about safety were brushed aside for consideration of commercial advantage, and it was said that engineers could build the guide banks and the bridge so strongly that they could prove the futility of the oft-quoted proverb of building on sand. Man proposed, but the River-goddess disposed—she refused to be tamed and frustrated in its attempts to wash the banks on the surface, worked on the deeper lying sand and undermined the whole structure from the bottom. It is reported that of the millions of stone boulders piled round the piers to protect them, nothing has been left behind, and all carried away. Nature has refused to accept defeat and it is very doubtful even if the engineers succeed in temporarily averting the disaster, whether the remedy would be of a permanent nature. For, the catastrophe which now threatens the bridge is attributed to the great flood due to abnormal rainfall near about Delhi last year, but past experience has shown that

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such catastrophic floods are by no means a very infrequent phenomena.

Need for a River Physics Laboratory

The disaster which now threatens the Sara Bridge emphasizes very strongly what has long been felt by some thoughtful persons who have the welfare of the country in their heart. The Central and Provincial Governments of India and other public bodies spend millions annually in various engineering projects dealing with the river system of the country; such as construction of the bridges, canals and embankments, etc. In point of size and expense these works are perhaps nowhere rivalled in the world except in the United States of America, and in no other civilized country have the engineers to deal with such mighty rivers, treacherous soil and catastrophic floods on the scale as they occur in India. In U. S. A., the responsibility of managing the Mississippi previously rested in the hands of Provincial Governments and Army Engineers who tried to control its floods by building huge embankments along the banks. But when during the last great flood the river burst through these embankments and caused a terrible disaster, there was a great hue and cry and a very strong public opinion grew demanding a more scientific control of the river. Since then much work is going on in America to study the problem of river physics in suitably equipped laboratories under able directors. In India, however, the study of river physics has so far been completely neglected in spite of the severe disasters that have befallen the country due to the mishandling of her river system. In our country the engineers are required to tame the mighty forces of nature without the requisite knowledge and the necessary data to which they are fully entitled. It is not surprising therefore that many such public works do not quite come up to the expectations; a few have proved absolutely futile and have gained notoriety to the public for the enormous sums of public money wasted on them. The Bengal Trunk Canal perhaps well remembers the Grand project in this connection. Similar scandalous projects in other parts of India need not be mentioned here.

As far as river problems are concerned, the position of Bengal is unique among all the provinces of India. Firstly because its health and prosperity are closely connected with its river system and secondly because the head-water of the two mightiest rivers of India flow through this province. As mentioned before the Ganges, though it is a much shorter river than the Mississippi, discharges more water at Sara than the latter at its head. The discharge of the Bramhaputra is estimated on good grounds to be about one and a half times as much as that of the Ganges. The Damodar system stands by itself. The discharge of all these rivers, their periodic variations, the amount of silt brought by them, the distribution of water in the country, study of the precipitation data for each basin, the mechanism and nature of erosion and scour formation, and numerous other allied problems should be accurately studied before any great engineering work (*e. g.*, river training, railway bridges and *bunds*, excavation of old channels, flood control, canal construction for either irrigation or navigation) is undertaken.

Due to the short-sighted fashion in which the Government and the Railway authorities have so far handled the river system of Bengal the masses have terribly suffered both from Malaria and other epidemics and from the ruin of agricultural prosperity. Hitherto Central and Western Bengal have been the worst victims but if the present policy or *laissez faire* is allowed to continue, one cannot be very hopeful about the future of East Bengal. If the rivers are not controlled and the people are not taught how to live in such areas, and keep their pools clear, Eastern Bengal may be subjected to the same devastating epidemics which have ruined Western Bengal. The need for scientific study of the physics of rivers is an all-Bengal and integral problem which cannot be undertaken piecemeal.

In conclusion, we cannot do better than to quote the suggestions of Prof. Saha given in the pamphlet mentioned above:

> "My final suggestions are:—
> (*a*) *Establishment of a Hydraulic Research Laboratory* for the study of the problems of River Training, Flood Irrigation, Navigation and Water-power development in Bengal.
> This should be a purely Research Institute after the model of the Wasserbau Laboratory of Berlin-Charlottenburg or Vienna. The object should

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be the study of the physics of Great Rivers, preparation of plans in combination with department (b) and testing of the plan by means of laboratory models.

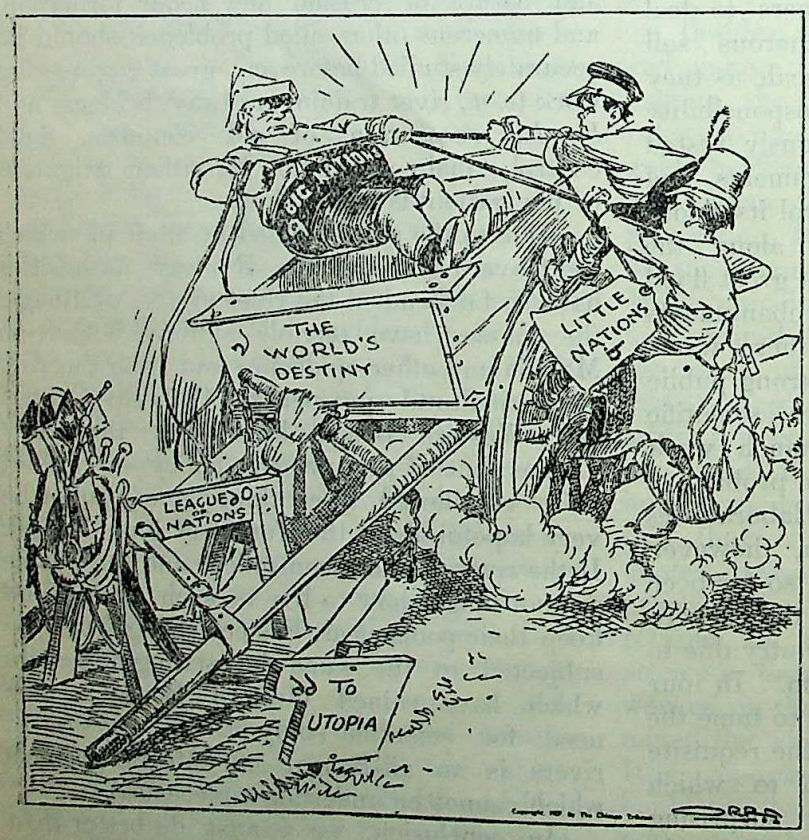
As the problems require expert knowledge of physics and mathematics, and demand much originality for their solutions, the laboratory should have a research atmosphere. It should be placed under a distinguished physicist who is also well up in mathematics. He should be provided with a good staff consisting of experts in allied lines, and a good laboratory.

Such a laboratory should be attached to the Universities, as Engineering Colleges in our country have not yet developed any research atmosphere. The initial expenses of a laboratory should not exceed Rs. 10 lakhs and the recurring expenditure Rs. 2 lakhs.

(*b*) *Department for Field Service.*

This will undertake a hydrographic survey of the rivers of Bengal, including relevant topics in Topography, Collection of Precipitation Data (such work is being done on a small scale by Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis in the Presidency College), and other geophysical factors likely to be of use in the preparation of great contructive projects.

The department may be easily financed if my proposal of imposing a small thoroughfare tax on the passengers and trading parties utilizing the E. I. Railway and E. B. Railway lines be accepted."



From an American Paper

"To Utopia"

The smaller nations have long displayed a spirit of impatience at the attitude of the Big Powers towards momentous international problems, *e.g.*, Japanese aggression in Chinese territory. The latest example of this impatience is to be found in the following telegram:

GENEVA, *April* 14.

The impatience of smaller nations at the delay in calling a disarmament conference was revealed in a movement led by Sweden which has communicated to the League the text of the proposals for hastening a substantial convention. Holland, Norway, Spain and Switzerland have approved the proposals which will be considered at the next meeting of the Bureau. The Swedish memorandum suggests that the convention should be limited to certain branches of armaments, leaving a comprehensive solution until a later date and postponing naval considerations until 1935.

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BOOK REVIEWS

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ENGLISH

HISTORY OF THE RASHTRAKUTAS (RATHODAS): *By Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu* [illegible]. *Published by the Archaeological Department,* [illegible].

The title of this book is somewhat misleading as it is not a systematic history of the Rashtrakutas as it professes to be.

The book is divided into two parts.

In the first part the author has attempted to establish the following theses, among others :

(1) That in the days of Asoka and in early period, the Rashtrakutas lived in the north and not in the Deccan.

(2) That they ruled over Kanauj even before the Guptas.

(3) That the Gahadavalas of Kanauj were Rashtrakutas, and they ultimately founded the Rathoda principality of Jodhpur.

(4) The Gahadavalas were so called because of their association with Gadhipura (Kanauj).

(5) The Rashtrakutas were Surya-Vamsis.

In discussing these problems the author has brought together a mass of facts, which does credit to his learning but we regret to note that he has neither displayed a critical spirit nor a thoroughness of knowledge which marks a true scholar.

(1) While discussing the location of the Rattas he has altogether ignored the occurrence of the name in the Hathigumpha Inscription, the inscriptions of the Satavahanas and various minor inscriptions of the Deccan. These records when properly considered would, we believe, induce him to change his views.

(2) The proof on which the author relies in support of his second thesis is a characteristic example of the lack of critical spirit. In an inscription dated A. D. 1051, Chalukya, the eponymous founder of the clan, is said to have married the daughter of the Rashtrakuta King of Kanauj. "From this it is quite evident," says the author, that the Rashtrakutas also ruled over Kanauj in the early period, i.e., early centuries of the Christian era, as he says later. Comment on this is superfluous.

(3) As regards the third, the problem was dealt with in a scholarly way by Pandit Ram Karan in Sir Asutosh Jubilee Volume (Vol. III, Part II, pp. 255 ff) and the hypothesis he laid down seems to me to be a very sound one although it cannot be regarded as a proved fact. The author of the book maintains the same view though he does not refer to this excellent article, but he has not made any advance over Pandit Ram Karan in proving the thesis.

(4) The fourth thesis seems to be absolutely untenable.

(5) The line of argument (pp. 10-14) in support of this point is equally uncritical. He has himself admitted, later, on p. 26, how unreliable our data are in regard to the classification of historical dynasties as solar or lunar.

Two small chapters are devoted to the Religion, Science and Arts in the time of the Rashtrakutas. It is characteristic of the real spirit of the book that while only six lines are devoted to the art of the Rashtrakutas, almost as many pages have been devoted to the determination of their Gotra and Vamsa.

The penultimate chapter of the first part entitled 'The glory of the Early Rashtrakutas' betrays the real motive of the author which is not so much to write a sober history of the Rashtrakutas as to make the present Rathods of Jodhpur shine in the reflected glory of the ancient Rashtrakutas. Unfortunately, the author's very limited acquaintance with literature on the Rashtrakutas, written in English language, and an absence of critical spirit and proper historical outlook, have considerably taken away the value of this chapter. He does not seem to have realized the full significance of the glorious military exploits of Dhruva and Govinda III up to the slopes of Himalayas in Northern India. In this connection he refers to Dharmapal as Dharmayudha and mentions Banga and Magadha as two separate kingdoms.

The second part of the work deals with the inscriptions of the Rashtrakutas. The author has brought together a mass of information very useful for the study of the history of the Rashtrakutas. But his treatment of the subject is neither critical nor exhaustive and he has not made any serious

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attempt to digest this information in order to bring out, in an intelligible manner, the salient features of the Rashtrakuta history. The author's attention may be drawn to the excellent outline of the History of the Rashtrakutas in *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 382-425, which is no doubt out of date, and requires revision, but which should always serve as the model for a critical and scholarly work on the history of the Rashtrakutas. The author makes one or two references to this article but does not appear to have fully realized, or at least acknowledged, the great value either of this chapter or the writings of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar on the same subject in the same volume.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

HISTORY OF NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

from the foundation of the Gupta Empire to the rise of the Pala dynasty of Bengal (C. 320-760 A. D.) By Radha Govinda Basak, M. A., Ph. D. The Book Company Ltd., Calcutta 1934.

Dr. Radha Govinda Basak's name is well known to Indologists as that of an able and devoted worker in the field of Ancient Indian History and Epigraphy. His learned papers on the Dhanaidaha and Damodarpur plates, on the Tipperah plate of Lokanatha and on Sasanka have qualified him to write with high authority on the Gupta and post-Gupta periods of Indian History. In the present work which had the distinction of being approved as a thesis for the Doctorate Degree of the Calcutta University, the author has given the mature fruit of his studies in so far as the region of North-Eastern India is concerned. The result is a scholarly and valuable contribution to our knowledge of the history of the country during the period with which it deals. The author has shown equal mastery in marshalling the vast array of his facts and in critically appraising their worth.

The book consists of twelve chapters. Leaving aside the introductory chapter, we find that the history of North-Eastern India under the Imperial Gupta dynasty (the author's expression "Imperial Gupta Emperors" strikes us anything but happy) is made the subject of three chapters (Chaps. II-IV). Here the author treads familiar ground, but still he finds it possible to offer some striking suggestions. Thus he ably refutes (p. 13ff) the view of the late Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Hara Prasad Sastri (supported by the late Dr. Vincent Smith) namely that the Emperor Chandra of the Mehrauli pillar should be identified with Chandravarman of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta. We, however, think that his own identification of this mysterious king with the Gupta Emperor Chandragupta I is not free from difficulties. For how can we reconcile the reference in the Mehrauli inscription to the long reign of Chandra as the paramount Emperor (p. 15) with the known short duration of Chandragupta I's reign ? Why, again, should the first Gupta Emperor choose to set up his costly column in the as yet unsubdued, or at any rate imperfectly conquered, upper valley of the Jumna ? We have only to make a few more remarks on these preliminary chapters dealing with the reign of the Imperial Guptas. The author describes (pp. 43-46) the internal condition of the country in Chandragupta II's time after Fa-Hien's sketch. But this description, quite apart from its applicability as a whole to Madhyadesa alone, is hardly in conformity with the high standard of scholarship reached in other parts of the work. Nor again can we conceal our disappointment at the slight notice which the author bestows (in his Preface) upon the very Kacha and Ramagupta questions. The fourth chapter is chiefly remarkable for the author's vindication of his earlier view, namely, that the Gupta Empire after Kumaragupta I's time broke up into a main and a branch line, the former consisting of Skandagupta, Kumaragupta II, Budhagupta, and Bhanugupta, and the latter of Puragupta, Narasimhagupta, and Kumaragupta III. In view of the scantiness of the material the author has done well in leaving the question open. Another notable statement of the author, which is supported by other scholars, is that the Gupta Empire was not destroyed by the Huns but was probably subverted later on by the ambitious Yasovarman. It may be added that the author throws new light on the relations between Visnuvardhana and Yasovarman.

The following chapters (Chaps. V-VI) deal with the two rival dynasties that rose to power after the downfall of the Gupta Empire, namely, the Maukharis and the Later Guptas. Though much of the material is already known, the connected account of the dynasties is very welcome. It may, however, be doubted whether the Maukharis of the Saketa-Kanauj branch, that is mainly dealt with by the author in chapter V, are quite in place in a history of North-Eastern India.

The chapter on Sasanka, King of Gauda, is one of the most admirable portions of the present work. The way in which the author pieces together the facts of this king's reign with the help of covert allusions in the Harsacharita, the biassed statements of Hiuen Tsang and the obscure references in the Manjusrimulakalpa, may well serve as a model to our young learners. Admirable also is the author's discussion of the questions whether Sasanka was guilty of assassinating Raiyavardhana and whether he was a persecutor of Buddhism.

In the chapter dealing with the kingdom of Orissa (Chap. VIII) the author has tried to tackle the vexed question of chronology of the Sailodbhavas. Here his sound knowledge of palaeography has enabled him to modify in some respects the conclusions of earlier scholars like Kielhorn and R. D. Banerjee.

The chapter on the kingdom of Eastern Bengal (Chap. IX) presents for the first time a connected history of this outlying region. Here the author with his usual thoroughness and critical insight deals successively with the data relating to Maharaja Dharmaditya, Vainyagupta, the Maharajadhirajas, the Samantas, Gopachandra, and Samacharadeva, the Samantas, Lokanatha and the Khadga chiefs. We, however, notice a slight inconsistency; for while the author in one place (p. 202) assigns the Khadga dynasty to "the period approximately between 660 A. D. (*read* between) 750 A. D.)", he elsewhere thinks that the last two Khadga kings "flourished towards the end of the 7th century A. D." and that the first last of them "may have lived sometime in the first quarter of the 8th century A. D."

In the following chapter which deals with the kingdom of Kamarupa, the author had the advantage of profiting by Mr. Padmanath Bhattacharyya's Bengali Monograph on the *Inscriptions of Kamarupa*. But he throws fresh light upon the relations between Bhaskaravarman and his powerful ally Harshavardhana.

The eleventh and the longest chapter of the whole

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...k is concerned with the kingdom of Nepal. Here we ...e (pp. 241-273) a valuable *corpus* of the ancient ...riptions of Nepal from 329 to 759 A. D. arranged ...chronological sequence with an analysis of their ...contents. This is followed (pp. 274-280) by a very ...table adjustment of the chronology of the Nepal ...ings, in course of which the author gives good ...sons for rejecting the opinions of Drs. Fleet and ...Sylvain Lévi. His own view is that three different ...—the Vikrama, the Gupta, and the Harsha eras— ...-in rogue in the country. He concludes the ...ter in rogue in the country. He concludes the ...pter (pp. 283-302) with a chronological table of the ...Nepal kings and a detailed analysis of each ...

The twelfth and last chapter contains the author's ...cluding remarks" on some of the special adminis- ...ve, economic, social and religious features of the ...d with which he deals. Considering the range of ...s included by the author within his purview, his ...ment might have been much fuller. Thus on the ...ect of religious development we might have been ...what special forms of the Brahmanical, Buddhist ...Jaina cults were in vogue and in particular how ...Tantric ritualism had made headway in North- ...ern India at this time. In connection with the ...opment of the fine arts we should have expected ...e enlightened about the different types of temple ...itecture that belong to this time, while the ...rance of this period as the dividing-line between ...North-Indian and the Eastern School of culture ...have been stressed. On the important question ...the progress of Sanskrit learning under the Guptas, ...author's views might have been more up-to-date. ...is a well-known fact that so far from the Sanskrit ...guage "suffering" from 'the cultivation of Prakrits ...the patronage of the Kushan Kings' (p. 305), ...was employed during or before this time not only ...the Brahminical Smritis and Epics but also in the ...mas and epics of Asvaghosha and even in the ...n of the Mulasarvastivadins, not to speak of ...e use of mixed Sanskrit in the Mahavastu, the ...ditistara and the Divyavadana. And when we ...e told that even the kings possessing paramount ...er did not care to celebrate the Asvamedha ...ice (p. 309), we may remind the author of the ...nces of Pushyamitra Sunga, Satakarani of the ...rdhana dynasty, Pravarasena I of the Vakataka ...and above all the Bharasivas, all of whom ...ished before the rise of the Guptas.

The slight blemishes we have noticed above do not ...ract from the high scholarly value of the present ...k. In our opinion it will be indispensable to every ...dent of the history of North-Eastern India during ...e Gupta and post-Gupta periods. Its value is ...reased by a map at the beginning as well as a ...plete synchronistic table and a good index at ...end.

U. N. GHOSHAL

THE WORK OF RURAL RECONSTRUCTION IN THE MYSORE STATE AND BRITISH INDIA: *By G. Rudrappa. The Bangalore Press, Mysore Road, Bangalore City.*

This is a speech delivered by the author at the ...nd General Meeting of the Civil Service Association ...Bangalore. It does not contain a scheme of rural recon- ...ruction; but is an enumeration of the advantages— ...and the necessity of the work, and lays stress on the ...various aspects of the problem which is now being dis- ...cussed all over India. The author rightly attaches great ...importance to the psychological factor. He says: "The mentality of the masses as well as those living in cities is just the same as it was some thousand years ago. A reorientation in their mentality and outlook seems to be immediately necessary if their notion is to be raised to the level of other progressive countries. New desires, new ideas and new hopes and aspirations have to be aroused and created in the masses. The Gospel of freedom and the right to demand and obtain better conditions of life should be preached to these simple people as Sir Frederic Sykes says. The country's concentrated attention to the villages and villager is urgently required". But the question is—how to do it and do it properly?

HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSH

CASTE AND DEMOCRACY: *By K. M. Panikkar, Day to Day Pamphlets, No. 17, The Hogarth Press, Price One shilling and Six pence net, Pp. 39.*

This pamphlet tries to give us a description of the origin and essential features of the caste system, and then puts it in contrast with the democratic political organizations of the West. The fight between the two is yet unequal in India, and our author hopes that, in the interest of human welfare, the former should at least give place to the latter. In this, we find ourselves in full sympathy with the author; but we find ourselves in fundamental disagreement with him when he discusses the historical and sociological aspects of the system.

An example will suffice. According to the author, the Brahmins devised the theory of *karma* and transmigration of souls in order to support the existing order and maintain their privileged position in society. That theory formed the philosophical backbone of the Caste System. But he seems to forget that one of the most powerful advocates of *karma*, after the Brahmins was Buddha himself, who in the words of this book "attacked the roots of the (caste) problem." Is it not strange that the same philosophy should lie behind the two movements which were antithetical in character?

The theoretical aspects of the present question have evidently been thoroughly prejudiced by the author's personal sympathies. And this should not have taken place in a scientific description of any social phenomenon.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

WORLD DEPRESSION: *By K. T. Shah. Published by the National Literature Publishing Co., Ltd., Madras. Price Re. 1-8. Pp. 272.*

The present volume is a reprint from the author's lectures under the auspices of the Madan Mohon Memorial Fund, Bombay, Gokhale Institute of Economics and Politics, Poona and similar other organizations. It comprises five chapters dealing with (*i*) the nature of the present depression; (*ii*) its causes; (*iii*) its remedies; (*iv*) Economic crisis of the U. S. A. and (*v*) World Economic Conference: issues, remedies and result.

The author is a well-known Professor of Economics and his contribution to the different branches of Indian Economics is considerable as well as valuable. In spite of tons of literature on the subject, there are still much confused thinking and vague ideas about this baffling, all-pervading phenomenon. The Professor has done well in bringing out a comparatively small volume dealing with all phases of the present depression in a clear, scientific and systematic manner. We are sure it will help to clarify much of the mist pervading our minds, and will be very useful as a handy compendium on the subject.

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The technical or economic causes affecting the organization and operation of industry, the financial causes relating to credit and currency, the historical reasons and political complications, such as War debts and reparations, tariff walls and treaty realignment have all received due and separate treatment in the hands of the author, and I need not mention them here. I would, however, quote a few passages which need stressing :

"The cause of depression lies not in an excess of production, as the orthodox economists often suggest, but in the inadequacy of the means to liquidate the productivity."..."It lies in our present socio-economic system which lays a disproportionate emphasis on *Exchange*."..."We are suffering not from superabundance but from maladjustment. Large tracts of the world and great blocks of its population, still live very much below the margin of the merest subsistence, let alone any claim to any standard of culture, comfort or even decency."

In support of his statement the author has cited the case of Soviet Russia which has cut herself off from the moorings of Exchange (through money) in favour of the old barter and "is reorganizing herself on the basis of production primarily *for use* rather than for exchange." While all other countries of the world are suffering from sharp fall in production and accumulation of stock, Russia has doubled her agricultural production and more than trebled her industrial outturn, within these acutest years of depression ! And there is neither the curse of unemployment, nor the problem of how to dispose of this huge increase of output !

We may or may not accept Soviet model. But this much is probably certain that economic nationalism and warfare must cease and make room for international or universal planning and tinkering remedies adopted by individual States will not do. Says the author, "The problem is not simply one of readjusting the cogs and wheels of a machine which may temporarily be thrown out of gear ; but the machine itself must be scrapped."

Re : Indian Currency Policy : "India's trade has undergone a depression more severe than that of any other country in the world—largely because, in her own selfish interest, Britain made India, in the crisis of 1931, to keep her currency linked with sterling."

We must, however, join issue with the author where he characterizes America's unwillingness to forgo her War debt claims against Europe as "Shylokian." We consider this as rather unjust and one-sided. What is the attitude of Europe towards her own debtor-countries ? What about India's debt ? Can we blame America if she thinks that with the money obtained from remission they will proceed with greater zeal to prepare themselves to cut her and each other's throat ?

The remark of the author that "no one would put forth his best efforts, so long as there is a feeling that the fruits of his labour may be enjoyed by another, as happens inevitably in capitalistic economy," and his advocacy "to give the full benefit of the mental or physical powers that each may possess for the *common service*." (which is nothing but socialism) are liable to be contested. The author must know that this is exactly the contention in favour of the present system and against socialism.

The chapter on American crisis gives us a glimpse of what relentless fight President Roosevelt and his colleagues are giving to the demon of depression and how much a national State can do for its people in their distress. The book is replete with very useful relevant statistics which have considerably enhanced its utility.

ANATH GOPAL SEN

THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION : A SURVEY. *By S. K. Lahiri, formerly Editor of "The Panjabee" and B. N. Banerjea, Professor of Economics and Politics, Vidyasagar College, and Lecturer, University of Calcutta. Published by the Politics Club, Calcutta. Selling Agents, The Modern Book Agency, 10, College Square, Calcutta. Rs. 2-4.*

This carefully written and neatly printed book by Messrs. S. K. Lakiri and B. N. Banerjea is as good a piece of work as their "Introduction to the Principle of Civics." It contains a critical outline of the present Indian constitution along with a brief story of its evolution, in an historical setting. The concluding section of the work furnishes to the reader a succinct and up-to-date *resume* of the events leading to the formulation of the Constitutional Proposals, embodied in the White Paper, followed by a short review of the work of the Joint Parliamentary Committee." The first chapter, dealing with the historical background, briefly sums up the evidence for the conclusion that "in the early period of history there existed in Indian states with oligarchic or republican forms of government."

C.

THE ESSENTIAL UNITY OF ALL RELIGIONS. *Bhagavan Das. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. 1932.*

This interesting essay, written on the occasion of the first All-Asia Education Conference held at Benares in December 1930, has already received enthusiastic approval of audience and readers alike. It was at first designed to be a discussion on the unity of Asiatic Thought, but Asiatic thought is pre-eminently religious, while European thought is scientific, the author has taken up for his subject 'the essential unity of all religions.' The three aspects of scientific religion are knowledge, devotion and work. Dr. Das has finely shown the unity of all religions in the essentials, in these three aspects as well as their varieties—priestcraft and prayer, revelation and houses of god, even on the point of mystic practices and all this he has done with a largeness of heart and a copious fund of illustrations which do not only but charm and soothe. The one way to peace on earth, he declares, is goodwill among men. If the essential unity of all religions were once admitted there would be no more internecine war between sect and sect, and he exhorts educationists all over the world to come forward and help the fellowship of man by showing examples of goodwill and love, which is the greatest educator.

The value of the book lies more, however, in the numerous suggestions, hints, statements thrown occasionally by the author and in the numerous citations and parallel passages thrown into the book to show how the Quran and the Bible, the Upanishads and the Sufis, are agreed on the most vital points, as in the passionately loving appeal to unity, which the author makes, to prevent future wars by training the minds of the youth in a proper way.

The healthy tone of the book and the enthusiasm and sincerity of the author's motive make its reading an exhilarating experience ; the decision of

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T.P.H. to release its copyright after 1935 will therefore be hailed with delight.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

THE INTELLIGENT MAN'S WAY TO PREVENT WAR.—*Edited by Leonard Woolf. Published by Gollancz. Price 5s.*

An extremely disappointing book. It is not as its title suggests a way to prevent war, it is a suggestion rather how peace may be preserved—a very different matter. The writers, however, are competent and know their subject but with the exception of Professor Laski their essays are not very convincing. Sir Norman Angell argues that the anarchy prevailing between separate Sovereign States must be brought to an end; Professor Gilbert Murray argues that the Peace Treaties must be revised; Mr. Lloyd discusses the problem of the U. S. S. R. and Mr. Buxton deals with the result of Europe's connection with other continents. How utterly different from all these is Professor Laski! Professor Laski deals with the economic factors which bring about war, and at once one feels that here is something real and substantial. His arguments are clearly put though in certain places he may be accused of exaggeration, in his attack on "economic Imperialism," as for example, when he says:

"No one now denies that the British occupation of Egypt was undertaken in order to secure the investments of British bondholders; and that the South African War was simply a sordid struggle for the domination of its gold-mines."

In the first place one has also to remember the Suez Canal, and India; in the second, certain factors had been causing trouble before 1880 when the gold-mines had not been thought of. The usual counter-attack to this form of argument is that, all governments must find work and food for their people, and therefore such things have to be. That such an argument should be seriously considered is a sad commentary on the present civilization. However as has been said before, the book is disappointing, and the further one reads in it the more will one feel the uselessness of discussing Peace Treaties, and Arbitration, until the economic system has been improved.

CHRISTOPHER ACKROYD

MARATHI

SELECTIONS FROM THE PESHWA DAFTAR: Nos. 22 & 23: *Edited by Mr. G. S. Sardesai, B.A.: Government Central Press, Bombay.*

Selection No. 22. *Extracts from the Peshwa's Diaries* contains (1) Cash accounts of daily receipts and disbursements, (2) Money transactions other than cash and (3) Miscellaneous orders of the Peshwas on various matters referred to them. These apparently disconnected items of information may at first appear dull and uninteresting to the general reader. But the trained eye of a historian will not fail to discover the salient features of the Maratha administration as well as the under-currents of Maratha social life beneath this unattractive mass of dry entries. To refer only to a few:

(a) The Peshwa as the head of the community and guardian of religion

i. One Sankaraji Kadam became a Musalman; an order was passed to take him back into the community after the performance of a penance (*prayachchit*) (No. 22, p. 41.)

ii. The Peshwa issues a letter to the Brahmins of a particular place to admit to social dinners one Baba Yesaji Prabhu, who had been boycotted for having taken food in every place but who had now expressed his desire to perform a *prayachchit* (*ibid.*, p. 80.)

iii. Daud Shah, faqir, is fined Rs. 60 for having slaughtered a cow (*ibid.*, p. 131.)

iv. The Peshwa writes a letter to Bagaji Yadar excommunicating certain Brahmins who had performed certain special rites [*pishta-pashu*] contravening the injunction of the *Shastras* (Selection No. 23, p. 9.)

v. Shripatrao Bapuji explains to the Peshwa why he allowed the continuation of the allowance to Shah Musalman in lieu of Santava Gosavi when both claimed to be disciples of the late Kabir of Poona. The writer further says that claims of Shah Musalman were also supported by the widow of the late Kabir (*ibid.*, p. 3.)

(b) Offerings made at the *mosques*.

At the time of cutting the tusks of the Peshwa's elephant, Fathe-lashkar, *sherini* (sweetmeats) was vowed to a mosque. Rs. 10—given to the elephant driver Fatu on this account (p. 46.)

(c) High rate of interest.

i. The Peshwa writes a letter to Shridhar Govind that he agrees to pay interest on Rs. 10,000 borrowed from him at the rate of 3 p. c. per month (p. 34.)

ii. Rs. 40,000 borrowed from Krishnaji Naik at the rate of 1½ p.c. per month.

iii. The Peshwa receives a loan of one lakh of rupees from Kondo Jivaji at the rate of one per cent per mensem.

(d) *S ikar-khana* establishment.

i. Birds (1) 81 Bengal Mainas (2) Jurrah hawks 1112 (?)
Cloves—20 tolas
Jaiphal—22 tolas
Saffron—12 tolas
Musk (*unch*)—12 tolas. (No 22, p. 142).

ii. Daily meat ration for hawks.
Half a seer for every (?) hawk (*Baz*)
" " " " *Bahiri* "
9 *chataks* " " Bussora " (No. 22, p. 119.)

(c) Servants in the *Shikar-khana* establishment and the rate for their pay:
Deer-keeper—12
* Pigeon-keeper—3
Mir-shikar (Chief huntsmen)—4
Tiger-keeper (*Baghban*)—5
Pay for a month and a half (*Der-mahi*)—Rs. 3 to Rs. 7 (No. 22, p. 99.)

* We may incidentally quote here an entry in No. 25 (pp. 36-37) which shows the Peshwa's love for pigeons. Sayyid Lashkar Khan sends 33 pairs of pigeons to him in response to the Peshwa's request for them in charge of an expert in pigeon-flying.

	Species	*Colour*
1.	Shiraji—*Kasni*, *Zard*,	Lal, Shaha. Sabz,
2.	Jogiya—Shaha,	Zard, Lal
3.	Lala—	
4.	Kala Tir—	
5.	Gandedar—	
6.	Mukhi—	
7.	Sistru—Sabz,	Ambari, Shaha
8.	Potya—Badal,	Lal.

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(e) Crime against women.

i. Balaram Maniram was fined Rs. 1000 for violating the modesty of a Brahmin woman (*badanjar thebile*). His house was sold away and his property confiscated for realizing the fine (No. 22, p. 128).

ii. Ananda Rao Goswain was fined Rs. 1500 for forcibly taking into his house a dancing-girl (*kalawantin*) (No. 22, p. 118.)

(f) Religious services.

i. Ganapati festival—Rs. 2680, mainly spent on rewards to panegyrists (*Hardas*), musicians and dancinggirls.

ii. Rewards on the Nava-ratra—Rs. 178.

iii. *Dakshina* (remuneration) for *Japs* (repetition of *mantra*) at the rate of 4 annas per thousand.

Japs of the Mangal planet	—120,000 times		Rs. 30
„ Sun-god	—12,000	„	Rs. 3
„ Ketu	—12,000	„	Rs. 3
			Rs. 36.

(No. 22, p. 73).

Mr. Sardesai has done his duty to Maharastra; now it remains for the younger generation of Maratha scholars to make these selections available in English translation to students of Indian history. We have no doubt the English translation of these two Nos. 22 and 23 will eminently repay labour.

K. R. Qanungo

SANSKRIT—ENGLISH

ARCHITECTURE OF MANASARA. *Five volumes, with an Encyclopaedia, Introduction, Text, Translation, and 157 Plates in line and in colours, on Hindu Architecture. Vol. I—A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture; Vol. II—Indian Architecture according to Manasara Silpasastra; Volume III—Manasara, Sanskrit Text with Critical Notes; Vol. IV—Architecture of Manasara, translation into English; Vol. V—Architecture of Manasara, Plates I to CXXXV (Architectural), CXXXVI to CLVII (Sculptural). By Prasanna Kumar Acharya, I.E.S., M.A. (Calcutta), Ph. D. (Leyden), D. Litt. (London), Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Head of the Oriental Departments, Professor of Sanskrit, Allahabad University. Published by the Oxford University Press: London, New York, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, China, Japan.*

The first two volumes of this monumental work were published in 1927 and were highly appreciated by savants and artists in India and abroad. They were reviewed in our Bengali magazine *Prabasi* and in *The Modern Review*.

Manasara is universally recognized as the standard Hindu treatise on Hindu architecture. But it has not hitherto been completely published after critical editing, nor comprehensively treated otherwise. A complete translation into English was also wanting. Its technical terms and 'barbarous' Sanskrit presented difficulties even to professional Indologists. Dr. Acharya has, after years of devoted labour, succeeded in overcoming these difficulties to a sufficient extent to be able to finish his work and thus to open up a new line of research. Scholars and the general public will be thankful to him for this service. There has been for some time a disposition on the part of a section at least of the Indian public to favour Indian architecture. But there has not been much definite and scientific knowledge of what that architecture stood for. Dr. Acharya's work will enlighten architects, engineers and craftsmen.

Though the plates number 157, the figures are in reality more numerous, as many of the plates contain more figures than one.

C

THE BHAMATI OF VACASPATI *on Sankara's Brahmasutrabhasya (Catussutri), edited with an English translation by S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, Reader in Philosophy and C. Kunhan Raja, Reader in Sanskrit Madras University, with a foreword by Sir Radhakrishnan, Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, 1933, pp. lxxiv+318.*

The Sanskrit word *Catuhsutri* or *Catussutri* means a collection of four *Sutras* 'aphorisms' and in connection with the *Brahmasutras* of Badarayana we know by it the first four Sutras of that work. In explaining these four sutras in his great commentary, *Saririkabhasya*, Sankara has said all about his profound philosophy in a concise form. Such being the case, this portion of the commentary has its special importance and immense value.

Vacaspatimisra, an author of most important works on all the orthodox branches of Indian philosophy excepting only the Vaisesika system has explained Sankaras' commentary on the Brahmasutras in his *Bhamati* which is the best of all the sub-commentaries now available. But this *Bhamati*, too, is not very easy in all places, and consequently it prompted some subsequent teachers to write explanations also of that work. One who is desirous of studying through the original what Sankara's philosophy is, but somehow or other unable to go through all that he has written, is best advised to study with the help of *Bhamati* his commentary on the Catuhsutri.

The commentary in English was already available, but not the Bhamati in that garb. But now it has for the first time appeared in the volume under notice.

It is not a very easy task to attempt a translation of such difficult works. Perhaps Dr. Ganganath Jha is the pioneer in this field. We must congratulate the learned authors on the success they have achieved by the present endeavour. Only the other day we received from them an edition and translation of an elementary treatise on Mimansa called *manameyodaya*, both of them being well done.

So far as the present reviewer can judge, the translation before him is faithful and literal as far as possible; and the notes ably explain many knotty points. The detailed table of contents, too, is very useful. Scholars must remain thankful to the authors for what they have got from their work. We may reasonably hope that the remaining portion of the *Bhamati* will not be allowed to remain untranslated.

It may be noted in passing that Vacaspatimisra's another work, *Nyayakanika*, is being translated into English by Prof. Th. Stcherbalsky and will come out in the Bibliotheca Buddhica.

As regards the identification of the author of the three verses quoted by Sankara (1. 1. 4, p. 249, *gaunamithyatra*), according to Mm. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, he is Acarya Sundara Pandya. In 1897 Lala Baij Nath writes (*Actes du* Onzieme Congress International des Orientalistes, Paris, 1879, Premiere Section, p. 119) to the effect that one Dirvadacarya (evidently for Dravidacarya) is referred to by Sankara and he is the author of the verses alluded to. But he does not mention the ground on which his statc-

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...is based. Then he goes on to say that he ...ed to get Dirvadacarya's Varttika from the library ...f the then Sankaracarya of Dwaraka where it existed ...ter, as he was told, no complete manuscript was ...available. It appears from the paper of Pandit ...Kuppuswami Shastri that Lala Baij Nath's Dirvadacarya ...Dravidacarya is no other than Acarya Sundara ...Paṇḍya and the Varttika is the Varttika of this ...Sundara Pandya.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

BENGALI

SIRANI (*Darajir Sastar*) : *Compiled by Professor Muhammad Mansuruddin, M.A., Published by M. C. Sarkar and Sons, 15, College Square, Calcutta. Price twelve annas.*

The book under review gives the text of an Islamic folk-tale of Bengal which broadly agrees with the well-known romantic story of Vidyasundara. It is stories of this kind that seem to have made considerable contributions to the growth and development of the extensive Vidyasundara literature in Bengal. The work is, therefore, of sufficient interest from this point. Its linguistic interest is also not little. The learned compiler has commendably resisted the temptation of narrating the story in a chaste and elegant language as is generally used in modern Bengali literature but has allowed the peasant to relate the story in his own rustic way. This style of narration, though so common among the people at large, has unfortunately found scant regard in literature, while its special appeal to lovers of literature is undeniable. It is reminiscent of the exquisite style of old Buddhist narrative literature and has a long, hoary tradition behind it. The story is described in the dialect of the district of Pabna which (though expected to be highly appreciated by students of Philology) may be a bit difficult for the ordinary reader to follow. But this difficulty will not be as much as it appears to be at first sight and it will be removed considerably by the vocabulary of dialectic words with their meanings as given in the introduction of the work. It is, however, apprehended that the work will lose much of its general interest on account of the right to left style of writing followed in it as in a number of what are called Muhammadan Bengali books, in imitation of Persian and Arabic works. The book is fortunate in having two forewords from the pens of Messrs. Abanindranath Tagore and Muhammad Shahidullah. We join with them in wishing Professor Mansuruddin every success in the collection of folk-lore of Bengal, the importance of a thorough study of which cannot be overestimated.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

GUJARATI

GOVIND GIRA : *By the late Govindji Kanji of Santa Cruz (Bombay). Printed at the Yogesh Printery, Bombay. Cloth bound. Pp. 350. (1933)*

Govindji who died early at the age of thirty belonged to a wealthy family of Bombay. He early took to literature and was a follower of Mahatma Gandhi. He had literary men as his friends, one of them being the able editor of this collection, Mr. Ramprasad Kanaiyalal M.A. The collection consists of short stories and a few poems from the pen of the deceased. They are very well written in themselves, but what is more important is the fact that they contain in themselves the promise of still better work, which had but Providence spared his life, would surely have come to fruition.

GUJARATI SAHITYA PARICHAYA : *By Manjulal R. Majmudar, M.A., LL.B., of Baroda. Printed at the Jaswat Sinhji Printing Press, Limbell. Thick Cardboard. Pp. 319. Price As. 14. (1933).*

The publisher has planned "An Introduction to Gujarati Literature Series" and this is the second volume. Mr. Majmudar who is entrusted with the work is well fitted for the task because of his wide reading and study of Gujarati literature, old and new. The present volume contains selections from the prose and poetical writing of almost every known writer : it also gives short biographical notices of the writers with appropriate observations and explanatory notes : so that all that a reader or student wants is here. The work should prove popular.

MANJARI : *Published by Ramu Thakkur, and printed at the Swadhin Printing Press, Ranpur, cloth cover, pp. 214. Price Re. 1-4-0. (1933).*

This is a collection of fifteen short stories, bearing on various domestic and social subjects published at different times in the weekly "Phul Chhab." They are very interesting to read, and many of them are torn in a very affecting way. We specially commend the story, sarcastically called, "The Happy Prostitute," narrating the life-history of a Hindu girl, widowed at the age of fourteen, and her trials and her face, till ultimately when she became a convert to Islam and a concubine of Musalman traders : all this because of the rigour of Society, which would not allow remarriage, the result being her being driven on the streets. It is a scathing commentary on our ways.

KHUSHKI AND TARI : *By Vijayrai Kalhanzai Vaidya, B. A. Printed at the Lakshmi Printing Press, Baroda. Paper Cover : Pp. 152. Price Re. 1-0-0. (1933).*

Mr. Vijayrai has vowed to devote his life to the uplift of Gujarati Literature. To accomplish it money is required, and he had to start in search of it. He therefore had to travel both on land (Khushki) and by sea (Tari). He travelled with open eyes and noted incidents, both grave and gay, important and trifling. Having the faculty of wielding a happy pen, he has been able to sit down his experiences and observations in a delightful vein. Karachi, Rangoon, Jubbalpore, Calcutta, and other places have been so well described that they actually seem to be living before our eyes. We are glad that Mr. Vijayrai has not kept his diary to himself but published it.

K. M. J.

ASSAMESE-ENGLISH

CHANDRAKANTA ABHIDHAN: *A Comprehensive Dictionary of the Assamese Language with etymology and illustrations of words with their meanings both in Assamese and English. Compiled and Edited by the Assam Sahitya Sabha. Chandrakanta Sandikai (Hondikoi) Hall, Jorhat, Assam. First Edition, 1854 Saka 1932. Size 10 ins. by 7 ins. pp. xxxii and 1044, cloth bound. Price Rupees Seven only.*

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We welcome this publication as one of first-rate importance in the study of a New Indo-Aryan speech. This is the most recent dictionary of the Assamese language, and by far the biggest, and arranged in the most up-to-date manner. In the Preface the General Secretary of the Assam Sahitya Sabha, Mr. Deveswar Chaliha (Soliha), has given an account of the previous work in the field of Assamese lexicography. The English Missionary, W. Bronson, compiled the first dictionary of the language with the help of Jaduram Deka Barua over sixty-six years ago (Dictionary in Assamese and English, Baptist Mission Press, Sibsagar, Assam, 1867). After this pioneer endeavour, the late Hem Chandra Barua published in 1900 his *Hem Kosh*, which remained up till now the standard dictionary of Assamese. The number of words in the *Hem Kosh* is 22,346, and considerable learning has been displayed in this compilation, where English equivalents also feature.

The present dictionary, the *Chandrakanta Abhidan*, is the third one of Assamese. This has been published exactly thirty-two years after the second: we have in Assamese a registering of the progress of the language by means of dictionaries after each third of a century from 1867. The number of words in this dictionary amounts to 38,819. It represents a labour by a band of scholars extending over eight years.

The circumstances which made this dictionary possible have been narrated to Mr. Chaliha's preface, and they are quite touching, bearing testimony of a bereaved father's love for two young sons, the most promising of young men in their land. Of Rai Bahadur Radhakanta Sandikai's four sons, Krishnakanta, Chandrakanta, Lakshmikanta and Indrakanta, the second and fourth Chandrakanta and Indrakanta died within three weeks of each, both through an attack of typhoid, in August-September, 1923, when the eldest and the third of the four brothers were away in England for study. Chandrakanta was a graduate, and only 22 when he died. The parents, Rai Bahadur Radhakanta Sandikai and his wife Srijukta Narayani Devi, to perpetuate the memory of their sons created a trust with Rs. 30,000, half of which sum was spent on an institution called "Chandrakanta Institute," and the other half was to be kept as a permanent fund, the interest being utilized in compiling a dictionary of Assamese to be called the *Chandrakanta Abhidhan*, and after that a standard history of Assam to be called the *Indrakanta Buranji*, and when these works were published, the proceeds from them as well as the permanent fund of Rs. 15,000 were to be used for the furtherance of the Assamese language and Assamese literature under the direction of the Assam Sahitya Sabha. The Chandrakanta Institute has been completed, and opened formally by the Governor of Assam in December 1926. The dictionary is also complete and is now before the public. No more fitting memorial could be devised for these young men of promise, cut off by a cruel and untimely death: their names will remain for a long time household words among their people, and will become familiar in other parts of India, and outside India, wherever modern Indian languages and Indian history are studied.

Both Rai Bahadur Radhakanta and Mrs. Narayani Devi Sandikai took part in the actual labour of compiling the dictionary. Not only the standard words of the language find a place in it, but also a considerable number of dialectal words, and early Assamese words from old literature, printed and in MS. A mass of miscellaneous information on topics of various kinds find a place in explaining the words collected. New terms for new objects and ideas which are being coined have found a place, as well as old words and expresions which are being revived, or are thought worthy of being given fresh currency.

The etymological portion relating to words other than Sanskrit and foreign is not a very strong point in this dictionary, but we need not carp at it for this. The derivation of the Prakritic formations has not been properly paid attention to in India, and the *Desi* or aboriginal words present the greatest, often insurmountable, difficulty, which the best philological acumen of Europe and India is seeking to tackle. We are extremely grateful for what we have got, and that is quite a lot. Here we have a whole host of words, some of them of great value for comparative purposes, to elucidate the history of sister and cousin speeches like Bengali, Oriya, Hindustani, etc., made easily accessible for scientific workers. Assamese is remarkable as a New Indian speech which has resisted largely the imposition of learned words from Sanskrit. It has preserved intact a large native vocabulary, and in this matter it presents a refreshing contrast with Bengali.

Quotations from literature showing the use of words are frequently given, and this largely enhances the value of the work. Being an Assamese—Assamese-English dictionary—its utility has spread beyond the limits of Assam, and scholars abroad will find it particularly helpful.

There is an introduction by Devananda Bharati on the origin and character of the Assamese language, which includes a note on the pronunciation of Assamese.

So far as the present-day resources of scholarship in Assam are concerned, the dictionary is a very creditable performance, and will long remain the standard lexicon of Assamese, which will also find a place in the library of all interested in Indian Philology. We only wish the section on the Assamese language were written by a scholar like Professor Banikanta Kakati of Cotton College, Gauhati, who has taken in hand a history of his mother-tongue. The etymological section would have considerably improved in his hands.

There is one grave omission, which has, I understand, been rightly resented in Assam. Those who were actually engaged in the preparation of the dictionary deserved to have at least their names recorded in the Preface, along with the names of Rai Bahadur Radhakanta Sandikai and his wife who also helped in the work of compilation. I understand that two gentlemen were conspicuous for their labours in this connection—Mr. Kahiram Das, B.A., and Pandit Sashi Chandra Goswami. At least a slip bearing names of the persons whose learning and scholarly industry made the dictionary the fine piece of work that it is, should be attached to remedy what we should consider the first duty of the management of the Assam Sahitya Sabha and the Sandikai Trust Board in connection with the *Chandrakanta Abhidhan*.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

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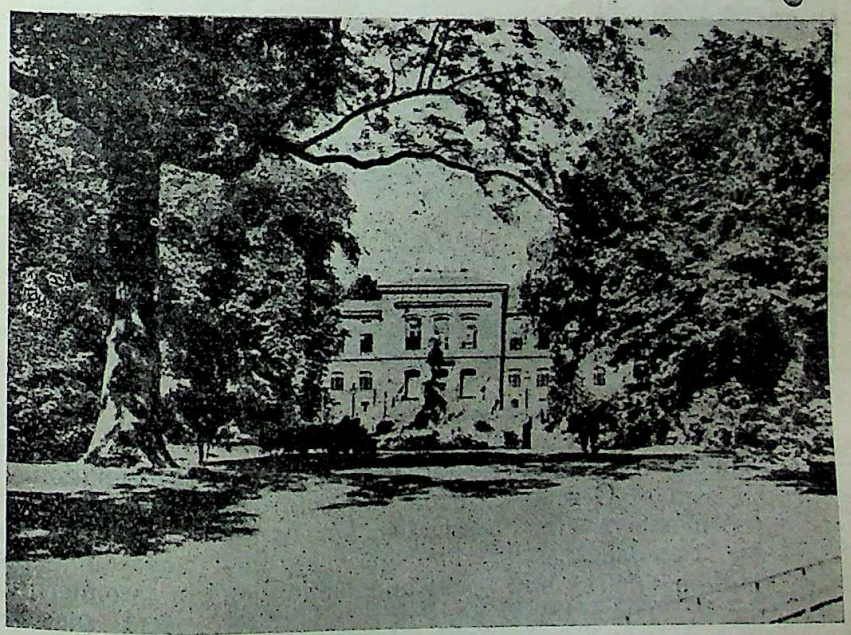
THE INSTITUTE OF WORLD-WIDE ECONOMICS AND OCEAN-TRANSPORT IN THE UNIVERSITY OF KIEL

By ZOHADUR RAHIM

THE Institute of World-wide Economics and Ocean-transport in the University of Kiel is situated on the outskirts of the city, far from its din and tumult, but is connected with the university by a tramway line. Its position is simply idyllic, having the beautiful Kieler Forde (sea) in front and "Krussenkoppel", the woods, on the background. Attached to the Institute is the Scientific Club, which was formerly the Imperial Yacht Club. It was in spacious hall of this club that the ex-Kaiser of Germany used to meet all the personalities of Kiel at a dinner party. The same hall is used now for "Vorträge" (lectures but not university lectures, which are called "Vorlesungen") and the writer had the honour of hearing many distinguished men of Germany as well as of foreign countries during his stay there. One of the most impressive speeches he had ever heard was that delivered by Dr. Hans Luther, the then Reichsbank President (Reichs Kanzler 1925-26) in the summer semester of 1931, just after the reparation problem was settled to the satisfaction of the German people. Being an Indian and a Bengali too, I am proud of mentioning here that among the distinguished guests, who were invited to deliver lectures from time to time in this famous club hall, was also my countryman, Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar. That the lecture of Prof. Sarkar was attended by a large audience was a clear proof of Germany's great interest in the affairs of India.

Now I shall pass over to the history of the Institute itself. The Institute has a unique history of its own. The present building was formerly "Hotel zur See-Badeanstalt" and was a meeting-place of all the Royalties of Europe during "Kieler Regatta Woche," when the Kaiser used to come down to Kiel. All the neighbouring princes of Germany, such as, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Holland as well as England, used to take part in the sailing boat competition of Kiel. It was a sight to see all the boats entering the Kieler Harbour with their different flags fluttering in the breeze. During Regatta week Kiel was all life and sensation. It was a happy time for Kiel, because much of the outsiders' money used to flow into the pockets of its citizens. Although "Kieler Regatta Woche" is still observed in Kiel, it has lost all the grandeur and pomp of the Kaiser's time. No princes, no foreign boats come now but the boats from all parts of Germany.

The Institute of Kiel is the most outstanding proof of Germany's insatiable thirst for knowledge and for research work. It might rightly be called the child born of the travail of the Great War. It was in November 1918 that the revolution first broke out in the marine station of Kiel. It spread like wild fire throughout the whole country and made an end of monarchism in Germany. In the national congress of Weimar on the 11th August, 1919, Germany was declared a republic. The war ended, peace was established in the country, but the people were still suffering from untold miseries. The effects of the Great War could not be effaced by mere change of constitution. They were all the more terrible upon Germany because it was she who fought almost single-handed, so valiantly against the whole world for a period of four years, and it was she,



Glance at the University

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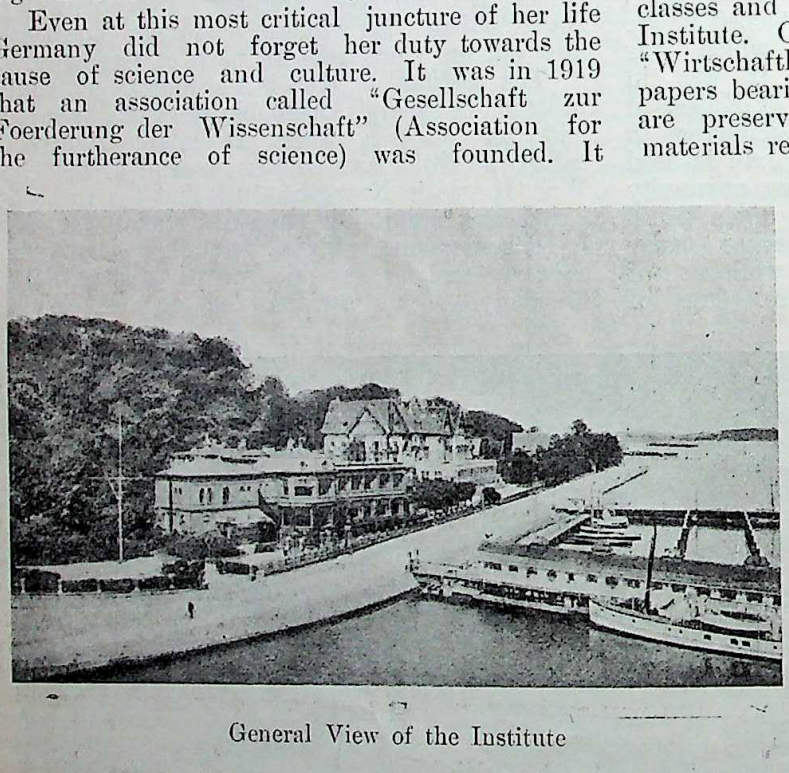
who had to bear the full brunt of defeat, although the moral victory was on her side. The people once so opulent, a nation once held in so great esteem in the eyes of the world, now lay prostrate and humiliated, bereft of all its powers and with its resources completely exhausted. The whole country was in a state of confusion and chaos—her foreign trade totally ruined, her agriculture neglected, and her nation-building industry converted into a war-industry. After the declaration of the republic, Germany was confronted with very many problems. She had to re-establish her foreign trade relations, she had to take up in right earnest her long-neglected agriculture, she had to revive her nation-building industries. The work of rebuilding and reconstructing was to be carried on everywhere.

Even at this most critical juncture of her life Germany did not forget her duty towards the cause of science and culture. It was in 1919 that an association called "Gesellschaft zur Foerderung der Wissenschaft" (Association for the furtherance of science) was founded. It



General View of the Institute

counts among its members all the rich and influential men of Germany. From the contribution of its members, the association bought the "Hotel zur See-Badeanstalt" for one and one-fourth million marks and spent another million to renovate it. The intrepid and untiring Director of the Institute, Geheimrat Prof. Dr. Bernhard Harms was successful in collecting a substantial amount from the American millionaires by paying a visit to that country and this helped a great deal in the up-to-date equipment of the Institute. The Rockefeller Foundation still contributes regularly to the library fund.

It is a magnificent four-storied building, lavishly furnished, its staircases thickly carpetted. In the cellar is the library consisting of about two lacs of books in different languages of the world, a large percentage being in English. Eight thousand books a year are added to the conte of the library. Besides that, the Institute sub cribes to more than 3300 year-books, statist periodicals and newspapers of all different countr of the world. The number of dailies is fi On the ground-floor are the big "Arbeitsa (working hall) facing the sea with accommodati for 150 students (each student having his o table and chair, its wall studded with shelv full of reference books, "Zeitschriftensaal" i. e., room containing only periodicals such as wee lies, monthlies, quarterlies and so on, the "Ausleih or the room where the library books are to ordered, the Kanzelei or the office of the Insti and the rooms of the librarian and his assista The first and second floors contain numer rooms for professors, their assistants, tuto classes and also the central telephone office of t Institute. On the fourth floor is situated t "Wirtschaftliches Archiv" where cuttings of new papers bearing on important economical proble are preserved. Moreover one can find h materials regarding economies of all the countr of the world, materials on go of international trade as w as informations regarding important enterprises economical societies of the wo Dr. Losch who is in charge the Archive, spares no pain be helpful to the student.

The Institute is the ideal place for the students work in. Pin-drop sile prevails in the working None is allowed to carry on sort of conversation inside The student can bury him in his work in absolute undisturbed even by any exter agency, such as, noise of traffic. The lady supervisor the hall is always ready to him in finding out books in supplying him with information he requires for the further of his work. The professors, too, are always his disposal to assist him with their a regarding his study. The Scientific Club, hav a wonderful view of the sea, offers hi ideal place of retreat and recreation from strenuous work. He can spend some time in chat with his fellow-students, taking coffee or any refreshment he would like to The eatables and drinks available here are cheap in comparision with the prices he has pay outside for the same things. Each mem of the club has a key and he or she alone access to it.

One of the special features of the Institute its "Seminaruebungen" (tutorial classes). T are all held in the Institute unlike the lectu which are all delivered in

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The "Übungen" are divided into three classes, *viz.*, one for the beginner, the second for the advanced students and the third for those preparing for the doctorate. They are meant to create in students the habit of critical study, to develop in him the power of oration and the power of discussion. They are held under the guidance of a professor once a week lasting generally for two hours (6 to 8 P. M.). Each student has to express himself on the subject already assigned to him in a clean neat speech within twenty to thirty minutes' time. The rest of the time is devoted to the free discussion of the subject among the professor and students. The number of students being limited (not to exceed twenty-five), every student is given the opportunity of taking active part in the discussion. During the writer's stay, the "Übungen" sometimes lasted for four hours. Of course, an interval of half an hour was allowed, during which we were served with sumptuous supper, naturally at the cost of the professor and sat down again for discussion for another two hours. These "Übungen" are great factors in bringing the students in close personal touch with their professors. It is not infrequent that the students are invited to a dinner or tea party by the professors in their houses. The writer can never forget many beautiful evenings he spent in these parties.

The other social functions organized either by the University or the Institute go further to strengthen the cordial relation between the professors and the students. I would like to mention here only some of those arranged by the Institute with which I was so intimately connected for a considerable period of time and the activities of the German and Foreign Students Association in the University of Kiel established in 1929 by the then Rector of the University, Prof. Dr. Hoeber. The Institute used to organize two big festivals, one in the summer, another in the winter semester. The summer ball used to take place in a café either on the sea-shore or on the side of a lake, the winter festival or fancy dress ball in a café of good reputation in the city. The participators were the professors and students of Economics and their invited friends and acquaintances. The whole night used to be spent in music and dancing interrupted by nice performances by the students themselves. The writer cannot resist the temptation of giving at least some idea to readers regarding the summer festival of 1932 which coincided with the farewell party to Prof. Dr. Loewe, who had to leave Kiel in response to the call of the University of Frankfurt am Main.

The festival was celebrated in a café situated on a beautiful lake. It opened with music and dance. Then there appeared a paraphernalia of judge and jurors, public prosecutor and barristers, expert and witnesses and at last Prof. Dr. Loewe was ushered in, handcuffed as a criminal. The charge of having grievously hurt the body of the University was framed against him. The University of Kiel is a Corporate Body having two hundred and fifty professors as its members. Now if any of its members desires to leave it, *i. e.*, tries to dismember it, without reasonable ground, he is naturally liable to prosecution. The question arose whether that member was actually a valuable member or only a protuberance on the Body Corporate. The opinion of the expert was sought for. It was proved to the satisfaction of the judge and the jurors that the member in question was really a very useful member and as such cannot help injuring the Body Corporate by his removal. Now the question was raised whether the accused was justified in his action, *i.e.*, in leaving Kiel University. The defence counsel argued that because Prof. Dr. Loewe was following a higher call, because he was actuated by a higher motive of being more useful to another corporate body, because he had a brighter and happier future before him, his decision to leave Kiel was perfectly justified. The accused was declared not guilty and discharged. The band of musicians began again and we lost ourselves in dancing. At 1 A. M. there was a pause. We, thirty in number of both sexes, and Prof. Loewe repaired to the ghat of the lake, got into some six boats with musical instruments and gay-coloured paper lanterns and rowed in accompaniment of the music, for an hour. It was a charmingly beautiful moon-lit summer night in Germany. I still hear that sweet melody of various instruments rising from the silent bosom of the lake and vanishing in the stillness of the boundless sky. When we returned to the hall, the dancing was going on in full swing. Refreshed and reinvigorated by the lake breeze, we gave ourselves up again to the goddess of mirth and jollity. It was early in the morning that a special tram-car (not a special train) carried us back to the heart of the city.

The winter festival or fancy dress balls are saturated with the ideas of Epicurus from beginning to end. All the formalities and etiquettes of the society balls are abandoned. The evening suits give way to fantastic as well as variagated national costumes of the world, even the dress of an Indian Maharaja is not wanting. The ladies look forward with great delight to the day when they can bid good-bye to their formal ball dresses and show themselves to their best advantage appearing like so many butterflies fluttering in the breeze. The polite form of address among strangers and the less intimate, "Sie," is replaced by a most familiar form of address "Du." Unfortunately, it is very difficult to explain to my readers the real significance and the charm the word "Du" possesses in German language. The English word "thou" is not the equivalent, because it is not the word

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used by intimate friends, a word not used even by husband and wife. They all begin with "you" and remain with "you." It is the proud privilege of the German-speaking people to address their relatives and intimate friends with "Du." The very use of the word "Du" breaks all the barriers of reservation and conventionalities and make the conversation among friends most easy, most natural, hence most enjoyable. It is the key which opens one's heart before that of another. A little incident will substantiate this view. While dancing with a young lady in a fancy dress ball, the writer was told by her that she did not very much like to go to society balls but she was exceedingly fond of going to a fancy dress ball. Being asked why she liked fancy dress ball so much, she said, "Well, because I can say 'Du' to each and everyone." It may be mentioned here that the dancing halls are very tastefully and artistically decorated to suit the occasion.

Another most important social function of the Institute is the "Weihnachtsfeier" (Christmas celebration) which is celebrated exclusively among professors and students of Economics and contributes no little to cementing the friendly relation between the former and the latter. The place of celebration is the glass verandah of the club. According to German custom a fir tree decorated with silver thread and Japanese balls and with wax candles burning on all its branches was installed in the centre. At each covered table round about, there used to sit one professor with five or six students. At first the Christmas songs were sung in chorus by students and professors. Then there used to appear the old white-bearded "Weihnachts man" (Christmas-man), none but a student in disguise, with a bag full of X'mas gifts. The gifts were nothing but joke articles and the announcement of the recipient of each article was hailed with an outburst of laughter. Some entertainments in the form of a "Kasperle Theater" or acting a small drama or of a comical performance all managed by students themselves were also provided. It is needless to mention here that we were also treated with cakes, sweets, nuts and drinks, all at the cost of our beloved director, Geheimrat Prof. Dr. Bernhard Harms.

Now I shall pass over to the activities of German and Foreign Students Association in the University of Kiel, meant to create better understanding and cultivate friendly feelings among German students and students of all different countries residing in Germany. The writer was taking active part in it from its very inception and later had the honour of being elected its president, which office he held to the day he left Kiel. In summer semester 1932, we counted, among our members, students of twenty-three different countries of the world, all speaking different languages but united together by the common language—German. We used to meet every Wednesday evening in the "Studentenhe... (students' home) "Seeburg", commanding a vi... of the harbour. We arranged either for a lecture to be delivered by a professor on a burning to... of the day or we spent the evening in frien... discussion among ourselves or we passed t... evening in dancing and playing some ind... games. Apart from two big social gatherin... (one in each semester) to which all the profess... of the University, high Government officials a... leading men of Kiel were invited, we arrang... for excursion on foot, motor boat excurs... inspection of interesting places, such as printi... press, factories, breweries, Konsum-verein (co... stores) as well as going to theatre in company.

It may be mentioned here that while visiti... the above places we received the utmost cons... deration at the hand of the authorities concern... To mention only one instance, when we we... to visit the head office of the "Konsum-ver... fuer Kiel und Umgegend", one of its offic... served as our guide. He took us from o... department to another, giving every explanati... and information we required. It was a pleas... to see the absolute neatness and cleanline... discipline and orderliness observed through... this big establishment. We were taken at l... to the bakery, where everything is done ... machinery from kneading to the wrapping of t... bread with paper. Here we were shown a spec... machinery for cleaning the flour from sack fibre... and other dirts which creep in during the tra... port, before it (flour) goes for kneading. Wh... we saw the refuse, we could not help thinki... how much dirt we swallow everyday with ... bread brought from an ordinary bakery. Ev... in the machine-made bread of our country s... dirt is not wanting. Before we left the bak... we were served with cakes and tarts to ... heart's content. The utmost hygienic condit... under which they are prepared and to which ... were eye-witnesses, gave us a special relish. T... city of Kiel used to issue free theatre tickets ... our members and also defray all the expe... of our whole day motor boat excursion. ... motor boat excursion on a summer day ... Germany is the most charming thing one c... think of, specially when that boat is m... exclusively for a group of people known to ... another. A large motor boat was placed at ... disposal. We were leaving Kiel early in ... morning, after three to four hours' drive reachin... charmingly beautiful solitary sea-beach exten... over a mile. The water there was as transpa... as crystal. Several hours were spent in bath... swimming and other sports on the beach. ... wards the afternoon we used to make our ... to "Schilksee", a popular bathing resort w... the rest of the day passed away in music ... dancing. It was late in the evening that ... used to reach Kiel.

I have given here only a few instances ... to how the social life is cultivated in the Un...

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Soothsayer
By Syed Hamed

Left, below
Avisikarika
By P. V. Kuppa Rao

Right, below
Woodcut
By P. V. Kuppa Rao

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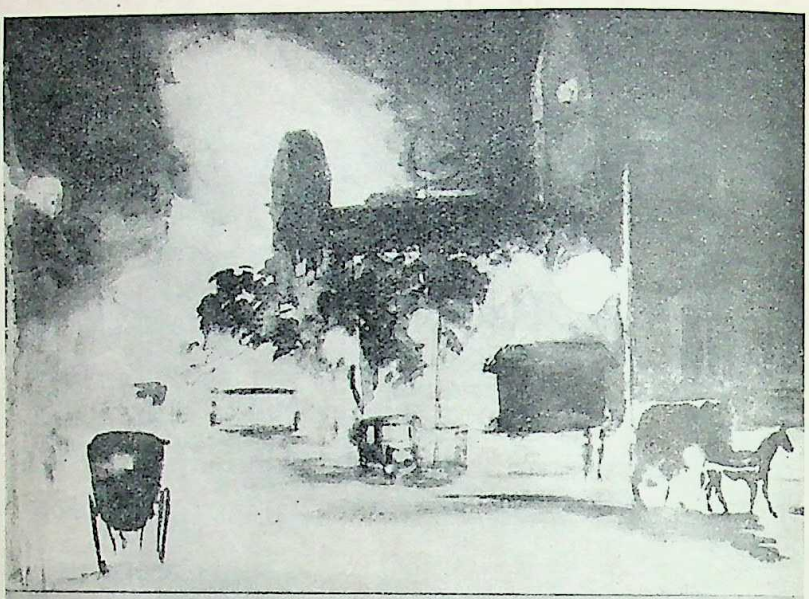

Evening Glow
By S. V. S. Rama Rao

Flight of Prithviraj
By M. Venkatarathna

Rasalila
By Venkatanarayana Rao

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sity of Kiel and in the Institute attached to it. The contribution of the Institute to the cause of World-economy is invaluable. It is the biggest Institute of its kind in the world and as such keeps itself in steady communication and exchange of views not only with the leading economists but also in constant communication with the authorities, firms, associations and personalities of the whole world, with the result that it is of inestimable service to the research workers. No institute of the world possesses such a wide range of materials as the Institute of Kiel.

If there is any country at all in this world, where Indians are not only treated on equal footing but also regarded and respected, as being the descendants of a great nation possessing the oldest civilization, highest philosophy and finest culture, then it is Germany. A deep feeling of sympathy for the descendants of a nation once so great is to be found in each and every heart of Germany. "Men are we and must grieve when even the shade of that which once was great, is passed away". Wordsworth has found more followers among Germans than among his own countrymen.

Any student proceeding to Europe for scientific study of economics cannot do better than select the Institute of World-wide Economics and Ocean-transport in the University of Kiel.

THE GOVERNMENT SCHOOL OF ARTS EXHIBITION, MADRAS

By ALICE E. ADAIR

THE Madras Government School of Arts and Crafts held its annual Exhibition in March—the third under the Principalship of Sjt. Deviprasad Roy Choudhury, at the School Buildings. This Exhibition is becoming of increasing value in the cultural life of Madras. There were 224 exhibits in the Studio—paintings, drawings, modellings, etc.

The illustrations reproduced here are sufficient evidence of the quality of the work being done in and by the School. The fact that each year the students take a prominent place in the awards of the Fine Arts Society is in itself noteworthy.

The more remarkable of the works of the students are shown in the illustrations given here. They include a vital work in colour and design, "The Flight of Prithviraj," by M. Venkatarathan. The Exhibition also included a line-drawing of the same subject by the same student, showing his mastery in this method. "Rasalila," a really fine composition in clay by M. Venkatanarayana combines skilful design and honest craftsmanship with a rhythmic grace that is lyrical in its charm.

Original also in design and attractive in colour and feeling is the lovely little "Avisikarika" by P. V. Kuppa Rao, who is also responsible for a fine woodcut, a boldly treated, characteristic head. Muhammadan feeling and skill has an exponent in the finely executed portraiture of the "Soothsayer" by Syed Hamid. Of an altogether different type is the work of S. V. S. Rama Rao, showing how widely catholic is the training of the School. This impressionistic landscape is interesting on account of its combination of good composition and poetic feeling. "Evening Glow" is also pleasing in colour.

Mention must be made of a beautiful head in clay by the Principal of the School. Sjt. Roy Choudhury's portraits are well known. Unfortunately, opportunities of seeing any "subject" sculptural works from his hands are rare. Fine aesthetic qualities and sound technique always characterize his work, but it is not always possible to express in portraiture the deep emotional content of really great art. Hence we welcome this expressive work, the head of a Blind Girl.

In the crafts Section, Sjt. V. R. Chitra continues to make new experiments, and to design objects which are both useful and beautiful. Furniture was the best represented craft. The cut-out design in chairs is novel, and the dark wood is skilfully used both in the design of the chairs and of the Chest which goes with them.

The enamel and stamped leather Sections also showed some good work. In the ornaments both wired and unwired methods were used in the enamelling.

One can look forward with confidence to the results of the coming year of work in the Madras School of Arts.

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INDIAN WOMANHOOD

MRS. AMENA KHATUN has been elected Commissioner of Jessore Municipality this year from a joint-electorate constituency of Hindus and Mussalmans. She is the first Muhammadan lady ever elected a municipal commissioner in Bengal.

Mrs. Amena Khatun

MRS. RAMA BOSE's paintings have been praised in various exhibitions in Calcutta.

MRS. CHANDRAWATI TAKHANPAL, M. A., B. T., wife of Professor Satyavrata of Gurukula University, Hardwar, has been awarded a prize of Rs. 500 by the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Allahabad, for her book *Stryon Ki Sthiti* which has been declared to be the best book of the year in Hindi by a woman writer.

Mrs. Rama Bose

Mrs. Chandrawati Takhanpal

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ANSWERS OF RAMMOHUN ROY TO QUERIES ON THE SALT MONOPOLY

The following answers by Rammohun Roy to questions put to him on the salt supply of Bengal will be found interesting. These have been obtained from England from the Parliamentary Papers of 1831-32 (vol xi, pp. 685-86, App. No. 140) by Mr. Brajendra Nath Banerji for the complete edition of the works of Raja Rammohun Roy to be published by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat. It will be noticed that no question was put to the Raja as to the practicability of manufacturing pure salt in Bengal at such cost as to enable it to hold its own against imported British salt. Had such a question been put, we could have known his considered opinion.—*Ed., M. R.*

Question 1. Are you acquainted with the retail price of salt in Calcutta and the neighbouring districts ?

Answer. The price of adulterated salt in Calcutta, at the time of my departure, was at the rate of between seven and eight seers for a rupee, or about 2*s.* for 15 lbs., if my memory be correct; and of pure salt, like the English, between four and five seers for a rupee, or about 2*s.* for nine lbs. It was of course proportionably higher in districts such as Midnapore, Burdwan, Beerbhoom, etc. more remote from the place of production and sale.

Q. 2. Have the poorer classes of natives in the places you have mentioned been prevented at any time from procuring a sufficiency of salt by its high price ?

A. As salt has by long habit become an absolute necessary of life, the poorest peasants are ready to surrender every thing else in order to procure a small proportion of this article; though the dearth of the salt is felt by the whole community, and the people in general are therefore obliged to make use of a bad quality, and few comparatively are able to incur the expense of procuring it in a purer form.

Q. 3. Do you consider salt as necessary to the food of the natives, and that the want of it is a great deprivation of comfort to them ?

A. As the food of the people in Bengal consists chiefly of boiled rice, which is by itself a most insipid kind of food, salt and ingredients dressed with salt are used to season the rice and render it palatable. The

Portrait of Raja Rammohun Roy
Ivory Miniature. Delhi School, 19th century. (Presented by the Executors in accordance with the wishes of Sir Robert Nathan, K. C. S. I., C. I. E.)
By the courtesy of the Director, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

rice is usually eaten with what the Hindoos call *byunjun* or *turkaree*, and the Moossulmans *salun*; that is, something such as a little fish or *dal* (a kind of dressed peas), or vegetables, according to their ability to procure these articles. But as they have been long accustomed to the use of salt, the high cost of this ingredient sometimes obliges the poor people to give up their *byunjun* or *salun* to procure it, and eat their rice with salt alone, as noticed in my reply to the "additional query" 4th.

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Q. 4. Do you suppose that a reduction in the price and an improvement in the quality would tend to any very considerable increase of consumption ?

A. Salt being, as I already observed, an absolute necessary of life, is now purchased even by the poorest individuals, at the sacrifice of every other kind of seasoning and eatable but rice, the stuff of life. If salt were rendered cheaper and better, it must greatly promote the common comforts of the people. I do not know that it would immediately cause a very considerable increase of consumption, but to a certain extent it would undoubtedly ; and from its cheapness, its use may be again extended by the people in seasoning the food of cattle, for which purpose formerly large quantities were used. The poorer classes at any rate would not in this case be compelled to sacrifice any other comfort in order to procure it.

Q. 5. Are you aware that the price of salt in England is much cheaper than in India ; and such being the fact, do you conceive there would be any objection on the part of the natives of India, arising from religious scruples, to eat salt imported from England—the preparation of English salt being free from all impurity ?

A. I understand that the price of salt is here about one-fourth of what it is in India ; therefore there is no doubt that the natives of India would be very glad to purchase English salt if imported ; excepting perhaps a very few professional Brahmuns. The bulk of the people would make no distinction between the salt which is home made, and that which is imported. One-fourth (if not one-third) of the soda-water manufactured in Calcutta by Europeans, is, I think, used by the natives residing in Calcutta and its suburbs ; and also a considerable proportion of the liquors imported from Europe.

Q. 6. Supposing that salt from England could be imported cheaper than it is manufactured in Bengal, do you apprehend that much distress would fall upon the molungees from the want of employment ?

A. The molungees would still be employed to a great extent in the khalarys by Government (if it be permitted to carry on the salt monopoly in future), or by those who farm them from Government, and the rest could be beneficially employed in agriculture and other occupations, as gardeners, domestic servants and daily labourers. Since common labourers among the Bengalese, such as gardeners, etc. not being equal to the demand, the natives of Orissa are generally encouraged to come to Bengal in great numbers to fill up these occupations.

Q. 7. Is the manufacture of salt attended with any suffering to the persons engaged in it, from exposure to unwholesome situations and tigers ; and do you consider them in a better or worse condition than the ryots employed in agriculture ?

A. Since the sunderbuns have been partially cleared, the danger from tigers is not considerable. But the molungees suffer chiefly from the humidity of the soil and the dampness of the atmosphere where they are obliged to continue during the manufacturing season. The agriculturists are better situated than the molungees in respect both to health and to personal freedom, from not being, like the latter, liable to be detained during the working season, though the agriculturists are not equally sure of regular employment and wages.

Q. 8. Are you of opinion that the molungees are liable to ill-usuage from the subordinate officers of the salt agencies ?

A. In proportion as the head molungees suffer extortion from the salt officers, they indemnify themselves by defrauding the inferior molungees in respect to the wages allowed to them, and the work exacted from them.

Q. 9. Have not regulations been passed of late years to protect the molungees ?

A. Regulations have been passed, but the combinations of officers, superior or inferior, render them almost inoperative ; to say nothing of the insuperable difficulties under which the humble individual generally labours in endeavouring to get redress against those in power or superior to himself in wealth and influence, as already explained in my answers to the "Judicial Queries."

Q. 12. To what extent is the salt of the Bengal monopoly adulterated before it reaches the consumers ?

A. The adulteration of the salt is carried to an enormous extent, by mixing it with

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third or even one-half of earth, until, instead of being like salt, it more resembles the earth of which it is composed. Persons in comfortable circumstances generally purify it by manufacturing it over again before they use it, or purchase it already refined, often at double the common price; but the poorer classes cannot afford the expense of either.

London, March 19, 1832. RAMMOHUN ROY

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE "MIRAT-I-AHMADI"

By DIWAN BAHADUR KRISHNALAL MOHANLAL JHAVERI, M.A., LL.B.

THE Mirati-i-Ahmadi is a remarkable work; it gives the political and statistical history of the province of Gujarat from the earliest times to the battle of Panipat (A. D. 1761). It is considered very important from a historical point of view as the author narrates events of which not only was he an eye-witness, but in the planning of which either he, his father, or friends took part, and thus made history. The author is at special pains to observe "that he has summarised events of which he was an eye-witness, free from doubt* and partiality, without favour or prejudice" p. 13 Persian Text Part I, Volume I, Gaekwad's Oriental Series), and therein lies its great value.

Although till His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad's Government very generously undertook to bring out the whole work in its present form (Volumes xxxiii, xxxiv, xliii, l, Gaekwad's Oriental Series)—and thus lay Oriental scholars under a deep debt of gratitude—very few copies† of transcripts of the book were available,—the larger number being full of errors, copyists' mistakes and incomplete,—writers on the history of Gujarat have not failed to make extensive use of it. No translation however of the complete work exists. Dr. Bird has translated a small portion of Part I, Sir E. C. Bayley has also made use of that portion. There is a Gujarati translation made by Pathan Nizamkhan Nurkhan of Part I (1913) and the *Khatimah* (1919). Part II however, which is by far the most valuable section of the Mirat has not been translated into English,* though Mr. Seddon promises "to attend to it later on." (p. xii, Foreword: Supplement; Volume xliii, Gaekwad's Oriental Series). All the same it has been extensively utilized, for the contents of the different Volumes of the *Bombay Gazeteer*, (Volume I, Part I, and also those relating to Ahmedabad, Surat and Cambay),—the basis being Col. Watson's translation of the larger part of it. William Irvine in *Later Mughals*, has also based a large portion of Chapter VIII, Vol II, Mahrattas in Gujarat, pp. 155-215. sections 47 to 68 (Ed.—of 1922 edited by Sir J. Sarkar on this part of the Mirat.† Sir J. Sarkar has also made

* Dr. James Bird. who has translated what the author calls the Mukaddamah (Preface) in his History of Gujarat (A. D. 1834) has not done so completely and has omitted certain passages and verses. Had the same were translated in its entirety it would bring out the author's object in writing this History—which in fact is but a part of a larger work—much more plainly. Dr. Bird translates the words "*Bi shayaheh*" and what follows, as "With great and attention"; but the author meant something more than that as would be gathered from the explanation given here. That it was so is borne out by what he states at the end of Part. II, while closing his labours; "May it not remain concealed that he has promised and (also) considered it proper essential for his task that in narrating events he should abstain from showing favour to relatives through prejudice (—*Adavat*, ill-will) against strangers (casually) indite only that which had happened, and really" (he has done so). P. 613 Persian Text Part II, Volume XXXIV. Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

† See as to some such copies, Dr. Bird's and Sir E. C. Bayley's Prefaces to their respective works and Sir J. Sarkar's Foreword to Volume XXXIV of Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

* The writer of this paper has translated the whole of Part II into Gujarati and it is being published by the Gujarat Vernacular Society of Ahmedabad. The first two-hundred pages are already out.

† This excellent summary suffers in places on account of the inaccurate text from which it was made, and also from want of knowledge of the correct names of the places and men referred to in the original. For instance,

(*i*) on p. 175, Vol. II, the name of the Manager is more probably Navnidh Rai, and Bharmal is the Faujdar ot Dholka and not Duraha. This mistake of calling Dholka Duraha is repeated all throughout. See pp. 197 and 210. Patia is the agent of the Zamindar (Thakor) of Jhabuwa as correctly surmised by Sir J. Sarkar and not Jhalod.

(*ii*) on p. 177 it is the Kankaria Talao (=Tala, a lake) that is meant by Tal which should

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great use of it in his various works. The part containing the *Khatimah*—concluding portion—is translated into Gujarati by the same Mahommedan translator as of Part I and into English by Syed Nawab Ali and Mr. Seddon and published as Volume XLIII of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

The Gujarati Translation of the *Khatimah* suffers from all the faults of an incorrect original text. The later English one is indeed of a very high order, but as "in parts the Original has been freely rendered, and in parts it has been condensed" (p. xiii Foreword), it does not offer as much help to the general public as a close or literal translation would.

A curious example of this drawback came to the notice of the writer of this paper a couple of years ago. Government wanted to acquire and declare by the help of the Civil Court the private property of a certain gentleman an ancient monument under the Ancient Monuments' Preservation Act (VII of 1904) in the city of Ahmedabad, and had issued a notification for that purpose, pointing out that the property was the same as that described on p. 31 of the Mirat-i-Ahmadi, *Khatimah* (Karimi Press edition) *viz.*, the tomb of Shah Ghazni near the Raikhad Gate. The party affected contended that the property he possessed was on Jamalpur Road and not a tomb but a Roza and therefore the notification would not apply to him. The present writer was asked to make a translation of the various relative passages bearing on the question; that is, those relating to Shah Bhikhan, Shah Ghazni and Shah Aliji. It was pointed out that two translations, one in Gujarati and the other in English, already existed and a fresh translation was not necessary. He was told in reply that the Gujarati translation was not reliable * and that the English translation omitted certain things† and moreover was very general. The passages required were those on pp. 39, 48, 65, of the Persian text Vol. L. corresponding to pp. 37, 57 of the Supplement, Vol. XLIII of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series.*

It is indeed very gratifying to see the particulars so labouriously gathered by the author—who by instinct was a Chronicler—nearly two hundred years ago, bearing on this part of the subject-matter of his treatise should be utilized in a British Indian court of law in support of one's claim as reliable and authentic.

Neither in style nor in elegance of language could the *Mirat* be compared to the well-known standard historical works like the *Ruzat-us-Safa* or the *Habib-us-Siyar*. The language is not the language of a writer born and bred in Persia. It is that of one who though a scholar and a close student of Persian has still not been able to shake off the influence of the language spoken round about him, and has therefore got affected,—may be imperceptibly by the Hindustani idom, by the turn and phrase of that language. Indeed, to one who has read the above-mentioned standard works, it takes some time and study to make oneself familiar with the style and idiom of the author of the *Mirat*. This was, however, inevitable. Even Ferishta has not been able to steer clear of it.

In addition, the factor common to all such writers—padding the text with verses, making the style stilted—what Dr. Bird calls "laboured"—by a number of quotations from the Holy Book (Koran) is not absent from his work.

7. The same learned translator Dr. Bird in his estimate of Mahommedan Historians mentions the fact, that "they generally tire the patience of the reader by too minute a detail of sieges and battles, of murder and intrigue, without relieving the fatiguing sameness of their narrative by the more pleasing and instructive account of the individual character, or the policy and domestic manners of a people." He, however, exempts and rightly exempts the author of the *Mirat* from this "general censure."§ The *Mirat* in some places his narrative reads like a page from the present-day Government Gazette announcing transfers of officers—Imperial and

read Talab, the usual camping ground of armies approaching Ahmedabad.

(*iii*) on p. 181, Basu is the town of Vaso near Petlad.

(*iv*) on p. 183, the fine referred to as "*babura*" is the Gujarati word "*Vero*", which on account of the inter-change of the letters "b" and "v" is written Bero, misspelt *Bayorat*. It is *Bero*=*Vero*, a tax.

(*v*) on p. 192, Gangadin should be Ganga Das. Din, as a suffix, is used in North India, while Das is used in Gujarat.

(*vi*) on p, 198, Chandula is really Chandola.

(*vii*) on p. 207, Durgaikhan Gujarati is Darya khan Gujarati.

* The mistake pointed out was on p. 69, to the effect that while giving an account of Shah Aliji, in appreciating his Diwan (verses) it was really compared to that of Shaikh Maghreb, but the Gujarati translation gave the name of Shah Ghazni in its place.

† For instance, in giving the account of Shah Aliji (p. 57) the name of the locality where his tomb is situated which is definitely given as Raikhad in the Persian Text has been omitted. There is

printer's mistake in so far as Shah Ghazni is concerned. Shah Ghazi. There is a further mistake in reading *Gaondhani*, owner of a village as *Kanudhani*, really speaking the *Kaf* should be read as *Ga*, which would then be *Gaon*=*Gam*, a village.

* Shah Bhikhan's burial place in the Persian Text is shown to be on the *south* of the city gate, not on the *west* as translated in the English version.

† "His style is more laboured and verbose than that of most Mahommedan Historians (p. 3 of Preface, Dr. Bird's *History of Gujarat*.) As to verbosity, it is rather less than what is found in others.

§ Page 1, of the Preface, Dr. Bird's *History*

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Provincial—from one place to another or their appointments (*e.g.*, pages 3 and 4 of Part II, Volume XXXIV, Persian Text, Gaekwad's Oriental Series), on the whole the story is so well told that it presents a vivid picture of the events and incidents related. As an instance, take the two important events in the chronicle of the affairs of Surat, one being the ambitious schemes of the millionaire, the Merchant Prince, Hajee-ul-Tujjar, Mulla Mahommedali, for founding a fortified town of his own near Surat, and the ultimate sad end both of the schemes and himself, and the other the ambition of Syed Sultan, its nominal Governor, and the part played by the members of the English factory at Surat. The narrative is detailed but not fatiguing. Indeed, it is so well told that it reads like an interesting story.* Further it is authentic: the authenticity of the later incidents can very well be established by a comparison of the events as set out by the author with those set out in the correspondence now published of the Company's local officers at Surat with their chiefs at Bombay and in England.

Similarly, for those incidents which relate to the Marathas, the authenticity of each and every one of them can be tested, and its accuracy found out by what is found in the ample materials now available as to the history of those times, in the published Marathi Records, Bakhars, etc., relating to those early days of their rule.

In numerous places the narrative is distinguished by the human touch: the author does not write from a stranger's detached point of view. He lived in Gujarat and felt for them and suffered with them. In narrating the levy of unfair and oppressive taxes (*Vero*) in the hands of the Subas, Hindu and Mahommedan, he laments the fate of the inhabitants bitterly and distributes blame equally between the Hindu and the Mahommedan Hakems. Referring the advent of the Marathas, he very graphically sums up the situation in one sentence, "that from that date onward they established themselves in Ahmedabad (Gujarat) and never left it."

The spirit of impartiality which he considers to be the keystone of the edifice of his work has been, on the whole, very well observed by him in the narrative. Whereas in other histories one would find Hindus called, Kafir (infidels), *Jahhal* (ignorant people), etc., the author of the *Mirat* has been very restrained and considerate in his language, and never once loses sight of the principle laid down by him. Even when he talks, in describing the severe famine of A. D. 1732, of the Marwadis purchasing a trifle, men and women belonging to the other classes of Mahommedans, with a view to remove them to Jodhpur and convert them to Hinduism, in retaliation of the Hindus having been captured and taken away from Jodhpur for being converted to Islam in the time of the Emperor Aurangzeb*, he takes care to see that not even one harsh word escapes him.

Very few Mahommedan authors give such details as the author of the *Mirat* does, as to the why and wherefore of the composition of their books. Dr. Bird has translated the autobiographical part of the Preface giving the genesis of the writing of the book. Unfortunately, it is not a translation of the entire Preface and not even a close translation. For this reason the full force of the author's object is not brought out. It seems he had written a far more ambitious work containing not only the Rules and Regulations of the Finance and Revenue Departments of the Imperial and Provincial Governments, but also a treatise solving the riddle of the difference between the Fasli and the Hijri eras; and in the elucidation of which he had passed long sleepless nights†, burnt the proverbial midnight oil; in addition he had narrated the political history of the province; it details also the difficulties he had to contend with in collecting the materials for his work, and specially makes mention of Mithalal Kayastha, whose valuable services were lost to him when most wanted. He narrates as to how he had to content himself with a restricted field of work, which did not give full play to his aspirations, resulting in the production of the present chronicle, Concluding the historical part of his work,†† he writes that he is conscious of the shortcomings of his work, and that he would have liked to proceed further after narrating the events relating to the movements of Surajmal Jat, and that if God granted him life and if he could procure peace of mind, he would write out a second volume commencing with the accession to the Gadi of the then auspicious Emperor of Delhi, but apparently that was not to be.

He was a poet himself and in the body of the book one comes across verses composed by him. He was a deep student of the Koran, and well-versed in Mathematics also. His zeal for learning was so keen that he never missed any source of information which would add to his stock of knowledge. Folklore he did not despise and the contents of the volume of *Khatimah* (Volume L of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series) speak most eloquently as to how vast must have been his reading and how vast the number of the persons from whom he must have collected information embodied in that compilation.

* It was the writer's intention to give extracts in support of the statement from the text; but found that it would make the paper very long, he refrained from doing so.

* Page 146, Volume XXXIV, Persian Text, Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

† P. 10 Part 1, Volume XXXIII, Persian Text, Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

†† P. 613, Part II, Volume XXXIV, Persian Text, Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

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Though, out of modesty, he styles himself at the end of his work* a "*Heech Madan*"—an ignoramus,—the opinion of all those who have gone over the three sections of the work, would undoubtedly be that he is fit to stand in the ranks of the best Indian historians of India their equal, and that his historical sense ability were in no way inferior to any of the

[Paper read before the Arabic and Persian Se of the Seventh Indian Oriental Conference, at Baroda in December 1933, under the Presi ship of Aga Pour-e-Daood.]

* P. 612, P rt II, Volume XXXIV, Persian Text, Gackwad's Oriental Series.

KESHUB CHUNDER SEN TO MISS MANNING

[This letter has been communicated by Mr. Karunaketan Sen. He got it from Mrs. Lawrence, who is a grand-niece of Mrs. Manning.]

Colootola, Calcutta.
10 May, 1871.

Dear Miss Manning,

I heartily sympathize with you in the heavy trial which has quite unexpectedly befallen you. I do not know how to express my sorrow for the loss we have all sustained in the death of your excellent mother. Not only as a kind personal friend but as a sincere well-wisher of our country she won my affection and esteem, although my acquaintance with her extended over a very short period. I always deemed it a great pleasure to be in her company and to listen to all that she had to say on religious and social subjects. Her work entitled *Ancient and Medieval India* is a standing monument of her love for this country and its people; while her zealous efforts in behalf of the London Branch of the National Indian Association gave her last days a peculiarly Indian interest, which we shall always gratefully remember. Personally I am under great obligations to her for a copy of *Tree and Serpent Wo* lately presented to me, and also for the wish she is said to have expressed a days before her death to meet the expens publishing my lecture on "Native Fa Improvement" at the Bengal Social Sci Association. I had calculated upon having pleasure of seeing her again in this wor the event of my paying a second visi England. But Providence would not have i She has been removed by the merciful han the Father to her true and ever-lasting h Her soul is resting cheerfully on the lap of All-merciful—away from the sorrows and tr of this world. The enclosed obituary paragra appeared lately in the columns of our l *The Indian Mirror*. *The Englishman*, leading daily paper in Bengal, has repro this morning a short article from the "Athenæ giving an interesting biographical sketch Mrs. Manning.

With kindest regards and best wishes for success of your efforts in connection wit London Indian Association,

I remain
Yours very sincerely
Keshub Chunder S

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NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL FOOLISHNESS

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

Economic System Inherently Unsound

MEMBERS of Parliament separated for the Easter recess with the subject of unemployment uppermost in their minds. It had occupied almost the whole of their time during their last week of the sitting.

It is safe to say now that a change has come over public thinking in the matter. For some weeks, as the unemployment figures have been falling, and the Depression has seemed at last to be lifting, it has been hoped in many quarters that things were righting themselves and that we were muddling through somehow. This flattering belief was encouraged by the fact that England had undoubtedly weathered the Depresson more successfully than any other country.

But even the most superficial examination of the employment situation in our big industrial centres is enough to counteract any optimism. Just to visit them is to realize that the fall in the unemployment figures merely means that the Depression figures are falling off. But when the fringe has gone, the problem remains incapable of solution it seems in the present ordering of our affairs.

The Labour Party of course has always maintained that the present economic system is inherently unsound. Sooner or later, it says, private enterprise is bound to choke up the channels of exchange and defeat itself. But today even the strongholds of conservatism and privilege are beginning to say the same thing. A most striking article appeared in this connection the other day in the *Morning Post*.

Nobody's Business

It also has observed that the reduction in unemployment has not touched the real problem, and the fact remains that "nearly 2,000,000 people in this country are still without work, and that there are large areas and great industries which have so far enjoyed little share in the general progress."

"Is there any ground," it asked, "for hoping that the unemployment figures will fall below the million line, at which they stood in the best of post-war years, or that Lancashire, Durham and South Wales will somehow emerge from their chronic distress? Has anything occurred since the slump to substantiate such a hope?" And it answers that "It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that nothing has occurred to ..."

Then comes the most significant part of the article:

> "It is nobody's business to create openings for the unemployed, and the mechanism for creating such openings has yet to be provided. Unless, therefore, we take steps to establish the mechanism we are likely to be faced with a permanent problem of unemployment.
>
> "The question is worthy of study whether with this end in view and with the object of securing the maximum national prosperity, it may not be necessary to undertake a thorough reorganization of our productive system, and seek in co-operation within and between industries the solution of problems with which free lance competition can never hope to cope."

This calls for comment. In the first place, if it is nobody's business now to create openings for the unemployed, that is entirely the fault of the National Government. The Labour Government set up the Unemployment Grants Committee, which stimulated employment by making grants for suitable productive undertakings. But the National Government abolished the Unemployment Grants Committee. Also it will be recalled how, at the World Economic Conference last summer, the National Government crabbed all proposals for remedying unemployment by instituting a programme of public works.

No Plan

But it is not only in the select circles catered for by the *Morning Post* that there is an awakening in progress. Mr. J. B. Priestley, the author of *The Good Companions* and the solid embodiment of the middle classes, has been touring England. And he is telling the middle classes, in his new book, that some of the towns he visited in the North "looked much worse to him than some of the French towns he saw at the end of the War, towns that had been occupied by the enemy for four years."

And he asks indignantly:

> "Why has there been no plan for these areas, these people? The dole is no part of a plan; it is a mere declaration of intellectual bankruptcy.
>
> "The whole thing is unworthy of a great country that in its time has given the world some noble creative ideas. We ought to be ashamed of ourselves."

The National Government certainly has no plan for these areas. In the latest debate on unemployment in the House of Commons the President of the Board of Trade, Mr. Runciman,

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had absolutely nothing to suggest—except allotments and gardens as aids to securing the greatest degree of satisfaction and content! He seemed to go out of his way to communicate a spirit of hopelessness and helplessness.

Wages Halved Where Paid

Consider the case of Jarrow for instance. This was formerly a prosperous shipyard town of 32,000 inhabitants. But today, according to the *Times*, there are 75 men out of work for every 25 working. And all the comfort Mr. Runciman can give Jarrow is to suggest that Palmer's shipyard, which was one of the largest in the country but is now in the hands of the Receiver, should be put up for sale as a convenient site for other industries!

What comfort, one wonders, can the miners of South Wales expect from the National Government? In that same debate on unemployment Mr. Dagger, the Member for Abertillery, pointed out that the miner's wages had exactly halved during the past years. In 1924, the total wages paid to them was £46,000,000. In 1932 these South Wales miners received only £23,000,000.

One of the troubles of our present system is of course its finance. Industry depends upon credit and credit is given by the Banks and—as Mr. G. D. H. Cole pointed out in a recent broadcast debate—the prosperity of the City is not unfortunately the same thing as the prosperity of the country. We have seen this all through the Depression, when Industry has languished but the Banks have been choked with deposits awaiting "safe investment." The Banks concern themselvs solely with profits, though Industry may be panting for life.

Making More Cheap Competition

This worship of profits is playing havoc in our lives. Everyone knows that the loss of our Far Eastern markets is causing great unemployment and suffering in the cotton industry. Yet our patriotic capitalists have just supplied "complete equipment for two textile mills" to our future competitors in China! All this cargo left Birkenhead just before the Easter holiday and "for some time," we are informed, "Chinese mechanics have been in Lancashire familiarizing themselves with the machinery, so that they will be able to superintend its installation."

In the near future, then, we may expect Lancashire to suffer from still severer competition in the Far East—and this stab in the back she will woe to people at home, to capitalists who take no thought for anything but the profits to be grabbed at the moment.

"Damnable Waste"

Production for profit—instead of for use—leads to the most tragic absurdities. A little while ago the City page of a London newspaper came out with the heading "Brighter Outlook for Coffee Growers." A closer examination of the text revealed that prices were rising sharply. To maintain this happy state of affairs, happy only for the industry which must make profits or perish, a "sacrifice quota" was in operation. That is, no less than 40 per cent of the crop was being deliberately and wantonly destroyed.

Listen to the Dean of Canterbury on the subject and then ask what sort of a mad world we put up with it:

> "You must get hold of this horrible sinister fact and visualize it. Suppose you stood on London Bridge and saw a man raise aloft a sack of coffee, weighing roughly as much as you yourself and then fling it from the parapet into the dark waters of the Thames. If you were half a man you would say, 'That is a damnable waste.'...
>
> "Supposing, however, that as quickly as your wrist-watch ticked off the seconds, he flung similar bags, one bag a second, on to the waters and never ceased doing it day in day out, hour by hour through the whole of the 24; did it while the spring flowers bloomed, while the summer suns glowed, while the autumn leaves fell; threw away the bags as the days and weeks and months passed, *one bag a second for nine solid months on end*, that is the destruction deemed necessary to 'save' the coffee trade of Brazil...."

And of course, as the Dean points out, it has been the same story with tea. Last year "the tea producers of India, Ceylon, and the Dutch East Indies, received orders to restrict their crops by a weight of 121,000,000 lbs. That amount would have filled every larder in England and Wales with 12 lbs. of tea."

It is a curious thing that all the examples brought to our attention of this wanton restriction or destruction of goods seem to be concerned with *food*. Tea, coffee, sugar, wheat, bacon, potatoes, milk, oranges—all are being restricted. The same process, of course, is going on with other primary products and raw materials. But it seems as if the capitalist system, which has always prided itself in being a thing apart from humane issues and not to be judged by them, was at last over-reaching itself in such a way as to make quite sure of its destruction at the hands of sensible men. For years it has dinned into us that labour—the work and well-being of men and women—was only a commodity to be bought and sold like any other commodity. Now it is telling us that their food also is only a commodity to be bought and sold like everything else for profit. But to the common man the provision of food has always had a divine sanction. ("Give us this day our daily bread"). And this attack on the people's food may well blow the whole

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Ottawa Agreements Breaking Down

Interference with our food, of course, began at the Ottawa Conference. The Agreements which the National Government entered into then with the Dominions were supposed to open a new era in inter-imperial relations. But it should not have needed a very wise prophet to foretell that the Agreements might in fact turn out to be a new cause for inter-imperial bickering.

The Ottawa Agreements reduced dairy imports from foreign countries so as to favour such imports from Australia and New Zealand. The result has been a greatly intensified competition from the Dominions. It matters little to the British farmer where the competition comes from—and if the Minister of Agriculture has "protected him against the one, there can be no objection *in reason* for protecting him against the other."

The Agreements lapse in November 1935. And already it is hinted they will not be renewed. New Zealand has been making overtures in the matter. She has asked whether Great Britain would maintain the free market here for New Zealand dairy produce if, in return, New Zealand makes heavy reductions in her tariff on British goods. But she has received a chilling reply. The Dominions Secretary is said to have intimated that the proposed tariff reductions "might not outweigh the severity of the competition now experienced by British farmers owing to the heavy imports of dairy produce from New Zealand and Australia."

So it has not taken long to unmask the Ottawa Conference! We were held up for months and months in our negotiations for a Trade Agreement with Russia because of our commitments to the Canadian Prime Minister, Mr. Bennett. But will this same Government that let us in for these Agreements, one wonders, still be in power, be there to face the music, in November next year when the Agreements come up for renewal—or repudiation?

Unemployed Cuts Unnecessary

At the moment of writing the Chancellor of the Exchequer has just announced that there is a Budget surplus of £31,148,000. This is the largest surplus there has been for ten years. It is to be hoped therefore that the first-fruits will be a restoration of those "cuts" made in 1931 in the income of the teachers, the Civil Servants, the police, and, above all, of the unemployed. Indeed, this Budget surplus shows that the cuts in unemployment benefit were never necessary. Well, then, let the Government lose no time in making amends. *If the cuts had been restored a year ago there would still have been a surplus.*

The unemployed and the small wage-earners have carried more than half their share of the Depression. Not only have their incomes been reduced, they have had to pay through the nose also in the indirect taxation of their food and clothing. The Budget accounts show £179,177,000 received in respect of Custom duties. Four-fifths of these duties were paid by the working classes. And the consumers have also had to pay an extra six millions a year for bread, because of the wheat subsidy, to say nothing of the staggering increases in bacon prices.

But it is not only on the grounds of equity and humanity that the cuts should be restored. A restoration would be of the greatest assistance to trade. There are indeed strong reasons for believing that it would help recovery far more than would a reduction in Income Tax. The unemployed spend their benefit on food and clothing and so employ countless thousands of other working men.

And now just a word about this Budget surplus. On every hand we shall be told that this is the largest surplus for ten years and a great feather in the cap of the National Government. But is it really? On the face of it, the year shows a surplus of over thirty-one millions. In fact, if the commitments to the United States made on our behalf by Mr. Stanley Baldwin and the Tory Government had been met, there would be no surplus but an actual deficit. Allowing for the token payment, we owe America on the year £35,000,000. And if the Socialist Government had proposed to default to our creditors abroad, what an outcry there would have been! We should have been told that the Socialists were ruining the credit of the country.

Air Scares

Perhaps we might just glance for a moment at a Disarmament matter. There has been a great campaign recently in the Rothermere newspapers to work up an Air scare. And it has been followed of course by an increase in our Air estimates—while the price of aviation shares has, in some cases, doubled.

In the current issue of the League of Nations journal, *Headway*, a most interesting reply is made to Lord Rothermere. The point is: who is our potential enemy in the air? Russia, the United States and Japan are ruled out because of distance. "A recent Italian formation flight to America has shown the immense difficulties to be overcome by a fleet of planes in crossing the Atlantic."

Who is the enemy in Europe then? The answer is, of course, France. But France has shown over and over again that she sets her security above every other consideration. Does Lord Rothermere imagine then, *Headway* asks, that France would watch our factories turning out hundreds of fighters and bombers without adding a machine to her own air force? Of course he must know that such a policy on

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our part would lead straight to an armaments race with France.

But there is another point—and this is not mentioned by the *Headway* article—of which Sir Norman Angell has recently reminded us. "France," he writes, "the strongest Air Power in the world, has offered to scrap her air arm if we internationalize civil aviation and establish a small air police; and has indeed offered to forgo the latter condition if the international control of civil aviation is thorough-going enough."

But, as a country, we seem to prefer being a law unto ourselves and to be prosecutor and judge in our own case. It is as futile in internationl matters as it would be in the case of a private citizen in national matters.

FINANCE AND INSURANCE

The Sugar Excise Duty Bill

THE proposal of the Finance Member to impose an Excise Duty of Re. 1-5 per cwt. (Annas 15-4.5 per maund) on 'all sugar produced in any factory in British India ··' on or after April 1, 1934, was most unfavourably received by the Indian Press. Vehement protests were recorded by the sugar manufacturers and the bill was referred to the Select Committee, which has just produced its reports.

The Excise Duty as originally proposed (Re. 1-5 per cwt.) is estimated to yield about Rs. 147 lakhs out of which it is proposed to set aside an amount equivalent to 1 anna per cwt., representing about 7 lakhs, as a fund to be distributed among the Provinces where white sugar is produced for the purpose of "assisting the organization and operation of co-operative societies among the cane-growers so as to help them in securing fair prices, or for other purposes directed to the same end." The Finance Member trusts that as a result of the legislation, "the immediate position of the cultivators will be protected" and "the measurement of protection which will remain is sufficient to allow all reasonably well-organized factories a fair margin of profit after paying a fair price to the cultivator and···in the long run, the industry will enjoy a more healthy life and growth if this change is made now than if the present excessive duty is allowed to continue."

The bill shall apply to all factories in British India where sugar is produced and where sugar is used in any such factory in the manufacture of *any* commodity other than sugar, (cl. 3). "Factory" is defined in the usual way to mean "any premises wherein or within the precincts of which, twenty or more workers are working or were working on *any* day of the preceding twelve months." It is thus possible that it will apply to factories other than sugar-producing factories, but the language is not clear. Power is given by clause 11 to the Governor-General-in-Council to make rules under the Act. The owners of factories and sellers of sugar may be asked to furnish informations required by such rules, to keep appropriate records and to make returns in manner prescribed by the rules. No person is allowed to issue any sugar out of a factory except in accordance with the provisions of the rules (cl. 5). Clauses 7, 8, 11 (3) provide penalty for evasion of duty or failure to supply information, for issue of sugar from factory in contravention of Clause 5 and for any breach of rules made under the Act. The penalty in each case is imprisonment which may extend to six months, or fine which may extend to one thousand rupees or both.

From 1908-09 to May, 1925, the import duty on sugar was on *ad valorem* basis. Since 1926-27, the duty has been specific. In 1931, the Tariff Board recommended a duty of Rs. 7-4 per cwt. (=Rs. 5-5 per maund) for seven years and Rs. 6-4 per cwt. (=Rs. 4-10 per maund) for eight years more. It also recommended that if market prices in Calcutta in future fell below Rs. 4 per maund without duty, a further duty of 8 annas per cwt. should immediately be imposed. It was also recommended that the minimum price paid for cane should be annas six per maund. The recommendations regarding the duty were given effect to by the Sugar Industry (Protection) Act of 1932. There is a provision in this Act (sec. 4) that if foreign sugar is imported into British India at such a price that the duties imposed (Rs. 7-4 per cwt.) proves to be insufficient, the Governor-General may "increase such duty to such extent as he thinks fit." In September, 1931, an emergency surcharge of 25 per cent was imposed making the duty amount to Rs. 9-4 per cwt. (Rs. 6-10.5 per maund) in all. The present bill proposes to abolish this surcharge. As Java Sugar sells in Calcutta at Rs. 3-7 per Rs. 10-1 minus Rs. 6-10.

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...d without duty, the total import duty ...ld be Rs. 7-12 per cwt. (Rs. 5-11 per ...ly according to the Tariff Board recom- ...dation. The present bill aims at reducing ...existing duty to this level by imposing an ...ise duty equal to the difference.

The duty of Rs. 7-4 per cwt. was recommend- by the Tariff Board on certain suppositions. ...contemplated a margin of Rs. 4-3-2 per maund ...sugar over the cost of the cane. This included ...annas as the price of the molasses. At present, ...ever, molasses have become unsaleable at ...price so that the actual margin has come ...n to about Rs. 3-7 per maund. If an excise ...y is levied at annas 15-4·5 per maund, the ...gin further comes down to Rs. 2-7-5 only ...m which if the manufacturing cost and over- ...d charges are deducted, the balance left is ...enough to cover even the minimum return ...the capital invested.

Java sugar is at present selling at Rs. 10-1 ...maund and Cawnpore sugar at Rs. 9-5. If ...bill is carried, the former will sell at Rs. 10-7 ...the latter at Rs. 10-4 per maund.* If we ...for the difference in quality, the margin ...so small and the protection afforded so long ...entirely vanish. If the recommendation of ...Select Committee be adopted, the Cawnpore ...will sell at Rs. 10-1 which is more reason- ...

The full text of the Select Committee reports ...not available at the time of writing but the ...summary shows that the Majority are in ...of reducing the excise duty to Re. 1 ...and imposing a duty of annas 10 per ...on Khandsari factory sugar. The Minority, ...the other hand, is in favour of the retention ...the original proposal (Re. 1-5 per cwt.) but ...impose the duty as from August 1. It ...very likely that the Government would take ...advantage of this difference of opinion and ...for the enactment of the original bill in ...

The economics of Sir George Schuster is ...perplexing to us. It is a common saying ...you cannot both eat the cake and also have ...But Sir George wishes to achieve even this. ...you are committed to a protectionist policy, ...cannot at the same time look forward to a ...some customs revenue. That is the price ...has to be paid for protection. Having ...sed the surcharge on sugar, it is not fair ...Sir George to blame the sugar industry for ...lower customs receipts.

The argument of Sir George that the excise duty is designed to put a stop to the "danger of over-production which might in the long run bring disaster" does not seem to be very strong. It is only in 1935 that for the first time the production of sugar is going to equal the consumption in India, so that the problem of over-production need not be seriously considered for some time more. The proper way to tackle the problem would be either to restrict the cultivation of sugar-cane or to restrict the activities of the mills. But at present, the number of well-established mills is far too small to manufacture the cane into sugar. Most of the mills are mere infants less than two years old and is it not strange that instead of "nursing" our infant firms, we are trying to throttle them with excise duty even before the industry has had the chance of establishing itself? This is a contradiction which the official explanation has failed to resolve.

The magnitude of the reaction that a high restrictive duty will produce on the industry can be estimated when we remember that the sugar industry gives employment to about a lakh of factory workers, represents investment of no less than 20 crores of rupees and provides the means of subsistence of 15 million cultivators throughout India. We have also to note that Java is carrying a huge stock which, if released in the Indian market, would definitely harm the Indian industry, if not altogether kill it. If in addition Java goes off the Gold Standard, the result will be all the more disastrous.

We have one further remark to make. We do not know how the Local Governments will regulate the selling price of sugar. There are at present no sales societies or co-operative societies particularly meant to serve the interest of the cane-growers. The existing co-operative societies are, we fear, too badly managed to be able to assume this additional responsibility. It is further not very easy in our country to organize the illiterate peasantry in a short time. Even if such societies are formed, the Government will have to spoon-feed them for a pretty long time. Besides, we have to be alive to the difficulty that cane has to be absolutely fresh if it is to be of any use, so that storing will not be possible.

The scheme, if it successfully works, will be a triumph of "Economic Planning" and will be of the greatest importance to the future "planning" of our economic activities. For the present, we can only hope for the best and wait.

Statistics Relating to Sugar

Production of cane sugar: (raw sugar contents)
In thousand long tons

Year ending in Aug:	1931	1932	1933	1934 (Dec. estimate)
Java	2957	2715	1486	571
Cuba	3163	2636	2021	1673

*This is on the assumption that the selling price ...ld rise by the full amount of the duty. In ...ality it is more probable that the price of the Java ...would respond less to the increased duty than ...price of the Indian sugar would to the excise ...so that the actual margin would be even less ...what is shown above. Thus the protection ...would be entirely lost except in areas near ...mills.

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British India	2877	3465	4652	4921
Phillipines	782	983	1146	1329
Total of cane sugar	17294	17726	16904	16235
Total cane & Beet Sugar	29034	26537	24685	24765

The decrease in case of Java and Cuba is to be noted; both of them are participants in the Chadbourne Restriction Scheme, 1931-32. At present British India is the largest producer of cane sugar in the world.

Consumption of Sugar (raw sugar content)
In thousand long tons

Year ending in Aug.	1931	1932	1933
Europe	10348	9723	9034
U. S. A.	6207	5841	5897
British India	4114	4162	5080
Grand Total for world	26515	25681	25886

Source: Estimate by Dr. Mikusch and Czarnikov, Ltd. (Bank of England Statistical Summary, Jannuary, 1934).

Import of Sugar

Quantity	(1000 tons) 1930-31	1931-32	1932-33	1933 (Apr.) to 1934 (Jan.)
Java	802.3	366.7	294.8	181.2
Total	901.1	516.1	369.4	247.5
Value (Lakhs of Rupees)				
Java	936.5	436.2	329.7	185.1
Total	1053.8	600.7	412.2	254.9

The above figures show that Java is the chief exporter of sugar. Other exporters are the United Kingdom and Japan. The bulk of beet sugar comes from the United Kingdom.

Final Sugar Cane Forecast 1933-34

	Area (000 acres) 1932-33	1933-34	Yield (000 tons) 1932-33	1933-34
U. P.	1793	1731	2612	2786
Panjab	558	467	444	347
Bihar and Orissa	302	418	313	623
Bengal	233	257	454	457
Madras	125	120	346	325
Bombay	105	102	275	266
Total	3321	3305	4684	5067

It appears that Bengal is the third sugar producing province in India. U. P. comes first with a percentage of 55 of the total while the percentage is 12 in case of B. & O. and 9 in case of Bengal.

The yield per acre (in pounds) are as follows:

	1932-33	1933-34
U. P.	3263	3605
Panjab	1782	1664
B. and O.	2322	3339
Bengal	4365	3983
Madras	6200	6067
Bombay	5867	5842
Total	3163	3434

The yield per acre will be less than in the previous year in all provinces except U. P. and B. O. The high productivity in case of Madras and Bombay are worthy of note.

Excise Duty on Matches

The bill proposed imposes an excise duty on matches made in British India. The duty payable would be (1) Rs. 2-4 per gross of boxes containing not more than eighty in a box and (2) 9 annas for every twenty matches or fraction thereof in case of boxes containing more than twenty. Section 9 of the bil, provides that no person shall manufacture matches in British India except under a licence and no person shall issue any matches out of a manufactory except in accordance with rules to be framed under the Act. Again, every packet, box or booklet of matches issued from any factory shall bear a "banderol" or stamp affixed in accordance with rules to be made under this Act. Appropriate penalties for infringement are provided for as also for evasion of duty or failure to supply information.

The collection of the tax is, in the first instance, to be in the hands of the Local Governments as agents of the Government of India. The customs duties on matches are to be revised so as to comprise rates maintaining the existing measure of protection for the Indian industry over and above the equivalent of the new excise duty.

The revised import duties are to be as follows:

1.	Boxes containing not more than eighty each	Rs. 3-8 per gross of boxes.
2.	Do···more than eighty in a box.	14 annas for every 20 matches or fraction thereof in each box, per gross of boxes.
3.	Not in boxes.	4 annas and eight pies for every 960 matches or fraction thereof.

Ths bill was referred to a Select Committee whose report was submitted to the Assembly on April 14. The Committee has recommended a lower duty and has made a number of important changes.

The rate of the excise duty would be, according to these recommendations, at the rate of one rupee on a gross of boxes each containing on an average 40 matches with corresponding rates for matches in boxes of 60 and 80 (cls. 4). Clause 18 (D) gives the required power to limit the number of matches contained in a box to 50. The customs duty has been changed in order to

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bring it into line with the duty now proposed (cl. 20). It is also recommended that imported mechanical lighters should be subjected to a suitable enhancement of customs duty and that an equal excise duty should be imposed on indigenous manufacture.*

SAILENDRA NATH SEN-GUPTA

Indian Insurance

INDIAN INSURANCE CONFERENCE

In his Presidential address to the Indian Insurance Conference at Lahore Sir P. C. Ray exhorted the Indian companies to put forth all their strength and resources with a view to expand their activities to all branches of insurance and made a pointed reference to the vast potentialities of non-life business in regard to which indigenous enterprises have not so long been able to make much headway. Of particular interest were Sir P. C. Ray's observations about the Indian Insurance Law which, according to him, "cannot save the Indian Insurance Companies from unfair competition. And even if some of the resourceful institutions of the West resort to dumping insurance business in India under conditions which may tend to paralyse the existing Indian enterprises, the Indian Insurance Law will not be able to offer any effective check to save the Indian Companies." He pleaded for an immediate revision of the Law and along with it, for the enactment of legislation, now long overdue, compelling non-Indian offices to keep records of, and value separately, their Indian business so that the relative liabilities may be rightly assessed. It is difficult to see why the Government have not yet found it possible to respond to this by no means unreasonable demand of the people who have entrusted their savings to particular institutions.

INDIAN POSTAL LIFE INSURANCE

That the Indian Postal Life Insurance is competing severely with our private insurance companies will be apparent from the latest returns which show that on March 31, 1933, there were about 85,000 policies covering an aggregate assurance of Rs. 15,85,00,000. The maximum amount for which life insurance could be effected in the Post Office Insurance Fund had previously been fixed at Rs. 10,000 but of late, the limit has been raised to Rs. 20,000. Moreover, in 1883 when the fund was first instituted it was meant only for the postal employees, but it has now been thrown open to all classes of Government servants as well as to the servants of the quasi-Public bodies. The Government's plea for such widening its scope and increase of limit is that the benefits of assurance are thereby made available to a large section of its own servants. But this object could as well have been, and as a matter of fact, was being, served—and that efficiently,—by private companies the working of which has given rise to few complaints so far. It is, indeed, the profitable nature of the business that has induced the Government to take this advantage. If in spite of the facts and figures the Government should argue that the Postal Insurance Fund does not offer any unfair or unreasonable competition with private companies and that the position of the Fund in relation to these companies remains substantially unaltered having regard to the very large field available in india for the operation of the private enterprises, it must be out to support an obviously insupportable case.

ORIENTAL'S NEW BUSINESS

The oldest amongst the Indian Proprietary Life offiices, the Oriental Government Security Life Assurance Company Limited celebrates its Diamond Jubilee this year. This is undoubtedly the biggest of the Indian Life offices, and this year it has written a record volume of business exceeding its own record of 1929 when it closed its books with 31,128 policies assuring Rs. 6,50,04,539. In 1932 its new business was Rs. 5,94,00,727 distributed amongst 29,982 policies. And in 1933 it has written 38,191 policies assuring Rs. 7,04,26,203 which shows an increase of Rs. 1,10,25,476 over the figures of the previous year. So far as can be judged from a cursory view the results are nothing but entirely satisfactory.

Foreign Insurance

RESULTS OF THE PRUDENTIAL

Now is the time when most of the insurance companies abroad are taking stock of their year's working and reports about some of them are already available here. The most interesting of such balance sheets and revenue accounts is, of course, that of the Prudential which has just stepped into the eighty-fifth year of its existence and is decidedly the "biggest insurance company in the British Empire." An elaborate discussion of its balance sheet is not possible here but references to a few of its figures will undoubtedly be of interest. The new sums assured in the Industrial and ordinary branch amounted to £85,764,388, while the total sums assured (with bonuses) came to £745,388,424. The premium income has also increased in all branches, and the income of the company for the year from all sources totalled £50,191,265. Consequent on the increase of the new business written in 1933 a substantial addition to expenses might reasonalby

* Since the writing of these notes (16.4.34) both the Sugar Excise Bill and the Bill for imposing Excise duty on matches have received legislative sanction. As anticipated above, the excise duty on sugar has been restored to Rs. 1-5 per cwt. as originally proposed.

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have been anticipated, but it is gratifying to note that the ratio of expense to premium has decreased all round, being as low as 12.43 p.c. in the Ordinary Branch, 23.87 p.c. in the Industrial Branch and 40.07 p.c. in the General Branch. The Company paid away more than £25½ millions to policyholders in 1933, and up till now the total claims paid exceed £432 millions. The aggregate assests at the end of the year under review were £277½ millions, showing an increase of about £13¾ millions over the figures of the previous year, "nearly half the debt of Great Britain before the War." 74.1 p. c. of the assets represents investment in the United Kingdom, 9.1 p. c. Indian and 16.2 p. c. Foreign. It may be pointed out that the Prudential receives not an inconsiderable amount of its business, particularly in life assurance, from its overseas branches, and in 1933 the total amount of such new life business shows an increase over the previous year of £1 million. The Prudential is a living example of the tremendous expansions that a financial institution is capable of when it receives active national support and co-operation.

The Biggest Life Office In The World

The operations of the Prudential are vast, no doubt, but vaster still is the scale of business of the "Metropolitan Life Insurance Company of New York" —the largest life-office in the world. During the year 1933 the Metropolitan booked a new business of $3175 millions, and the total insurance in force at the close of the year was $18,803 millions distributed amongst 41.7 million policies. In addition to this the Company had in force personal accident and health insurance carrying a capital sum benefit of $1214 millions and a weekly indemnity of $12·5 millions. During the year it paid $573 millions in claims, and it is interesting to note that the total payments averaged $4741 a minute for each business day. The total assets of the Company at the end of the year amounted to $3861 millions. The hugeness of the scale of operations of the Metropolitan will be understood from the fact that the total life insurance in force of all the companies working in India is approximately less than one-fifth of its new business in 1933.

Insurance Progress In Japan

Although comparatively a late-comer in the field Japan has made remarkable progress in life insurance. Her first life-office on modern lines, the Meiji Life Assurance Co. Ltd., of Tokyo, was established in 1881, when the first British Company was already about a century and a decade old, and when even India could boast of having about half a dozen life offices of her own. But within a little above half a century since then, simultaneously with the nation's economic development, thirty-nine companies have come into being and with her total amount of life insurance in force reaching about 11,148 million yen she stands today as one of the leading insurance countries of the world and ranks next to U. S. A., Britain and Canada. In the early years, of course, certain difficulties cropped up and the Insurance Law of 1900 paved the way for a smooth and progressive development. It was in this year that the Law regulating the operations of the Foreign companies was promulgated. The Foreign life-offices had never had any predominance in Japan, and today there are only two Canadian companies working in Japan their business in force at the end of 1930 amounting to only £250 millions.

The most remarkable development took place during the unprecedented general prosperity that followed the War, when the number of policies increased by 190 p.c. and the amount of insurance by 210 p. c. Japanese life-offices were put to a severe test during the Influenza epidemic of 1919 when 12½ millions yen had to be paid in death claims, the economic crisis of 1920, the earthquake of 1923 which resulted in a loss of 100,000 lives and 10 billion yen worth of properties, and the financial panic of 1927. From each of these severe assaults the Japanese life-offices emerged ever stronger than before. The social welfare work of the Japanese life-offices has contributed not a little towards the development of life insurance thoughts. Their splendid relief work after the earthquake, their generous donations to Social Welfare foundations, their incessant propaganda for health and sanitation, and their remarkble manner in which they have organized hospitals and health consultation bureaus, have convinced the public of the high ideals of social service that permeate the business of the Japanese. Firmly based on strong foundations the Japanese life-offices can reasonably look forward for an era of still more progress and prosperity.

M. C.

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ART AND LITERATURE IN RUSSIA TODAY

By NITYANARAYAN BANERJEE

We came back to our hotel for tea. In the evening we again went out to see the Art Gallery. But ere going there we had to go again to Intourist office to have my passport and ticket for Moscow, which were with them. That is a nice trick of the Soviet Government. As soon as one crosses the Russian frontier, they will search every corner of his suit cases, every envelope and will make a note of the foreign money and jewellery one carries. He will be allowed to take out that amount of money and jewellery which are endorsed in the passport and will be required to show the cash memo in the frontier for anything bought in Russia. Throughout the stay in Russia the passport is kept in Government custody probably to have strict control over the foreigners; only it is delivered to the holder when travelling from one city to another. At least this was done in my case. The office work of the Intourist did not seem to be very efficient; they take too much time to handle simple things. When I was just going out of the Intourist office, a tall dark figure checked my motion. I was very glad to see a 'non-White' man, who evidently was from India. He was kind enough to step forward and ask, "Are you an Indian?"

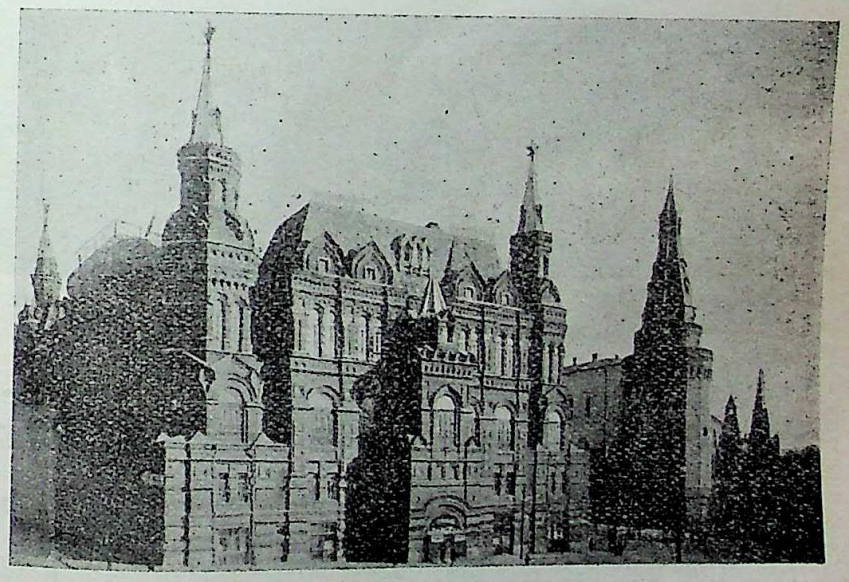
"Yes. Are you too?" asked I.

"Surely, can't you recognize that? May I know your name?"

I answered his question, when he said, "I am a Chatterjee."

I was extremely glad to see another Bengalee there and asked him his detailed whereabouts in India. He is Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's brother, son of the late Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyaya. He is a professor of Leningrad University. I had to leave Leningrad that very night; so I was really extremely sorry not to see Mr. Chatterjee again, from whom I could have gathered much more about the real condition of Russia.

We went to see the Art Museum. This is not free; a nominal fee has to be paid. For that fee a well-informed guide takes the visitors through the galleries and explain the techniques, the period and the idea of the pictures and sculptures there.



The Historical Museum—Moscow

As the Hermitage contains the old-school works of art, this museum consists solely of paintings, portraits and sculptures of the after-revolution period. If anybody just studies the paintings systematically according to period, he may have an idea of the development of mentality in Russia from the date of the revolution up till now. The pictures are arranged in different halls according to their period.

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Just after the revolution the people's mind was overwhelmed with famine and civil war; the paintings of that period portray vividly the mental worries of the people during that period. Not only pictures but dramas, novels, short stories, songs—everything of art was created with that sad theme in it. After that period, when the opposing forces had been subdued, the Bolshevic youths plunged into drinking and debauchery. With everything else they

A painting of the 9th January revolution of 1905

took the women, too, to be socialized, and often there were cases when individuals or groups used to outrage the modesty of women freely without any privacy and restriction, even forcibly. The Russian youth at this stage, revolting against religion, defied every social law enjoined by religion. That was a horrible period—a period when the masses were maddened by the spur of the new freedom and the intellectuals were perplexed by the horrible result of the revolution and were searching for a better way to peace and social order. The famous Russian novels, *Three Pairs of Silk Stockings*, *The Embezzlers*, *Squaring the Circle* and others give vivid pictures of this state of Russia.

Next was the period of the Five-Year Plan, the constructive programme. Everywhere there was some routine, some definite plan of production, system and discipline. There are pictures of labourers working in [illegible] factories; building new club-houses, [illegible] shops; toiling before red furnaces, black [illegible] pictures of collective farms, common [illegible] halls and other works and ideals of the S[illegible]. There are paintings of fruits and flo[illegible] landscape and huts, but not a single pi[illegible] of an angel or fairy, heaven and [illegible] or Christ or anything imaginary. [illegible] Russians of today are extremely re[illegible] they even turned all fairy tales [illegible] fables out of Russian chil[illegible] books; only very re[illegible] they are again all[illegible] imaginary tales and fable[illegible] juvenile story books [illegible] that even is not of mer[illegible] and witches but of mira[illegible] attainments of the new s[illegible] and its ideals.

During this very [illegible] time after revolution [illegible] new techniques in col[illegible] and drawing have [illegible] adopted and given up. T[illegible] things show how revolutio[illegible] were the Russians ag[illegible] anything old and [illegible] restless were they. [illegible] though the art of [illegible] period took a very cl[illegible] shape from the old, y[illegible] must be admitted that it was not to[illegible] anything better.

All the pictures, novels, stories, d[illegible] had to be created with an object, the fu[illegible] ing of the revolutionary cause. Th[illegible] all powerful "Rapp," the society of [illegible] proletariat to control art, forced every[illegible] of art to be objective. Every book, [illegible] picture, every song should have the [illegible] of preaching the communistic ideals. [illegible] drama could be played which showed [illegible] sympathy with any bourgeois character. [illegible] dramas had to be cast in the same m[illegible] proletariat are always noble and the [illegible] the capitalists, always villainous, wic[illegible] menace to society. All characters were [illegible] absolutely noble or rogues, they were d[illegible] of real human character. The same pr[illegible] had to be followed in novels, short s[illegible] poems and other sections of art. [illegible] poems were not allowed to be written;

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...ic was forbidden, even films featuring ...d Lloyd were banned. That was a ...rible time for Russian art. There was no ... for art's sake, it was dictated by the ...pp" to suit the cause of the Revolution. ...r well-known novelists and playwrights ... to stop writing or had to sacrifice their ...ality to the sword of dictatorship. As

A Russian Propaganda Picture

...lt of this cruel "Rapp" reign real art ...e farewell to Russia; but fortunately ...ns were prompt enough to realize this ...y a special decree on April 23, 1932, "Rapp" was dissolved. People were tired ...litical sermons in newspapers, mass ...ings, factory debates, so they wanted ...ation in novels, dramas, paintings, the ...a instead of political teachings. Con- ...tly with the abolition of the "Rapp" ...sian Art flowed in a different direction, it ...e back to its proper channel. True it is ... even now there is strict censorship on art, ...e censor only objects if there is anything ...st the State. The newspapers can ...ize State policies and programmes, but ... on constructive lines, not in the other ...ction. In *Moscow Daily News* I have ... letters criticizing vehemently some pro- ...e of the State. There are "Counter ...ings," that is, modifications of criticism ... plans submitted by the State Planning ...mission of Moscow. In *Voks*, the bi- ...thly illustrated English periodical of ...ow, I have seen appreciation and ...sion of Soviet works. From the contents of one issue of this periodical one may have an idea of the subjects dealt with therein :

Through the Union of the Soviets	M. Gorky.
The Economic and Cultural Development of the Far East Region	A. Butsenko.
The Conditions of Labour and the Personnel Problem in the Soviet Oil Industry ...	G. Mitrov.
At the Soviet Factory	N. Tinovsky.

Now writers may deal with real life, they are free from dictation. New pictures are again appearing in Russia. The latest paintings seemed to proceed fast to compete with famous Italian and French paintings.

Soviet Square. The Obelisk of Freedom after revolution and the Lenin Institute, Moscow

Novels and dramas dealing with love and romance may again be written. The Russians have now realized their madness. They have gained the experience that dictatorship may build factories and farms but not Art. Still Russian literature always smacks of Revolution, it has not altogether given it up.

Formerly artists were looked down upon as the remnants of the old bourgeois intellec-

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tuals ; they could not express publicly their grievances against the State, as they were supposed to have no right in the State ; but now the case is different, very different. Now, like engineers and scientists, artists are also greatly favoured and patronized by the State. While I was coming back to Berlin from Moscow I met a writer in the train who could speak a little English. From him I came to know that when one finishes a book he has to submit it to the State and if the State thinks it worth publishing the writer gets remuneration on the basis of a unit of thousand words. The drama writers get royalty from the theatres on each performance. Probably now the artists are the most happy in Russia. They are favoured by the State, honoured by the people, live better, eat better, have no anxiety about the sale of their books. For the new education and culture Russians are so mad after literature that the supply is insufficient to meet the demand. I was told Maxim Gorky is the richest writer in Russia, but alas ! what can riches obtain in Russia. Income tax takes the major portion of the income, and if any body is a communist he has to pay another tax to the party. With the remaining amount one cannot have a house of his own, a nice car to have an evening drive or cannot accumulate it for his beloved children to live on idly. Riches are a curse in Russia instead of a blessing.

INDIA IN SHACKLES

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

[*The Author has studied Indian affairs thoroughly and at first hand. He is the Vice-Chairman and Hon. Sec. of the British Committee on Indian and Burman Affairs.*]

INDIA'S constitution is in the melting-pot. A Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament has been sitting for the best part of a year considering the British Government's proposals which are embodied in a White Paper. The proposals were not much good from the Indian point of view at the beginning of their sittings. It seems unlikely that they will emerge much better than they began.

The outstanding feature of these proposals is distrust of India—camouflaged under the name of "safe-guards." The White Paper forms a book of some 130 pages and the leading Tory newspaper points out that there is a safe-guard on every page.

As Mr. Baldwin shrewdly pointed out at his meeting in Manchester last June, a bayonet may be a very good thing to open a tin or to dig with, but you can never sell goods to India by putting cotton streamers on the point of a bayonet. "Whatever safe-guards you have," he said, "the real safe-guard is the maintenance of goodwill."

There is little in the Government White Paper to evoke that goodwill, and meetings of protest against it have been held from end to end of the country. The Central Indian Legislature has even passed a unanimous resolution to the effect that "unless the constitutional proposals described in the White Paper were substantially amended, it would not be possible to ensure the peace and progress of the country."

History repeats itself. The Tories tried to dominate the American Colonies and so lost to the British Commonwealth of Nations the United States of America. They would have lost Canada but for Lord Durham's wise advice. In Canada the problem was much the same as in India today. There were two communities antagonistic in speech and religion—the Roman Catholic French Canadians and the Protestant English. They disagreed between themselves, but joined in a common hatred of England.

Sir Charles Innes, an Indian Civil Servant just retired, who has occupied several of the most important posts under the Government of India and whose voice may be taken as that of "the man on the spot," said in his evidence before the Joint Select Committee :

> Canada in the first half of the 19th century offers in some respects a parallel with the India of today. There was an irresponsible executive confronted by a powerful legislature, and Canada had its own communal problem in the rivalry of the French and English Canadians. The effects of these factors were much the same as [illegible]

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"THIS NEW FREEDOM"
Specially drawn for *The Modern Review*
By Mr. Andrew MacLaren, ex-M. P.,
"The cleverest cartoonist in the House of Commons."

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manifested themselves in recent years in India. There was a tendency towards irresponsibility on the part of the legislature. The tension between the French and English Canadians increased and there was growing bitterness against the Home Government. Finally, there was a rebellion, and it was only Lord Durham's report that saved Canada for the Empire. He recognized that responsibility was the only real remedy for the situation that had arisen. History is repeating itself in India today, and much the same phenomena can be seen....

Politically-minded Indians tend to believe that the British are standing in the way of their legitimate aspirations, and that we do so because in our own interests we are reluctant to give up our hold on India.

The Tories fought a war to get and hold South Africa. They would have lost it to the British Commonwealth of Nations but for Mr. Campbell-Bannerman's wise statesmanship in giving it self-government. The Tories are obsessed with the policy of grab and hold. They have no vision, and without vision the people perish.

Mr. Baldwin last summer at Manchester admitted their shortcomings in these words :

Your really old-fashioned, hardshelled Conservative has always been opposed to wide extension of democratic government, and when responsible government was first given to Canada no language was bad enough, and no prophecies for the Tories of that time could be too bad about it.

We were wrong—our party was wrong—and had we had our way then we should have missed the bus. Looking back we can say that the granting of democratic institutions to South Africa was right. Distinguished Conservatives who voted against it at the time have since acknowledged that they made a mistake. It was a great act of faith.

The India of today is vastly different from pre-War India. Indians see the future of their country not in isolated and antagonistic Provinces and Indian States, but in one vast Federation. If such a Federation could be brought about, Great Britain is solemnly pledged to assist in framing for them a Constitution giving them real responsible self-government subject only to such safe-guards as, in their own interests, are necessary for a purely transitional period.

The Federation has been agreed on, but the Constitution it is proposed to offer them would give them no real responsibility. It offers a certain amount of freedom but prevents its full enjoyment by putting heavy shackles on the Indians' use of such responsibilities as are offered them.

India's Finance Minister, for instance, will be responsible for raising the revenue necessary for carrying on the Government but he will only be responsible for the spending of about one-fifth of these revenues. The responsibility for the spending of the other four-fifths is to be retained by the British Parliament thousands of miles away.

India is one of the poorest countries in the world, reckoning wealth per head of population. But we have given her and make her pay for (and it is proposed that she continue to have) the most costly Civil Service in the world. She is not even to be allowed under the kind of responsible self-government proposed—to appoint her own Civil Servants or Police Officials. That will be done for her by us, but at her expense, for years to come and the Civil Servants so appointed will be under *our* control for at least another three years.

She is to be allowed to have no voice in her own Foreign Affairs. The Tories have always blundered over our Foreign Affairs but are so sensitive on the matter that they insist on the exclusive right to conduct India's Foreign Affairs—without even the pretence of consulting her even to the very limited extent that is done at present.

Then they tell India she cannot have real self-government until she is in a position to defend herself—and at the same time deprive her of all means of so defending herself and refuse to allow her even to train efficiently as she desires. Here again India is compelled by us to spend a greater proportion of her revenue on Army matters than any other country in the world.

We are a wonderful people; we deceive ourselves so easily and seem to assume that everyone else is similarly deceived.

The only hope of staving off a revolution in India on a big scale and of retaining India in the British Commonwealth of Nations is the belief in India, happily not yet dead, that Labour on its coming to power will, in consultation with Indians, frame for her a Constitution that will be real self-government on a footing of absolute equality with Great Britain and the other Dominions. Nothing less will satisfy Indians: nothing less ought to satisfy them.—*Labour*

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Liquidation of Illiteracy

In the last issue of *The Modern Review* appeared an article on the methods adopted in Russia to liquidate illiteracy. Miss Amy B. H. J. Rustomji in a thesis has proposed various ways and means for the liquidation of illiteracy in India too. *The Social Service Quarterly* summarizes the thesis as follows :

The issue of the Journal of the University of Bombay for 1933 contains an article of absorbing interest by Miss Amy B. H. J. Rustomji entitled, "A New Way In Education." Miss Rustomji calls upon the University, all its Alumni, all literates to take some share in the great work of securing the liquidation of illiteracy either in the organized manner or individually. Quoting Lenin, she observes that the removal of illiteracy is the problem of problems before the nation, for with an illiterate population there can scarcely be any possibility of progress, social, economic or political. Out of our huge population of 35 crores, less than three crores are barely literate, and even in a city like Bombay, which prides itself in being advanced, 72·29 per cent of the men and 81·83 per cent of the women are illiterate. Miss Rustomji's main thesis is that the removal of illiteracy is a work which can be taken in hand by each one of us, whether a house-holder employing servants, a clerk or quill-driver, an administrator or an industrialist controlling labour. The trouble is that although we see the evil in our midst, we do not take steps to remove it, on the contrary, we acquiesce in it. In support of this view of hers, Miss Rustomji reproduces the results of a census of illiteracy in cultured households held by some women's organizations in Bombay. In 315 households there were no less than 954 illiterates, and if the employers co-operated or even acted individually they could easily remedy the present state of things within less than six months. Similar action should be taken, Miss Rustomji suggests, by public utility companies, the Municipality and other local authorities, the Railway Companies and other large employers of labour. Government might follow suit both for their servants in the offices, the police force and even for the illiterates committed to their care in jails. The University itself has twelve thousand employees and can well turn its attention to the educating of these as well as of the illiterate employees of affiliated schools and colleges, with the assistance both of the staff and of students. University extension work is an integral function of all modern Universities, and, in Miss Rustomji's opinion, such extension work in a country like India, which has 92 per cent of its population illiterate, can best take the form of eradication of illiteracy. The University should take the lead and inaugurate a vigorous campaign ; if it does so, Miss Rustomji concludes, there is no reason why the number of literates should not go up in ten years' time from three crores to thirty crores as has already happend in Japan, Russia and other countries which have worked with a will to liquidate illiteracy at all cost.

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At the Back Door of Russia

We hear much of the progress Russia has made since the days of the Revolution of 1917. Mr. Howard L. Haag gives us some idea of the condition of those Russians who could not conform to the methods of the Revolution and had to seek shelter in Manchuria and other foreign lands in *The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon.* He says :

It was natural that during those awful days immediately following the Russian Revolution those hoards of Russian people who knew that they must flee for their lives, should move eastward. They were cut off from the West. For hundreds of thousands of them the only opening left lay toward the East where still remained the outpost of old Russia—the zone of the Chinese Eastern Railway in Manchuria. It was logical that they might expect that there at least they would be welcomed on soil into which Russia had built its great culture. They could not be expected to see into the future to a time when that too would be taken from them. "Surely," they reasoned, "here we shall have time to wait out the turn of events and we shall have our homes back again." They have waited thus far in vain. No one knows how many Russians crossed the borders into Manchuria to seek refuge temporarily, they thought, from the pestilence which was sweeping their country. It may be safely stated that the numbers ran into hundreds of thousands. Since these first years the borders of Manchuria and Siberia have been the scene of an almost unending stream of fleeing people. Even to this day the winter months when roads

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are passable bring group after group of hungry folk who prefer the rigours and privations of the long trek to Manchuria to that with which they have to put up in Soviet Russia. Not longer ago than the winter of 1930 we assisted a group of some 200 people, a whole village, to get away from the border to the safety of Harbin. They had packed all they had upon their sleighs, hitched up their horses, loaded their women and children on, and in the depth of the Siberian night driven across the border into Manchuria. In spite of all their suffering on that long and bitter cold trip, in spite of all hardships they have endured since that time, they are all thankful that they have been delivered from the oppression which was upon them.

The population of Harbin has been a strange indication of the conditions existing in Soviet Russia. Not all who have come here have remained. Thousands have gone on to try their luck in other parts of the world. While America, Australia, Canada and parts of Europe would accept them, they pushed on in their search for new homes. But since depression has overtaken these countries, the doors have been closed to the unfortunate Russian He has had to find in Manchuria a way of living. This has not been easy. For a person of the white race to compete with those of the yellow races is not and probably will never be easy. Different language, customs, and standards force the former to give way in manual labour to the latter. Furthermore, land till now has not been obtainable for cultivation, and even if it were, the vastly different methods of cultivation and exploitation make it next to impossible for the Russian to compete. Hence, it has been the aim of the Russian in Manchuria to move on as soon as any opportunity presented itself. Shanghai has taken its share of those who seek status in a foreign settlement. There are at least 10,000 Russian people living there. In Harbin there still remain from 80,000 to 100,000 Russians.

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Women and Law

The Bambay Law Journal writes editorially :

Not the least refutation of the charge levied by some of the foreigners against India that it is a backward country, is furnished by the remarkable awakening among Indian women in the present generation, not only as regards the welfare of their own sex, but with regard to social problems of infinite moment to the future of the country. H. H. The Maharani of Baroda, presiding over the fourth biennial conference of the National Council of Women in India, held in Bombay, last month, delivered an address which is remarkable for its fervour and its wide and courageous outlook and it will serve as an inspiration and guide in thousands of Indian homes. Referring to the Hindu Laws of Inheritance and property Her Highness observed that their injustice is evident. She further said, "Women could not afford to be mere dependents on men in matters of property, if they desired full scope for self-expression and development of their personality. They must be afforded a right to inherit, acquire and deal with property on the same basis as men. Many Hindu women were anxious to have a law of divorce passed for them, but a divorce law without proper laws of property and inheritance would be a misfortune." Lawyers are apt to lose sight of the fact while they are engaged in arguing about the true construction of ancient texts, public opinion has progressed so far that these texts do not matter now as much as they used to. We find from the Report of the Council that the Legislation Committee kept in touch with all bills relating to women and children introduced in the Legislative Assembly and in several instances pointed out defects and suggested changes in the various bills to the members who introduced them. The resolutions regarding social legislation passed at the Conference deserve the immediate attention of lawyers all over the country ; it is for them to take the next step, so as to expedite the putting into force of the measures recommended at the Conference. We suggest that the proceedings of the Conference should be made available to the public in the different vernaculars, at a moderate price.

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India's Rice Trade

The Indians, particularly the Bengalee, should carefully note that rice, their staple food, is now being imported from Japan. India is fertile enough to produce in sufficient quantity for the consumption of its people. Even in the field of rice trade she is being cornered by foreign Powers. Organization of this trade is now urgently needed. Mr. Amritlal Ojha, President, Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, writes in *The Indian Review*.

In the rice trade of india, Bengal presents certain peculiarities which have been and probably, not present elsewhere in the country. Up to the year 1915, unlike Burma and Madras, for example, there were very few rice mills in Bengal. The cultivators had to bring their produce to the district towns and dispose of it off to the middlemen. A large number of mills have been started after 1915, and now practically every district has a number of rice mills. These mills, in addition to milling and cleaning rice, very often purchase the paddy outright from the cultivators and then sell them to the exporting centres, such as Calcutta, Dacca, Chittagong, or to the merchants who in their turn supply distributors to up-country areas....

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The rice trade of Bengal after the Great War has declined heavily but the reasons are not far to seek. Until 1919, Bengal rice commanded a good market abroad, but ever since that year, Burma has made heavy inroads in her trade and now she practically has obtained a complete monopoly of what was formerly Bengal's. Up to 1919, amongst the Indian provinces, Bengal alone was specializing in boiled rice. Burma has now taken even this special field of Bengal, and since 1925 the Burmese boiled rice has more or less ousted the Bengal boiled rice from the Indian (other than Bengal) as well as the foreign markets. At present, it appears there is little or no scope for Bengal rice in the Indian markets excepting, probably, in the U. P. and Bihar. In those two provinces, the land is increasingly going under sugarcane cultivation, and in all likelihood rice might have to be imported from the neighbouring province of Bengal in order to make good the local deficiency.

As regards the foreign markets, Bengal can hope to have some revival of her former trade only if the grave internal defects are remedied. Rice is, unfortunately, the most disorganized industry in the province. Some strong organization that would stop the unhealthy competition among merchants and effectively safe-guard the interests of the traders and cultivators, is absolutely essential to put the rice trade of the province once more on its feet. Another great defect is the vast number of varieties to be found in the rice grown in the province and a woeful lack of standardization of the different types. When it is understood that it is on the standardization of the agricultural crop alone, their prosperity in export trade is possible, the difficulties in Bengal could be easily visualized. It goes without saying that standardization can be effected only by a competent official or semi-official organization.

In the British Empire, Ceylon and Straits Settlements are India's good customers. It is quite likely that the United Kingdom may also become important in the course of few years from the point of view of the Indian rice trade. Amongst the foreign countries, Germany, Netherlands Java and China are large importers of Indian rice. Though we have practically lost the Japanese market, we can more than make up that loss in China.

Reference in this connection should be made as to the anxiety of some, about the possibility of not only India's export trade in rice suffering, but also the invasion of the home market itself by other countries. During the last year, Japan actually reshipped a few thousand tons of rice to India. Just now, we are hearing of the Siamese exports of rice into Madras Presidency. It is undoubtedly true that imports of even a few thousands of tons at lower prices are likely to disorganize the Indian markets and create panic in the minds of the merchants. Under the existing circumstances, instead of erecting tariff barriers against the Siamese and other rice, India would probably do better to make representation to the respective Governments just as she did last year in the case of Japan.

—

Kerala and Indian Culture

Contribution of Kerala, a Southern India province, to Indian culture is very considerable. Mr. T. K. Krishna Menon gives a *resume* of it in *India and The World*. Part of it is quoted below :

Kerala, in ancient times, was, for administrative purposes, divided into *amsams* and *desams*. Each *desam* formed the territorial unit for military organizations, while the *tara* formed unit for civil purposes. "Every division and subdivision was designated by the alloted quota of Nayars it was required to bring into the field." "The Nayar inhabitants of a *tara* formed a small republic, represented by the Karnavars or elders." According to Keralolpathi, the Nayars formed 'the eyes' and 'the hands' of the land. The *nad* or country was a congeries of *taras* or village republics and the *Kuttam* or assembly of the *nad* was a representive body of immense power, which, when necessity existed, set at naught the authority of the Raja, and punished his ministers when they did unwarrantable acts."

According to some, 'Southern India was the cradle of the human race, and the passage ground by which ancient progenitors of northern and Mediterranean races proceeded to the parts of the globe which they now inhabit.…'

The Jews, the Muslims and the Christians alike claim it as their first settlement; and all of them had a generous, tolerant welcome from the Hindu Rulers of old. Near it was Matilakam, the seat of a celebrated University.…

There was a famous temple there, common to all the 64 Nambutiri, *gramams*. The north and south length of its boundary walls was about a mile and a half. It was in the upper hall of one of its tanksheds (of Chempalikulam) that the Parliament of the Perumals sat. It was called *Vidvalasabha*, the assembly of the wise, a sort of witenagemot, to direct studies, to enact laws, and even to give the last word on political matters. The Vidvalsabha was adorned by the presence of renowned Sanskrit and Tamil poets, Buddhsit and Jaina scholars, and crudite pandits in every department of knowledge, temporal and spiritual. The Cheraman Perumals had their capital and residence at Thiruvanchikulam near Cranganoor. The Hindu temples and the Buddhistic Chaityas in Matilakam and Vanchi were perhaps the oldest ones in Kerala. "In that corner of India were built the first and probably the only Roman temple in India, the first church, the first mosque and the

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first synagogue and the greatest *vihara* of South India."

The temples of Kerala were centres of learning, and they helped to develop literature and Fine arts. Many of the ancient temples in Kerala exhibit the high stage reached here in architecture, sculpture and iconology. Some of the paintings on the walls and panelled ceilings are marvels of the art, and serve to impart instruction in the legendary lore of the Puranas. On occasions of festivals in temples, there will be grand processions, dancing and drumming, music and piping, *Kathakali* and *Thullal*, *Kuthu* and *Patakam* and sports of various sorts. Several of the dramatic pieces and hymns, and songs that accompany the sports and dances are rightly ranked as classics.

"Kerala again found a fertile and congenial soil for Tamil, Sanskrit and Malayalam to grow. Manimekhalai and Chilappadhikaram, the two famous Tamil classics, were first published in Kerala. In the field of Sanskrit literature, we have our representative authors of no mean attainments in every department of Sanskrit learning; Prabhakara Bhatta, Sankaracharya and Purnaprajna Madhavacharya in the field of Vedanta, Lakhmidasa and Narayana in the field of Poetry; Kulasekhara and Sakti Bhadra in the field of dramaturge; not to speak of great names in the fields of Ayurveda, astronomy, astrology, architecture and other branches of knowledge." In Malayalam literature the names of "Cherussori, Thunjan, Kunjan and Unnayi" form a constellation in second to none in brilliance and in its unique character.

—

George Carver of Tuskegee

Everyone of us should know something of the Tuskegee Institute and its devoted workers. This Institute, founded by Booker T. Washington, is entirely staffed by American Negroes. In *Harijan* (April 6, 1934) Mr. C. F. Andrews tells us the life-story of Dr. George Carver, a teacher of the Tuskegee Institute. It has a lesson for us all. We make a few extracts from the sketch:

One of the greatest teachers in Tuskegee is Dr. Carver, who combines in his character the simplicity of a child with the wisdom of old age. The days that I spent with him, either talking over my own religious experience and comparing it with his own, or else being shown by him over his own laboratory, where the most marvellous discoveries in science have been made, were among the most precious during all my stay at Tuskegee.

In his own field of scientific work, Dr. Carver is almost as great a genius as Burbank was with regard to plant life and Edison with regard to discoveries in electricity and light. He has been able to synthesize the different products of sweet potatoes, peanuts and other plants in such a manner as to produce entirely new materials to be used either for food, or dyes or other purposes. He has made synthetic products from waste materials, also of such a character that new building boards and floor marbels have been produced from them. Work that has undertaken in chemistry has led continually to discoveries of very great commercial value; but Dr. George Carver has never made for himself a fortune out of them. Not seldom he has given over his discoveries to others to use in the best way they could, and they have made money from them, while he has remained to the end of his life a poor man.

One of his most noticeable characteristics is his complete humility. Never in my life have I seen one so great in character and achievement and at the same time so modest and retiring in temperament. Though he is now advanced in years and has grown old in learning, his whole attitude towards life is child-like and simple. His laugh is expressive of his youthful heart within. He seems to have retained the secret of perpetual youth as he has grown towards old age.

The world and its values have no attraction for him and, when he was offered many years ago a place in the laboratory of Thomas A. Edison which would easily have made his fortune, he refused it, because he wished to live among his own Southern people and to give his learning to the service of Tuskegee Institution, which he so dearly loves. Sir Harry Johnston, who was one of the most eminent British scientist and explorers of the 19th century, writes of him as follows: "Prof. Carver, who teaches scientific agriculture, botany, agricultural chemistry, etc., at Tuskegee, is an absolute Negro; but in the soundness of his science, he might be Professor of Botany, not at Tuskegee, but at Oxford or Cambridge. Any European botanist of distinction after ten minutes' conversation with this man would instinctively treat him as a man on a level with himself." These words, which were written many years ago, have become still more true today; for Dr. Carver's experiments have gained him an even greater reputation in the scientific world than he had when Sir Harry Johnston wrote about him.

Probably the most beautiful of all his most recent discoveries are those that have been made of the common clay of his own Southern States. At a time when Georgia and Alabama were passing through a very critical period owing to failure of the cotton crops through the boll weevil, George Carver showed how the soil of Alabama was by no means confined in its fertility to the black cotton soil of the South, but that the clay soil, which had hitherto been neglected, was itself a soil which could produce splendid crops of peanuts and sweet potatoes and other products of great value to mankind.

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discoveries of Dr. George Carver put new life into the agriculture of the South. They made the Southern farmers lift their heads once more and realize that they had invaluable treasures which would carry them far beyond the point of their former complete reliance on the cotton crop alone.

Dr. Carver has a very great and wide renown among the farmers of his own State. They come to him quite frequently for advice on practical matters. Nearly every day, it is possible to see them questioning him about the soil on their own estates and getting from him an analysis which will prove to them what is needed to increase fertility and how their crops may be improved.···

—

The Chinese Women of today

We take the following from *Stri-Dharma* :

The last three decades have brought tremendous changes in the life and states of Chinese women ; changes brought about by personal contacts with westerners, by travel, education, war, business and industry, missionaries, and other factors.

In particular, literature from all over the world preaching advanced ideas, such as revolution, sex equality, and individualism—education and political revolution within the country—all these have liberated women from an unfavourable psychological suggestion as to what comprises their duty and virtue, and opened for them a new and larger intellectual horizon. Recently laws have been devised by the Chinese Government which bestow equal rights in matters of property and inheritance upon women. Today laws recognize no marriage contracts except those consummated by the young folks concerned, and permit wives to sue for divorce.

Today women assume leadership in China in every field of human endeavour. They are vital in shaping the destiny of the nation. They have made big strides in education, entered the professions, taken part in business and asserted their individuality in their family and social relations. Women doctors, teachers, lawyers, nurses, clerks, secretaries and typists are to be seen all over the larger cities of China.

Let us take education as an example. When the Government issued an edict in 1910 providing for women's academic training, the entire Empire showed only 12,000 girls in elementary schools. Twelve years later they numbered above 400,000. Statistics reveal that an increasing proportion of girls are entering every type of school.···

You will find some of China's outstanding women in the business field. For example, Miss Nyien Sok Woo manages the Women's Commercial and Savings Bank at Shanghai, which is operated entirely by women. The Bank was opened in 1924, capitalized at $200,000 with resources in the first annual statement amounting to half a million dollars. After eight years its resources have increased to $5,000,000. The bank now occupies its magnificent five-storey building on Nanking Road.

There are hundreds of women who are prominent and quite influential in political affairs. The most outstanding, of course, is Madame Sun Yet-sen, widow of the great revolutionary leader. The masses of the nation listen to her, for she alone brings before them Dr. Sun's ideals, principles and his plans for the reconstruction of the nation and the uplifting of its millions. For the entire country she has become the embodiment of oriental widowhood. Loved and revered by the people, Madame Sun shines forth like a star of hope over China darkened by internal difficulties and foreign invasion.

Over 200 women are working for the National Government at Nanking. There are police-women in Canton. We know that Canton women are rated as the ablest seamen. It is said also that should every fisherman and boatman be drowned the women of Pearl River would surely carry on.

During the Shanghai fighting, Chinese women organized themselves into a "Women's League for National Salvation." They gave support and service to the gallant soldiers of the 19th route army. These women have done heroic work. The executive committee of the National Federation of Chinese Women's Organizations to help in the cause of international peace.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Peace is Dead

After a deep-rooted and careful analysis of great Political Powers of the world, Mr. Devere Allen has come to the inevitable and logical conclusion that International Peace has died away. His learned introduction to an essay, quoted below from *The World Tomorrow*, is a challenge to the school of optimistic believers in International Peace :

International tragedies, now as much as ever in the past, have a way of tumbling toward a sudden crisis, revealing sharply in the flames of conflict issues previously limned in half-light or, for some observers, utterly obscured. That the world's peace structure is weak and wanting, every thoughtful person long has known. If the nature of its glaring deficiencies are not now more apparent, we are in a hopeless state indeed. For the ferocious campaign against the Austrian workers in particular, coming on the heels of the French riots and general strike ; the dim manoeuvres for a face-saving rearmament deal between Hitler and the French, the growing impotence of the declining League of Nations, the heedless obstinacy of Japanese imperialism, the swiftly-spreading prestige of fascism, and the stampede of our own government into a rampant war preparedness, all serve to illuminate the collapse of peace intent and mechanisms.

There are those who, with invincible optimism, will still persist in their hopeful incantations, believing that if they flood with sunshine the withering plant of peace it will revive, irrespective of what happens at the root. There are those who, with patient and profound analysis, will probe to the evils of human nature and find there such narrow limits to generosity that peace, should it ever come, will be an illegitimate child of cosmic chance. With neither do I propose to quarrel here : for the main thing is not who carries off the honours of posterity for Olympian prophecy ; the main thing is to discover ways of action which, whether by intelligence or a lucky guess, may give a breathing spell, free from a suicidal war, in which the scholars may go as far as they like up the golden streets of faith or down the dark alleys of realism. Poison gas works equally well in either.

—

Collectivization of Agriculture in Soviet Union

W. Ladejinsky in an essay on "Collectivization of Agriculture in Soviet Union" has traced the origin and development of the agrarian movement in Russia culminating in the State-ownership of the land. The following extracts from the *Political Science Quarterly* may serve the purpose of a short introduction to the history of agriculture in the U. S. S. R. :

Lenin's proposed method of bringing about a collective system of agriculture points clearly to the pace to be followed. Considering the general make-up of the Russian peasant, particularly his adherence to old forms and his distrust of large-scale economy, Lenin pointed out that "it is self-evident that such a transition ···a transition from individual peasant farming to collective working of the land, requires a long time, and under no circumstances can it be accomplished at once." Tsarism, in his opinion, could be overthrown in a few days, the landlords and capitalists expropriated in a few weeks, but the solution of the agrarian problem "which we are now approaching···can be achieved only through extremely persistent and continuous effort···For the collective working of the land we shall have to fight step by step, inch by inch."

A long time before Lenin formulated his views, the Russian peasant through sheer force of necessity, properly gauged the importance of collective action. For instance, the land commune system, which, before the promulgation of the Stolypin land reform, covered almost eighty per cent of the total peasant land allotments, has taught them lessons in effective co-operative action long before the modern co-operative movement came into existence. Under this system the land was owned by the entire village commune, or *mir*. In order that each member of the commune might use the land on an equal basis, the *mir* would periodically redivide the land among the members, allowing each one to utilize the allotted land for his own purposes···

Under the circumstances "it was inevitable that the households should follow a common routine in the seeding, harvesting, pasturing and fallowing of the intermingled strips in each great field." This close connection led to collective

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activities which were not limited to the "holding, selling, purchasing and distributing of the land." They also found their expression, "though much less commonly, in the actual labour of production." Despite the variety of collective activity in which the peasant participated, he still retained a considerable degree of economic autonomy within the village commune.

The collective movement in the Soviet Union falls into two phases; the period from the triumph of the Bolshevik Revolution to 1929, and the period inaugurated in the spring of 1929 under what is known as the Five-Year Plan in Agriculture.

The beginning of the first period, the period of intensive preparatory work, dated from the famous Decree of October 26, 1917 (November 7, N.S.). ..... The Peasant Land Instruction which was incorporated in the same decree shows that private property in land, whether of the rich landowner or the rank-and-file peasant, was done away with:

The right of private property in land is to be abolished for all time. The land shall not be bought, sold, leased or otherwise alienated. All lands, whether belonging to the State, the former Imperial family, the *ex*-Tsar, the monasteries, or the church, whether copyhold, entailed, private, public or peasant, shall be taken over without compensation, turned into the property of the entire people, and placed at the disposal of all who till them for use. Article 1).

Thus, this land decree did away with what the Bolsheviks always considered the greatest obstacle to the solution of the agricultural problem in Russia—private ownership of land.

In the Decree on Land Socialization issued on February 19, 1918 we find the first attempt to give legal form to Lenin's policies...

This decree states that "all the land within the borders of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, no matter who may be cultivating it now, is considered a single State fund."

—

British Association for the Advancement of Science

The New Atlantis, a quarterly of Western Renaissance and World Socialism, quotes the following from the address of Sir Fredrick Gowland Hopkins, President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science:

Though statesmen may have wisdom adequate for the immediate and urgent problems with which it is their fate to deal, there should yet be a reservoir of synthesised and clarified knowledge on which they can draw. The technique which brings governments in contact with scientific knowledge in particular, though greatly improved of late, is still imperfect. In any case the politician is perforce concerned with the present rather than the future.

I have recently read Bacon's *New Atlantis* afresh and have been thinking about his Solomon's House. We know that the rules for the functioning of that House were mistaken because the philosopher drew them up when in the mood of a Lord Chancellor; but in so far as the philosopher visualized therein an organization of the best intellects bent on gathering knowledge for future practical services, his idea was a great one.

When civilization is in danger and society in transition, might there not to be a House recruited from the best intellects in the country with functions similar (*mutatis mutandis*) to those of a Bacon's fancy?

A House devoid of politics, concerned rather with synthesising existing knowledge, with a sustained appraisement of the progress of knowledge, and continuous concern with its bearing upon social readjustments. It is not to be pictured as composed of scientific authorities alone. It would be rather an intellectual exchange where thought would go ahead of immediate problems.

I believe I might convince you that the functions of such a House, in such days as ours, might well be real. Here I must leave them to your fancy, well aware that in the minds of many I may by this bare suggestion lose all reputation as a realist! Most of us have had a tendency in the past to fear the gift of leisure to the majority. To believe that it may be a great social benefit requires some mental adjustment, and a belief in the educability of the average man or woman. But if the political aspirations of the nations should grow sane, and the artificial economic problems of the world be solved, the combined and assured gifts of health, plenty, and leisure, may prove to be the final justification of applied science.

In a community advantaged by these, each individual will be free to develop his own innate powers, and, becoming more of an individual, will be less moved by those herd instincts which are always the major danger to the world. You may feel that throughout this address I have dwelt exclusively on the material benefits of science to the neglect of its cultural value. I would like to correct this in a single closing sentence. I believe that for those who cultivate it in a right and humble spirit, Science is one of the Humanities; no less.

—

Christianity in Bali

The attempts on the part of the Christian missionaries to introduce the Gospel in Bali, have, in recent years, created a good deal of stir in the Netherlands as well as in the Dutch East Indies. It should be noted here that under the provisions of the East Indian Government Act, Article 177, 1922, no Christian minister, priest, or missionary may

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engage in work in any part of the East Indies without the special permission of the Governor-General. Amry Vandenbosch gives a graphic account of the main currents of controversy in the columns of *The International Review of Missions* :

The controversy has stirred Indonesians as well as the Dutch, and has led to two unusual incidents. The first of these was the act of the Balinese chiefs in sending a memorial to the Governor-General, urging the exclusion of Christian missionary activity from their island. The second was the passage by the Volksraad (the East Indian central legislative body) of a resolution likewise petitioning the Governor-General not to admit Christian missionaries to Bali.

Little is known of the early history of Bali. Probably Hindu colonies from Java settled on the island, and with the aid of military support from home made themselves masters of its inhabitants. The now Hinduized Balinese remained for a long time subject to the powerful Hindu empire of Madjapahit, whose seat was in central Java. When in the fifteenth century Java became Islamicized a large number of Javanese, unwilling to accept the new religion, fled to Bali. This had several consequences: it strengthened the Hindu influence in Bali, as it left Bali an isolated Hindu commnnity, for the other islands of the Malay archipelago either remained animist or became Moslem ; and it made Bali politically independent of Java.

Although the Dutch first came into contact with Bali as early as 1597, they did not attempt an occupation until two centuries and a half later. Throughout this long period they did, however, maintain loose political relations with the Balinese chiefs.

Missionaries and missionary leaders have long viewed Bali as a strategic field for work. In 1829 the English missionary-sinologue, Dr Medhurst, visited the island, and in his report recommended that missionary work be begun on Bali. Dr. W. R. Baron van Hœvell, in 1846 issued a brochure in which he ardently pleaded for the establishment of mission posts on Bali. Dr van Hœvell was convinced that unless Christianity were speedily brought to the Balinese they would become Moslems. Missionary work was begun several times but discontinued after a shorter or longer period. An English missionary, Ennis by name, established himself on Bali in 1838, but apparently remained only a short time. From 1864 to 1881, the Utrecht Missionary Union, in co-operation with the Netherlands Bible Society, carried on work on Bali. The undertaking ended tragically ; the missionary, J. de Vroom, was murdered by the sole Christian convert. In 1891 Roman Catholic authorities obtained permission to begin work in Bali but no use was ever made of the permission. Over three decades later, they sought to begin missionary work on Bali by the opening of a Dutch-Indonesian school. Bitter opposition immediately developed against this plan. Mr. Tjakorda Gede Soekawati, the Balinese representative in the Volksraad, introduced a resolution requesting the Government 'to refrain from giving either direct or indirect support to propaganda of a religious nature. . . . Recent events in Bali have given the question an entirely new turn. Christianity has found its way into Bali even though the missionaries have been kept out. In North Bali Christian influence proceeds from a number of Amboinese families who have come there to live. Christianity has found its way also into South Bali.

As a result of these events a reaction began to set in, which became intensified when it became known that Dutch missionary societies were considering the advisability of opening work in Bali.

Naturally not all of those who desire the exclusion of missions from Bali base their opposition on the same grounds. Some merely take what may be called an opportunist point of view. Bali, according to this view, cannot now stand the strain of adjusting itself to an additional stream of influence.

A second group oppose the admission of Christian missions to Bali on the ground that missions would injure Balinese society, cause unrest, weaken the effectiveness of Dutch administration and cause a great deal of political disaffection on the part of the Balinese upper castes.

There is lastly a group which is opposed to all Christian missionary activity. Among superficial tourists, this takes the form of an amusing simplicity. They find the dances fascinating and the cremations of unusual interest. 'Would it not be a pity if anything of this charming civilization were destroyed by Puritan busy-bodies ? After all, one religion is as good as another—each people has developed the religion that best suits its needs.'

Others, with a deep feeling of sympathy for Balinese life and culture and with more than a smattering of knowledge of anthropology ethnology, would like to see Bali preserved as an anthro- pological museum.

A small group, however, view missions as distinctly a destructive force among oriental peoples. They contend that missions can only ruin an intelligent, civilized and deeply religious people, such as the Balinese of their most treasured possessions : their religion and culture.

There is little in this attack on Christian missions that is new. The attempt is here again made of linking missions with imperialism and of identifying the work of missions with the transmission of Western civilization. The criticisms of backward peoples are over-idealistic

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The basic difficulty is, of course, that these critics hold a relativist view of religion and dismiss all other views as absurd. They consider all religion a purely human culture-product: man is constantly creating God after his own image.'

Friends of the missionary movement were not slow in pointing out that Bali had been left open to nearly every other alien influence—What good reason can there be for singling out Christian missions for exclusion? The answer of *Soekawati* (the Balinese representative in the Volksraad) and others is that whereas the other influences attack the Balinese India culture only incidentally and indirectly, missions would attack the cultural bases directly.

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Public Health in India

The Asiatic Review has published a brief criticism by Mr. R. W. Brock, of the final report of Major-General Graham, Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India. In his review of the subject, the critic shows that the Commissioner has laid stress upon three important factors, namely, the question of Federal Health Responsibilities, the need for a Ministry of Health in India and adequate financial support:

In accordance with the Government of India Act of 1919, the health subjects which were reserved for the Central Government were: (*i*) International health affairs; (*ii*) wider aspects of epidemiology; (*iii*) census and statistics; (*iv*) emigration and immigration; (*v*) pilgrim arrangements ex-India; (*vi*) major port quarantine work; (*vii*) medical research; (*viii*) legislation in regard to any provincial subject stated to be subject to legislation by the Indian Legislature and (*ix*) powers relating to such subjects reserved by legislation to the Governor-General in Council. As Major-General Graham observes, it is extremely improbable that such reports as those named, which are generally recognized as federal health responsibilities, will come under the new Constitution, to be the concern of the Central Government and of its Public Health Commissioner. In the Report under review, as in preceding surveys of the same character, Major-General Graham has "laboured the desirability and need for a Ministry of Health for India. The recent reports of the Royal Commission on Agriculture and of the Royal Statutory Commission," as he reminds us "have emphasized the same need whether this be arrived at through a Ministry of Health or by strengthening the central health organization. "We are now," he adds, "within measurable distance of the introduction of a new Constitution—a Constitution which must presuppose heavy and increased expenditure in many branches of the administration; but the subject of federal health has been relegated, meanwhile at all events, to the background, and has not received the attention which its importance would seem to merit."

On the other hand, the project for a new Central Research Institute worthy of India, recommended by the Fletcher Committee, has been abandoned, owing to the financial implications being greater than the Government of India cared to undertake. The establishment of the All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health was only rendered possible by the munificence of the Rockefeller Foundation, which offered to purchase a site and to erect and equip an institute for six sections to deal with advanced public health teaching and public health research, subject to the Government of India undertaking to meet the recurring charges.

Inadequate financial support has, indeed, proved one of the most formidable handicaps to the promotion of public health in India. The drastic economies of the Inchcape Committee paralysed the renewal of research activities on a big scale before the work of the Indian Research Fund Association had had time to recover properly after the war. Public opinion, however, both in Great Britain and India, and scientific medical opinion in India as expressed through the Scientific Advisory Board, were not silent. His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, realizing the true implications of the closing down of medical research activities in India, pressed the Government of India continuously to restore the grant in part or in whole at as early a date as possible, and also the unspecified appointments in the Medical Research Department which were in abeyance.

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INDIANS ABROAD

By BENARSI DAS CHATURVEDI

An Interview with Mr. P. B. Singh of Durban

The other day I had a long talk with Mr. P. B. Singh, President of the Natal Indian Tennis Association and representative of the South African Indian Football Association, in the Great Indian Hotel of Calcutta.

Mr. Singh arrived in India on 18th November, went to Karachi to see his parents and

Mr. P. B. Singh

then proceeded on a mission to create enthusiasm in the formation of an All-India Football Association visiting Cawnpore, Lucknow, Allahabad and Benares on his way to Calcutta. At Calcutta he saw the officials of the Indian Football Association who were invited in 1931 by the South African Indian Football Association to send a representative team to tour South India. Mr. Singh was hopeful that as a result of his negotiations an Indian team would sail for South Africa by June next.

Mr. Singh is a member of the Council of Colonial Born and Settlers Indian Association. In answer to my question if any particular work was entrusted to him by his Association Singh said :

"I have been deputed by the Colonial Born Settlers Indian Association to investigate and re on the condition of repatriates from South Af Since Repatriation was started about thi thousand people have returned to India and f time to time we have been receiving harro tales of the hardships that most of these p are undergoing in India. Swami Bhawani D Sannyasi investigated into the condition of t people and issued a well reasoned and docum report in May 1931. Since then no improve has been made in the condition of these repatr in Calcutta and Northern India. Nor has any been done in South Africa to prevent repatri My Association has therefore deputed me to first hand knowledge of the situation. And seeing the deplorable condition of repatriates South Africa and other colonies at Matiabru slum of the worst type and a disgrace Municipality—I am thoroughly convinced that policy of repatriation has been a huge bl and if we had realized at that time the conseq of that thoughtless scheme we should never agreed to one single individual leaving the s of South Africa. The able-bodied men whom I known personally in Natal, who were pictur health when I met them last in the land of birth and adoption, were reduced to mere ske and could scarcely be recognized. This to my

Guljar and his family. This repatriated family from Natal contained eighteen members. Now there are only five. The rest have died of want and starvation

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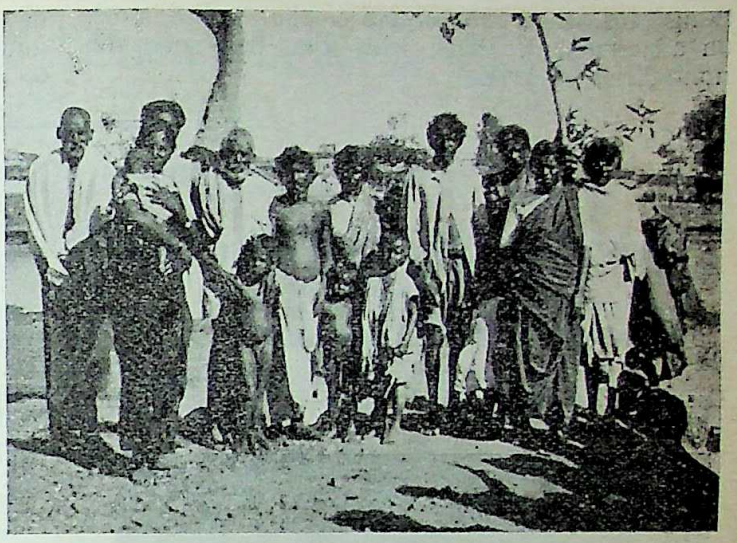
is all due to the privations and hardships that they have suffered all along since their arrival in this country. They recognized me and with tears in their eyes, begged me to help them to return to Natal. Women and children with barely enough clothing to cover their limbs stood before me and I wondered whether those responsible for this atrocious scheme had ever visualised such helpless misery. And this was not a new scene that was being enacted before me. I went to Matiaburz quite unexpectedly without any knowledge on the part of the repatriates. Things like these have been happening since 1920 as can be proved from the reports issued from time to time by responsible workers like Mr. C. F. Andrews, Mr. F. E. James (Secretary Y. M. C. A. now M. L. A.), Mr. S. A. Waiz (Secretary Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, Bombay), Mr. H. K. Mukerjee and others. It is a pity that these reports were never circulated in the principal vernaculars—Hindi and Tamil—in South Africa. I feel sure that if this step had been taken a good deal of misery could have been averted. As far as I can see nothing substantial has been done to alleviate the distress of these unfortunate people. I do not forget that spasmodic efforts have been made form time to time to give temporary relief to these people but charity at the best of time is is only a palliative and can never be considered as a curative. Had any serious effort been made by the authorities concerned on the lines of the Indian Emigrants Friendly Service Committee



A group of homeless unemployed repatriated Indians at Madras

A group of repatriated Indians at Akra near Calcutta

the problem would not have assumed such dimensions. It is yet not too late. The Indian Government has a moral obligation to fulfil for they were a party to the pernicious scheme and had definitely promised to give all assistance to these repatriates on their return to India. An impression is fast gaining ground in South Africa that the Indian Government has failed in its duty and if things are not taken up in right earnest it will have a deplorable result. It will be most unfortunate if Indians in South Africa lose confidence in the sincerity of the Indian Government for that will put an end to all hope of any co-operation without which no substantial improvement could be made in the situation."

Mr. P. B. Singh came to the *Vishal-Bharat* office also and just when he was leaving it he saw a number of returned emigrants who had come to see me. We talked with them. Refering to these people Mr. Singh told me:

"I shall never forget the look of despair in the eyes of those people. They complained of being on their last legs and one could see that starvation was writ large on their faces. They looked emaciated and ill. I could at once see that it was not one man's work and it required the combined efforts of public bodies like the Y. M. C. A., the Arya Samaj and the Ramkrishna Mission."

Mr. P. B. Singh expressed his gratefulness to Mr. H. K. Mukerjee, Secretary of the Y. M. C. A. College Section and said:

"The noble work that Mr. Mukerjee has been doing for the last twelve years deserves every praise at our hands. I am glad to learn that through the efforts of Messrs. Mukerjee and Andrews Birla Brothers have given a good deal of help to the returned emigrants by supplying them food, cloth and medicine and we must thank them for their charity."

Mr. Singh was not satisfied with the attitude of the Government of India and he wondered why the Government had been neglecting

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this problem. It would not be a difficult thing for them to organise the relief work on a permanant basis with the help of some non-official workers.

I invite the attention of Mr. G. S. Bajpayee of the Government of India to this question and hope that he will himself come to Calcutta to see the things with his own eyes.

Pola Negri and Uday Shankar

Upon her recent return to New York from Europe on her way to Hollywood for motion picture engagements, Miss Pola Negri the celebrated filmstar came to know that, Uday Shankar was dancing at the St. James Theatre. She at once engaged a box for herself and a few friends.

Pola Negri and Uday Shankar

During the first intermission Miss Negri went back of the stage and greeted Mr. Shankar most cordially and said to him :

"This is the greatest artistic thrill I have had in many years, in fact since the death of Anna Pavlowa. I was so sorry that I could not see Pavlowa before her death. You know how much I admired that great dancer."

"Yes, I do know that," said Shankar with much feeling. "And you know how much I admired her. I am so sorry that I could not dance for her even for only one evening with my full company of Hindu dancers and musicians."

"I am going to India ; and I hope to meet you there."

"I shall be most happy to greet you in India ; and shall be delighted to show you the matchless glories of our arts."

Miss Negri stayed to the very end of the performance ; and when Tandava Nrittya, the last number on the programme, was finished, she rose to her feet and cheered Shankar most heartily through several curtain calls ; and Shankar bowed to her in the box. And when asked by Mr. Basanta Koomar Roy how she liked the Tandava Nrittya, Miss Negri said most emphatically :

"It was superb. In fact all the movements of all his dances are superb indeed. Shankar is simply divine. I cannot say more ; and I cannot say less. Shankar is simply divine."

NOTE : On Plate II facing p. 419 of the last issue of *The Modern Review* was published "Kama Deva" by the courtesy of Elizabeth Dyson. This is the drypoint of impersonation of "Kama Deva" by Mr. Uday Sankar, the celebrated Indian dancer.

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MAHATMA GANDHI WELCOMES REVIVAL OF SWARAJYA PARTY

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

DURING the last week of March some Congress leaders held a conference at Delhi with a view to reviving the Swarajya Party and, after arriving at some conclusions, three of them, namely, Dr. Ansari, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai and Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, went to Patna to confer with Mahatma Gandhi. The result of their discussions with Gandhiji is to be found in the following letter addressed by him to Dr. Ansari :

PATNA, April 5.

"Dear Dr. Ansari,

It was good of you, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai and Dr. Bidhan Roy to come all the way to Patna to discuss the resolutions arrived at recently at an informal meeting of some Congressmen at Delhi and to ascertain my opinion on them. I have no hesitation in welcoming the revival of the Swaraj Party and the decisions of that meeting to take part in the forthcoming election to the Assembly, which you tell me is about to be dissolved. My views on the utility of legislatures in the present state are well known. They remain, on the whole, what they were in 1920. But I feel that it is not only the right but also the duty of every Congressman who for some reason or other does not want to or cannot take part in civil resistance and who has faith in entry into legislatures to seek entry and form combinations there to prosecute the programme which he or they believe to be in the interest of the country. Consistently with my views above-mentioned, I shall be at the disposal of the party at all times and render such assistance as it is in my power to give.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Gandhi."

The revival of the Swarajya Party is to be welcomed for various reasons. All those who want to fight the forces arrayed against the struggle for freedom should fight them on all fronts. The legislative bodies constitute one such front. They should never be, they should never have been, left to be filled by a majority of those who cry ditto to the bureaucracy. It is true the old Swarajya Party could not completely gain its object. But it did succeed in preventing the passage of some anti-national, some repressive laws—at least in their original drastic forms. Some substantial amendments were made in them at the instance of the party. It also succeeded in carrying many important resolutions in the teeth of the Government, nominated and week-kneed elected members. Moreover, so long as the Swarajist members were in their full strength in the central and provincial legislatures, Government had to take care not to show utter disregard for public opinion in the bills brought before them. It may be objected that as the old Swarajya Party did not succeed in its main object, it would be useless to revive the party. But the No-changers, the Non-co-operators, also have not succeeded in gaining their principal object, namely, the attainment of Swaraj. Nor have the Liberals succeeded in gaining their object. It should always be borne in mind by the soldiers of liberty of all parties and every party, that many peoples have had to struggle very much longer than a decade or two for winning freedom. Repeated failures did not damp their ardour.

After the Swarajists as a party had retired from the legislatures, the opposition became very weak in the central and provincial legislatures. Government were able to arm themselves with all the weapons of repression which they required to frustrate the efforts of the leaders of the people to win self-rule. They have in fact now got a superabundance of instruments of repression. Many things which people could do and say and write a decade or five years ago without infringing any law are now unlawful or illegal. The executive and the police have fully utilized their experience of the past few years and have got laws passed depriving the people of many ordinary rights of free citizens and have succeeded in giving the ordinances a permanent place in the statute book as ordinary laws. In Bengal in particular, what is known as Martial Law, which, wherever enforced, is of short duration during emergencies, has been codified as permanent law. Already some prisoners have been sentenced to death, although their action, which was undoubtedly reprehensible, did not result in the death of any human being. And this in an age when the death penalty has been abolished in some countries for actual murder and when there is a widespread movement for its abolition in other countries. Hundreds of young men and women are in detention without trial, and a law has been made that nobody must show "undue" concern for them !

It may be that, even if the Swarajist members had been in the Councils all along, Government would and could have done by some means or other what they have provided themselves with the authority given by the legislatures for doing. But certainly not so easily as the emasculated legislatures have enabled them to do.

The attainment of each and every thing that is worth having is no doubt valuable, but the struggle to attain is not less important. The struggle both tests and develops our manhood.

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Whatever the result, the struggle should continue. By this it is not meant that means and methods, policies and principles and strategy do not matter, provided there is some sort of struggle. What is meant is that every care ought to be taken in the choice of means, methods, policies and strategy—all to be consistent with sound principles, but that, if the struggle becomes unsuccessful, the endeavour is not to be given up, only the strategy has to be changed.

Here it may be observed that, if the members of the revived Swarajya Party seek election to the legislatures in the hope of winning Swaraj through them they are destined to be disappointed. "The national demand" was accepted by the central legislature by a majority more than once, but the British Government have totally ignored such demands. Swaraj cannot be won through the councils as they are. Nor can it be attained through the programme of Non-co-operation as followed by the Congress. The words, "I told you so," and the spirit underlying them are hateful to me. It is not in that spirit, therefore, but simply for the sake of supplying information, that I wish to tell the reader that some fourteen years ago it seemed to me that the programme of Non-co-operation would fail. I gave the reasons in *The Modern Review* for October, 1920, pages 457-58. Those reasons exist today in a stronger form.

The people of India ought to try to convince the people of Great Britain that India's freedom would be good not only for India but for Great Britain and all other countries, and that it is absolutely necessary for human freedom and welfare. Newspapers, periodicals, tracts, pamphlets, bulletins, books and other publications should familiarize our people and all the world with our ideals and arguments—with our case in short. Speeches and debates in India and abroad should be delivered and held with the same object. If we are sufficiently active, all these may convert reasonable people and idealists in Great Britain like their fellows in other countries to our point of view. But as in other foreign countries so in Great Britain, the number of idealists and reasonable people is small. The conversion of the whole British nation or the British Government in power at any time to our point of view in the near future, if it be at all possible at any time, cannot be expected. Hence in addition to the method of persuasion referred to above, some method or methods of putting pressure on the British people and Government must be constantly followed. The methods must be such that the resulting cumulative pressure may be irresistible. We live in such times that, though we are a disarmed and unarmed people, it is necessary to state in unequivocal language that the struggle, the fight, the methods, the strategy, the pressure, that I have in view is wholly unconnected with the use of physical force. And this for two main reasons. The most prominent objection that a programme of opposition leaders of India are wedded to *ahimsa* or non-killing. And under the present circumstances of India, if any one wishes to pit the necessarily unorganized, untrained, and quite insufficiently equipped force of any section of the Indian people against the highly organized, trained and scientifically equipped land, sea and air forces of the British Government, he is destined not only to disastrous failure but even to unintentionally putting obstacles in the way of others whose object is to win freedom for India in a non-violent way.

It is not the object of this article to say how the pressure that I speak of may be applied.

If the Legislative Assembly were dissolved before the introduction of the "Reforms," it would not be impracticable for the revived Swarajya party to capture the majority of the elective seats. Lord Willingdon's Government and the British Government would have the world believe that their dual policy of repression and of offering some "Reforms" *a la* the White Paper proposals had the approval—at least the acquiescence, of the people of India. The people of India know that such a claim, if made, would be utterly at variance with the truth. But a mere assertion of this description will not do. There should be an irrefutable demonstration of the truth. If the new Swarajya party (—why not also the Liberals ?) contest all the elective seats by declaring their opposition to the dual policy and the White Paper proposals and if they succeed in capturing the majority of seats, that would furnish the incontestable proof required. That would be one gain. Moreover, the Swarajist members of the central and provincial legislatures would, as the opposition, be able to do, during the period of continuance of the present constitution of India, all that the former Swarajist members were able to do. That might not be much, but it would be something.

Condemnation of the dual policy of the Government would perhaps be one part, the destructive part, of the election slogan of the new Swarajya party, the other, the constructive part, being whole-hearted support given to what Mahatmaji had demanded on behalf of India at the Round Table Conference. Victory won by the Swarajya party on such a ticket would go to show, what is the truth, that Mahatmaji really spoke for the people of India.

After their election the Swarajist members need not and would not merely be critics and opponents of the Government within the Council Chambers. They would perhaps make use of their position and powers to introduce and promote constructive legislation for the public good and move resolutions with the same object in view. If Government introduced any such legislation or a Government member moved any such resolution, it would not be at all wrong to support them.

The Swarajists need not be deterred by the

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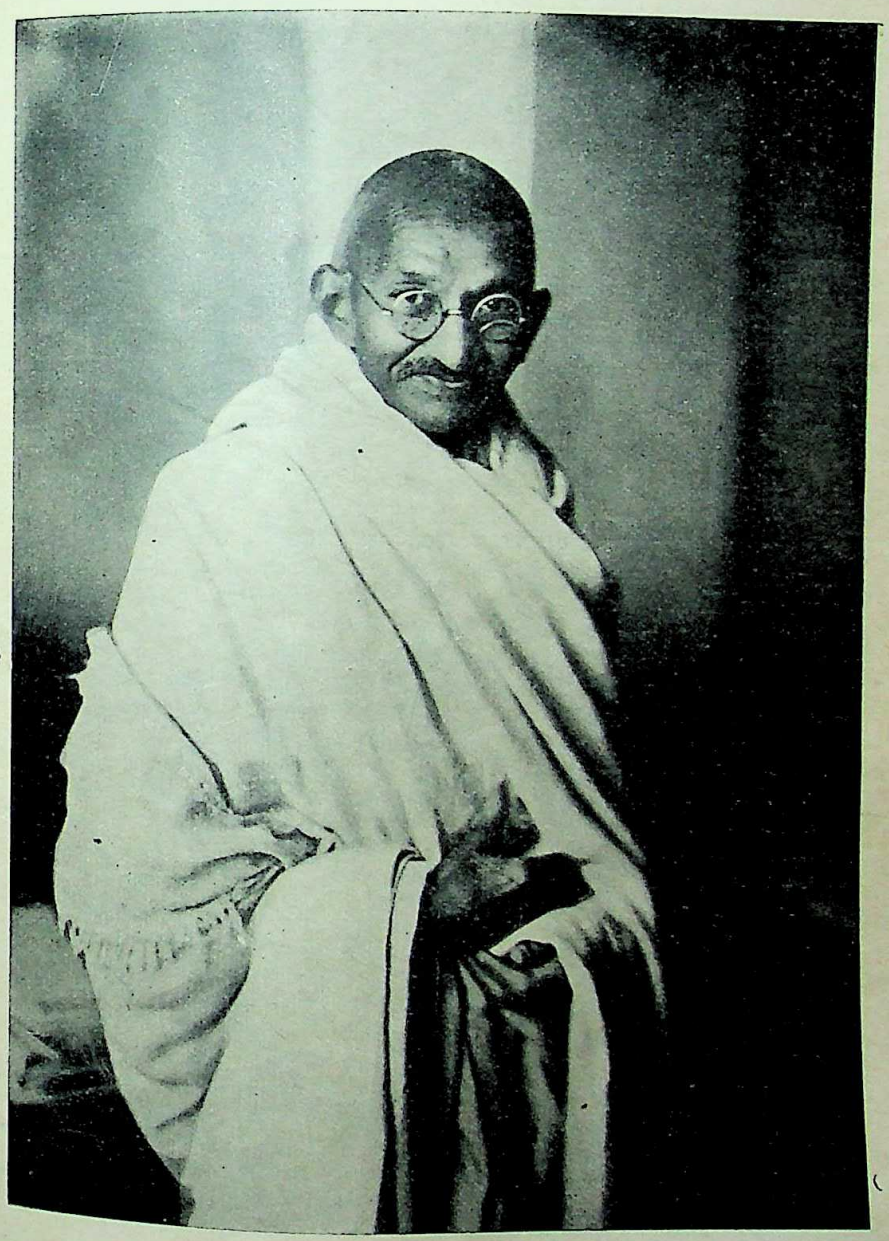

MAHATMA GANDHI
The Greatest worker for the uplift of the Lowly

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co-operation of the above description would be tantamount to "working the Reforms." Those who are capable of thinking for themselves should not be afraid of a phrase, but should do whatever is for the public good.

Congress has a following which is counted by the thousand. The legislative bodies can make room for only a few hundreds. And Mahatma Gandhi has clearly stated in his letter to Dr. Ansari that Council-entry is only for those Congressmen who for some reason or other do not want to or cannot take part in civil resistance and who have faith in entry into legislatures to form combinations there to prosecute the programme which they believe to be in the interest of the country.

Whether the Swarajya party be the majority or a minority of the adherents of the Congress, the majority of Congressmen would remain outside the Councils to follow the Congress programme in the country. And it has been stated authoritatively that the revived Swarajya party's programme would include not merely Council-entry but that the Swarajists would do outside the Councils what other Congressmen would do. It is true Council work brings in many a kind of fame which the doers of more valuable work outside the Councils cannot enjoy. But there are many men in and outside the Councils who do some kinds of work only for their excellence, not caring whether their labours would be rewarded with fame. Every day all the indigenous daily papers of India give publicity to the speeches, views, etc., of various persons all of whom are not indisputably superior to the ablest editors of the dailies. But the opinions of the ablest of these editors find publicity for the most part in the columns of the papers they edit—not in all the dailies. Notwithstanding this difference in the extent of publicity, which is a kind of fame, the ablest editors remain editors, leaving stump orators and demagogues to enjoy their greater publicity and their more extensive fame. From examples of this kind it seems to us that it need not be apprehended that Council-entry would deprive other kinds of service of the people of all value and attraction in the eyes of all Congressmen.

Council-entry may be difficult for those who have been in deadly earnest about Civil Disobedience, which is Civil Rebellion. Mahatma Gandhi declared himself a rebel at least once, if not more often. One cannot be a rebel and a loyal subject at the same time, or by turns. It is, therefore, only natural for Gandhiji not to seek to enter any legislative body, for after becoming a member one has to take the oath of allegiance. I do not know how many Congressmen have thought or declared themselves rebels. Of course, it is possible for rebels to become loyal subjects. But if any one still feels that he is a rebel, he cannot take the oath of allegiance without forswearing himself.

If the Government do not dissolve the Assembly in the near future and order a general election, that would clearly mean that they are not prepared to face the verdict of the country on the dual policy and the White Paper and accept the challenge of a strong opposition in the lower house of the central legislature.

After the introduction of the "Reforms" *a la* the White Paper, or *a la* the Joint Parliamentary Committee's report and recommendations, which would most probably be worse, there would be little probability of any Nationalist opposition doing anything effective. For the National oppositionists can come mostly from the Hindu community. But that community, though forming an overwhelming majority of the population, has been reduced to the position of an impotent minority in the White Paper Scheme. And against the forces of nationalism that Scheme has arrayed the nominees of the ruling Princes, the communalist Muslims, the Europeans, the Anglo-Indians, etc., all of whom have been given seats out of all proportion to their numbers. In the case of the Hindus, neither numerical strength, nor education, nor public spirit, nor ability, nor business enterprise, nor the (major) share of the revenue contributed by them, has been taken into consideration. There are Nationalists in the Muslim community, no doubt. But the Moslem community being smaller than the Hindu, Moslem Nationalists have always been smaller in number than Hindu Nationalists. And the White Paper Scheme has made such indecent exhibition of favouritism to that community that there are at present very few genuine Nationalists left among Mussalmans.

So in the constitution with which India would most likely be cursed in the near future, the Swarajists as the whole or a major section of the opposition would not probably be an actually effective force. Nevertheless, even in the future constitution, and certainly in the existing one, members of the legislature who possess a spirit of independence, courage, adequate information and debating powers, and who are not halting and travelling allowance-hunters, favour-hunters and job-hunters for themselves or relatives, would be a distinct gain to the legislatures and the country. The gain would be at least this that the political paralysis and defeatism from which the country has been suffering would be at an end, at least to a small extent.

Some sort of political activity had become necessary owing to the suspension of mass civil disobedience after the informal Poona conferences. For, very few went in for individual civil disobedience thereafter. But even that has been practically put a stop to by Mahatma Gandhi's statement of April 7 last. The scheme of constructive work outlined therein is entirely non-political. Hence, a political programme has become an urgent necessity.

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MAHATMA GANDHI "MONOPOLIZES" SATYAGRAHA FOR SWARAJ

BY RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

THE statement on Satyagraha and Civil Disobedience which Mahatma Gandhi issued at Patna on the 7th of April last contains the following prefatory words :

> "This statement was drafted by me on my day of silence at Saharsa, that is, Easter Monday, the 2nd instant. I passed it on to Rajendra Babu and then it was circulated among the friends who were present. The original draft has undergone considerable revision. It is also abridged. But in essence it remains as it was on Monday. I regret that I have not been able to show it to all friends and colleagues with whom I would have been delighted to share it. But as I had no doubt whatsoever about the soundness of my decision and as I knew that civil resistance of some friends was imminent, I was not prepared to take the risk of delaying publication by waiting for the opinion of friends. The decision and every word of the statement are in answer to intense introspection, searching of the heart and waiting upon God. The decision carries with it reflection upon no single individual. It is a humble admission of my own limitations and a due sense of the tremendous responsibility that I have carried on my shoulders all these long years."

This paragraph shows that Mr. Gandhi drafted his statement before Dr. Ansari, Dr. B. C. Roy and Mr. Bhulabhai Desai saw him on the 4th April. The drafting was no doubt preceded by the conference of the would-be Swarajists at Delhi and the conclusions reached by them. It is not known whether Mahatmaji had any idea of those decisions at the time of drafting his statement.

It is only natural that, before arriving at any important decision, a man of Mr. Gandhi's firm and deep faith in God should wait upon Him for light. But though he certainly does so, and has done so in this particular instance, his decision will be generally judged by the appeal that it makes to men's reason and conscience, though there may be followers of Mahatmaji who may take it as a God-inspired statement. It is well known that the scriptures of the historical religions of the world are claimed by their orthodox followers to be revelations from God. But others accept or reject particular portions of these scriptures according as they do or do not satisfy their reason and conscience. On account of this critical and rationalistic attitude of outsiders, many intelligent and wise defenders of their respective faiths, when they try to convince outsiders, do not any longer take their stand upon the revealed or inspired character of this scripture or that, but try to prove that they are soul-satisfying. Hence, just as in the case of the scriptures, so in that of secular documents, it is best not to say that they are the outcome of waiting upon God. For, if the documents are logical and sound, that itself would be their passport to general acceptance. But if they are wholly or in part illogical and unsound, the blame for such unsoundness and illogicality may be attached to God by scoffers and unbelievers. Of course, that would not injure God. But why give any opportunity to anybody to blaspheme? Moreover, as it is not always certain that what one considers God's voice is really His voice and not one's own prepossessions and inclinations, it is best not to speak of any decision as the result of waiting upon God.

Mr. Gandhi says that "the decision carries with it reflection upon no single individual." There can be no question that he does not intend it to carry with it any reflection upon any single individual. But it seems to me that it does unintentionally carry with it such reflection upon many, which will be shown below.

Mahatmaji writes :

> "This statement owes its inspiration to a personal chat with the inmates and associates of the Satyagraha Ashram who had just come out of prison and whom at Rajendra Babu's instance I had sent to Bihar. More especially is it due to a revealing information I got in the course of a conversation about a valued companion of long standing who was found reluctant to perform the full prison task, preferring his private studies to the allotted task. This was undoubtedly contrary to the rules of Satyagraha. More than the imperfection of the friend whom I love more than ever it brought home to me my own imperfections. The friend said he had thought that I was aware of his weakness. I was blind. Blindness in a leader is unpardonable. I saw at once that I must for the time being remain the sole representative of civil resistance in action.
>
> "During the informal conference week at Poona in July last I had stated that while many individual civil resisters would be welcomed even one was sufficient to keep alive the message of Satyagraha. Now after much searching of the heart I have arrived at the conclusion that in the present circumstances only one, and that myself and no other, should for the time being bear the responsibility of civil resistance if it is to succeed as a means of achieving purna swaraj."

In practically calling off civil disobedience Mahatmaji has done the right thing. After mass civil disobedience had been suspended after the informal Poona Conference, not many went in for individual civil disobedience. That showed that, whatever the reason, there was no longer much life left in the movement. So, instead of trying to keep up a mere formality or an outward-

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Now, it was best practically to admit that the real thing no longer existed. That is how I, a mere onlooker, look at the matter. But Mahatma's reasons for henceforth bearing the whole burden of civil disobedience for Swaraj on his own shoulders are different.

Practically, his case for calling off civil disobedience for Swaraj rests on a single individual, "a valued companion of long standing," having done things "contrary to the rules of Satyagraha." I do not know the rules of Satyagraha. But Satyagraha had gone on for more than a decade, during which period tens of thousands, if not lakhs, have been its adherents. It is surprising that Mahatma Gandhi has only now, when the movement is at its lowest ebb, has discovered that there has not been a single true Satyagrahi, except perhaps himself. Numerous men and women among them have lost their all, have borne lathi charges of the police and military, have endured physical torments of various other kinds, and women satyagrahis or female relatives of satyagrahis or their neighbours have complained of having been dishonoured; and yet they have remained non-violent. As I write, the prison experiences of a brilliant young research student, narrated to me by himself, come to my mind. He related them to me quite calmly, without any resentment. I, an old man, could not help getting excited when listening to his story. But afterwards I came to think that he was an example of the miracle wrought by Satyagraha. There must be many such. Mahatma Gandhi is a great man, a good man, a saint, beyond compare in his own line. But so far as sacrifice and sufferings go, I humbly venture to think that there are numerous followers of his who have made very great sacrifices and suffered greatly, and, if Mahatmaji's fasts be not taken into consideration, their sufferings and sacrifices *in India* have been greater than his. In Indian jails Mahatmaji has lived in comparative comfort compared with the conditions of life of numerous civil disobedience prisoners.

From one solitary example of a person who preferred his private studies to the performance of the full prison task, Gandhiji comes to the conclusion that no one among his colleagues and followers is or is fit to be a true Satyagrahi. I do not mean any disrespect to him, but I cannot follow his logic. The very fact that so few Congressmen have complained of what has appeared to non-Congressmen to be unintentional injustice to many Satyagrahis on the part of Gandhiji, appears to show that there are very many true Satyagrahis who are above feeling resentment. Mahatmaji says, "I was blind. Blindness in a leader is unpardonable." I do not know if such blindness is not a disqualification in or for a Satyagrahi.

Gandhiji proceeds:

"I feel that the masses have not received the full message of Satyagraha owing to its adulteration in the process of transmission. It has become clear to me that spiritual instruments suffer in their potency when their use is taught through non-spiritual media. Spiritual messages are self-propagating. The reaction of the masses throughout the Harijan tour has been the latest forcible illustration of what I mean. The splendid response of the masses has been spontaneous. The workers themselves were amazed at the attendance and the fervour of vast masses whom they had never reached.

"Satyagraha is a purely spiritual weapon. It may be used for what may appear to be mundane ends and through men and women who do not understand its spirituality provided the director knows that the weapon is spiritual. Everyone cannot use surgical instruments. Many may use them if there is an expert behind them directing their use. I claim to be a Satyagraha expert in the making. I have need to be far more careful than the expert surgeon who is a complete master of his science. I am still a humble searcher. The very nature of this science of Satyagraha precludes the student from seeing more than the step immediately in front of him."

There is and can be no question that Mahatmaji is far more spiritually advanced than the generality of men and the generality of non-co-operators. It is, therefore, no wonder that the masses have responded splendidly to his personally delivered appeal throughout his Harijan tour. But the wonder is that he has taken thirteen long years to discover that Satyagraha has reached the masses through "non-spiritual media." I know very few Satyagrahis or non-co-operators. It would be impudence on my part, therefore, to question Mahatmaji's diagnosis. But the conclusion seems irresistible that either the non-co-operators are a bad lot, or that Mahatmaji's standard being very exacting they appear worse than they are.

Mahatmaji states his conclusion thus, giving reasons:

"The introspection prompted by the conversation with the Ashram inmates has led me to the conclusion that I must advise all Congressmen to suspend civil resistance for Swaraj as distinguished from specific grievances. They should leave it to me alone. It should be resumed by others in my lifetime only under my direction, unless one arises claiming to know the science better than I do and inspires confidence. I give this opinion as the author and initiator of Satyagraha. Henceforth, therefore, all who have been impelled to civil resistance for Swaraj under my advice, directly given or indirectly inferred, will please desist from civil resistance. I am quite convinced that this is the best course in the interest of India's fight for freedom.

"I am in deadly earnest about this greatest of weapons at the disposal of mankind. It is claimed for Satyagraha that it is a complete substitute for the violence of war. It is designed therefore to reach the hearts both of the so-called "terrorists" and the rulers who seek to root out the "terrorists" by emasculating the whole nation. But the indifferent civil resistance of many, grand as it has been in its results, has not touched the hearts either of the "terrorists" or the rulers

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as a class. Unadulterated Satyagraha must touch the hearts of both. To test the truth of the proposition Satyagraha needs to be confined to one qualified person at a time. The trial has never been made. It must be made now.

"Let me caution the reader against mistaking Satyagraha for mere civil resistance. It covers much more than civil resistance. It means relentless search for truth and the power that such a search gives to the searcher. The search can only be pursued by strictly non-violent means."

As Gandhiji is the author and initiator of Satyagraha, no one will dispute his right to 'monopolize' its practice, particularly as its practice is neither pleasant nor profitable, in the popular and worldly sense. But is it a correct general proposition that the author and initiator of a science (say, surgery, which Gandhiji has named) is justified in preventing all others from pursuing it after allowing them to do so for a dozen years? Has no one acquired the necessary spiritual and other qualifications during this long period?

I long with all my heart for an effective substitute for war. It would be bliss for me to live to see the success of Satyagraha in preventing violence and achieving the results of violence.

As for touching the hearts of the rulers and the "terrorists," as I do not know either class, I cannot judge whether Satyagraha will really touch their hearts. I hope and believe that to the extent that they are human their hearts can be touched. But machines have no hearts. Therefore, if men become like parts of machines, they cannot respond to Satyagraha.

Not having been a civil resister or a Satyagrahi, I cannot quite understand how there can be among Congressmen many persons who are fit to offer civil resistance for the redress of specific grievances without there being a single one fit to offer it for the attainment of Swaraj. To be obliged to live under Other-raj because of the absence of Swa-raj is a comprehensive grievance, including all or most specific grievances. The difference between the former grievance and the latter grievances is mainly not of kind, but of magnitude and degree. For the redress of both by Satyagraha, it is necessary to touch the heart of the rulers. Therefore, it seems to me that, if there are many Congressmen fit to offer Satyagraha for the redress of specific grievances, there may be at least a few who are fit to undertake Satyagraha for the redress of the comprehensive grievance, mainly, absence of Swa-raj.

A programme for the "freed" civil resisters follows.

"What are the civil resisters thus freed to do if they are to be ready for the call whenever it comes? They must learn the art and the beauty of self-denial and voluntary poverty. They must engage themselves in nation-building activities, the spread of khaddar through personal spinning and hand weaving, the spread of communal unity of hearts by irreproachable personal conduct towards one another in every walk of life, the banishing of untouchability in every shape or form in one's own person, the spread of total abstinence from intoxicating drinks and drugs by personal contact with individual addicts and generally by cultivating personal purity. These are services which provide maintenance on the poor man's scale. Those for whom the poor man's scale is not feasible should find a place in small unorganized industries of national importance which give a better wage.

"Let it be understood that civil resistance is for those who know and perform the duty of voluntary obedience to law and authority."

Mahatmaji's spiritual and ethical ideal is very high and beautiful. It is worthy of being pursued not only by Congressmen but by all men. His constructive programme of nation-building will do great good to the country if carried out. I could wish he had added the item of spread of education. Mere literacy may not have much value. But as a means to a great end, it is very valuable, and indispensable where large masses of men are concerned. So far as the religio-political atmosphere of the country is concerned, universal education cannot but be beneficial by destroying to some extent superstitious hero-worship.

It is to be noted that there is no purely and directly political item in the programme. Is the omission due to the fact that Gandhiji has resolved to eschew politics for one year? But that guess may be wrong. For his statements relating to the revival of the Swarajya party and Council-entry are politics.

In conclusion Mahatmaji says:

"It is hardly necessary to say that in issuing this statement I am in no way usurping the function of the Congress. Mine is mere advice to those who look to me for guidance in matters of Satyagraha."

This is true. But to the generality of Congressmen Mahatma Gandhi's advice is a mandate. There have been demands, no doubt, for a meeting of the Working Committee of the Congress, a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, and a meeting of a plenary session of the Congress. Such meetings are desirable. If they are held and Mahatmaji attends them, it is more than probable that his "advice" will carry the day.

I cannot conclude this article without paying a tribute to Mahatmaji's self-control and spirit of detachment. Satyagraha, Civil Resistance, Non-co-operation were his spiritual offspring, on whose success high hopes were built. Yet their demise or suspended animation does not evoke a single sigh, a single note of sadness, or a single word of despondency. What utter cheerful resignation to the will of God! What faith in the ultimate triumph of Truth and Right and Justice!

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NOTES

Present Assembly's Verdict Would Be Worthless

Calcutta morning papers of the 26th April contained the following telegram :

Simla, April 25

While a good deal of speculation is still going on as to the nature of the Government pronouncement to be made shortly regarding the life of the present Assembly, the "United Press" learns that extension will be granted to the Assembly for another year.

It is also revealed that the Press report about the supposed unanimity of the Willingdon Cabinet favouring dissolution is incorrect, inasmuch as at least two Indian members of the Executive Council are understood to have supported Sir Samuel Hoare in his contention that the Assembly should not be dissolved until it has given a favourable verdict on the Joint Select Committee report on constitutional reforms, which is likely to be published in August next.

One of the topics which is now being discussed most is what will the Swaraj Party do if their anticipation of a General Election is frustrated by the Government's non-dissolution decision.—United Press.

Congress is the best organized and the largest and most representative body in India. As Congress did not take part in the elections, through the Swarajya party, when the present Assembly was elected, it is a very inadequate-ly representative legislative body. Moreover, its elected members were returned neither on the White Paper nor on the Joint Select Committee's report issue. For these reasons, should the Assembly be not dissolved now but should be dissolved after it had given a favourable verdict on the Joint Select Committee's report, that verdict could not be taken as representing Indian public opinion. Should the Assembly be granted an extension for another year with the object stated in the telegram, it would not be unfair to consider such a move as an attempt to hoodwink the British and the world public into the false belief that the Indian people approved of any constitution resembling that sketched out in the White Paper or any other worse even than that.

For really ascertaining the true opinion of the people of India on the Joint Parliamentary Committee's report through the Assembly, a general election of the Assembly members should be held after the publication of that report, making the report the issue.

Waning and Waxing of Civil Disobedience and Terrorist Movements

It is stated in the Government *Report on the Administration of Bengal 1932-33*, p. xviii :

> "While the star of civil disobedience and the prestige of Congress were thus waning, numerous incidents illustrated the strength and the widespread nature of the terrorist movement."

Government cannot be accused of any partiality for either the civil disobedience or the terrorist movement. But has any connection between the waning of the one and the waxing of the other ever been suspected by the official mind? The lines quoted above seem to show that perhaps it has been.

"The Anticipated Effects of the Communal Award"

Paragraph 488 of the latest Bengal Administration Report on the general tone of the Press concludes with the following two sentences :

> "The most noticeable feature of the year was the growing cleavage between the Hindu and Moslem press, and the gradual *disappearance of the nationalist section in the latter.* The *anticipated*

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effects of the Communal Award on the division between the two communities of powers to be transferred by the new constitution mainly contributed to this development." P. 175. [Italics ours. Editor, *M. R.*]

So it was *anticipated* that the "Communal Award" on the division of powers between Hindus and Moslems in the forthcoming constitution, would lead to growing cleavage between the Hindu and the Moslem press and the gradual disappearance of the nationalist section in the latter, which means, in other words, growing cleavage between Hindus and Moslems and the increasing scarcity of nationalists in the Muslim community! Anticipated by whom? It is a subtle psychological question whether what is anticipated is always also intended, when the anticipators and the authors of that of which the effect is anticipated are the same party.

The Report does not supply any clue to the identity of the anticipator or anticipators. The introduction to it states that

> "The Report is published under the authority and with the approval of the Government of Bengal, but this approval does not necessarily extend to every particular expression of opinion."

Should the Bengal Government ever find itself in a tight corner on account of any expression of opinion in this Report, these words of the introduction would be useful as opening a backdoor for retreat.

Offences against Women

The latest Bengal Administration Report observes on the subject of offences against women:

> "On the 25th of August a circular letter appealing for funds was issued by the Women Protection Committee of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha. This letter noted that 'there has been an alarming increase in the number of crimes against women in this Province. In most of these cases Hindu women are generally the victims'. The figures do not support either of these conclusions."

The Report then proceeds to give the figures.

> "The total number of cases reported to the Police under sections 354, 366, 376 of the Indian Penal Code for each of the four years 1929-32 inclusive was 778, 697, 729, and 772 respectively. The total number of 'True' cases reported to the Police and the Magistracy combined for the same four years was 1029, 684, 690, and 821 respectively. The total number of persons arrested was 2006, 1389, 1552 and 1657 and the total number of persons convicted was 409, 402, 352, and 495. These figures speak for themselves."

They do indeed, but not as the writer of the Report would have it.

The Report admits that "the figures available may not reveal the full extent of the evil. And in fact there are frequent complaints in the papers that the police do not record or take up all cases reported at thanas. Moreover, fear of social obloquy and excommunication and terrorism exercised by the offenders lead to the hushing up of not a few cases. But let us assume that the figures are accurate, and let us exclude from consideration the year 1929, which appears to have been abnormal for some reason or other. Then the figures for the years 1930, 1931 and 1932 respectively would stand thus: Cases reported to the Police, 697, 729 and 772; "True" cases reported to the Police and the Magistracy combined, 684, 690, and 821; and persons arrested 1389, 1552, and 1657. In the case of each of these sets of figures, there has been a steady increase from year to year. As regards the number of persons convicted, in 1929 the number was 409, which came down to 402 in 1930 and to 352 in 1931: but in 1932 it mounted up to 495, which is much larger than the figures for any of the three previous years. So it is unquestionable that the figures for 1932 are in all cases greater than the figures for 1930. *Hence they do support the Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha's statement that there has been an increase in the number of crimes against women in Bengal.* The Sabha obviously made the statement with reference to recent years, just preceding the date of the circular letter wherein it was made.

Bengal's Record not Worst

The Report proceeds to observe that "the suggestion that Bengal's record is worse than that of other provinces is also refuted by the figures." It appears to be true that Bengal's record is not the worst, but one cannot readily understand how the figures in the Report enable one to arrive at such a conclusion. For, nowhere in the Report are the figures for the other Provinces given to make comparison possible.

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The figures for the Panjab, Bengal and U. P. are given below from the Police Administration Reports of those Provinces for 1932.

Province	Population	Crimes Against Women in 1932
Panjab	23,580,852	504
U. P.	48,408,763	711
Bengal	50,114,002	693

These figures show that, considering their respective population, of the three provinces for which alone we have got the figures before us, the record of the Panjab is the worst, the next blackest being that of the U. P. But the point is, not whose record is the most shameful but that the records of all are disgraceful, and every effort should and must be made to wipe away the disgrace everywhere.

The Communal Aspect of the Subject

"With regard to the Communal aspect of the subject the figures are" :—

"For the years 1926-31 inclusive the number of Hindu victims was 324, 325, 304, 367, 362, and 338; while the number of Mahommedans was 494, 579, 657, 538 and 582 respectively. These figures show not only that there has been no appreciable increase in the number of Hindu women assaulted, but that more Mahommedan than Hindu women have suffered in this connection, and that it is in respect of the Mahommedan women that there has been some increase in the number of outrages."

In 1926 there were 324 *plus* 494 outrages or 818 in all. In 1931 there were 338 *plus* 582 outrages, or 920 in all. Hence these figures, too, show that there has been an alarming increase.

What we want is that there should be no outrages on women, no matter to what community they may belong. For gaining this object, Hindu brutes and Mussalman brutes should be punished with impartial severity and there should be an awakening of the public conscience in both the communities. But hitherto the agitation for special action and legislation by Government for putting down these crimes has been carried on by Hindus alone. Mussalman leaders and the Moslem press have repeatedly asserted that outrages on women very rarely, if at all, take place in the Moslem community and that the reaction of Hindu women is due generally to evil Hindu customs. The figures show that that is a wrong assertion. They ought to rouse the Moslem conscience. If Hindu manners and customs were mainly responsible for the evil, why should it be greater in the Moslem community ?

The Report goes on to state :

"It is noteworthy also that, while outrages by Mahommedan men upon Hindu women during each of these six years numbered 114, 122, 105, 114, 109, and 125 respectively, those perpetrated by Hindu men upon Hindu women totalled 205, 201, 198, 231, 234, and 194, respectively."

It would not be unnatural if the outrages upon Hindu women by Hindu scoundrels were really greater than those perpetrated on Hindu women by Moslem scoundrels. For Hindu men can mix with Hindu women more easily than Moslem men. But there is some reason to doubt whether the numbers of Hindu women victimized by Moslem men were really as low as the figures given in the Report would lead one to believe. For, in Hindu society the probability and fear of social obloquy, persecution and excommunication are greater in cases of abduction by Moslem men than by Hindu men, and consequently there is perhaps greater hushing up of cases of the former class than of the latter class.

The Report has given the figures of outrages on Hindu women perpetrated by Hindu men and Moslem men respectively, but it has suppressed the figures of outrages perpetrated on Moslem women by Hindu men and Moslem men respectively, obviously because the number of Moslem women victimized by Hindu rogues is much less than the number of Hindu women victimized by Moslem rogues and much less also than the number of Moslem women victimized by Moslem rogues. The *Sanjibani* of the 12th April last has published these figures from a voluminous statement placed on the library table of the Bengal Legislative Council some time ago by the Hon'ble Mr. Reid. These figures are given below.

OUTRAGES ON WOMEN BY MOSLEM SCOUNDRELS

Year	On Hindu Women	On Moslem Women	Total
1926	113	481	594
1927	122	576	698
1928	104	460	564
1929	114	676	790
1930	104	531	635
1931	125	573	698

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OUTRAGES ON WOMEN BY HINDU SCOUNDRELS

Year	On Hindu Women	On Moslem Women	Total
1926	194	9	203
1927	201	3	204
1928	198	10	208
1929	236	8	244
1930	234	6	240
1931	197	3	200

The figures compiled above from the Hon'ble Mr. Reid's statement show that scoundrels belonging to the Moslem community perpetrate outrages on a far larger number of women than scoundrels belonging to the Hindu society.

We have referred to the communal aspect of these shameful offences because the Government Report has done so. We consider it disgraceful that Hindu society contains so many brutes. That according to Government statistics Moslem society contains scoundrels who perpetrate a far larger number of outrages does not in the least make it less binding on the Hindu community to fight the evil in its own ranks as well as in the entire population of Bengal. As regards the duty of the Moslem community, it had better be pointed out and laid down by the Moslem press and leaders.

Special Action and Legislation Certainly Required

The Report observes in conclusion :

"While the evil undoubtedly exists and while the figures available may not reveal the full extent of it, they are nevertheless a sufficient indication of the truth to enable it to be said that special action or legislation by Government is not required at the present moment. The subject, however, is not one which can be disposed of by statistics. That such crimes are perpetrated is a blot on the province, and the sense of horror they evoke is a welcome sign of a rising public conscience."

If one-hundredth of the outrages committed on Indian women with their attendant horrible cruelties had been committed on European women, it is perfectly certain that the European community in India would have demanded that gang rape, if not also rape of all kinds, and abduction and kidnapping of women in cases where the victims cannot be found, should be made capital offences, and Government would have lost no time in meeting the demands.

Government seem to take their stand on the fact that offences against women are not increasing. We have shown from their own figures that the evil has been on the increase and we shall quote from the Police Administration Report of Bengal to show that we are right. But assuming that the evil is not increasing, it can neither be contended that it is decreasing. And, therefore, we assert more emphatically that special action and special legislation are undoubtedly required to fight the evil. Pious platitudes like those quoted above will not do.

"Lies, Damned Lies and Statistics"

The Report rightly says that "the subject" "is not one which can be disposed of by statistics." Far less can it be disposed of by the kind of statistical information against which the British proverbial classification of lies, "lies, damned lies and statistics," is aimed.

Blot on Whom ?

The fact that such crimes are perpetrated is undoubtedly a blot on the province, as the Report says. But that is only part of the truth. It is a blot on the Government also.

It is also true that the sense of horror they evoke is a welcome sign of a rising public conscience. It would be a far more welcome sign if the word "public" included all sections of the public, and if one could be sure that the administrative machine had fully realized the seriousness of the evil.

Increase in Offences Against Women Officially Admitted

While the latest Bengal Administration Report has made an unsuccessful attempt to show that crimes against women have not been increasing in Bengal, the latest Report of the Police Administration in Bengal expressly states that *these crimes have increased*. The exact words are quoted below.

"The increase of 94 cases under this head is most noticeable, Burdwan, Nadia and Hooghly being the worst contributors with increases of 21, 20 and 17 cases, respectively." P. 23.

The Government Resolution on this Police Administration Report contains the following paragraph :

"His Excellency in Council notes that cases of offences committed against women under sec-

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366 and 354, Indian Penal Code, showed an increase of 94 over the figure of the previous year—Burdwan, Nadia and Hooghly being the main contributors." P. 2.

If the reader is puzzled to find differences in the figures given in the Bengal Administration Report, Bengal Police Administration Report and Mr. Reid's statement, the fault is not ours.

One Small Reason for Council Entry

Allegations of oppression and ventilation of grievances have been made very difficult and risky, if not wholly impracticable, at public meetings and in the columns of newspapers. The only places where this can be done with some amount of freedom are the council chambers. But there, too, it is only members who possess courage and a spirit of independence who can serve the public in this way. Hence, the larger the number of Congressmen there whom fear of imprisonment and lathi-charges has not deterred from doing their duty according to their lights, the better.

It is no doubt true that often, if not in every case, even if a member brings very serious complaints to the notice of the Government in the council chamber, no public inquiries are made to ascertain the truth or falsity of the complaints, and newspapers do not publish these complaints for fear of the law or of the press officer. A case in point is the number of very serious allegations contained in Mr. S. C. Mitra's speech in the Legislative Assembly on the 19th March last, which is printed in full in the official report of the proceedings of the Assembly, pages 2498-2502, and pages 2506-2512. In the newspapers this speech has been dismissed in a few lines. The speech related mainly to what had been alleged to have done to houses and other property and to many men and women in several villages in Midnapur by soldiers and the police. But these allegations appear to be considered so trifling that even the Government members of the Departments concerned were not present to hear them! No wonder that public investigations are not made, and Sir Samuel Hoare answers light-heartedly in the House of Commons, when questioned, that the allegations are either entirely unfounded or are exaggerated. If a true son of India were in the House of Commons as an M. P., he might have challenged Sir Samuel to state which of the allegations were unfounded and which exaggerated. If any allegations are unfounded, there the matter ends. But if any are exaggerated, there is at least a grain of truth in them. What action is taken by the Government to redress this grain of grievance?

If there is really oppression anywhere, it is better that at least some members of legislatures should hear of them than that the news should be entirely suppressed. And if the Houses ever came to contain an appreciable number of would-be free citizens, they might at least move a resolution demanding an open public inquiry into allegations of oppression like beating of men and women, rape, theft, destruction of property, etc., by soldiers or other public servants.

Police officials Receive Condign Punishment—But in Germany!

The Nazi Government has been criticized unsparingly when it deserved such criticism. But let it have well-merited praise, too, for at least one example of even-handed justice, *e. g.*, the following case:

> Berlin, April 6.
>
> Draconic sentences were imposed at Stettin Court on three police officials for maltreating persons in the Concentration Camp at Bredow near Stettin, which is now closed.
>
> Hoffman, the chief detective, was given thirteen years' hard labour, another five years' hard labour and the third five years' ordinary imprisonment. Various civilians, charged with the same offences, received sentences ranging from ten to two years' imprisonment. The trial was held in camera.—Reuter.

We forget what punishment, if any, was inflicted on those who were responsible for the shooting down of some detenus at the Hijli detention camp. Was it hanging, or thirteen or five years' hard labour or ordinary imprisonment?

Condemnation of the White Paper But not of the Communal Award!

There is an endeavour going on for a united Hindu-Moslem front against the White Paper scheme, but not against that part

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(though an essential part) of it which is based on the communal "award." The White Paper scheme has given very little power to the Indian people, and what little power has been given to them has been deliberately withheld from the Hindus as far as practicable, and given to the Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Moslems. The Hindus, who form three-fourths of the population of British India, and an absolute majority of the population of India, have been proposed to be reduced by that scheme to the position of an impotent and insignificant minority, and the Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Moslems, with the ruling princes, have been proposed to be given *statutorily* the powers of the majority. Apart from the grave injustice to the Hindus involved in the White Paper scheme and apart from its thoroughly anti-national and undemocratic character, the communal "award" has divided India into various big and small mutually antagonistic groups—sex being pitted against sex, religious community against religious community, occupational class against occupational class, racial group against racial group and one Hindu caste-group against another Hindu caste-group. So even if the proposed united Hindu-Moslem front of the kind indicated above succeeded in extorting the substance of independence or dominion status from the British Parliament and people, of which there is not the least likelihood under the present "National" British Government, it would still mean that India would be a land of warring groups which would not coalesce into a Nation. For that reason alone, if not for any other, the substance of independence, nay even independence itself, would not be desirable, if the condition precedent for obtaining it were the acceptance of the communal award.

We have said that even if the Hindus and Moslems presented a united front of the kind proposed, the British National Government now in power would not agree to the transfer of more power to the Indian people than has been proposed to be given to them in the White Paper scheme. On the contrary, the Tory Die-hards want more safe-guards or restrictions to be introduced in the future constitution of India.

But supposing any Hindu leader or leaders accepted the communal "award" for the sake of a so-called Hindu-Moslem Unity, what would be the result? To the extent of his or their Hindu following, the Hindus would be taken by the world public to be a people who do not know their own minds and who are capable of temporizing and forswearing themselves; for, hitherto, except some not all, "depressed" Hindus, the Hindu community as a whole has condemned the communal "award."

So, the first result of any Hindu leader accepting the communal award would be that the thinking public in India and abroad would cease to have any respect for the character, intelligence and political wisdom of the Hindus.

Another result would be that the Government would make a higher bid for Moslem support. It has not been forgotten that when the Unity Conference proposed to reserve 33 per cent of the seats in the central legislature for the Moslems, Sir Samuel Hoare lost no time to offer them 33⅓ per cent, and when the Unity Conference agreed to the separation of Sindh under some conditions the same British functionary declared unconditionally that Sindh would be separated. Hence, any effort to secure a united Hindu-Moslem front of the kind proposed would only foster this ancient cringing spirit. And it is no injustice to the Muslims to say that, *perhaps* with a few exceptions, they, being "realists," not sentimentalists or idealists, would accept the highest bid, namely, that of the ruling party, and consequently there would not be any united front.

A third result would be that the Hindus would be further divided among themselves. For there are numerous Hindus who would never accept the communal "award" even if Mahatma Gandhi, not to speak of any lesser leader, were to accept it. They would form a very large and influential section. As there would not in effect be any united Hindu-Moslem front, but only a combination of a section of the Hindus with the Moslems, such a combination is not likely to succeed in extorting any appreciable amount of political power from the British Government.

It is a glorious privilege and duty of any one to be in the minority of even one for the sake of Truth and Right. If Truth and Right

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demand it, one should not mind separation from one's own family, class, community, people or nation. But the communal "award" is the negation of Truth and Right and Principle. And, therefore, no Indian, no Hindu, ought to further divide or sub-divide his community by accepting, even temporarily, this poisonous rotten thing.

Remember, Mahatma Gandhi risked his life by fasting to prevent the separation of the "depressed" class Hindus from other Hindus, as the original communal "award" would have had the effect of bringing about. It is very likely that the suggested acceptance of the communal "award" by some Hindus, if the suggestion were acted up to, would bring about a further division of the Hindu community into more groups. Whether Mahatma Gandhi would fast to prevent such division or to re-unite the groups, after such division, is more than we know or can anticipate.

It has been attempted to be shown in the foregoing paragraphs of this note that there cannot be a Hindu-Moslem combination of the kind proposed, and that even if there be a combination of that sort of Moslems with some Hindus, it will not succeed in getting any appreciable political concessions from Britain for India. But supposing such a combination of some Hindus with the Moslems succeeded in getting more power from the ruling race on the understanding that the communal "award" would remain intact, what would be the result?

The result would be that the Hindus, the majority community of India, would be reduced to the position of an even more helpless and powerless minority than the White Paper proposes to reduce them to, and political power would continue to be practically monopolized by the minority consisting of Moslems, Europeans, Anglo-Indians and the ruling princes; and hence, it is the minority which would become more powerful, and the majority would grow relatively more powerless. We do not lay stress on the mere fact of the Hindus being the majority community and on the fact of that majority community being reduced to the position of a powerless minority. But we do lay stress on the fact that the powerlessness of the Hindus would be a calamity for India, because the Hindu community contains the majority of the nationalists, the patriots, the intelligentsia, and of the public-spirited, able, and self-sacrificing men and women possessed of a spirit of altruism and independence.

Let us hope that, if Mahatma Gandhi cannot unsettle the communal "award," he will try his utmost to prevent and succeed in preventing further injury being done to the national cause by the acceptance of that so-called "award" by any of his Hindu and other followers.

The acceptance of a thing makes its future repudiation difficult. There is just a possibility—it may not be a probability—of India getting a democratic constitution when the Labour party next comes into real power in Britain. Our non-acceptance of the communal "award" and persistent agitation for its annulment and for the introduction of democratic Swaraj would help that party. But acceptance of that so-called award would hamper even those members of that party who are most enthusiastic advocates of self-rule for India.

Some Sanatanists and Mahatma Gandhi

It would be doing a grave injustice to Sanatanists in general to assume that as a body they are in favour of violence and prone to act foolishly. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is a Sanatanist, and has just presided over a Sanatanist conference. It is well known that he is entirely against any Sanatanists using physical force against those who are called reformers. He is the very personification of sweet reasonableness. And there are many Sanatanists of lesser note and unknown to fame, who resemble him in these respects. It is to be hoped that persons like him and them would be able to restrain the fury of foolish so-called Sanatanists against Mahatma Gandhi and his followers.

We use the word "foolish" deliberately. It is really foolish to think that a man like Mahatma Gandhi can be prevented from acting according to his convictions by the fear of death. Both deductive and inductive reasoning should lead to this conclusion. If Gandhiji had never been subjected or threatened

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to be subjected to fatal assaults, from his character alone one could infer that fear of death would not deter him from doing his duty. But he has in the past actually been assaulted several times, which might have ended fatally, without being deflected from his chosen path by a hair's breadth.

Moreover, if Gandhiji could be frightened into giving up the cause of the "untouchables," which is unthinkable, or killed and removed from the scene of his consecrated labours, others would take up the work with re-doubled zeal. And with or without workers for the cause from among the ranks of the "touchables," it is bound to triumph. Hinduism will not die. Harijans will become respected members of the Hindu community and will not only keep it from dying but add to its vitality and strength.

Argue with and against Mahatmaji by all means. But baculine arguments directed against him are of no use.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya on Untouchability

At the seventh session of the Panjab Provincial Sanatan Dharma Conference, held last month at Rawalpindi, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya delivered his presidential address extempore. The greater portion of his address was devoted to a discussion of the problem of untouchability as at present understood.

> Quoting extracts from the Scriptures the Pandit impressed upon the audience that untouchability as practised at present was never sanctioned by the Vedas or sastras. No untouchability existed in congregations, melas, tirthas, temples, schools and on the roads. Every human being had a right to have 'darshan' of the deity.

It is cheering to learn from an orthodox Hindu scholar like the Pandit that the Vedas and the other sastras do not sanction untouchability. But whether they sanction it or not, it is bound to disappear entirely. It has been disappearing gradually. The Hindus do not follow the Vedas or the other sastras in many vital things where strict adherence to the scriptures would have done them great good. Therefore, even if the scriptures did sanction the evil custom of untouchability, it would not have been consistent, logical or right for them to adhere to it.

Of course every human being has a right to have *darshan* (sight) of images or idols of gods and goddesses. Hindus in many places have gone further. In the festivals of the worship of the goddesses Durga and Sarasvati in many places the actual worship has been performed by Hindus of the non-Brahman "depressed" castes officiating as priests and the food offered and afterwards partaken of by Hindus of various castes including Brahmans, Namasudras, etc., sitting together, has been cooked by "depressed" class Hindus. Such festivals have not been followed by any untoward results.

> Referring to the bills now before the Central Legislature in this connection, the Pandit declared he was opposed to all of them on principle and would strain every nerve to get them withdrawn. He would not like the intervention of Government in religious matters. The Legislative Assembly, constituted as it was of Muslims, Christians, Parsis and others, had not the right, the Pandit contended, to pass any bill regarding temple entry which was a purely sanatanist measure.

That is too comprehensive a subject to be discussed in the course of a note. We, too, are opposed to the interference of the Government or the Legislature in religious matters, except in matters involving considerations of humanity and morality, as *Sutti*, infanticide, etc. But we do not see any objection to legislation of a permissive character and to legislation which removes some legal powerlessness on the part of temple trustees to admit "untouchable" worshippers to temples.

> Concluding the Pandit appealed to Sanatanists to work for the betterment of the oppressed and depressed classes. He, however, struck a note of warning against over-zealous reformers using compulsion or coercion in the matter of temple entry by untouchables and urged them not to commit any action likely to injure the feelings of the orthodox section of Sanatanists.

Both Sanatanists and reformers should work for the welfare of the lowly, not as patrons and benefactors, but in a brotherly spirit. Just as over-zealous reformers should refrain from compulsion or coercion, so should fanatical Sanatanists refrain from doing what was recently done at Buxar and Baidyanath-Deoghar to break the heads of Mahatma Gandhi and his followers.

It is encouraging that Pandit Ma

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Mohan Malaviya is with the reformers up to a certain point.

Mahatma Gandhi Welcome to Bengal

Mahatma Gandhi is in modern times the greatest among the workers for the uplift of the poor, the lowly and the "depressed." He would, therefore, be cordially and enthusiastically welcomed to Bengal on the occasion of his tour in the province this month. We join with all others in welcoming him and wish all success to his philanthropic labours. We feel, however, that his tour will be all too brief and will not include many districts. We do not refer to Midnapur. We know that he is hard-pressed for time, but hope that on the next occasion he will be able to visit the districts, omitted from his tour programme this time.

The Late Sir Chettur Sankaran Nair

Sir Chettur Sankaran Nair, who passed away last month at the age of 77, was a man of strong personality, varied talents and many achievements in different spheres of activity.

Sir Chettur Sankaran Nair, B. A., B. L., C. I. E., was born on July 11, 1857; educated at Madras Presidency College; High Court vakil; Government pleader and public prosecutor to the Government of Madras; Advocate-General; Judge High Court, Madras; for many years a member of the Madras Legislative Council; president of the Indian National Congress at Amraoti; president of the Indian Social Conference at Madras; president of the Indian Industrial Exhibition, Madras; founder and for some time editor, the *Madras Review*, the *Madras Law Journal* and the daily newspaper *Madras Standard*; member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, 1915-1919; member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India 1919-1921; elected member, Council of State, Nov. 1925; chairman of the Central Legislature Committee which sat with the Simon Commission, 1928; author of *Gandhi and Anarchy*, which involved him in a libel suit filed against him by Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

We remember with gratitude that Sir Sankaran Nair contributed to *The Modern Review* for March, 1914, an article on "Village Government in Southern India," in which he said:

"Representative government is so constantly alleged to be abhorrent to the spirit of the East that I shall quote in extenso the rules for election for one of those [village] assemblies from the report of the archaeological superintendent for 1904-5, pp. 131-145. These rules are said to have been promulgated in A. D. 918-919 and 920-921."

He concluded the article with the remarks:

"It is interesting to observe that ladies were eligible for election and a lady was a member of a committee of justice. (Report for 1910, section 35, p. 98.) Other village assemblies appear to have consisted of cultivators and merchants. The archaeological superintendent surmises that the same rules applied to them, except knowledge of the Vedas. (Report for 1912-13, p. 98.)

"After this who can say that representative institutions and self-government are a foreign importation?"

The Late Mr. Kumud Nath Chaudhuri

Mr. Kumud Nath Chaudhuri, barrister-at-law, was a distinguished lawyer of the Calcutta High Court and a brother of the late Sir Ashutosh Chaudhuri. *Shikar* was his hobby, and as a *shikari* he had bagged many a tiger and other wild animals. During the last Easter holidays he went to the Kalahandi forest for shooting tigers, though he was about 70. Unfortunately he was fatally mauled by a wounded tiger. He was the author of a book and many articles on *shikar*.

The Late Mr. Pramatha Nath Bose

Mr. Pramatha Nath Bose had served Government for long years as an officer of the Geological Survey of India. In spite of his meritorious services, he was superseded by a European officer. For this reason he retired early, though he could have served longer. In the sphere of geological work he will be remembered as the discoverer of iron ore in the Gorumahishani hills in the Mayurbhanj State. This discovery of his lies at the foundation of the Tata Iron and Steel Works at Jamshedpur.

Mr. Bose was a widely read thinker and was the author of several books on Indian civilization and culture. He was the protagonist of Indian cultural swaraj. Having been educated in Britain, he lived and dressed like a European

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during the period of his service and some years afterwards. But latterly, for long years, his dress and personal habits were like those of a Bengali who had never received English education. This change was deliberate and the result of conviction. He lived to be about 80. Years ago he was good enough to contribute several articles to *The Modern Review*.

Reward for Bibi Harnam Kaur

Miss Harnam Kaur, a Sikh girl of the Panjab, bravely offered resistance to a gang of dacoits in spite of receiving two gunshot wounds. Two of the dacoits died and one was captured, while her father also died in the encounter. Her brother also received serious injuries. Brother and sister are still in hospital. They are to receive Government rewards in cash (Rs. 2000 each) and lands. The public also should honour and reward their heroism in a suitable manner.

"Political Outrages in India"

NEW DELHI, April 26.

The Council of State met today to discuss the Trade Disputes Extending Bill, the Sugar Excise Duty Bill and the Sugar Cane Bill.

During the interpellation hour the Home Secretary informed Mr. Jagadish Banerjea that the total number of political outrages in India from 1931 to February, 1934, was 329 of which 210 was in Bengal. Of these 210 outrages in Bengal 13 were murderous outrages, 37 were attempts at outrages, 76 were dacoities, 10 were bomb throwing and one armed raid. The total number of officials killed and injured in India during this period was 193 of which Bengal was responsible for 114.—"United Press."

In March last Sir Harry Haig stated in the Legislative Assembly that Bengal had the monopoly of political outrages. That was not quite accurate. Political outrages have taken place in the rest of India, too, though not so many as in Bengal. It would be good for Bengal and good for India, if some disinterested competent party studied the aetiology of political outrages in India and their greater prevalence in Bengal and discovered remedies.

Proposal to Lighten Britain's Philanthropic Burdens !

The South African Whites have come forward in quite a fraternal spirit with a proposal to lighten Great Britain's philanthropic burdens ! Reuter telegraphs :

LONDON, April 26.

The possibilities of an inter-Imperial controversy have been opened up by an announcement by General Hertzog in the South African Parliament that the Government proposed sending a note to Britain urging the immediate transference of the native Protectorates of Bechuanaland, Swaziland and Basutoland to the Union.

The procedure by which such a change may be effected has been laid down in the Union of South Africa Act and the advocates of the change maintain that the British Government have failed to develop the Protectorates, which have been kept in a backward state.

The natives themselves, however, are strongly opposed to the transference, while the opposition likely to be offered in certain quarters in Britain is indicated by the comment of the "Manchester Guardian," which urges that there can be no question of entertaining the request, unless the Union adopts a more liberal native policy.

As if Britain's own "native policy" has always everywhere been and still is "liberal".

The record of the dealings of the whites with the black races in Africa is black.

Travancore Sanctuary for Animals

Travancore has taken suitable measures to establish an animal sanctuary on the shores of the Periyar Lake extending up to Peermade and for this purpose it is proposed not to allow any shooting on the highlands for a period of five years.

Unlike in many places in Northern India where animal reserves are mainly intended for shooting purposes, it is His Highness the Maharaja's intention to have the animal reserves on the Travancore highlands to enable visitors from all over the world to see the wild animals leading their natural lives. Owing to indiscriminate shooting in the past several species have been completely exterminated and the Government have decided to revive the rare fauna which once abounded in Travancore forests.

His Highness the Maharaja had on more than one occasion gone to the highlands to see for himself how this could be best effected and on every occasion he cruised Periyar lake on board the State steam launch. His Highness had witnessed herds of bison, sambur and even tigers very near the shores of the lake.—*A. P.*

Oriya Authors Honoured

Berhampore (Ganjam).

The All-Utkal Oriya Poet's Conference was held here last week, Raja Sahib of Dharacote presiding. A large number of poets and scholars from different parts of Orissa and Ganjam attended.

After Mr. M. S. Panigrahi, Chairman of the Reception Committee, had welcomed the guests, the Raja Sahib of Dharacote opened the conference. Mr. Gopal Chandra Praharaj, author of the

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Oriya Encyclopaedia, and the Raja Sahib of Chikati, a reputed author, were presented with separate addresses of welcome, referring to their valuable contributions to Oriya literature.

In connection with the conference several unpublished works, oil paintings and best works of art were exhibited.

A resolution condoling the death of the late Mr. M. S. Das was unanimously passed.—*United Press.*

We have seen the first three volumes of Mr. Gopal Chandra Praharaj's encyclopaedic dictionary of the Oriya language. In reviewing it in our last number, we have said that this dictionary will be of use not only to those whose mother-tongue is Oriya but also to those whose mother-tongue is Bengali or Hindi. Bengali and Oriya are in fact so akin that, if both were written in the same script, this dictionary could be easily adapted as a Bengali dictionary. If the same script were used for writing Hindi, Hindi lexicographers could also use it.

The close kinship of Oriya and Bengali has been known to me for a long time. It was brought home to me afresh when I went to Cuttack last year to take part in the local Rammohun Roy centenary celebrations. I could follow the speeches in Oriya of three gentlemen and a lady almost throughout, and although I delivered all my speeches in Cuttack in Bengali, except one, among the audience, consisting for the most part of Oriya gentlemen and ladies, only one gentleman complained that he could not follow me—and he was a Telugu-speaking young gentleman from the Ganjam district.

Tagore's Visit to Ceylon

On the 3rd of this month the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, and party will start for Colombo, arriving there on the 9th. The party will consist of more than 20 persons in all, some sailing to Colombo and others journeying by rail. The Poet will stay in Ceylon for about a month and a half, during which period he will deliver a few addresses at Colombo, and *Shapamochana*, a drama by him, will be staged on four nights by the professors and students accompanying him. An exhibition of the arts and crafts of the Visvabharati at Santiniketan and Srinikentan will also be held. The Poet, his son, daughter and daughter-in-law, Principal Nanda Lal Bose, other professors and the boy and girl students are likely afterwards to pay visits to the principal historical and other famous places in the island. The Sinhalese will thus have a rare opportunity of being acquainted with Bengali culture in some of its principal phases.

Japanese Ambition

How Japan attacked and dismembered the Chinese Republic and practically became the owner of Manchuria and some other regions which had been Chinese territory before, and how the Western exploiters of China and the League of Nations simply looked on but did not or could not give any other help to China than words, words, words, though both those Asiatic countries were members of the League, is recent history. That history does not reveal Japan's pacifism. But last month Japan posed as the maintainer of peace in the Orient !

TOKIO, April 18.

What is interpreted bluntly in the press as a warning to the world to keep its hands off China is contained in a statement issued by the Foreign Office in connection with reports of proposals for joint international assistance to China. The statement declares that Japan deems it her natural responsibility to maintain the peace of the Orient. In view of the fact that the restoration of order in China depends on China herself, Japan will oppose any action by the Chinese Government contrary to the peace of the Orient. Furthermore, Japan will be forced to oppose any measure of other powers likely to lead to a disturbance of the peace of the Orient like providing China with military planes, military instructors and political loans.—Reuter.

This means, not that Japan really desires to maintain the peace of the Orient, but that she will not allow any other power to prevent her from breaking the peace whenever she likes. Hence she is speaking as if China were her vassal and she herself was the suzerain of all Asia and the islands in the Pacific Ocean and all regions bordering on it. She desires that China should remain entirely at her mercy. Hence she objects to that country being provided with military planes, military instructors and political loans. China as a sovereign state has every right to provide herself with these for defensive purposes. But even if she wanted these for purposes of aggression, an aggressive nation like Japan would have no moral right to assume airs of injured innocence and sermonize, because

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when Japan attacked China, she turned a deaf ear to all ethical dissuasion. China, however, has no aggressive designs on any other state; she wants only to be equipped for defence, and that is what she has said in reply to the Japanese declaration.

NANKING, April 19.

No State has the right to claim an exclusive responsiblity for the maintenance of peace in any part of the world, declares a Foreign Office statement in reply to the Japanese declaration yesterday.

China, as a member of the League, desires to promote international co-operation, peace and security, but does not intend to injure the interests of any country, far less disturb peace in the Far East. The collaboration between China and other countries, whether financial or in the form of technical assistance, has been non-political and the purchase of military equipment and employment of foreign military instructors have been solely for national defence.

But "national defence" on the part of China is exactly what Japan does not like and wants to prevent.

China's declaration of her pacific intentions and her assertion of her independent political status were followed by a hypocritical "disclaimer" on the part of Japan:

TOKIO, April 20.

A disclaimer that Japan has any intention of interfering with the interests of other Powers engaged in trade beneficial to China has been made by a Foreign Office spokesman with reference to the statement. Japan has no intention of deviating from the policy of open door and equal opportunity to all nations in China or interfering with the independence of China. Japan desires unification and prosperity of China, which must be obtained by China's awakening, not by selfish exploitation by other Powers. The time has passed when other Powers in the League can exercise influence for the exploitation of China.—Reuter.

Of course, "Japan has no intention of deviating from the policy of open door and equal opportunity to all nations in China"! Only she wishes to be in a position to shut the open door against others whenever it may be necessary in her own interests. Similarly, she does not want to interfere with the independence of China. Only she will not allow China to exercise that independence to obtain from other countries whatever help she stands in need of for her "unification and prosperity"—for maintaining her integrity. Precious independence! The Japanese desire for the *"unification and prosperity of China"* has been clearly proved by the creation of Manchuria as a separate independent (?) state. It would have been all right if Japan prevented other Powers from exploiting China in the interests of China. But the fact is, Japan wants to monopolize the exploitation of China.

Meanwhile other Powers look on as if in abject impotence, as before. Consider the British attitude.

LONDON, April 23.

In the House of Commons Sir John Simon faced a storm of questions on the subject of Japan's "hands off China" announcement on April 18.

Sir John Simon replied that he had not received any notification to that effect from Japan but the British Ambassador had cabled the text of the informal verbal statement made to the Japanese Press by a spokesman of the Foreign Office.

Sir John Simon said the statement apparently was inspired by apprehension of certain dangers to peace and good relations between China and Japan which might follow certain action by other Powers in China.

Sir John Simon declared that no such dangers were to be apprehended from the British policy. He, however, had communicated with the Japanese Government with the object of clarifying the position of His Majesty's Government in consequence of the spokesman's reference to objections to financial assistance to China.—Reuter.

"Dangers to *peace* and *good* relations between China and Japan" might follow if other Powers acted in China as her friends. Peace and good relations can be maintained by China by licking the boots of the powerful aggressor and by the other Powers not doing anything to disturb this dignified Sino-Japanese tableau vivant.

John Bull is such a good boy and is so polite to persons armed with the big stick that "Sir John Simon declared that no such dangers were to be apprehended from the British policy." And it is really true that British manufacturers of war materials will not be so partial to China as to sell these only to China; but, if war were to break out between Japan and China, they will, as before, supply arms and ammunition to both the countries impartially to the extent of their respective powers to pay cash.

A further message from London is printed below.

LONDON, April 23.

The British communication to Japan on the latter's sensational warning indirectly addressed to the Powers regarding their policy in China has been despatched to the British Ambassador, Tokio, for delivery to the Foreign Office. There has been no direct notification by Japan to Britain regarding the new Japanese attitude. It is understood that Brit-

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communication is chiefly a reaffirmation of Britain's position, especially under the Nine-Power Treaty. —Reuter.

From the Chinese point of view, there does not seem to be any hope of help from the predominant partner in the League of Nations. Nothing is so far known about the attitude of France, Italy, etc. Outside the League the wealthiest and strongest Power is the United States of America. The American attitude is indicated in the message printed below.

WASHINGTON, April, 24.

It is definitely indicated that the United States intends, at least for the present, to remain a mute bystander in any international complications arising out of Japan's statement of policy regarding China.—Reuter.

Japan's "Hands off China" Policy

Since writing our note on "Japan's Ambition" we have found some more telegrams relating to Japan's "Hands off China" policy, subsequently published in the dailies. One of them runs thus :

TOKIO, April 26.

The desire for direct Sino-Japanese negotiations on the pending problems was expressed by the Foreign Minister, Mr. Hirota, in an interview with the Chinese Minister, General Changtsopin. Mr. Hirota said that a solution as early as possible was vital to peace in the Far East.

Clarifying and upholding the 'hands off China' statement, Mr. Hirota stated that there was a manifestation of sentiment in China which was not very pleasant. He declared that part of the Japanese statement was somewhat strongly worded but the Japanese Government would support its substance and spirit and hoped that the Chinese Government and people would co-operate, as both countries were responsible for peace in the Far East.

In the meanwhile, according to the Rengo Agency, Japanese official circles are giving serious attention to the reports that China has already purchased 13 aeroplanes from Italy and that two Italian instructors are teaching at the Nanchang aviation school and Germans are planning the establishment of an aeroplane factory in the same vicinity.

What Mr. Hirota has said in his interview with the Chinese Minister does not make it necessary for us to withdraw or modify any of our observations in the note on Japan's ambition.

As for China buying aeroplanes from Italy and Italy supplying them and China engaging Italian instructors of aviation, that is what all independent countries have a right to do. Japan herself will, it has been reported, greatly augment her air power in the course of three years. If China has really purchased aeroplanes and engaged Italian instructors and allowed Germans to make preparations for the establishment of an aeroplane factory in China, that would mean some sort of warlike preparation, defensive or offensive, or both. We heartily dislike war. But the proposition cannot be agreed to that it is the strong and the victorious alone who have the right to make military preparations on an increasing scale, but that the weak and the defeated have no right to become stronger in order to prevent further defeat in future.

Britain and France have dependencies and colonies in and near Asia, which are open to reprisals on the part of Japan. America has the Philippines in the Pacific to think of. Italy and Germany have no such territories in Asia. Hence Italy and Germany can do things to help China which Britain, France, U. S. A. cannot think of doing, unless compelled to by special circumstances in defence of their own interests. Holland also has a considerable stake in Asia and, therefore, must needs think thrice before giving offence to Japan directly or indirectly.

Besides the possession of territory in Asia, some of the powers mentioned above have stakes in China itself, as the following telegram indicates :

LONDON, April 26.

Arising from the Japanese 'hands off China' announcement it is pointed out authoritatively that the British investments in Shanghai are three and a half times those of Japan. In China proper British investments total £197,000,000, that is 56 per cent of the total foreign investments, as against £74,000,000 of Japan, which is 21 per cent of the total, and the United States' £32,000,000 or nine per cent of the total.

The British Ambassador in U. S. A. has explained the British position to the proper party in Washington.

WASHINGTON, April 27.

Sir Ronald Lindsay, the British ambassador, discussed the Japanese situation with Mr. Phillips, Under-Secretary of State, for half an hour in the State department this evening; and it is understood communicated to Mr. Phillips the authentic text of Britain's note to Japan and explained Britain's position. It is learned from authoritative sources that the United States has not taken any definite diplomatic action in the matter and has not sent any official communication to Japan or other signatories to the Nine-Power Treaty. There is no

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indication that any immediate action is contemplated.

Some reasons for the French attitude have been stated above. Further indications of that attitude can be gathered from the following telegram :

PARIS, April 27.

Official circles are extremely reserved in regard to the reported Japanese statements of policy *vis-a-vis* China. The exact extent of the Japanese policy and aim is not clearly understood and it is believed that in the absence of authoritative indications France will hold her hand on the ground that Britain and the United States are more directly interested.

If any country states that its inaction in any matter is due to its interests not being affected, it is an honest statement.

Nations are generally chivalrous, generous, just, friendly, neighbourly, and so on, when it is to their interest to be so. They are never so, if by being chivalrous, etc., their interests are sure or even likely to be affected.

Temple Entry and Untouchability Bills

The same page of the same issue of an Indian daily newspaper contains the following two items of news :

AJMIR, April 19.

The commissioner of Ajmer-Merwara requested the president of the Hindu Sabha, Ajmer, to express his opinion on the Hindu Temple Entry Disabilities Removal Bill. The president placed the Bill before the Hindu Sabha as well as the Rajputana Provincial Hindu Sabha, and both the bodies have unanimously supported the Bill.

RAWALPINDI, April 25.

The Panjab Sanatan Dharma Conference adopted by an overwhelming majority a resolution opposing bills relating to temple entry and the abolition of untouchability on the ground that they constituted Government interference in a purely Sanatanist matter.

When the opinions of different Hindu representative organizations differ as poles asunder, perhaps the best course is to follow reason.

The greatest weight should be attached to the opinion of the depressed classes, who are the aggrieved party, and to that of Mahatma Gandhi, their greatest spokesman.

The Sanatanists could have made and can make the Bills which are obnoxious to them unnecessary by throwing temples, etc., open to the 'untouchables' and by removing untouchability in other directions.

The Redistribution of Provinces

On account of the obvious fact that the greater the number of provinces the larger would be the expenditure on account of the multiplication of the number of governors, directors of this department and that, secretaries, etc., and of big buildings and their upkeep, a discussion has been going on on the subject of the redistribution and regrouping of provinces. The forthcoming constitution, whatever it may be, would involve additional expenditure of various kinds. For these reasons, instead of creating a number of deficit provinces (for the present two) it would be far better to reduce the number of provinces. That is reason. But in these days, if a man wants to appeal to reason, logic and things of that sort, he must apologize for being so eccentric.

The Simon Commission favoured the appointment of a Boundaries Commission for the redistribution of areas among the provinces before a new constitution began to work. Bengalis have been agitating for it—rather mildly, we should think. Bengal should be made a linguistic province. This will not involve any extra expenditure. The Bengali-speaking areas now included in Bihar and Orissa and in Assam—districts and sub-districts which were formerly parts of Bengal, should be transferred to Bengal. In area Bengal is at present the smallest of the major provinces. Hence the inclusion of these Bengali-speaking districts and sub-districts will not make Bengal a more unwieldy province than the other major provinces.

It is risky to make other suggestions particularly for an organ conducted by a Bengali. So we prefer to refrain from making definite proposals. But cannot the small provinces, old or new, actual or future, decide to be partners of other provinces on advantageous terms ? Linguistic and cultural affinity may guide their choice.

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Conference in Aid of Society for the Improvement of Backward Classes

Last month Sir R. N. Mukherji, president of the Society for the Improvement of the

Sir Rajendra Nath Mukherji

Backward Classes of Assam and Bengal, invited a considerable number of the citizens of Calcutta to meet in his office to devise ways and means for helping that Society in its work. It has been in existence for the last quarter of a century and has been quietly doing much educational work. There are about 450 schools in most of the districts of Bengal and Assam under its superintendence, where more than 17,000 boys and girls receive education. Pupils of all creeds and castes are admitted. The Society also maintains libraries and reading-rooms, and delivers health lectures in rural areas and works in various ways against untouchability. The annual expenditure of the Society averages Rs. 87,000 in round numbers. But recently its income has greatly decreased on account of economic depression. That was the reason why Sir R. N. Mukherji called the Conference.

Sir N. N. Sircar was to have presided over it. In his unavoidable absence Maharaja Sir Pradyot Kumar Tagore took the chair. Sir R. N. Mukherji being requested to open the proceedings made a short speech observing that both Government and the people should help the Society with more funds. In addition to his previous donations and the subscription which he pays, he made a donation of Rs. 1,000 at the conclusion of his brief speech. During the years of his connection with the Society he has also given ungrudgingly of his time and energy for the furtherance of its cause, in spite of his heavy engagements and the infirmities of age. He is more than 82 years old.

Mr. Haridas Majumdar of the Amrita Samaj promised a donation of Rs. 200 on behalf of that Samaj.

After some discussions and consultation a Committee was formed at the instance of the Maharaja Tagore with himself as the chairman for devising ways and means for the better financing of the good work being carried on by the Society. Let us hope that now that a man of the position and wealth of the Maharaja is taking interest in the affairs of the Society, it will receive some help

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Calcutta Mayoral Election

The entire proceedings or certain parts of the proceedings of the meeting of the Calcutta Corporation recently held for the purpose of electing the Mayor and the Deputy Mayor are before the Bengal Government and the Calcutta High Court. We, therefore, say nothing about them.

We are not in the least opposed to the election of a competent Mussalman gentleman to fill the Mayoral chair. We are rather in favour of it; as, by the election of such a person, a cause of Moslem dissatisfaction can be removed. What is wanted is that the election should be regular. It is not necessary to discuss now whether Mussalmans are justly dissatisfied or not.

As regards Mr. Fazlul Huq, he knows that the editor of this *Review* supported his candidature for a councillorship.

Suggested University for Gwalior

In the article on the late lamented Princess Kamala Raja of Gwalior published in this issue the writer suggests that a university should be established in Gwalior in memory of the beloved Rajkumari. Though we have no local knowledge, we have no hesitation to support the suggestion that the memorial should take the form of a noble educational institution. As the Rajkumari was herself an accomplished lady who, in addition to literary attainments, was possessed of artistic gifts and was also a trained soldier, the educational institution founded to enshrine her memory should aim not only at the advancement of learning like other universities but should also promote the arts and crafts of India in general and of Gwalior in particular and train its alumni to be strong and valiant sons and daughters of the Motherland.

If the suggestion finds favour, there need not be any anxiety as to where the endowment is to come from, an anxiety which is felt in connection with many another educational project.

Effects of Last Year's Floods in Orissa

About a month ago, we received copies of appeals and letters issued by Pandit Nilakantha Das, Mr. Lingaraj Mishra, Mr. Gopabandhu Chaudhuri and others asking for public help for those affected by last year's floods in Orissa. On account of the pressure on our space we were unable to draw attention to Orissa's needs in our last issue. Now that Mahatma Gandhi is about to visit that stricken region, we have no doubt that something will be done for the distressed people there. When last year we visited Cuttack and were taken by friends to a relief centre, we were convinced that help would be required for many a month to come. We wrote to that effect in the papers and the people in distress received some help. Subsequently, the charitably disposed public could think of nothing else but the cataclysmic disaster which had overtaken Bihar. But a lesser calamity is also a calamity and those who suffer from it also deserve sympathy and help. And, therefore, we again call attention to the needs of Orissa. Those who desire to send contributions will kindly do so to the Secretary or the Treasurer, Orissa Flood Relief Committee, Cuttack. That is the earnest request of Srimati Rama Devi and Messrs. Gopabandhu Chaudhuri, Nilakantha Das, Bichitrananda Das, Lingaraj Mishra, Laxminarayan Sahu, Satyanarayan Sen Gupta, Seth Harakchand Motichand, and Seth Ramlal, which we support.

"How Long Can Man Live?"

It appears from the dailies that the last Public Health Report of Bengal has been published and that it makes gloomy reading on account of the idea that it gives of the terrible rate of infant mortality and of the ravages of malarious fever and other diseases in this province. That reminds us of an article by Professor Dr. Walter Weisbach which has recently appeared in *Pester Lloyd*, a German-language daily of Budapest, Hungary, in which it is stated:

> "Whereas in 1800 the average life span amounted to only twenty-seven years [in Hungary], it has risen today to fifty-six. In other words, it has more than doubled in a little over a hundred years. This success is largely due to strenuous action on epidemics and infant mortality."

Professor Weisbach adds that

> "The disastrous effect of epidemics makes itself felt especially in British India, and Ronald Ross's book, *A Bird's Eye View of India*, states

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since 1896 ten and a half million people have died of the bubonic plague and that in the year 1918 about seven million died of influenza. In Bengal alone 350,000 to 400,000 people die of malaria each year."

But let us revert to the question of the average life span in different countries. Prof. Weisbach says in Hungary it was 27 years in 1800 and is now 56. What is it in India? In the Indian Census Report the expression 'average life span' is not used. In the report for 1931 the mean age is stated to be 23.2 for males and 22.8 for females. So India was worse off in this respect in 1931 than Hungary in 1800, more than a century ago. *The expectation of life at birth*, in different countries has been given in the Census of India Report, Vol. i, pp. 171-72, from which we compile the following statement.

Expectation of life in years at Birth

Country	Males	Females
Australia	55.20	58·84
Denmark	54.9	57.9
England	48.53	52.38
France	45.74	49.13
Germany	44.82	48.33
Holland	51.0	53 4
India	22.59	23.31
Italy	44.24	44.83
Japan	43.97	44.85
Norway	54 84	57.72
Sweden	54.53	56.98
Switzerland	49.25	52.15
United States	49.32	52.54

In reply to the question, "How long can man live?" which forms the heading of this note, Professor Weisbach writes :

"Hufeland has stated that as a rule the life of any individual is eight times as long as the period required for complete growth. Since the average man reaches maturity between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five, this would mean that man ought to live between 144 and 200 years. But even if the fact that men take a long time to reach maturity inclines us to estimate human life at five times this period, we should be justified in expecting a life of between 90 to 125 years." [Translations from *The Living Age*.]

But in India the average expectation of life is very far from 90 or 125 years. In fact the expectation of life in India is only half of what it is in other countries which have the lowest expectation of life in the tabular statement printed above.

"Overtaken by Good Luck" !

A certain university dignitary, who was telling his audience the other day how fortunate he was, said that a certain piece of good luck had overtaken him twice ! It seems he had been fleeing from good fortune all the while, but Dame Fortune was too fleet-footed for him and so overtook him ! It is lucky that the gentleman did not speak in his mother-tongue. Had he done so, his hearers would have been deprived of the treat of knowing how original one can be in congratulating oneself on one's good fortune.

"*Public Flogging of Women in Kashmir*" ?

A Reuter's message told the Indian public some days ago that in the House of Commons,

> Lieut.-Col. R. V. K. Applin, a Conservative member, asked the Secretary of State for India for the reasons for externing Lady Nethersole from Jammu and Kashmir; also whether she might now return home. Sir Samuel Hoare replied that the lady left Kashmir under an expulsion order issued by the Resident on the ground that she encouraged agitation against the State. Lieut.-Col. Applin suggested that the lady was turned out because she protested against the public flogging of women which she witnessed. Sir Samuel Hoare replied that it was not in accordance with his information, which showed that she was causing a great deal of trouble at a critical moment, for Kashmir and it was necessary to expel her in the interests of safety."

It is clear from the above that an English lady of the name of Lady Nethersole had made her home in Kashmir and that she was externed because she was creating a great deal of trouble at a critical moment. As the exact character of the trouble and of the critical moment was not described by Sir Samuel one is left to wonder what they were. Sir Samuel was not astounded at the Lieutenant Colonel's mention of public flogging of women. He gave only a conventional bureaucratic reply. Did the critical moment have any reference to the public flogging of women, and was the "great deal of trouble" given by Lady Nethersole was in part her persistence in protesting against such flogging? In any case, the Indian public would like to know whether there was any such flogging for any reason whatsoever and whether the Resident knows of any such barbarous incident.

An Offer to Libraries

With reference to the very informative and useful book, *Rammohun Roy, the Man*

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and his Work," edited by Mr. Amal Home and published by the Calcutta Rammohun Roy Centenary Committee, the Secretary to that Committee has asked us to publish the following announcement, which we do with pleasure :

The Secretary of the Rammohun Roy Centenary Committee announces that a free copy of the above book will be awarded as presentation copy to all the libraries in Calcutta as well as outside. It will be available in the office of the Rammohun Roy Centenary, 210-6, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, on production of a signed receipt from either the Secretary or any other authority of the library, between 7 A. M. and 10 A. M. in the morning, every day. To libraries outside Calcutta it would be sent per book-post on receipt of stamps worth annas three only. The offer holds good only so long as the stock of the book is not exhausted.

"Rammohun Roy Centenary Celebrations"

Reports of Rammohun Roy Centenary Celebrations held in various parts of India and abroad, other than those of the Central Celebrations Committee, Calcutta, have been compiled and edited and published in one volume by Mr. Satis Chandra Chakravarti, M. A., Joint Secretary, Rammohun Roy Centenary Committee. The volume, covering 328 closely printed pages, has been named "Rammohun Roy Centenary 1933." The price has been fixed at Re. 1 for the general public and As. 12 for the members of the Centenary Committee. It is a very interesting publication and is well got-up.

We make this announcement in the editorial pages, as the book is not a commercial venture.

Mahatma Gandhi Answers A Harijan's Questions

Harijan for April 20 contains Mahatma Gandhi's answers to ten questions sent to him by a 'Harijan.' As Gandhiji says, they are good questions. And his answers also are good and characteristic. Hence some of the questions and answers are printed below with a few words of our own. We wish we had space for all the questions and their answers. First come the questions.

1. Mahatmajee, why are you so much interested in our cause ? 2. If all religions are one in your consideration, are the Christians not entitled to combat untouchability ? 6. Arya and un-Arya are the divisions created for us. What harm is there if we remain separated ? 8. Once you said that Swaraj can be attained the day untouchability is removed. Is this present propaganda directed to that end ? 9. If so, are you going to give equivalent rights with other Hindus to our crores of untouchables ? 10. Instead of opening temples and eradicating untouchability, suffice it if you make provisions for our livelihood.

Gandhiji's answers are :

1. I am interested in the Harijan cause for the sake of purifying myself of the taint of untouchability and doing penance for the sin ; and, being jealous of the reputation of the faith I profess, I am anxious that fellow-members of the faith should also purge themselves of the same.

If any one doing 'Harijan work' were to say that he was interested in it because it is meant for the uplift of the depressed classes, it would not be an inaccurate statement. But Mahatmaji's answer strikes a truer and a more spiritual note, a note instinct with humility.

The reply to the second question is :

2. Not only are the Christians entitled, but it is their duty, to combat untouchability in their own midst. But if the question is that Christians should combat untouchability in Hinduism, my answer is that they simply cannot do it, because untouchables of Hinduism should not be untouchables to Christians. The anti-untouchability movement means weaning Hindus from their error. This cannot be effectively done by non-Hindus, even as Hindus cannot bring about religious reform among Christians or Mussalmans. If the question means that Christians should combat untouchability among Hindus by converting untouchables to Christianity, they do not advance the cause in any shape or form, the cause being reformation among caste-Hindus. If the latter repented of their sin, the Harijans would be delivered from the yoke of untouchability in a moment. Conversion can never do it. It can only add to the prevailing bitterness and introduce a disturbing factor in a situation, which is already bad but which, owing to the work of the Harijan Sevak Sanghs and other movements of internal reform in Hinduism, is steadily improving, untouchability being daily undermined.

This answer makes Mahatmaji's point of view plain. Harijans themselves can escape from the curse of untouchability by becoming Christians or Moslems ; and by wholesale conversion of this kind the evil of untouchability may be destroyed so far as the untouchables themselves are concerned. But this would be to dismember the Hindu community and would not cure it of the evil of untouchability. Mahatmaji's aim is to keep Hinduism and the Hindu community intact and at the same time to free it from the curse of untouchability. In his view, Harijans should remain Hindus as respected and self-respecting equal members of a renovated and purified Hindu community. He is right.

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The answer to the sixth question is as follows:

6. He would be a bold man who is able to say today with any degree of success who is Arya and who is un-Arya. Historians tell us that a blending of the two took place centuries ago. If now a sharp division is attempted, it will harm not only Hindus, both caste and outcaste, but it will harm the whole of India and, by implication, the whole of humanity.

Historians and anthropologists will endorse Mahatmaji's answer. There is no wholly 'pure-blooded' race or caste or sub-caste or class.

The answers to the remaining questions are:

8. I should assert the statement again. But the present propaganda is directed only to the purification of caste-Hindus and, therefore, of Hindus. And when that purification is demonstrably attained, not only Swaraj but many other desirable results will follow, as day follows night. The word Swaraj as here used does not mean a mere legal status but something far better and more lasting. I would call it an organic status evolved from within.

9. Whatever meaning may be given to the word Swaraj, removal of untouchability will be a fraud, if it does not carry with it the enjoyment by the freed Hindus of precisely the same rights as the other Hindus and all other communities may enjoy under it.

10. It is beyond me, a single, poor mortal to make provision for the livelihood of millions. That can only be achieved by their own effort and God's grace. But if temples are flung open to Harijans and untouchability is eradicated, the dead weight that is grinding them down will have lifted, and they will have an equal opportunity with the rest of their fellow-men for earning an honest livelihood.

Sind Hindus on Sind Separation

The alleged or real observation of a great Hindu leader, namely, "The Hindus are Nationalists because it suits them to be so," is often flung in the face of Hindu Nationalists, particularly those who are outside the Congress camp. We are not aware of the existence of any nationalists in any country who are nationalists because nationalism does not suit them! The acid test of the correctness or otherwise of the above observation lies in the attitude of the Hindus in those provinces where they are in a minority. Do they want a purely national and democratic constitution, or do they, like the Moslems, want separate electorates for themselves with weightage and various other safe-guards like Mr. Jinnah's '14 points'? In Bengal, Hindus would be satisfied with joint electorates in a Nationalist democratic constitution, without weightage and with no reservation of seats for themselves. Such is the case with Panjab Hindus, too. In Sind the Hindus are a small minority. They held a conference last month. According to *The Sind Observer*:

> It has been made clear beyond a peradventure that Sind Hindus stand for undiluted nationalism. They are opposed to communal electorates and reservation of seats for any community in any form and at any stage. Though they are a minority community, they are prepared to have joint electorates for the sake of Swarajya, communal peace and harmony. Though the colour and complexion of elected Hindu representatives will be determined in joint electorates by the voters of the majority community, yet, for the sake of nationalism and Swaraj, they will take cheerfully all the risks involved, knowing that they, too, will have a share in determining the nature of the Muslim members to be elected. They do not ask for any special safeguards under joint electorates (without reservation of seats) unlike Muslim minorities elsewhere.
>
> If that is accepted by our Muslim countrymen, then, the question of separation can be considered on its economic merits. But the communal question must be cleared out of the way before any discussion on separation can be initiated. The Hindus will then forget their fears of tyrannous treatment at the hands of a highly communal Muslim majority. That is the crux of the whole problem; that is the way, too, to a national settlement.
>
> But if Muslim opinion is not prepared for such a patriotic step, doubts and fears will continue to obsess the mind of the Hindus and, if Sind is going to be separated in spite of their opposition, they demand certain safeguards which are mentioned in the resolution and are eight in number.

We are sorry we have no space for these.

Strike of Bombay Textile Workers

We know Bombay textile workers have their just grievances and that they ought to have a larger share of the income of the mills than is given to them in the shape of wages. They ought also to have better housing accommodation where decency and privacy can be observed and an average standard of health maintained. But whether a strike is the best way to secure these rights is very doubtful. The Bombay mill industry has not been in a flourishing condition for some time past. Their compulsory closing by a strike cannot improve their condition and enable them to pay

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better wages to the workers. We cannot, therefore, support the strike. It involves much suffering, loss of some lives and the unemployment and loss of income of the majority of the workers for some time at least. At the same time we cannot but condemn the obduracy of the mill-owners which had led the workers to strike. The mill-owners have made huge profits in the past. If they could have satisfied the workers even by reducing themselves to their pecuniary position so far as current profits go, they ought to have done it. It would have been good for the industry. Can there not be compulsory arbitration under the law?

What is the Meaning of "the Objectionable Nature of the White Paper?"

A statement issued to the Press from New Delhi on the 29th April last by the secretariat of the Swarajya party contains the following paragraph:

> "It is hoped that in order to focus public attention on the objectionable nature of the White Paper, steps will be taken to launch a countrywide campaign alongside organized constructive work in the country and to keep the ideals for which the Congress stands constantly before the Indian people."

What is the meaning of "the objectionable nature of the White Paper"? As the so-called communal award is an essential part and a part of the structure of the White Paper scheme, it is to be hoped that the Swarjya party considers the nature of the communal award as an essential portion of the objectionable nature of the White Paper.

If not, if the Swarajya party openly or by silence or implication accepts or acquiesces in the communal award, Hindus as a community can never go in for any so-called "united front." The result would be not unity but internecine dissensions in the Hindu community. Hindus should not, cannot, will not as a body agree to anything which humiliates them and reduces them to abject powerlessness. Not even Mahatma Gandhi or Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, or Dr. B. S. Moonje or Bhai Parmanand can reconcile them to such a plight. We have explained our position and given our reasons in our note on the condemnation of the White Paper *plus* acceptance of the communal award. In that note and in this, we have given our independent opinion. We have never consciously spoken from a party point of view, though the editor of this *Review* was connected with the Hindu Mahasabha for years. Now that he is no longer connected with it, it should be still more obvious that any editorial opinion expressed in these pages is non-party opinion.

It is surprising that anybody can believe that there can be any real united front if one party alone has to do all the giving and the other party all the taking.

Sir C. V. Raman's "Indian Academy of Sciences"

An Associated Press message, dated Bangalore the 28th April informs the public that

> "An all-India (!) institution under the name and style of the Indian Academy of Sciences was registered today in the civil and military station of Bangalore under the Societies Registration Act of 1860, established on a 'distinctly federal basis' (?), with Bangalore as the temporary headquarters, says Sir C. V. Raman."

This attempt to forestall the decision of the Indian Science Congress Committee completely proves a previous assertion of Sir C. V. Raman's to the effect that Calcutta scientific circles are full of cliquism, with its corollary that Bangalore is quite free from it. Those who want to know all about the *proposed* Indian Academy of Science should read the article on the subject in our last March number.

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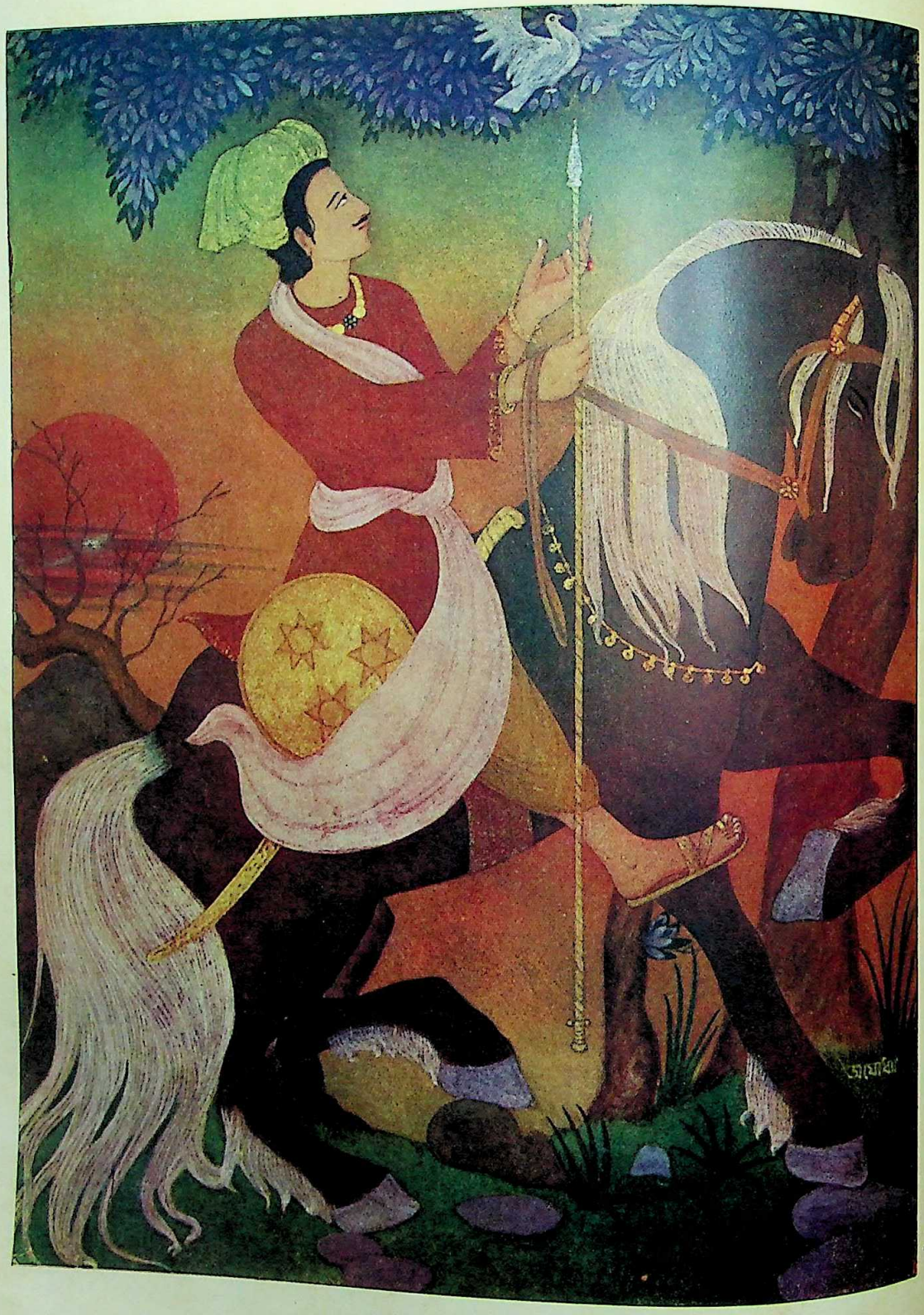

BALLAL SEN AND THE PIGEON
By Ajodhyalal Saha

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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ON RUSSIA

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

I have already said how impressed I have been by my first acquaintance with Soviet rule. The reasons for this are worth examining.

In the background of the picture of Russia that has taken shape in my mind lurks the dark misery of India. If the reader pauses to consider the reality behind this misery, it will be easier to follow my meaning in the present discussion.

The attainment of political glory was the inner urge of the expansion of Moslem rule in India. In those days struggle for territory always had this for motive. Alexander of Greece swept the foreign skies with the flaming tail of his comet-like army solely to extend his power. Romans felt a similar impulse. Phœnicians traded from shore to shore, but never scrambled for empires.

When at last Europe with its merchant fleet reached the shores of the Eastern continent, a new chapter in human history opened. The Age of Chivalry passed; the Age of Commerce dawned. In this epoch legions of adventurers scattered over foreign lands to trade, but behind the display of their wares raised empires. Their main concern was increase of profit; they cared nothing for chivalry. In pursuit of this, they did not hesitate to follow crooked paths, because their object was success, not glory.

At this time India was renowned for her immense wealth, a subject repeatedly referred to by foreign historians of those days. Even Clive himself declared:

> Consider the situation in which the victory of Plassey had placed me. A great prince was dependent on my pleasure; an opulent city lay at my mercy; its richest bankers bid against each other for my smiles; I walked through vaults which were thrown open to me alone, piled on either hand with gold and jewels! Mr. Chairman, at this moment I stand astonished at my own moderation!"*

Such mighty treasures are not easily obtained—India produced them. In the past those who came to rule here enjoyed our wealth, but never squandered it. In short, they were æsthetes, but not merchants.

To facilitate trade, the foreign merchants set up their imperial throne on the merchant's seat. Times were favourable. The Moghul Empire was in the grip of decay; the Mahrattas and Sikhs were busy untying the knots of the Empire; in the hands of the English it was reduced to shreds and to final destruction.

It cannot be said that in the reign of kings pursuing imperial glory there was no oppression, no injustice, no discord in this country. None the less these kings belonged to this country. The wound they inflicted was skin-deep; it bled, but never affected the nervous system. The manifold wealth-producing activities continued unimpeded; the Nawabs and Badshahs even encouraged

* *Cf.* Clive's evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons.

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them. Had it not been so, why should there have been such an assemblage of foreign merchants here; why such a swarming of locusts in a desert?

Subsequently, King and Trader met in India and in this fateful moment began the hacking at the roots of the tree of wealth—an oft-repeated but discordant tale. But simply because it is an old tale it will not do to draw the veil of forgetfulness over it. Here is the genesis of this country's unbearable burden of poverty. India had wealth, but if we forget by what means it was transported beyond the seas, a basic fact of modern history will elude us. The mainspring of the present political system is not the pride of heroism, but the greed of wealth. This truth must be kept in mind. Royal glory binds king and subjects in a human relationship, but not so the greed of wealth. Wealth is cruel, impersonal. Greed not only collects the golden eggs but also kills the goose that lays them.

The greed of the merchant-king has sapped India's varied wealth-bearing powers. Agriculture alone has been spared, or else the supply of raw materials stops, and the power to pay for foreign commodities is completely undermined. The day-to-day existence of India hangs by this very slender thread.

Let us admit that the skill and methods of production on which the livelihood of craftsmen depended in the past have become obsolete owing to the competition of machinery. Hence what was essential for their survival was to help them by all possible means to become efficient in the use of machines. In the struggle for existence, this effort is vigorously pursued in every country today. In a short time Japan has mastered the mechanical technique of wealth production; otherwise she would have been crushed out of existence by the conspiracy of mechanical Europe. That opportunity never came our way, because greed is jealous. Our existence withers away at the touch of this colossal greed, but what matters? Law and Order is still there to protect us! On our side, we have mortgaged our food, clothing, education, and all to pay for the watchman's livery. Nothing but greed is at the bottom of this fatal indifference. And the while, from our post far below helplessly look up to the seat of all knowledge and power and listen to words of comfort from on high: "Never mind your loss of strength; we are powerful, we shall protect you."

Greed exacts service, but never respects. One who is not respected is ignored as far as possible; at last he becomes so cheap that it galls to spend ever so little on him even in his direst need. How meagre is our life's demand, how little we expect to keep our human decency is not unknown to anybody. No food, no education, no medical aid; drinking water can be had only by straining mud; but there is no limit to the number of watchmen; no end to the number of fat-salaried officials, whose emoluments flow like a gulf-stream to warm the British Isles; we supply their pensions by economizing on our last rites. Greed is blind, remorseless. India is an object of greed to the rulers of India.

And yet, even in times of hardest trials I cannot own to myself that magnanimity is lacking in the English character; other Europeans in their treatment of subject peoples are less generous and more cruel than the English. The opposition that we show in word and deed against the English race and their administration is unthinkable against rulers of other races. Even had it been otherwise, the punishment would have been far less bearable, proof of which is not wanting in Europe itself or even in America. Even when we openly revolt and are punished by the officials, we complain in surprise, which only shows that even in the midst of the beatings we receive our deep respect for the English people dies hard. We expect far less from our own Rajahs and Zamindars.

During my sojourn in England I have noticed that disgraceful incidents about Indian administration hardly ever appear in the English newspapers. This is not merely for the sake of her reputation on the Continent and America. Indeed, even a firm English administrator fears his countrymen's good sense; it is not easy for him to boast of his exploits, because there are great minds among the English. English people know little of the real facts about India. The causes of

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self-reproach are suppressed. At the same time it cannot be denied that those who have for long eaten India's salt have become tainted in their English liver and heart, and yet to our misfortune, it is these who are authorities on us!

In connection with the present political upheaval in India, the authorities claim that punishment has been minimum. We are loth to agree, but comparing past and present methods of administration we cannot dismiss this as an exaggeration. We have been beaten, often unjustly beaten, and worse still is the punishment meted out in secret. I shall also add that in many instances the glory is theirs who have been beaten; those who have beaten have forfeited respect. But judging by ordinary administrative standards the punishment has indeed been minimum, especially as our rulers have no ties of blood with us, nor was it physically impossible for them to turn the whole of India into a Jallianwalabagh. Even in normal times, it requires little imagination to picture to oneself the hideous flow of blood that would occur, were the entire negro population of the United States boastfully to engage in a struggle for emancipation. Besides, it is superfluous to dwell on what has happened in Italy and other countries.

But this is little consolation. The punishment that is at the end of the stick grows tired in time, indeed may even be ashamed of itself. But the persecution that is deeper does not disappear by merely breaking a few heads behind the scenes of the bridge-party or the clubroom. It bleeds the whole nation to exhaustion. Century after century this process continues. Angry beatings cease, but greed never stops.

In the *Times Literary Supplement* I came across an author called Mackee who said that the "root cause" of India's poverty was excessive births due to indiscriminate marr age. The implication is that the sucking that continues from outside would have been more tolerable had there been fewer mouths to feed. It is said that between 1871-1921 the population of England rose by 66 per cent. In India the increase of population was 33 per cent in fifty years. Whence is this difference? It follows that the "root cause" is not increasing population, but inability to provide food. What is the "root cause" of the latter?

If the destiny of the rulers and the ruled were the same, there would be little cause for complaint, at any rate on the score of food. In other words, in times good and bad their respective shares would be similar. But where the one is separated from the other by colossal greed and giant oceans, the latter is ever starved of education, health, and deprived of dignity and material well-being, but provision for the midnight watchman's bull's-eye lantern never ceases to increase. Not much statistical intricacy is involved to see that during the last hundred and sixty years the all-round poverty of India and England's all-round prosperity lie close together. If we want to draw a complete picture of this, we must place the scene of life of a Bengali peasant, who produces jute, side by side with the life led by those who enjoy its profits in far-off Dundee. They are both connected by greed, but separated by enjoyment: the division has yawned wider and wider during the last century and a half.

No sooner did the manifold multiplication of profit by machinery become possible than the chivalry of the Middle Ages was converted into commercial morality. The opening of this remorseless commercial age coincides with the circumnavigation of the earth. The commercial age arose out of plunder. Mother Earth groaned in agony at the hideousness of slave-hunting and pillage of wealth. Foreign soil was the main scene of this cruel business. In those days Spain wiped off not only Mexico's accumulation of gold, but her whole civilization with blood. At last the gory storm clouds from the West reached the shores of India in repeated gusts. It is unnecessary to discuss their history. The flow of wealth turned from the East to the West.

From now onwards Mammon became firmly seated on his earthly throne. Science proclaimed that the law of the Machine was the law of the Universe: eternal truth there was none beyond outward success. Aggressive competition spread all round: brigandage became respectable in the guise of gentility. By the highways and bye-ways of

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greed slavery was reintroduced under a false name. European literature is replete with horrible descriptions of savage exploitation, deception and cruelty in factories and mines and on big plantations. In the West those who grow rich and the people who produce wealth have been at loggerheads for a long time. Sociability is man's chief religion: nothing destroys it more than greed. In the present age this enemy is convulsing human society and loosening and disrupting man's social relations.

In one's own country, among one's own people, however great may be the suffering due to the cruel division of classes in the economic sphere, the field of opportunity is open to all; there may be difference of power but there is none of rights. In the mill of wealth-production the upper and the nether millstones may well change places any day. Besides, the wealth accumulated by the rich, at any rate some part of it, is invariably distributed throughout the whole country. Individual wealth cannot help undertaking some responsibility in the national fortunes. Popular education, public health and other activities for people's welfare are enormously costly affairs. Whether they wish it or no, directly and indirectly the rich meet these varied demands of the country.

But only the barest leavings of the wealth which goes to enrich foreign merchants and public officials fall to India's own share. While the profound wants of the jute cultivators—their education and health, are left gaping like ditches and cesspools in drought, nothing of the outflowing profits turns back towards them. What leaves, goes for good. Rural water supply is contaminated by jute to make profit possible, but not a farthing drops out of the foreign trader's bulging money-bag to remove the unbearable scarcity of drinking water. If water is to be provided, it must come by taxing the life-blood of these destitute and hungry wretches. If there is no money in the royal treasury for the education of the people, why is it not there? It is largely because vast sums of money leave India for ever: the earnings of greed become complete strangers. In other words, water on this side evaporates into rain-clouds to pour down on the land beyond the seas. Long and unnoticed, hapless, ignorant, diseased and moribund India has been purveying for the hospitals and educational institutions of yonder country.

For a long time I have been an eye-witness of the supremely tragic sight of the mental and physical agony of our people. Poverty not only kills, but makes one contemptible. That is why Sir John Simon could say: "In our view the most formidable of the evils from which India is suffering have their roots in social and economic customs of long-standing which can only be remedied by the action of the Indian peoples themselves." These are indeed words of disdain! The ideal by which he has judged India's needs is not his own. The advantages of unlimited education, opportunities and freedom, which his own people enjoy for producing abundance of wealth, have enriched from many sides their ideal of life in education, action and enjoyment. India in rags, emaciated of body, exhausted by disease and starved of education must not even dream of this ideal. We must carry on as best we can by preventing the increase of our population and limiting our expenses so that their bloated ideal of life may grow for ever at the cost of our own. Beyond this there is nothing more to think; and therefore the entire responsibility for the remedy lies on us; those who make the remedy difficult have little to do.

But I have ceased to complain against Man and God and for some time have been devoting my limited energy to infuse life from within into our lifeless villages. In this effort I have not disdained government favours, nay, even desired them. But I have been disappointed, because sympathy is absent. Sympathy is not possible for our helplessness, our diverse miseries have crippled our demands. At last I have arrived at the conclusion that real constructive work adequate co-operation between the government and our workers is not possible. Therefore let us do what we can with the few coppers that remain after paying for the watchman's livery.

I came to Russia at a time when rapid greed and its offspring, insufferable indifference, had filled my mind with dark despair. I

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familiar with the ostentation of wealth in other European countries, but it is so Olympian that, poor as we are, even our envy fails to reach its height. In Russia, the display of luxury is wholly absent; probably that is why it was easy to catch a glimpse of her true being.

Here I saw mighty efforts being made to provide universally everything of which India is deprived. Needless to say, I have seen it all with my own long-hungering eyes. It is impossible for me to judge correctly how the sight strikes a Westerner, fortunate in the enjoyment of freedom. I do not want to argue about the amount of India's wealth that left for the British Isles in the past nor how much is still leaving today and year by year by devious channels for the same destination. But I can see very clearly, and many English writers also admit it, that in the bloodless body of our country mind has suffered an eclipse; there is no joy in life: we are dying in mind and body. But on no account shall we bow down to the calumny that its "root cause" is in some moral perversity of the Indian, that its cure is beyond the power of any government.

I have always known that the relation of India's foreign rulers with India is one of strong self-interest and not of sympathy; the enthusiasm to maintain Law and Order with great vigour, therefore, is only natural, but in matters in which the interest is entirely ours, where it concerns the revitalizing of our country in every respect, materially and spiritually, the government is indifferent; it does not exert itself adequately. In other words, not even a portion of the efforts and sympathy of our rulers for their own country can be spared for us. And yet everything that we can call our own belongs to them: we possess neither means nor material which can save us from annihilation.

Even if it were true that we were in the grip of decay because of our stupid social organization, the education and encouragement which could remove this ignorance must wait upon the exchequer of a foreign government and upon royal vagary. The calamity of country-wide ignorance cannot be averted by advice tendered by a commission: the government must face it, as the British Government would, had this been a problem of the British Isles. Our question to the Simon Commission is, if it is true that the loss of India's vitality is due to her ignorance and long-standing social customs, why has there been no improvement during the hundred and sixty years of British rule? Has the Commission shown with statistics how much the British *Raj* has spent in this long period to maintain the policeman's baton and how much to educate the country? The policeman's baton is indispensable to the wealthy rulers from foreign parts, but it matters little to them to defer for centuries expenditure on the education of those whose skulls are at its mercy!

In stepping on the soil of Russia, the first thing that caught my eye was that in education, at any rate, the peasants and working classes have made such enormous progress in these few years that nothing camparable has happened even to our highest classes in the course of the last hundred and fifty years. And yet eight years ago they were as helpless, hungry, oppressed and illiterate as our Indian masses: indeed, in certain respects their misery was even greater, not less than ours. The vain picture of national education, our heart's desire, which I dared not draw even on the canvas of mirage is here a reality stretched from horizon to horizon.

Again and again I have asked myself: How has such a great miracle been possible? The answer that I have received in my mind is that here there is no barrier of greed. To think that by education everybody will become adequately competent seems so natural. The people here are not at all afraid of giving complete education even to Turcomen of distant Asia; on the contrary, they are dreadfully earnest about it. They have not relapsed into indifference after pointing out in their report that the root cause of all the misery of the people of Turcmenistan lies in their traditional ignorance.

With reference to the expansion of education in Indo-China, I have heard of a certain French pedant who advised France against repeating the mistakes the English have committed in the education of the natives of India. It must be admitted that there is a certain nobility in the English character in

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that there should be occasional lapses in their policy towards the subject races : that there should be occasional faults in the close web of their rule ; or else who knows how many more centuries we would have taken to become articulate ?

It cannot be gainsaid that in the absence of education weakness becomes immobile, so that ignorance is as effective as the policeman's baton. Of this Lord Curzon seems to have had an inkling. The French pedant judges the needs of his own country by an ideal not considered necessary for those of the subject peoples. Its only reason is greed. To the greedy the humanity of the object of greed loses its reality ; it becomes natural to minimize its demands. India has grown small in the estimation of those with whom her lot has been cast for a century and a half. This is why the indifference of the authorities towards India's profound needs never changes. What food we eat, with what water we quench our thirst and what dense ignorance clouds our mind escape their notice even today. The main thing is that we are indispensable to them : it is unimportant that we too have our vital needs. Besides, we have become so very futile that it is not even possible to respect our needs.

The grim problem that has been sapping our body and mind in India all this time exists nowhere in the West. It is the fatal division of India's rights, the cause of which is greed. Thus when I saw greed humbled in Russia, it gave me joy such as others may not normally feel. Indeed the thought that is uppermost in my mind is that not only in India but throughout the world today, wherever one sees the net of a major disaster cast, its main motive is greed, accompanied by fear and suspicion and supported by war preparations, lies and cruel politics.

Dictatorship is another topic of argument. Personally I am not enamoured of dictatorial rule in any sphere. In my own field I have never in the least tried to further my opinion by threat of harm or punishment or by use of bullying language or manner. There are undoubted dangers in dictatorship. The harmony and constancy of its action are uncertain ; the imperfect contact between the wills of the leader and the led becomes a constant source of revolution ; besides, the habit of passive following weakens mind and character ; its very success defeats itself.

The destiny of the people unrelated to its united will is like a cage ; even though there may be a plentiful supply of food and drink it cannot be called a nest : in it the wings are paralysed. There is no more unmitigated nuisance to one's manhood than authority, whether of scriptures, *gurus*, or political leaders.

The emasculation of our society has gone on for decades and its result is familiar to all. When Mahatmaji called foreign cloth impure, I protested and said that it might be economically harmful but could on no account be impure. But our blind scripture-led mind must be bewitched or else nothing gets done. What can be more eternally humiliating to one's manhood than this? Thus is a dictator-led country hypnotized; one magician takes leave to be replaced by another with a different formula.

I admit that dictatorship is a great nuisance and I also believe that in its name many persecutions take place in Russia. Its negative aspect is compulsion, which is sin. But I have also seen its positive aspect, and that is education, the very reverse of force. If the mind of the people is one in the making of the country's fortunes its activity becomes creative and permanent. To the zealots of authority the only means of obtaining their ends is to keep everybody else's mind paralysed by ignorance. In the reign of the Tsars the people's mind deprived of education was under a spell and round it like a boa-constrictor coiled religious superstition. The emperor could without difficulty put this ignorance to his own use. It was then easy to provoke orgies of frightfulness in the name of religion between Jews and Christians, between Musalmans and Armenians. The loosely knit country weakened by ignorance and religious superstition fell an easy prey to the external enemy. Nothing could be more favourable to the perpetuation of autocratic rule.

As in former Russia, this condition has existed for ages in our country. Today, the country has yielded to the leadership of Mahatmaji, but when he is no more, pretenders will spring up as suddenly as do *avatars* and *gurus* everywhere before our religious fanatics.

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Today in China, leadership is the object of continuous and destructive struggle among a number of ambitious militarists, lacerating the whole country into pieces, because the education that could guide the destiny of the country by united will is absent. I cannot credit the opinion that we shall not also have our share of the grim struggle for leadership; then it will be the turn for the grass, that is the public, to be trampled on, because it is grass and not tree.

In recent years Russia has witnessed the vigorous rule of the dictator. But to perpetuate itself it has not chosen the path of the Tsars, namely, the subduing of the people's mind by ignorance and religious superstition; the impairing of their manliness by the lash of the Cossacks. I do not believe that the punitive rod is inactive in the present Russian regime, but at the same time education expands with extraordinary vigour. The reason is that greed of individual or party power and of money is absent. There exists the irrepressible will to convert the public to a particular economic doctrine and to make a man of everybody, irrespective of race, colour and class. Had it not been so, one must needs agree with the French pedant who said that to give education was a great mistake.

Time is not yet to say whether the economic doctrine is completely valid, because so long it has tottered among books; never before has it enjoyed freedom so fearlessly and over so vast a field. At the very outset they ruthlessly banished the powerful greed which would have jeopardized this economic theory. Nobody can definitely say what final shape it will take as it passes through one experiment after another. But this much is certain that the education, which at long last the Russian masses are so freely and abundantly enjoying, has improved and brought honour to their humanity for all time.

One always hears rumours of cruelty of the present regime in Russia—which is not improbable. It is unlikely that her long tradition of cruel administration will disappear suddenly. At the same time the Soviet Government is untiring in its efforts to inculcate by means of pictorial and cinematographic interpretation of history the horrors of the system of government and oppression under the old order. If the present government as well should adopt a similarly ruthless policy, it must be called a strange mistake, if nothing else, to create so strong an aversion to cruel treatment. At any rate, to defame Siraj-ud-daula for the black hole tragedy by cinema and other means and at the same time to perpetrate the Jalianwalabagh (Amritsar) affair would not unfairly be called the height of stupidity, because in this case the weapon is likely to turn against the thrower himself.

It is obvious that a violent effort is being made to cast public opinion in Soviet Russia into the mould of Marxian economics; out of this obstinacy free discussion on this topic has been deliberately stifled. I believe accusation on this score to be true. A similar attempt was made during the last European War to muzzle public opinion and to crush the independence of opinion of people opposed to the government policy by imprisonment and hanging.

Where the temptation for quick result is too strong, the political leaders are loth to respect man's right to liberty of opinion. They are wont to say: "Let us attain our objectives first: we shall attend to other things later." The situation in Russia resembles wartime conditions. She is beset with enemies at home and abroad. There is no end to manœuvring all round to wreck the entire experiment. The foundations of their structure therefore must be strengthened as quickly as possible; hence they have no qualms about using force. Nevertheless, however insistent the necessity may be, force is one-sided. It destroys, but does not create. The process of creation is twofold. Its raw material has to be assimilated not by coercion, but by the recognition of its inner nature.

Russia is engaged in the task of making the road to a new age; of tearing up the roots of ancient beliefs and customs from their ancient soil; of penalizing the luxury of time-honoured habits. When man finds himself in the whirl of destructive frenzy, he is carried off his feet by its intoxication. Conceit grows; he forgets that human nature has to be wooed; he thinks that it is enough to tear it up from its old moorings. Who cares what happens afterwards? Those who have not the patience to wait for human

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nature to come to terms in its own time believe in persecution; what they finally build up overnight by violence cannot be relied upon; it cannot support the burden of permanency.

Where theory is ready, but not men, I repose little trust on unbridled autocrats. Firstly because it is not good sense to take one's opinion for granted: the test of its validity lies in experience. It is curious how those who have no faith in the scriptural authority of religion are the very people who are unmoved in their belief in an economic doctrine. By means fair or foul they try to reconcile people to the latter without realizing that, even were it possible to do so by compulsion, it does not prove the truth of the teaching; indeed its truth is inversely proportional to the use of force.

When Europe's faith in the teachings of Christianity was intense, the attempt was made to prove the truth of religion by breaking men on the wheel, by burning them at the stake and by crucifying or stoning them to death. Today, both friends and enemies of Bolshevism are indulging in similar unrestrained dogmatism. They accuse one another of abusing man's freedom of opinion, with the result that human nature in the West is being harried to death from both sides.*

I have already stated my opinion on popular education in Russia and also discussed how, since politics there ceased to be tainted by the greed of profit-seekers, every Russian citizen, irrespective of race and colour, has been exalted by the equal enjoyment of rights and superior education. Being a subject of British India myself, both have given me profound pleasure.

I believe, I will now have to answer one last question. Many people have asked my opinion about Bolshevik economics. My only fear is that in a scripture-ridden and priest-led country the natural bent of our ignorant mind is towards accepting a foreign dictum as biblical truth. Guarding ourselves against this danger, we must say that a doctrine can be tested only by application: the end of the experiment is not yet. Any teaching concerning man must have human nature for its chief element. How far it will harmonize with human nature is a matter of time. One must wait before fully accepting the principle. Nevertheless it is possible to discuss the matter, not only as an exercise of logic or statistics, but by always keeping human nature in the foreground.

Man has two sides—the individual and the social. One is unreal without the other. When man in a sudden impulse rushes headlong in one direction, and losing balance causes all manner of trouble, the counsellor wanting to cut short the crisis advises chopping off one side altogether. When individualism turns into downright selfishness and runs foul of society, the lopping off of "self" at one stroke from self-interest is the proposed remedy for all trouble. Trouble may thereby be lessened, but it is not improbable that society will cease to move altogether. A horse without reins is apt to drag the carriage down into the ditch, but the carriage is not likely to behave merely because the horse is shot down: it is necessary to think of the reins.

Men fight because they are physically distinct from one another; hence to propose to create only one huge body in the world by binding all men hand and foot with a rope is only worthy of a boastful economist of a Tsar. To try to excel the law of Providence shows more stupidity than courage.

Once Indian society was mainly rural. In this intimate environment there was harmony between personal and common property. Public opinion was so strong that the rich man was ashamed of enjoying his wealth alone. He felt honoured when society accepted favours from him; in short, in this relationship there was nothing of what is called charity in English. The wealthy took his place by the side of the destitute. To maintain his status in society he had to contribute very liberally in many indirect ways. Pure water, medical aid and education, temples, entertainments and village roads were provided out of private means flowing into

* Here the Poet quotes a Baul (a member of a mendicant religious sect) song dwelling on the futility of forcing truth upon an unwilling world and comparing Man's impatience to realize his ultimate object with God's infinite patience in creation. . . . "the realization of our ultimate object is waiting for us. The Baul likens this fulfilment to the blossoming of a bud . . ." (*Cf. Creative Unity*, p. 76).—The Translator.

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social channels and not out of royal revenue. Here individual and communal will could co-operate. It was spiritually creative because its basis was voluntary and not political agency; in other words, it implied not merely the external success of law, but personal improvement as well. The latter element indeed is the lasting living refuge of human welfare.

The position of the merchant community whose main business is the earning of profit by investment was low in our society, because in those days wealth was not held in much esteem. Consequently, the great difference between the rich and the poor was then non-existent. Wealth acquired its status in society not by huge accumulation, but by fulfilling its noble responsibility: otherwise it was ashamed of itself. That is to say, not wealth but virtue was honoured. Nobody felt humiliated in doing this honour. It is because those days are gone that signs of impatience towards wealth without social responsibility are evident in many forms, because wealth brings no suffering to man: it humiliates.

From the very outset European civilization has sought to consolidate itself in the city. In the city man's opportunities grow while his social relations narrow. The city is big; men live dispersed; individualism is extreme and the whirl of competition intense. Its prosperity accentuates the gulf between the rich and the poor and what little is done to bring them together by charity is devoid of comfort and respect. There the possessor and producer of wealth are related to each other by material ties: their social relations are either disrupted or non-existent.

The advent of the Age of Machinery was heralded, profits increased inordinately. When this epidemic of profit-making began to spread all over the globe, the helplessness of the distant stranger and the poor knew no bounds. China was made to eat opium; India had to part with her all; the suffering of Africa, the victim of age-long oppression, went on increasing. But this concerns the non-European world only; even within the Western continent a grim division separates rich from poor today; the ideal of life having enormously costly and its trappings manifold, the differences between the two appear all the more striking. In the old days, at any rate in our country, the pomp of wealth consisted mainly in philanthropy and other social services, while now it consists in personal enjoyment. It dazzles, but does not please: it causes envy, but raises no praise. The main thing is that in those days the use of wealth did not depend on the wish of the donor alone; it was subject to the strong pressure of social will. Hence the benefactor had to make his gift humbly; the maxim, "give reverently," held good.

In short, the tremendous power that wealth gives to the rich today can never dignify nor please everybody. It arouses infinite greed on the one hand and profound envy on the other, raising an insuperable barrier in between. Competition grows inordinately more powerful than co-operation in society. It rages between one class and another within the country and between one country and another. Thus on all sides suspicion forges fierce weapons whose growth nothing can check; while those strangers engaged in the task of appeasing the hunger of the far-off demon of greed grow leaner and leaner age after age for want of blood. Those who proudly imagine that the world's unrest cannot thrive on this widespread emaciation are blinded by obstinacy. These unfortunate wretches who eternally suffer are the main allies of the messengers of the god of Sorrow: the fire of revolution is being laid in their hunger.

Bolshevism originates in this inhuman background of modern civilization. It is like the storm which rushes in all fury flashing its lightning-teeth when the pressure is low in the atmosphere. This unnatural revolution has broken out because human society has lost its harmony. It is because the individual's contempt for the community has been growing that the suicidal proposal of sacrificing the individual in the name of collectivity has arisen. It is like proclaiming the sea to be the only friend when the volcano is causing trouble on the shore. It is only when the real nature of this shoreless sea is known that one becomes impatient to get back to the shore. Man will never tolerate for all time the unreality of individual-less collectivity. The strongholds of greed in society must be conquered and controlled, but who will protect society, if

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the individual is to be banished for good? It is not improbable that in this age Bolshevism is the treatment, but medical treatment cannot be eternal; indeed the day on which the doctor's regime comes to an end must be hailed as the red-letter day for the patient.

I pray for the victory of the co-operative principle in the production and control of the wealth of our villages, for it recognizes human nature in not scorning the desire and opinion of the co-operators. Nothing succeeds by antagonizing human nature.

In this connection, I must stress one point. When I wish our villages to revive, I never wish for the return of rusticity. Rusticity is a species of superstition and education, intellect, belief and activity, which is unrelated to anything outside the village limits. It is not only distinct from the spirit of the modern age, but opposed to it. The scope of modern knowledge and mind is universal, although the sympathies of the modern heart are not as wide. Villages must be infused with life which is neither trivial nor narrow; which neither dwarfs human nature nor keeps it in darkness.

Once I happened to stay at a farmer's house in England. I noticed that the girls of the house were restless to go to London. In comparison with all the glories of the town the resources of the villages are so poor that the hearts of the villagers are not unnaturally constantly drawn towards the town. Even in the heart of the country the villages feel like so many places of exile. I have seen in Russia the attempt to do away with the contrast between the village and the town. If this attempt succeeds the unnatural expansion of the towns will be checked. The country's vitality and intellect will spread and be active throughout the nation.

I want our villages to enjoy full human dignity and wealth instead of being content with the leavings and surplus of the towns. It is my firm belief that by co-operative methods alone the village will find it possible to salvage its sinking strength. The regrettable thing is that until now co-operation in Bengal has lost itself solely in money-lending—a slight improvement on money-lending rusticity; it has been of no service to the task of production and consumption.

The main reason is that co-operation has come to our country official-ridden, under the patronage of an administrative system which is blind, deaf and indifferent. At the same time we must perhaps shamefully admit that the qualities which make co-operation easy are lacking in our character. Mutual trust is feeble in those who are themselves weak. Indeed absence of self-esteem is the basis of disrespect for others. Loss of self-respect from long servitude has culminated in this degradation. They will accept with bowed head the rule of their masters, but cannot tolerate the guidance of their own class; it is easy for them to cheat their own people and to treat them cruelly.

One learns from Russian story books that the condition of the long-suffering Russian peasantry is similar. However difficult the solution, there is no other way; nature must be corrected by creating opportunities for combining the forces of mind and body. It is not by granting co-operative credit, but by combined effort, thereby making the villagers co-operation-minded, that we shall save the villages.

Translated from the Bengali by Dr. Sasadhar Sinha, Ph. D.

Revolution is impossible without an all-national crisis, affecting both the exploited and the exploiters—*Lenin.*

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THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS FOR VILLAGE GIRLS' SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITY SERVICE: PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE

By Miss USHA BISWAS, M. A., B. T.

BEFORE determining the steps to be taken to train teachers for village schools and community service, we shall do well to think out the type of education that is most suitable for village girls. We must also be quite clear and definite as to the aim and purpose of the education that is to be provided for the girls of the rural community. Barring a few isolated experiments in a new type of rural education that are being carried on, here and there, in this province by some of the Christian Missions and private agencies, a uniform system of education is generally in vogue both at the rural and urban schools. Efforts are seldom made to adapt the rural schools to the peculiar needs and conditions of the villages where they are located. Consequently, village schools fail to meet the real needs of the community, and thus alienate the sympathy of the local people. Unless a rural school can satisfy the requirements of the locality, it cannot be expected to be looked upon as an integral part of the community. Naturally enough, the parents are inclined to think that their children derive very little benefit from the schooling they receive. They, therefore, grudge to spare their children, for so many hours every day, for what seems to be a mere waste of time, energy and money. At the present time, the imperative need of modifying the entire educational system is being keenly felt by many, inasmuch as it seems to be too much dominated by what Bertrand Russell terms "the desire for sex equality." Indeed, the current curriculum is hardly designed to respond to the special needs of our girls. The little provision that has been made in it for a few special subjects for the girl pupils, such as cookery, domestic economy, needlework and the like does not suffice for the purpose. The village Primary Girls' Schools being mostly staffed by men, at the present time, very little facilities are provided for teaching even needlework to the girls. So the education that the village schools generally impart is of a purely literary and academic character. This course is intended to be a preparation for College and University education. It is needless to add that this type of education is anything but a misfit in the rural community, where 99 p. c. of the girls get married after a short career at the schools and are not likely to go in for higher University education. So these prospective wives and mothers of the rural community need to be "trained not only in books but in the art of home-making also." The bookish education that the girls receive at the average village school does not help to prepare them for their main occupation in life. After leaving school, the average village girl lapses into illiteracy, as the work that she had to do there is totally unrelated to the activities of her later life. Thus the rural school becomes entirely divorced from rural life, and the children, too, seldom care to improve the conditions around them. This maladjustment to rural conditions stands in the way of the progress of village education. School education thus tends to be looked upon with distrust, and is regarded as a sort of luxury that can be dispensed with. The view of Bertrand Russell that "some part of the female education should be a technical training for motherhood" seems to be a very sound one. The village girls, especially, are badly in need of this training. Another grave defect that is generally noticed at the village schools is that handwork and manual training are neglected there. But the majority of the pupils of the rural schools are the children of farmers and artisans. They are, therefore, destined for a homely career in their later life. So the over-emphasis of an academic education befitting gentle women, is likely to engender a lack of respect for manual labour among the school girls, who

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may thus feel inclined to look down upon the calling and occupation of their own class. But education, to be worth the name, should consist in training people to be good citizens and useful members of the community. So organized efforts need to be set on foot in no time to give a new orientation to the rural schools for girls which have been neglected so far. Nothing short of thorough overhauling of the present curriculum and the method of instruction will be of any avail in making the schools function. The subjects to be taught to the village girls have to be selected with special reference to the needs of the rural community, inasmuch as the schools should aim at training the pupils in the work that will prove helpful to their own community. Our main problem is, therefore, how to turn out better housewives and more useful members of the rural community. In a word, the girls should be taught how to make better homes and better villages, when they leave school. Consequently, special stress should be laid upon health (including hygiene, sanitation and first aid), household management, cookery, dietetics, mothercraft and care of children, home industries and needlework. School gardening, educative handwork, practical nature study, music and games should also be included in the curriculum. Occasional lessons may well be given in poultry-raising, care and improvement of live-stock, dairying and the rudiments of agriculture. In fact, the curriculum ought to be properly adjusted to the needs and conditions of particular villages and localities. Girls may be trained in a few useful handicrafts too. If they can thus help the male members of the community in their agricultural and industrial pursuits, the economic problem of the villages may be partly solved. Thus the village schools can be made more responsive to the needs of the rural community. If the instruction imparted at the village schools is to be sounder and more lasting, the project method may well be resorted to with a view to linking the lessons of the class-rooms to the everyday experiences of the children's life. At the village schools, everything may be taught on a project basis. Thus the "situations of real life" can be introduced into the class-rooms. For example, the problems relating to cleanliness and sanitation may be worked out in the hygiene classes. Practical Arithmetic may be taught through the shop project, in connection with buying and selling. So the facts that the pupils learn are the results of their practical experience. The method is a tried one, and the principle underlying it is "learning by doing." The pupils are thus taught to develop initiative and resourcefulness, and are also trained in co-operation, self-reliance and "purposeful activity." In this way, a practical bias can be given to the whole of their education.

A village school can be a vital agency for rural uplift in various ways. It should constitute an important community centre, and, as such, its function should be to disseminate sound educational ideas and healthy ideals among the public which will make for a better and healthier life of the village people. With this end in view, entertainments, social gatherings, parents' and teachers' meetings, baby clinics and baby shows, midwives' classes, health campaigns and the like may well be held at the school. Excursions, exhibitions and *melas* are also of great help in promoting a public spirit and stimulating community interest. The school can thus provide for the education as well as recreation of both the children and adults of the village. The school authorities may also co-operate with the sanitary and agricultural officers as well as the Co-operative Society Secretaries in organizing, from time to time, lantern lectures at the school, for the benefit of the villagers, both young and adult. A circulating library, too, containing a choice collection of good books, may well be maintained at the school to which the literate section of the village population should have easy access. Thus the school and the community can be brought closer together, each helping the other. The school may serve as a model to the whole village, in respect of sanitation, gardening and farming. An ideal rural teacher needs to be a strong community leader, the noble mission of whose life should be to serve the village people and to contribute her share to their betterment. She should have the best interests of the community at heart,

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should eagerly participate in all the activities, pertaining to village welfare. She cannot, therefore, afford to neglect adult education, the importance of which cannot be stressed too strongly. She can well undertake this work, out of school hours at night, provided her time and circumstances permit. She can also take up the instruction of adult women in sewing, elementary nursing, hygiene, village sanitation and the care of infants at her spare moments, by cutting down her own leisure hours. For this part of her work, she will need a special training. If she herself is not sufficiently equipped and qualified for the task, she may secure the help and co-operation of some outside agencies. Now and again, she may, also, arrange for special demonstrations, showing how to improve upon the sanitary arrangements of the village houses, how to make these more comfortable and beautiful with the minimum of expense.

It is no use formulating a programme of rural education, unless it can be carried into practice. All our efforts in this direction will prove futile, if an adequate number of trained and qualified teachers do not rise to the occasion and come forward to carry on an extensive reform in this field. To secure suitable teachers for the rural schools seems to be one of the most difficult problems of the day which has baffled all solution up till now. The average city-bred woman is both to be employed as a teacher in the rural areas, where she is incommoded in more than one way, being cut off from the amenities of town life. The scale of pay that is generally offered as the village schools is hardly attractive enough to induce the right type of people to undertake such an important work. Consequently, in many of the village schools the teaching has to be entrusted to the people, with little or no professional training, who are quite ill-equipped for the task. Due to the paucity of teachers as well as of funds, in many cases, four or five classes have to be run by a single person, at the sacrifice of efficient teaching. Sometimes, even, if qualified teachers can be secured with great difficulty, they seldom care to stick to their jobs, as the lure of town life often proves too much for them. This is one of the reasons why the rural teachers should be recruited from the villages, where possible. The village women are expected to be more capable of a sympathetic understanding of the rural problems than their urban sisters, who often find it difficult to enter into the life and needs of the rural community. An ideal teacher ought to know not only the children but their entire background also. She should be keenly alive to the moral, intellectual, social and economic needs of her pupils. Hence the necessity and importance of the study of civics and rural science for the prospective teachers of the village children. Those who will, in future, be the custodians of the educational interests of the rural community, should, by all means, be afforded ample opportunities of studying the village problems, at first-hand.

They must also be acquainted with the functions of the various rural agencies in charge of village welfare work, with whom they are expected to co-operate in bettering the social conditions of the people. For this, they need to go through a special course of training, which will enable them to equip themselves properly for the purpose. They must also possess the necessary skill and ingenuity to tackle the rural problems that they may be faced with. So an ideal village teacher is expected to be something of a social leader as well as a social reformer, who should throw herself heart and soul into her work. She must have the zeal and ardour of a reformer, and her selfless devotion to her cause should inspire her fellow workers with courage, enthusiasm and confidence. She also needs to have such a great personality as will enable her to command the respect and goodwill of all. She must, also, be something of an idealist, and must always strive to live up to her ideals. She should take a very keen interest in the village social problems and in the progress of her students and their people. She must also be an expert teacher, possessing ample initiative and resourcefulness as well as a strong capacity for service. If the village teacher is expected to fulfil such an important function, the selection of teachers for the rural schools seems to be of primary importance. If the teachers are to command a wider respect, their status must invariably be raised. The standard of recruitment needs

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to be much higher than what it is at present, and the quality of training should also be improved upon. More respectable and adequate salaries are absolutely needed to add to the social position and prestige of the teacher and the dignity of her profession. The missionary spirit cannot be expected of every one of the qualified persons.

The rural teachers are seriously handicapped, due to their rather self-imposed isolation from the other educational thinkers of the day. They are badly in need of adequate training and sympathetic supervision. Their own environment is no source of inspiration to them, it being exceptionally narrow and conservative. So the question of providing for an adequate and effective training for them should be one of vital import. It is a pity that the training schools have done very little as yet to meet the educational needs of the rural community in the way of preparing efficient teachers for the village schools of the Province. These training institutions hardly stimulate and encourage independent study and thinking on these lines. Suitable vernacular text-books are also wanting. That the teachers of the training schools are rarely conversant with the rural conditions, under which the students are likely to work in the village schools constitutes one of their serious disadvantages. So it is desirable that the training schools should keep in close touch with the ordinary rural conditions of Bengal. These institutions may well be connected with the social welfare centres, located at central points in each district. Facilities can be provided in various other ways to enable the training schools, preparing village teachers, to have easy access to villages. The training students may occasionally be taken on excursions to villages, thus enabling them to study the rural conditions at first-hand. On these occasions, they may be given plenty of opportunities of doing social service among the rural people. The training schools may also enter into an agreement with some of the ordinary village schools, so that the students under training may be sent there, for the purpose of practice teaching with reference to the rural conditions. The training course, too, needs to be revised, and the study of rural science should be made compulsory for the prospective rural teachers. The number of training schools being too small to cope with the work, other deserving educational institutions should be allowed ampler scope for making experiments with the training curriculum, with a view to turning out more efficient rural teachers. Even trained and qualified teachers need a good deal of supervision and guidance. Very often, teachers are not loyal to their vocation. They have a tendency to "slip back into the old grooves", if left to themselves. Besides, they are liable to get antiquated and thus to deteriorate, if they are quite out of touch with the modern developments. To prevent this sort of thing, short courses for further training may well be arranged during the vacations. The training school teachers will also do well to pay occasional visits to the village schools, where their former pupils are employed so as to guide their work on the right lines. Special conferences can also be arranged at the training institutions, for the benefit of the village teachers. There are other ways in which the training schools can ameliorate rural education. It cannot be expected that all the rural teachers will be trained in no time. So the training schools should try to devise ways and means to improve and guide the untrained teachers. They can send out trained supervisors of village schools, conduct teachers' and supervisors' institutes, arrange for brief courses for the teachers in service, and run educational journals for the instruction of teachers, just as the Moga School in the Panjab does. Care must be taken that efficient and competent supervisors are always appointed. The supervision, too, needs to be well-planned and well-regulated. The supervisors should aim at bringing about some definite results, by means of their sympathetic and intelligent guidance. Demonstration schools may well be set up in centrally-situated places for a limited number of schools. Demonstration lessons should be organized under ordinary village conditions. The teachers of the neighbouring villages should be required to attend these, so that they may profit by observing good teaching methods and sound educational experiments. They may also avail themselves of these opportunities

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to discuss their common problems, and to arrive at definite standards, to which the village schools should conform. Health lectures, illustrated with slides, may also be arranged for, with the help of a hygiene expert, on some of these occasions. It is not possible here to lay down exhaustive suggestions as to how the untrained rural teachers can be guided along the right lines.

Now to sum up. I may be accused of putting forward some utopian ideas, which can never be put into practice. The tremendous success achieved by the American Community Schools and the "folk schools" of Denmark in the field of rural education may not be easy of attainment in our country. But we must not, therefore, conclude that such a scheme of rural education will not even partially materialize in Bengal, and that all our efforts in this direction are foredoomed to failure. There is no denying the fact that we shall have to fight against heavy odds. The deplorable conditions obtaining in the villages of Bengal are likely to unnerve many a sturdy worker. Appalling poverty, conservatism, social and religious antagonism, ignorance, superstitions and various other causes prove a serious stumbling-block to all the progressive movements of the country. But the admirable work, done by some of the educationists, even in Bengal, inspires us with hope and confidence, and testifies to the immense possibilities of rural education even in our country. What they have been able to accomplish seems to be an earnest of what may come about in future. In Bengal, the Ushagram School at Asansol and Tagore's Sriniketan are two of the notable experiments in rural education that I know of. The example set by these two institutions is worthy of imitation by others. It is desirable that more schools should be started on the lines of the Ushagram School. The training schools may well co-operate with this institution in training teachers for village schools. It is high time that co-ordinated efforts should be put forth to overcome our difficulties, which should, by no means, dishearten us. Let us brace up our energies for the uphill work that is ahead, and at the same time, sound a note of hope like Shelley—

"If winter comes, can Spring be far behind ?"*

* Read at the Bengal Women's Educational Conference, 1934.

FIERCE VEXATION

By VERRIER ELWIN

My elder brother came to me,
His age had made him burdensome,
Importunate and suppliant, he
For pity's paltry boon had come.
But I with harsh discourtesy
To his poor pleading said him nay,
And sad he turned to go away.

Then saw I on his ancient brow
Fresh drops of blood, on his old hands
Marks of hard nails, while scarcely now
Upon his wounded feet he stands.
I looked into the awful Face
Of love, while with uncertain pace
My Master stumbled from the place.

Argument is as a desert and as a wilderness wherein one loses his way and comes to grief. Realization is everything.—*Buddha.*

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ENDOWMENT OF CULTURE

By O. C. GANGOLY

IF the agitation for an economic *swaraj* succeeds, and the power of taxation and control of public fund is transferred, in the future democracy in India, to popular control, it is a matter of great speculation to what extent, the uncultured masses, or the successful trader, or factory owner will be inclined to vote for decent sums of money being set apart for the cause of higher education and of expensive research works in all departments of knowledge; and for the preservation and development of the artistic heritage of India in its various aspects. It may be assumed that if the necessity of maintaining an expensive Police Force is removed, and the salaries of public servants are reduced, certain amount of public funds may be released out of which adequate provisions for primary education may be voted. But primary education is only the base, not the crown of the Pyramid. We have already some amount of primary and secondary education, with bases of very slender length, on which we have already built higher education of fairly respectable altitudes. If the length of the base of our primary education is indefinitely extended, in case universal primary education is achieved, within a few years, it does not follow that higher education, the point of the Pyramid, could be reached within a reasonable time. For, it is a piece of mathematical truth, the greater the base of a triangle, the greater is the height of the perpendicular. In fact, the demands for universal primary education are likely to exhaust the available public funds so as to leave nothing available for higher education and research work. The "Depressed" classes may be well expected to say that no grants need be provided for development of higher education, before all members of the "Depressed" classes had primary education given to them. What is really expected to happen is that there will be a tug-of-war between the claimants of primary education and the advocates of the higher education. There is a popular belief that higher education can afford to wait until primary education has grown to a respectable size, and that it is sheer waste of money to endow or subsidize institutions of higher culture and research—if the mass welters in a sea of illiteracy and ignorance. It is even now difficult to convince not only the *intelligentzia*, but many of our public men, our Councillors, and a large section of our educated brethren, that *primary education is no substitute for higher education*, and the latter cannot be and should not be made to wait until universal primary education has become an accomplished fact. To understand the gravity of the situation it is necessary to examine critically the position of Education, and of the provisions for culture and research in a democracy, and what 'mass education' really means. Indeed, some of the best thinkers on the theory of Education have come to the conclusion that hardly any good, if any at all, is likely to come out of universal education. In any given society, it is impossible to find more than a fraction of the whole, fitted with the real equipment or the thirst or desire to acquire knowledge in the true sense of the term. Before we come to the views of educational philosophers, one is tempted to refer to the instructive Satire, by which Dostoevski hints at the kind of education that democracy demands. In his *The Brothers Karmazov*, he makes the Inquisitor say: "What the masses need is not freedom of the spirit, but mystery, miracle, and authority; some one to take their bread from their hands, bless it and give it back to them; some one who will permit them to sin, and take the responsibility on his own soul, some one who *will guard the secret* and deceive mankind every step of the way as he leads it down to death." In his lecture on "The Future of our Educational Institutions," Nietzche puts a similar value to mass education. He believed that to the degree that education is universalized, it is weakened and minimized. That is to say, extension leads to want of depth and quality. The pseudo-culture in a democracy, according to Nietzche, "endeavours either to bring the leaders down to the level of its own servitude, or else to cast them out altogether." He again remarks: "What is called 'the education of the masses' cannot be accomplished except with difficulty and even if a system of universal compulsory education be applied, they can only be reached awkwardly. ... ... The education of the masses can not, therefore, be our aim; but rather the education of a few picked men for great and lasting work. We well know that a just posterity judges the collective intellectual state of a time only by those few great and lonely figures of the period. If we analyse his writings on this subject, we find that Neitzche came to the conclusion that education is *difficult* and *dangerous*, and that only the rare, strong and courageous spirits may attain it. According to Neitzche, many do not really want education at all, but only [illegible] cheaper knowledge which will give them success and enable them to take their places in the ranks and file; seeking such education, the herd *tramples culture under foot*, like cattle in growing corn when the fences are down. All his writing on this subject is a warning cry that

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the cultural values of civilization are in danger of being lost in an education for democracy.

Mathew Arnold is another of the thinkers whose views on Education are entitled to respect. In his own way, he thus characterizes the level of culture of a prosperous democracy: "Consider these people, their way of life, their habits, their manners, the very tones of their voices; look at them attentively, observe the literature they read, the things which give them pleasure, the words which come forth out of their mouths, the thoughts which make the furniture of their minds; would any amount of wealth be worth having with the condition that one was to become just like these people by having it?" Like Neitzche, Arnold also insists that education must struggle for its values if it is to survive in a democracy. In terms of his own socio-political environment, Arnold calls this new democratic force Jacobinism which he defines as "violent indignation with the past, abstract systems of renovation applied wholesale, a new doctrine drawn up in black and white for elaborating down to the very smallest details a rational society for the future ... ... Culture is the eternal opponent of the two things which are the signal marks of Jacobinism—its fierceness, and its addiction to an abstract system." According to Arnold: "plenty of people will try to give the masses, as they call them, an intellectual food prepared and adopted in the way they think proper for the actual condition of the masses. The ordinary popular literature is an example of this way of working on the masses. Plenty of people try to indoctrinate the masses with the set of ideas and judgments constituting the creed of their own profession or party. ... But true culture works differently. It *does not* try to teach to the level of inferior class."

The misgivings and suspicions of these learned theorists may be said to have been disproved by the extensive spread of education in the so-called democracy of the United States, in Fascist Italy, and in Soviet Russia. In the States, the enormous subsidies given by the State, and the cities (both by private endowments and grants, and also by appropriations from municipal funds) to the growth and extension of educational facilities, have enlarged the boundaries of the means of education, by including large sections of the "lower strata" of society, which but for these facilities would be left out of the zone of educational benefits. In the States, more than in any other part of the world, the duties of the State and the cities in the matter of providing educational facilities on a democratic basis, have been given practical shape. Education, says our socialists, should not be confined to the few, but must be made available to the many. Education and culture must not remain the preserved privilege of the few and shut up in the cloister or the *chatuspathis*—it must be made to flow outside the clique of the cultivated and the learned, outside the coterie of a few professionally trained scholars. Every member of a democracy must have the opportunity to share in the 'Cultural Goods of Civilization'. Education is not culture unless outside college halls it is a permanent and widespread interest which makes a difference in the tastes and habits of thought of the community. Huxley gave an unconscious compliment to the value of dissemination of culture and education when he deplored the fact that much of the intellectual leadership of Victorian England was found outside the University faculties. While this may have been a just criticism of the universities, it was a sign of intellectual vigour in the nation.

In the United States, while the demands of the education of the community have not been neglected, the demands of the facilities of a truly aristrocratic culture have not been lost sight of. Education, knowledge and culture have not been dragged down from its aristocratic height to pander to the medoicre level of the democracy—to the downward slopes of the lesser needs of the community. A very happy balance has been maintained between the demands of higher education and culture and the mass education of of the community in the United States. Without neglecting primary education, very generous and rich endowments have been provided for maintaining higher education and culture at a very high level and enormous funds have been provided not only for research work in the laboratories, and the museums, but also for expensive research expeditions, for excavations and field works, to distant countries, for gathering new data and materials for knowledge of every department of human activity. The universities and the museums have been equipped with adequate funds to pay for the service of the best experts of the world with library and laboratory facilities of the highest efficiency that money can buy. These expensive provisions have come, not only from the public purse, but also from the the purses of generous private donors—members of a cultured democracy, from industrial magnates railway and bank directors, from Rockefellers, Carnegies, Pierpont Morgans, and Otto Kahns. The writer is not familiar with the details of the provisions made for other departments of knowledge. His informations and experiences are confined to the steps laken in the States for disseminating knowledge of the Fine Arts and for providing for all members of the community opportunities to come in contact with Art, in all its phases, ancient and modern. Art is regarded as a vital factor in education, and is not neglected or relegated to a place after primary education. Education and culture 'through the eyes' is considered a most efficient form of primary *as well as* higher education. This is accomplished by providing richly endowed museums and collections of masterpieces

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of Art, established by block grants from the States and from the Municipal funds, and kept up by recurring grants from the city corporation and by enthusiastic supports of the citizens who pay large amounts of subscriptions, through annual, life and sustaining membership. Almost all the important cities of the States have such museums maintained by public and private endowments. It will be enough to quote the figures available for three typical museums to illustrate the public support given to these typically democratic institutions of education and culture for the community. The Indianapolis museum in Indiana, the poorest city in the States, has an endowment fund of about 800,000 dollars (Rs. 32 lacs) and a recurring annual income of about two lacs of rupees, out of which Rs. 80,000 come from the State Education Department and the municipal funds in equal shares and the rest are contributed by the citizens as sustaining and associate members. The Art Institute and Museum of Chicago, a typically industrial city, has an endowment fund of two crores and twenty lacs of Rupees (5,700,000 dollars) and an annual income of eight lacs of rupees. The Boston Museum has a total endowment fund roughly estimated at four crores of rupees, with an annual income of rupees twenty lacs. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, spends annually a sum of thirty-six lacs of rupees (nine lacs Dollars) out of which the city of New York contributes, from municipal funds, about nine lacs (3 lacs Dollars). The service that these municipal museums render to the cause of education is invaluable. They are intimately connected with the local universities, and students from schools and colleges are frequently brought to study in the museums with the help of expert guides provided by the staff of the Museum. Besides special series of lectures for boys and girls, technical lectures for teachers and professors are given at regular intervals, not only by the permanent staff on the Museum which include some of the foremost authorities on the various subjects represented, but also by visiting experts and special lecturers invited from abroad. Research scholars from the schools and universities are provided with facilities for studies, not only with the priceless masterpieces of the objects of Art and Culture belonging to the permanent exhibits (which are frequently added to every year by new acquisitions) but also with the help of a rich library of books, periodicals and photographs of monuments and objects pertinent to the studies of these scholars. In addition to these facilities, travelling fellowships, scholarships for study abroad, and research expeditions for excavations are provided for by the Museum from the general as well as from especially endowed funds. In addition, a training school for artists and designers are maintained with an expert teaching staff, provided by each of these museums. For the general public, a competent staff of *docents* are provided for explaining to visiting members of the community the objects of the museum and for furnishing correct and expert opinion to enable the visitors to enjoy their contact with works of art and ancient monuments. For special groups of the public, or the members of clubs in the city, 'Sunday Afternoon Talks', and 'Gallery Talks' and 'Museum Tours' are given by members of the staff for the benefit of groups or particular sections of the public desiring to enlarge and broaden their culture, through intimate contact with art under expert guidance. Special exhibitions are held at frequent intervals, of ancient and modern work of art, in all their phases, Western as well as Eastern ; and in connection with these exhibitions, lectures are delivered to draw the attention of visitors to the merits and characteristic qualities of the works exhibited. In museums on an average twenty four separate exhibitions are held every year, in addition to the permanent objects exhibited. Purchases and acquisitions of new work of art to the various departments absorb a large part of the income. And there are expert acquisition committees who critically examine works of art submitted to the Museum for purchase or acquisition by gifts. The Metropolitan Museum acquires on an average, every year, about two thousand new objects carefully selected on account of their artistic, historical or antiquarian merits.

In the States, responsibility and control of education have been shared equally by the State and the municipal or civic administration, a fair share being also left to individual and private enterprises. This division of responsibility has been based on the principle that good education begets good citizenship, and both the political and civic authorities are equally interested in the making of good citizens.

"In the nation as a whole both the elementary and the secondary schools are predominantly under public direction while in the realm of higher education private institutions still carry the larger burden. Thus, less than ten per cent of the elementary and secondary school pupils are attending private schools whereas the corresponding percentage in the institutions of higher education excluding normal schools and teachers' colleges is well above sixty. If the influence of the religious factor be disregarded, private enterprise remains strongest in those portions of the United States and at those levels of the educational system where the more favored social classes have sent down their deepest roots. In support of this policy of tolerating and encouraging private enterprise in the field of education, the American advance two major arguments. In the first place they say that there are limits to which the State should go in determining the content of education. They seem to feel that parents have certain rights over the education of the child which the State must respect. Another argument is the contention that it provides an excellent opportunity for men of great wealth to devote a portion of their substance to the service of the public. Sometimes

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the argument takes the other form that a society should have rich men in order that it may secure patrons of great universities, art galleries, and other cultural undertakings *which the people themselves would be unwilling to support*. According to the assumption underlying this theory, in the absence of millionaires the arts and sciences would languish. Certainly in America the tradition of turning private funds to such uses has developed great strength, and huge fortunes are given to educational enterprises every year." (G. S. Counts: *The American Road to Culture: A Social Interpretation of Education*. 1930, pp. 35-37.)

The passage italicized above is very ominously significant, as it suggests that Democracy left to itself *would* neglect higher education and cultural undertakings. The assumption that in the absence of millionaires, the arts and sciences are sure to languish, has been somewhat discounted by the programme of Soviet Russia.

Long before the advent of the Soviet Republic, Russia has paid its tributes to the cause of higher culture by collecting valuable works of art, relics of old civilizations, and remnants of antiquarian monuments of great aesthetic, historical and scientific values. The Hermitage Collection of Old Masters has a world-wide fame and reputation. The same museum contains unique examples of Sassanian and Islamic art. The well-known collection of Buddhist relics, made hy Prince Uchtomskij, which includes a remarkable series of metal sculpture of the Lamaistic School, (now housed in Leningrad,) has provided invaluable data for the study of Mongolian and Tibetan Buddhism. Recent scientific expeditions of Russian scholars and learned academies to Caucasus, South Russia, and Siberia (*e. g.* those led by Kondakoff, Kozlov, Boroffka and others) have added to the Russian museums unique and invaluable relics which throw a flood of new light on Scythian, Sarmatian, and later phases of Hellenistic culture. While preoccupied in solving economical and social problems, the Soviet Republic has not been unmindful of their duties as custodians of valuable works of art and priceless antiquarian remains and the need of affording opportunities to the larger public to establish contact with art and to liberalize their outlook on life. From this point of view, the impressions of Dillon, a trained journalist, are of great interest. In commenting on the facilities afforded by the educational authorities to the public to benefit by contact with valuable works of art collected in the museums, the author remarks:

"In truth, the Hermitage has not shrunk in extent or lost any of its treasures since the fall of the Empire. They are all safe and sound, and possibly more helpful to the general public today than ever before. On Sundays and holidays crowds of eager art worshippers, divided into numerous groups of about thirty visitors each from schools, clubs, and politlcal associations all over the country, pilgrimage to the museums accompanied by masters or expert mistresses who explain to them in simple, clear, and expressive words how a picture should be intelligently viewed, or else familiarize them with the characteristics of an old master, or a school. Hundreds of these children and adults travel from afar after having spent weeks, or months in preparation for the great day of their acquaintance with the famous painters of Italy, Spain, Holland, and Germany..... On week-days, however, the Leningrad Galleries were mostly empty, at least during my visits, and looked somewhat neglected. Occasionally, however, I met country people there in their rough costumes, and school children putting searching questions and uttering naive criticisms of the old masters in a low tone of voice" (E. J. Dillon: *"Russian Today and Yesterday*, New York, 1930, pp. 244-45).

Indeed, art occupies an important flank in the 'cultural offensive' of the Soviet educational plan. The curriculum of the first cycle of the school of the second grade has a compulsory time-table, which, in addition to language and literature, Mathematics, Geography, Gymnastics, etc. include, six hours for "Drawing and Painting," and five hours for Singing and Music, every week. (Hans and Hessen: *Educational Policy in Soviet Russia*, 1930, p. 109.)

The evidence of Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore, on the facilities of culture values in Soviet educational policy, is of great interest and significance. In the course of a remarkable series of letters recording his impression of educational activities of the Republic [since published by the *Visva-Bharati* under the title: "Letters from Russia" (Bengali) 2nd edition, 1338]. Dr. Tagore has commented on the topic:

> I am sure you will be interested in the report of how Museums of Art function here. In the city of Moscow there is a famous collection of pictures known as Tretyakov Gallery. Between 1928 and 1929, in the course of a year, about 3 lacs of visitors have come to see the pictures. It has been impossible to find room for the crowd of visitors anxious to come to see the pictures. To regulate crowds on holidays, it has become necessary to register previous applications for such visits. Before the establishment of the Soviet Government in 1917, visitors to this gallery came from the monied, educated and respectable classes,—the section of the people whom they call *bourgeoisie*. Now, the visitors are innumerable labouring classes, such as masons, mechanics, grocers, tailors and so on, and also Soviet soldiers, military captains, students and the agricultural classes.

The poet goes on to observe:

> It is necessary to arouse in them, gradually, a consciousness for Art. For tyros like them, it is impossible to apppehend the secrets of pictorial art at first sight. They wander about gazing listlessly on the stretches of walls, and their powers of apprehension lose their way. For this reason, docents have been provided in almost all museums. These docents are recruited from the educational section of the Museums or from trained scientific hands in the Departments of the State. The visitors get their services free. The docents should be careful that the visitors do not run away with the fallacy—that to know only the contents and subject-matters

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of pictures is all that "seeing" pictures means.... As I have stated in my previous letter, that they have started strenuous campaigns to make the whole country alive in strength and power, at a reckless speed, through intensive agricultural and machine-power organizations, this is an out and out practical scheme. This represents a supreme effort to attain absolute economic independence challenging the competition and rivalry of other and more prosperous nations.

In our country, whenever there is any talk of such comprehensive political efforts, we begin to say that in order to feed the red flame into one supreme conflagration, all other lamps in all other departments of life must be put out, otherwise, distractions may discount the values of our work. Especially, the culture of the Fine Arts is the enemy of all manners of stoic resolutions. In order to strengthen the national character, a hard and strenuous programme of acrobatics is essential. The *Vina* of Saraswati, if it has to be saved from banishment or extinction, can only be utilized as a regulation *lathi*, but not otherwise. One can only realize the hollowness of these false heroics, when one comes to Russia. Here we come across elaborate arrangements—to train the minds of those labourers, intended to function as efficient operatives in comprehensive schemes of factories and machineries, to approach with educated sense the spiritual flavours, the *rasa*-values of pictures. They have realized that those who are not sensitive to spiritual flavours are barbarous savages, and savages notwithstanding their sturdy exteriors, are actually feeble in spirit. (Pp. 77-82).

Yet, in spite of an apparent anxiety to keep open the doors of higher education and culture, the Soviet programme of public instruction has not been able to maintain a liberal outlook. For the sake of the demands of a communistic republic and those of vocational education necessary to solve the 'bread and butter' problem, the ideal of an education for its own sake, an education for the realization of the higher values of life, had to be shelved. On this point, the evidence of Albert P. Pinkevitch, President of the Second State University of Moscow, is very clear and outspoken.

> The significance of the aesthetic interest in the education of man has never been questioned, yet that this field has been sufficiently developed or studied, particularly by students of Sovtet pedagogy, *cannot be maintained*. There are, to be sure, a considerable number of small works dealing with the problems of æsthetic nurture, and the volume published by the Scientific Division of the State Scientific Council, entitled *Artistic Nurture in the School*, gives much concrete and highly valuable information, but nowhere do we find presented even a tolerably complete theory of æsthetic education. *In our scientific literature a simlar condition prevails.* Aside from articles by Plechanov, Lunacharsky, and Friche, articles which do not aim at a systematic review, we have, as a matter of fact, practically nothing. Comrade Pelshe therefore is only stating the truth when he says that in field of artistic creation the international proletariat has nothing even approaching the material which it possesses in the fields of economics and politics in the form of the classical *Capital* by Marx, the works of Engels, or the writings of Lenin. (A. P. Pinkevitch, *The New Education in the Soviet Republic*, 1930. P. 318.)

That in spite of scanty attempts for opportunities for development of the finer faculties the æsthetic side of education is being neglected is hinted at by the same authority:

> In contrast with the old School, a school of books and words, our school strives to become a labor school, a school of life. Because of reaction against tradition, the word, particularly the artistic word, very frequently receives relatively little emphasis. Such a result is of course unfortunate. (Ibid, p. 329.)

For political reasons, the teaching of music, in preference to the other forms of plastic arts, receives grater emphasis in the educational curriculum.

> The programmes of the State Council plan chorus singing at the foundation of the musical studies; and their explanation for doing so is that "Chorus singing is an excellent method of social collectivistic training. It habituates the child to blend his own personal experiences with the experiences of others, to feel and act *en masse* and at the same time to carry on his own individual work in connection with the work of the group and to feel himself a part of a complex organized whole." (Ibid, p. 328.)

Music is given an important place, not for its own sake as a valuable expression of higher phases of human culture, but as a useful instrument for developing the communistic ends of a political democracy. Yet, some of the Russian authors (*e.g*, Kurpsakia) has emphasized the function of all the forms of art, not only music, for developing a sound collectivism. "Art can contribute enormously to the development of a collectively-minded individual."

Nevertheless, the freedom of research and academic teaching had to be subordinated to the needs of the new Department of Vocational Education.

> The vocational policy of the Soviet Government in trying to connect academic work with economic life of the country succeeded only in destroying the old organization of Universities, but failed to create any new methods of academic study. The policy rather resembles more the policy of Napoleon, who established a centralized "University site Imperiale" which consisted of many vocational institutes subordinated entirely to the needs of the State Government. Here, as elsewhere, the Soviet Government has followed the example of absolute rulers of the past. The number of higher institutions in the Soviet Republics is hardly comparable with the number of Universities and Technical Colleges in Imperial Russia. ... Russia possessed 11 Universities, 22 Higher Courses for Women and 16 Higher Technical Institutes and Schools and 20 State and Private Colleges and Schools of University rank. The total number of students in these institutions was about 90,000. They give statisticians give quite different figures. The Soviet the higher institutions as 99 with 110,000 students including under this heading higher institutions

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of Music and Art, Veterinary Institutes, Archaeological Institutes and some private institutions not chartered under the old regime . . . . But the evident failure of this policy, which deprived Universities of their best Scientific forces and materials, has been recently acknowledged by the authorities (*Educational Policy in Soviet Russia*. pp. 165-166).

It must be evident that higher education and culture have somewhat scant prospects in a popular democracy. And if in the coming reforms in India, education continues to be a transferred subject, under the absolute control of popular voting, it is very unlikely that any money would be available for the needs of higher researches in history, art, archaelogy, science or medicine. It is possible that existing educational institutions and universities may be socialized for the benefit of *harijans*, and universities may be replaced by primary schools to liquidate illiteracy. In Russia illiteracy has been abolished at the expense of and by sacrificing higher education and culture. For, from the democratic view of education, it is better that every man and woman in the estate should but learn the three R's, than that a few scholars and research students should be allowed facilities for the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, and permitted to enlarge the boundaries of the same. The discoveries of Science, or of historial data, or the creation of Art must wait, till universal primary education has been an accomplished fact. The Bose Research Institute, the Bangiya Sahitya Parisat, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Tropical School of Medicine, or the Science College and all the Universities may have to close their doors, or to store away their stock of books, apparatuses, and equipments and be compelled to lend their halls for *harijan pathsalas*, or night-schools for factory hands. Already, the existing universities have earned much unpopularity for failure to provide vocational education or to solve the economical problems relating to poverty and unemployment. With the enlargement of popular control in education, the universities are likely to be subject to severer assaults. It will be argued with great vehemence and some logic, of what earthly use is the Chair of Comparative Philology in a country seething in illiteracy, what fraction of economic misery has been allayed by the lectures of the Minto professor?

It is incumbent on those who have a sensitive conscience for education, it is the duty of those who believe that the claims of higher education and culture must not be subordinated to vocational training, it is the responsibility of those who believe that *primary education is no substitute for higher education*, and *knowledge is no substitute for culture*, to demand for adequate endowments in the new constitution, for liberal provisions for higher education and cultural institutions, so as to make the pursuit of the higher forms of knowledge and research work in all its branches independent of popular caprice, or the accidents of party politics.

WOMEN'S POSITION IN THE WORLD AND INDIAN WOMEN

By Mrs. KIRON BOSE

The Position of Women in the United States

THE women of the United States have struggled to gain their present status. Miss Perkins has been made a Cabinet Minister (Dept. of Labour). Miss Ruth Bryan Owen has been appointed Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States in Copenhagen. There are Senators, Congress Women, Professors, Bankers, Medical Women, etc.

Mrs. Julia Woodroff Wheelcock, who was entrusted with the deplomatic representation of the United States in Yugoslavia, has now taken over her new duties in Belgrade. She is a staunch feminist and firmly belives in woman's ability to serve her Government in any station of life.

But there are social inequalities and evils in the U. S. A. and the women are to change them, especially Divorce Law, and the right to secure information on birth-control.

The Position of Women in the British Empire

In Great Britain Margaret Bonfield was a Cabinet Minister. There are M. P.'s, Professors, Lawyers, Doctors. It will not be out of place to mention that only a few years ago a group of progressive women under the leadership of Lady Astor was fighting for crimes against children and was arranging to raise the marriage age of girls to sixteen.

The position of women in other parts of the British Empire is growing more favourable, but the following news items must be of some interest to Indian women and to those who feel happy in vilifying Indian Womanhood.

(Special Correspondence, *The New York Times*, October 29, 1933.)

Auckland, N. Z., Oct. 2—By a bill introduced in the House here John G. Cobbe, Minister of

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Justice, seeks to raise the marriage age for New Zealand girls from 12 to 16.

The measure would remove what social workers have recently stigmatized as "a disgrace to the British Empire, and a state of affairs which would not be tolerated, even in India." Indian law demands that a boy be 18 and a girl 16. In New Zealand it has been possible for boys of 14 and girls of 12 to wed.

Social workers object to the present situation because of the fact that men held on charges of offences against girls often escape the police by marrying before the case comes to Court.

(Tribune Press Service)

Cape Town, Oct. 27—The Congress of the South African Women's Agricultural Union today passed a resolution in favour of raising the marriage age for girls from 12 to 16.

Mrs. Siebritz said that such early motherhood as caused by these marriages resulted in physically defective and subnormal children. She mentioned the case of a woman who at 42 years of age was the mother of 17 children.

Other speakers declared that very early marriages often protected men from a criminal charge when it would be more fitting if they should receive a life sentence.

The Position of Women in Scandinavia

As the direct outcome of two women M. P.'s proposal that the present constitution should be changed so as to allow women to become members of the Cabinet, the Government has now decided to introduce a Bill granting women access to all positions under the State, with the exception of the Army and Navy (including the various Departments of Military Administration) and the State Church.

By an Act in 1912, Norwegian women were granted the right to hold positions in the Civil Services and other State Departments under the same conditions as men, but they were expressly barred from appointment as members of the Cabinet, Diplomats and Consuls and as preachers of the Gospel in the Service of the State Church. If the new Bill goes through, women will be able to hold offices as Cabinet Ministers, and Diplomatic and Consular careers will be open to them.

In Norway a shipping firm has been successfully run for twenty years by two women. The two partners, who also personally supervise the repairing of the boats, have successfully steered their business through the stormy waters of post-war conditions. They own six steamers with a tonnage of 23,560.

Women Police in Copenhagen

The Municipal Council of Copenhagen has unanimously decided to increase the police force of the Capital, and in that connection to appoint five more police women. This will bring the number of police women in Copenhagen up to fourteen. The decision of the Municipal Council goes to show that the fathers of the town have become conscious of the public utility of women police.

Norway, Sweden and Denmark send three women representatives in their delegation to the League of Nations during the Assembly. In Mexico a women police force was organized in 1929 and started with fifty members. Their chief duties are the protection of children, the prevention of women's offence and the prevention of public immorality. Police women are chiefly on duty in public parks and gardens and in picture-houses, theatres and hospitals, but can be on duty in any other place to which they may be appointed. The police woman is naturally endowed with kindness and love towards children, with a complete knowledge of the character and weakness of her sex and with a high conception of desire for morality and righteousness.

Women in Switzerland

The Swiss women are profoundly attached to the ideal of democracy. Because they love their country, they claim increased influence in the government of the State in which the citizens enjoy the maximum of civic rights. There is a woman lawyer on the "Swiss Committee for the combat of the war industries."

First Customs Expert in France

For the first time in France a woman has been appointed "Customs Expert" for the valuation and determination of the origin of carpets and tapestry. France also for the first time included a woman in the delegation to the League of Nations at Geneva.

Belgian Women in Public Life

Women are members of Parliament in Belgium (where women are permitted to stand for Parliament, but may not yet vote at political elections), one of them occupying a seat in the *Senate* and the other in the *Chamber de Depute*, and the other in the *Senate*. Both belong to the Socialist party. On the provincial Legislative Assemblies women were represented by four members. The number of women members of Municipal Council is 171, that of women Mayors 13. Fourteen women hold office as Sheriffs, 16 as Town Clerks.

Women in Germany

The position of women in Germany has been the reverse of progress. All the women organizations have been dissolved. The Minister of the interior, Dr. Frikj has undertaken the protection of the new organization, the "Deutsche Frauen-front" which was composed of the different feminine groups. Mrs. Siber (who is one of the few women in a higher position in the Civil Service) was appointed the Vice-Chairman. Miss Lucie Hofflich, the well-known German Actress has been appointed Director of the State School of Dramatic Art which was recently opened in Berlin. Another woman, Mrs. Edit Von Colen serves on the Board of the new State Institution. Among the 38 members of the German

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Academy of literature, which has been reorganized in harmony with the literary conception now prevalent in Germany, four are women.

The Fascist Attitude Towards Women in Italy

In Italy Feminism has taken a backward step in the fourteen years of the Fascist regime. Great stress is being laid on the home and wide field is provided to fit them for the bearing and rearing of children, but for no other career.

Wireless To The New York Times By Arnaldo Cortesi

ROME, Oct. 28.—Fascism, from its foundation in 1919 to today, has been such a purely masculine phenomenon and has laid such stress on the development of the manly virtues that one occasionally loses sight of how women fare under the present regime.

Women, who hardly ever appeared in the picture of Italian public affairs even before the advent of fascism, certainly play a distinctly secondary rôle today. Indeed, from some view-points feminism has taken a step backward rather than forward.

Soon after Benito Mussolini's accession to the Premiership he appeared about to concede to women that equality of political rights with men which already existed in most progressive States but in which Italian women always displayed only a very lukewarm interest. He granted to them the vote in municipal elections, and this was generally interpreted at the time as the first move toward universal suffrage. Soon afterwards, however, elected Mayors were replaced by government-appointed "Podestas," with the result that women lost the newly acquired right before having time to exercise it. Since then woman's suffrage has hardly been mentioned in Italy.

The exclusion of women from politics is in perfect harmony with the Fascist outlook on women and the Fascist conception of their proper place in the scheme of things. The Fascists believe women were created by God for the specific purpose of bearing, rearing and educating future generations, and they hold that this mission is so profoundly important and absorbing that women should have little time left for other occupations. They believe, in other words, that woman's kingdom is her home and everything should be done to induce her to dedicate herself exclusively to it, this being the only method to insure that Italian stock shall continue to grow healthy and strong.

Within the narrow limits set by these principles, much has been done for women by the present government, especially with a view to fitting them to become good wives and mothers. At an early age, girls enter youth organizations of the Fascist party, which teach them the rudiments of the prevailing conceptions of their duty toward the State.

At a later stage, when they are about to become mothers, the nationwide organization provides ample facilities for their advice and assistance. Opportunities for learning the domestic arts and modern methods of caring for children are made available.

The outstanding development in the Italian women's existence is that they are now for the first time encouraged to take an interest in sports. Such activities are under strict control by Fascist authorities, who frown on violent and fatiguing games, which are believed likelier to injure a woman's delicate frame than to strengthen it. Nevertheless, the milder sports, such as tenis, swimming, riding and gymnastics, are now definitely on the normal curriculum of Italian young women. The motive that prompted this departure from traditional usage was the same as that underlying the greater part of the changed outlook towards women, namely, belief that a moderate amount of the right kind of sport fits their bodies for motherhood.

In the United States and Britain, the status of women in Italy perhaps is considered somewhat old-fashioned. That status is probably influenced somewhat by the opinions of the Vatican, which is even more conservative than are the Fascists where women are concerned. It will be recalled, for instance, that the Pope more than once has publicly protested against even the limited amount of sport for women advocated by the Fascists.

The March of Progress of the Women of Asia

The Turkish women are progressing fast and are holding their head high. They have taken full advantage of a decade of freedom from Moslem tradition. They are facing life unafraid. Now that the first thrill of liberty is over, they are tackling sober problems of everyday life.

The women of Japan and China are taking a prominent position in medicine, education, etc.

The Associated Press

Istanbul, Oct. 28—Ten years have been sufficient for Turkish women to run the gauntlet of a newly acquired freedom and settle down soberly to education and work.

With its tenth anniversary occurring tomorrow, the Turkish Republic celebrates also the end of the adjustment period of its women's emancipation.

One of President Mustapha Kemal's most sensational reforms was his liberation of women from the traditional veils, harems and the seclusion of Moslem tradition.

"Show your faces to the world and look the world in the face," the Ghazi told them, and a million city women dropped their veils with zest.

Their first look at the world was fairly startling. Women of the upper classes who had long nibbled at romantic novels behind lattices, found at last an opportunity to be their own heroines. The new education opened to them by American motion pictures added sophisticated touches to their ambitions and they swung with gusto into the business of being socially modern against a brand-new background of cubistic apartments.

Marriages decreased, divorces increased. One Istanbul merchant won a divorce from his wife because of her poker debts.

Millions of Turkish liras went to France for imported champagne, Paris gowns, perfumes and lipstick. The society women of Istanbul and Ankara came to be among the best dressed in Europe, the most skilful of modern dancers and

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the most insouciant of cocktail drinkers. They drank because it was "chic" to drink, but have never developed a real taste for liquor. Even in the most flamboyant days of the new freedom it was rare to see a Turkish woman inebriated.

Young men and women who had been brought up to expect the usual Turkish fate of marriages arranged by parents, with not even a glimpse of each other until the marriage day, now had the luxury of freedom in matters of the heart and made tragedies of a good many of them. Stories of the death pacts among the youth became so prevalent in the Turkish press that finally the government ruled that no mention of suicide should be made by any newspapers in Turkey.

A recovery of their native good sense, momentarily shaken by the merry-go-round of Western liberty, coupled with the economic crisis, is now making Turkish women swing round to normal in matters of the heart, poker, foxtrotting and Paris gowns.

The younger generation is actually turning up its nose at the imported frivolities of its mothers. Girls and boys alike have to face a future of work conscious that the present crisis is theirs to solve.

The number of girl students in primary schools throughout Turkey has increased fivefold since 1913. Many women have become prominent as professors, lawyers and writers.

The new decade has produced a woman banker, Hatidje Hanim, who both looks out for a family of five children and holds down the job of subdirector of the biggest Turkish bank, the Ish Bank, in Istanbul.—*The New York Times, Oct. 29, 1933.*

The Japanese people see in the International Red Cross Conference which is to be held in October, 1934, at Tokio, an event calculated to promote world peace and better understanding among the nations, Prince Tokugawa, President of the Japanese Red Cross and for 25 years President of the House of Peers, told American newspapermen at the Hotel Meurice yesterday.

"I am glad to think," the Prince declared, "that public opinion in my country strongly echoes the hope of the Japanese Red Cross that the International Conference in Tokio may make a real contribution, not only to the development of the Red Cross movement throughout the world, but also to the cause of better understanding between all the peoples of the world in that humanitarian work, which lends itself perhaps bettter than any other to close and friendly iuternational co-oqeration."

Prince Tokugawa has utilized his visit to Europe to make personal contacts with the headquarters of the League of Red Cross Societies in Paris, whose secretary general is Ernest J. Swift, and with Red Cross leaders in other countries. As president of the Japanese Red Cross, he will welcome to the Tokio Conference the delegates of all governments that are signatories of the Geneva Convention and the representatives of 58 national Red Cross societies.

"The Red Cross in Japan is a very vigorous and active body," he explained. "Besides keeping in readiness for the work which it—like all national Red Cross societies—may be called upon to do as the auxiliary of the army medical services in war time, it has an extensive peace time programme, conducting many hospitals and dispensaries, training and utilizing nurses on a great scale, and possessing a junior Red Cross membership that approaches 2,000,000."

The Prince, who received a delegation of the French Junior Red Cross yesterday afternoon, is leaving for London today.—*Chicago Daily Tribune.*

Indian women should send their representative sisters in the coming Congress.

Women Police in China

Hankow, where eight women were trained for the policeforce in 1931, had the honour of being the first Chinese town to introduce women police. Recently another town, Peiping, which already has the reputation of possessing one of the finest forces of the country trained by a Norwegian Officer, is to be still further improved by the co-operation of a large number of women who are now undergoing three months' training by Chinese Officers who have studied the American method. The majority of the women are students; they will, as is usual, perform all duties in connection with women and girls.

The Position of Women in France

For the second time in the history of French Medical practice, Dr. Papillon, a woman doctor, is to hold the position of head of the department, the first woman to occupy such a positon having been Mme Bertrand Fontaine. Mme Papillon, a specialist in diseases of the throat and mouth, declared, "there is an anomaly with regard to us, women doctors in France which, to express it mildly, has always amused me. I hold the life of patients in my hands and if I apply for a passport I cannot get it without my husband's authorization." Countess Anna de Noailles, the French poetess, was one of the few women to hold the high rank of the Commander of the legion of honour.

In Ireland three women were returned to the Dail at the last Parliamentary election.

The Diplomatic career open To Spanish Women

Among the advantages which the Spanish women have derived from the new regime is access to the Diplomatic career. Twenty-seven candidates out of two hundred and seventy were successful at the recent examination for the Diplomatic service, one of them being a woman, Senorita Margarita Sallaveria. There are two women who have secured seats in the Spanish Parliament.

Suffrage for the women of the Phillipines

Women of the Phillipines have been granted Suffrage on the same condition as men. To exercise their new rights they must be twenty-three years of age, able to read and write, and possess property worth at least $. 250.

The first Woman Architect in Poland

Hedvige Dovrzynska is the first Polish woman to choose Architecture as a career. Though she is only 23 years of age already she holds a prominent place

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among architects in her country, having designed and costructed important buildings. She has taken part in numerous architectural competitions, national and international, can boast of no less than thirteen first and an even greater number of second and third prizes.

Women in Luthania

Magdalene Brazyte is the first woman judge in Luthania. She has been attached to the Mario-polite Law Court since 1920. She became a temporary member of the court in 1920 before she was nominated a judge in 1931. The number of law students is growing steadily. Quite a number of women are deviling for Barristers previous to being called to the Bar and many are attached to Law Courts, where, according to legal practice in Luthania, they have acquired practical knowledge of juridical procedure, before they can enter the official branch, first as Substitute Judge, and finally as regular member of the Bench.

Women in India

Contrary to the popular belief in the West, the women in India have always occupied a place of respect and veneration. Both in ancient and modern times Indian women have contributed much to science, religion and social welfare. Organized activities on the part of Indian women is, however, of recent origin.

The most important work undertaken by Indian women at present lies in the political field. In the struggle for national emancipation women have been fighting side by side with men. The women suffrage movement may be dated to the year 1917, when the All-India Women's deputation waited upon Mr. Montagu, who was the Secretary of State for India and who visited India in that year. The women demanded equal suffrage, and although they failed to secure representation in the National Legislature, Provincial Governments were empowered to enfranchise them and over a million of women were granted suffrage as far as provincial legislature was concerned, As a result Dr. Mrs. Reddy became the Vice-President of the Madras Legislative Council.

At the Round Table Conference, Indian women had three representatives. According to the present arrangements, about six million women will be enfranchised and some forty-four women will occupy seats in the provincial legislatures under the new constitution. It must be mentioned that Indian women, irrespective of caste or religion, have been from the begining opposed to the communal representation, and the present award of representation has been thrust upon them in spite of their vehement protest.

The activities of Indian women are not confined to the political field alone. They are interested in education, social reform, social service and similar other work. Many are being qualified as lawyers, doctors and professors.

Mrs. P. K. Ray, the well-known educationist, is a member of the Senate of the Calcutta University. In the year 1927 two women magistrates were appointed in two of its largest cities, *viz.* Bombay and Madras. In England the first magistrate was appointed in 1920. And only recently a similar honour was conferred on Calcutta when eleven women magistrates were appointed simultaneously. There are about sixteen women magistrates in Bombay and many more in the Madras Presidency. Two women were elected as Councillors of the Calcutta Conporation by the general electorate and a woman was appointed an Alderman.

In 1920 two of the Native States, Cochin and Travancore, not only granted franchise to women, but soon after that nominated two women to their respective Legislative Councils, the lady member in Travancore holding the portfolio for Public Health.

Sarojini Naidu, the famous poetess, presided over the Congress Sessions in the year 1925. Recently a few women have entered banks.

Indian Women have realized that they have their own special mission in life and a contribution to make to the evolution of humanity. And in spite of the tremendous obstacles in their way, they are striving by every means in their power, to stand shoulder to shoulder with their sisters in other lands and to make their contribution as efficient as any.

This year, for the first time, an Indian woman has been appointed to represent India on the Committee at Geneva dealing with "Traffic in Women and Children." The two Committees dealing with traffic in women and children consist of representatives of twelve Governments and of those International Organizations which are directly interested in the questions dealt with by the Committees. The Committees consist of thirty-one members, of which thirteen are women, seven being representatives, five assessors and one a liason member. Three Eastern countries have been asked to join the Commission of Enquiry into the traffic in children and women. The Committees which had delegated women either as their sole representatives or substitutes were Denmark, Great Britain, Poland, Roumania, Spain and the United States and they are elected for the period of five years.

Sex equality is the law of nature and therefore it is the law of God. In all the vegetable and animal kingdoms until they come to man the law of sex equality is as firmly established as the law of sex difference.—Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

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VIKRAMPUR ARIAL MUSEUM

By RAMES BASU, M. A.

DURING the reign of the Palas and Senas as also of the other less-known dynasties of local chiefs Bengal had attained a great celebrity in art, religion and other branches of culture. And as we have no connected history of that glorious period from the eighth to the twelfth century, we are to remain satisfied with the stray historical materials lying scattered here and there. Owing to the recklessness of man and ravages of nature we are to search out even the names of the vestiges of ancient time which are now lost to us. And it is all the more unfortunate that the manuscripts which contain these vestiges could not very often maintain their existence within the four limits of Bengal—for that we had to go to Nepal or other neighbouring provinces. The only source of our consolation is that the relics of ancient temples, images and stone and copper inscriptions have not completely vanished. The relics of most of the temples are recovered after much exploration or excavation, and from time to time the images and inscriptions, all on a sudden, come to our sight. But old coins of gold and silver suffer most owing to the fact that ordinary people do care for their metallic value and not the historical. In our times old relics are discovered only to be transferred from their original sites; these are procured either for the big public museums or for rich private collections. In the last century the finds from a certain well-defined cultural region have travelled far from their original sites; now in most cases, we do not even know the names of the find-spots. This is a great obstacle to the clear understanding of the cultural tradition and general history of a particular region.

Another fact also is worthy of our serious consideration. The common people of the country at large go to the museums of the cities and wonder at the images or some other exhibits; they cannot feel or claim any sp of intimacy with them—they cannot ev think that they are the descendants of th who had worked those wonders. It is for t

Suryya—Dacca Sahitya Parishat

reason that if local museums are establish in the regions considered to be the cent places from historical point of view then

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ordinary people not merely wondering at the things of the past will feel a particular connection with them. We have had enough of bookish history, now it is time that we should look to the practical application of history in the matter of training the masses. They will not stop short merely by worshipping

Ganes—Arial Museum

the images and other relics—as they are wont to do—gradually along with the spread of education they will be up and doing so that those invaluable treasures may not be either lost or removed. That such a mentality can really grow we have noticed practically in the rebuilding of a village museum which is still in its nucleus stage. As a case to the point we should like to give a very short account of the preliminary stage of the formation of a museum in a very old village of Vikrampur in Eastern Bengal.

The *pergana* of Vikrampur was a very well-known centre of culture in ancient times. This was connected with the names of the Palas, Senas, Chandras, Varmans and Khargas of Bengal history. From almost all the old villages of this region, images and other relics have often been discovered. Most of those finds have now gone beyond the limits of the *pergana*. Only those who care for historical research or carry on investigation themselves know their whereabouts. It is desirable that a regional museum should be established in

Kalkin (horse-faced)—Arial Museum

Vikrampur itself for the special study of Vikrampur centre. Even a short time ago whatever came from within the limits of Vikrampur was known to outsiders as being found at Rampal, reputed to be the capital of Vikrampur. So the original places of many of the finds could not be known. But the finds should be connected with the name of the place from where they come. And as the cultural products of Vikrampur they have a special claim for inclusion in the proposed Vikrampur Central Museum. With this purpose in view the *Palli-Mandal* (Village-union) of Arial has decided of late to found a museum for Vikrampur. This will facilitate connected research-work about Vikrampur on scientific lines. And, as to the matter of collection, even now many relics can be preserved and unearthed if only the sympathy and co-operation on the part of the villagers can be secured ; otherwise, if we are to sit idle looking for the attention of the Archaeological Department of the Government it is sure that many of the things will either be lost or transferred. The inhabitants of

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Vikrampur are well known for their local patriotism, so it can be hoped that they will not hesitate to show enthusiasm in the project.

Garud—Arial Museum

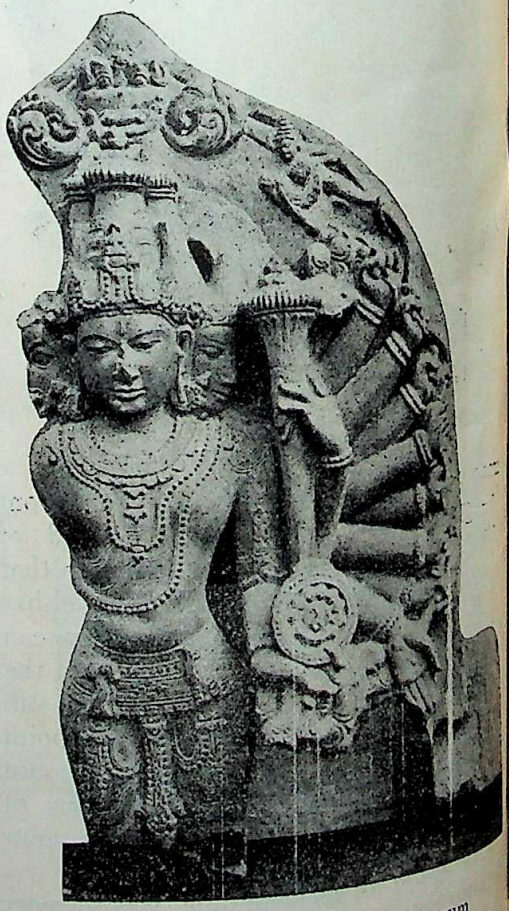
We propose to give below a list of the images with a short account of each collected from Arial itself.

(1) A new type of Vishnu image (Visvarupa)—This is one of the rare types of Vishnu images. It has four heads and twenty hands. We find no mention of such an image in the Bengali book on Vishnu images called *Vishnu-murti-parichayaya* by Pandit Binode Behari Bannerjee. In Mr. T. A. Gopinath Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography* there is a *dhyan* of Visvarupa but there is no mention whether any such image has ever been found anywhere. In an article in a Bengali magazine we published details of this image with its identification which seems to be quite satisfactory. The image was a very good specimen of Bengal sculpture, but, unluckily all the hands on the right-hand side and both the legs down the knees have broken off.

(2) A Vishnu image of the Bengal school of the usual type.

(3) The head of a Vishnu image.

(4) A new type of Kalki image (horse-mouthed)—Of the various *avataras* of Vishnu Kalki has this peculiarity that he rides on a horse. This our image reminds us of Revanta the son of the Sun-god, to some extent, but on close observation the former will be found to be nothing else than that of Kalki. He has four hands and is riding a horse; there is the



Vishnu (Visvarupa)—Arial Museum

sri-vatsa mark on his breast. The chief peculiarity of the image is that the face is horselike and that can be clearly detected even in its broken condition. There is

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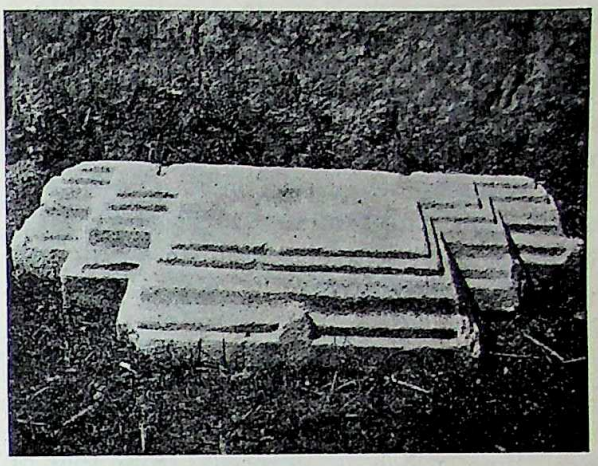
dhyan of the image in Mr. T. A. Gopinath Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography*. But it is not known whether any other specimen of this particular type has elsewhere been found. The face, one of the left hands, the left leg of the god, and the head and leg of the horse are broken.

In order to show clearly that this is an image of Kalki, we quote the special *dhyan* of the god which helps identifications :

कल्किनं मध्यमं दशतालमितमश्वाकारं मुखमन्यन्नराकारं चतुर्भुजं कर्त्तव्यं खड्गखेटकधरमुग्ररूपं भयानकमेवं देवरूपं कृत्वा कौतुकं वेष्वं चतुर्भुजमेव कारयेत् ।—वैखानस आगम ।*



Pedestal—Arial Museum

Karttikeya—Arial Museum

Uma-Mahesvara—Arial Museum

(5) It was a piece of good fortune that the collectors of Arial got such a fine image. Very few images of Garuda are found to be any match for this one from the artistic point of view. Its special merit is this that the sure touch of the artist's fingers has combined

* *Elements of Hindu Iconography*—by T. A. Gopinath Rao. Vol. I, pt. II—appendix C. प्रतिमालक्षणानि p. 49.

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liveliness and godliness. Even the folding of the hands is artistically treated. It is bound to be considered a finished and matchless specimen of Bengal art. The image is unbroken.

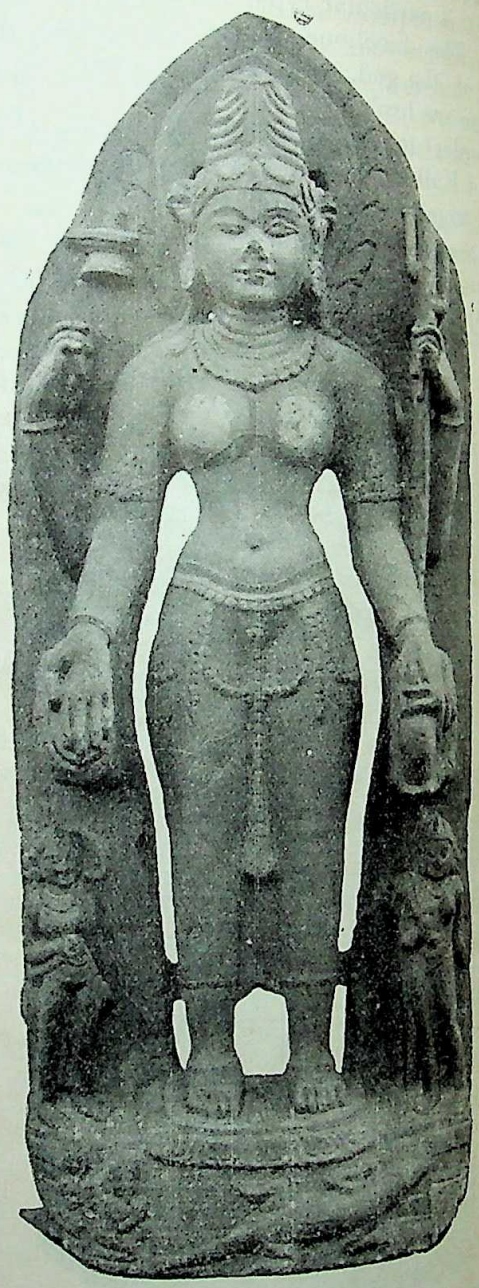
(6) Uma-Mahesvara—This is an *alingana* type of image, having all the marks of the type. It is unbroken. There is a little peculiarity in the features which may be marked in many old images.

(7) Uma-Mahesvara—Another of this type is in the collection.

(8) Nataraja—This Siva image is of the Bengal type which is different from that of the Deccan. The image is broken.

Vishnu—Arial Museum

(9) Karttikeya—A fine image of Karttikeya. Unluckily the face and a hand are broken. The god is riding on peacock, his *vahana*, in the *maharaja-lila* posture. This type of Karttikeya image is found in the Bharat-Kala-Parishat of Benares and the Varendra Research Society of Rajshahi. This image is very rare in Eastern Bengal. In the illustrated catalogue of the Dacca Museum Mr. Nalinikanta Bhattasali, M. A., remarks, "The only image of Kartikeya that has come to the writer's notice in the Dacca and the Chittagong divisions, is preserved in the Vaishnava monastery at Abdullapur, district Dacca (*Iconography of Buddhistic and*



Gauri—Dacca Museum

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Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum p. 147). The image has six hands.

(10) Ganes—A Ganes image with the entire lower portion missing. It is very like the Nataraja Ganes of Outshahi (found at Ranihati) and Munshiganj, both in Vikrampur.

(11) Suryya—A miniature Sun image has been collected. It was discovered by a boy of the village aged only ten years.

(12) Only the lower part of a huge Sun image has been acquired—the seven horses are distinctly carved.

(13) A broken Marichi image is in the collection.

(14) Over and above the images a huge *asana* for an image has come into the collection. It is of the *pancha-ratha* style. It is made of a kind of graphite stone which does not seem to be very much used in Bengal. The surface is smooth. There are two small holes for setting the image for which it was built.

(15-16) Two huge blocks of sandstones—These are shaped, which, at the very look, seem to be the relics of the basement of some old stone-building. This fact by itself is significant enough, because stone buildings are very rare in alluvial Eastern Bengal.

(17) A part of wooden door-jamb—about four cubits long. On it is carved two serpents embracing each other—scales are very clearly carved on these serpents. At the other end of the same surface, a finely finished woman is standing in the *tribhanga* pose.

Besides images and sculptures, other old relics have been collected. About 700 old manuscripts of the village have been taken charge of. A small coin-cabinet has also been the look out of the workers—for which one coin of Akbar the Great, one of Shah Jehan, one of Alamgir II, one each of Lakshmi Singh and Gaurinath Singh, the Ahom Kings, and four or five of the British and French East India Companies have already been acquired.

From what has already been said one can judge about the possibilities of this village museum which is still in the nucleus stage. Considering the fact that a great many of the images of this village discovered in the nineteenth century have been transferred to other places, it is no mere idle speculation on the part of the organizers of this museum to form one. Already through the indefatigable and praiseworthy attempts of Mr. Jayshankar Bannerjee, B. SC., who is a resident of this village, we know of a score of images which are now either in the village or neighbouring villages, in the courtyard of the Dacca Collectorate, Dacca Museum, Dacca Sahitya Parishat, at Belur or with private persons. The inscribed and dated image of Chandi, of the reign of Lakshman Sena, which is now at Dacca, in a private house, was taken to that town by the late Mr. Baikunthanath Sen along with a number of other images from this village on the back of an elephant. This is remembered by all the old people of the village.

This museum was started only three years ago. It has already attracted the imagination, sympathy and co-operation of the villagers, young and old. It has the good fortune of acquiring some very rare and fine specimens of Bengal art.

A high level of armaments is no substitute for general security. At best, it only creates the illusion f security in one quarter while at the same time it is aggravating the sense of insecurity in another. The security which set before us as our ideal is security for all, and security for all fundamentally depends on armaments reduction.—*Sir John Simon.*

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THE REDEMPTION OF THE BRAHMAN

(A Review)

By JNANCHANDRA BANERJI

THE "Redemption of the Brahman" is a short novel by the eminent American scholar and authority on the Sankhya philosophy, Dr. Richard Garbe. It was published so far back as in the year 1896 in Chicago as one of the volumes of the Religion of Science Library by the Open Court Publishing Company. It tells the story of a caste—and custom-ridden Brahman and how he was redeemed, and thus gives us an insight into Dr. Garbe's ideal of what constitutes true Hinduism. The penetrating vision, the deep wisdom and foresight, and the love of Hinduism of Dr. Garbe may be gauged from the fact that the two lessons which he has sought to inculcate in this simple love-story deal with the two vital problems of Hindu Society which, thirty-seven years after he wrote, have now been thrust into the forefront by the aggressive and riot-loving section of the Moslems on the one hand, and by the attitude of Mahatma Gandhi in connection with the agitation among the so-called depressed classes and untouchables on the other.

The scene is laid at Benares, in the year 1840, in the house of a merchant (evidently a Vaishya by caste) Krishnadas, a widower, living with his young widowed sister Lilavati and his married daughter Gopa, aged 18, whose husband is engaged in trade in Cashmere where he is a boon companion of the young prince in his sports and dissipations and has not visited his wife for years.

The story opens with two processions to celebrate the Muharram and a Hindu religious festival, the Mahomedans moving toward the mosque of Aurangzeb 'whose slender minarets tower high above the holy city of the Hindus' and the Hindus proceeding toward the neighbouring temple of Visveswar. They had to pass from opposite directions through a narrow lane.

"It was but a few moments and the two processions met before the very door of Krishnadas. Involuntarily the shouts and prayers ceased, and for a moment a deep expectant silence ensued.

"Then from the front rank of the Hindus, a tall young man with firm energetic features, of a strongly-marked foreign type, stepped forward and spoke : 'Make way, and let us pass !'

"But scarcely had he spoken when a howl of anger arose in the ranks of the Mohammedans : 'Will you fall back, you unbelieving dogs !' and the foremost of the Moslems leaped forward swinging the clubs with which they had provided themselves in anticipation of a conflict.

"The Hindus began to fall back muttering ; but the youth who had appointed himself their spokesman turned upon them a glance of boundless astonishment, drew himslf up haughtily, and cried to his yielding comrades : 'How now ? Will you give up the field for the cowslayers, the unclean herd ? Stand, and force them back !'

"A howl of rage from the Mohammedans was the reply, and in a trice they had surrounded the bold youth and separated him from his companions. Then with a swift movement he seized the club from the nearest of his assailants, smote him to the ground, and before the Mohammedans could recover from their astonishment at the unprecedented occurrence with lightning speed he struck down a second, third and fourth. A cry of surprise escaped the lips of Gopa looking out of the window with breathless attention : 'Look ! look ! it is Mahadeva who has come down to destroy all enemies of our faith !'

"At this very moment she cried out anxiously, for the supposed God had received a fearful blow on the breast, and sank against the door of the house. A redbearded Mollah with glittering eyes shouted above the tumult, 'Let me through to kill the dog !'

"Willingly they made room for the fanatic in whose uplifted fist a dagger gleamed but before he reached his victim something unexpected happened ; the house door flew open, the unconscious Hindu disappeared and in a few seconds the cross-bar grated behind the closed door. The Mohammedans were indignant and endeavoured to break down the door, but the well-joined timbers withstood them. A few moments longer the uproar continued, until the guards of the public order appeared, led by the English officer under whose supervision the police were placed. The sight of the much-feared magistrate, who was seen in the interior of the city only upon special occasions, had a quieting effect upon the excited throng. Several arrests were made and the remainder dispersed....."

The hero of the story, Ramchandra, who was thus rescued from the clutches of a fanatical mob of Moslems and brought back to life by the lovely and beautiful Gopa and her father and aunt was a Brahman from Rajputana who had come to Benares to study 'not the subtle teachings of logic, which the acuteness of the Hindus is wont most to exalt, but the deeper wisdom of the great Indian pantheism.' 'He had learnt with shame how cowardly the Hindu was.' With the aid of Krishnadas, for Ramchandra was very poor, he began to prosecute his studies, and in a few years the fame of his learning, young as he was, filled the whole town. He was now engaged by Mr. White, Judge of Benares, to instruct him in the wisdom of the Hindus. Mr. White had entered the Indian Civil Service as the first scholar of his year expressly with the object of studying Hindu philosophy. But suspected by his friends as a Government spy, owing to his intimacy with Mr. White, Ramchandra replies in words which no doubt reflected Dr. Garbe's own views, as follows :

"If the wisdom of the Brahmans is promulgated in the West, is it better that it should be a chaos, a mass of indistinct ideas, at which all wonder and shake their heads, or that it should shine as the bright light of the sun, so that the thinkers of the sunset lands shall point to India and say : Thence comes our light ?"

Then follows a pathetic chapter on the death of Lilavati, whose *ekadasi* fast fell on the day when

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was suffering from high fever and whose parched lips cried out for a drop of water, but when Gopa wanted to offer it, it was the Brahman Ramchandra who, with his implicit faith in the injunctions of the *shastras*, prevented her.

But his faith in popular Hinduism and the ritualistic laws of Brahminism and in his own pride of birth was rudely shaken by the puerile and inhuman practices which he saw at Benares. The Pitah festival at Durgabari, where great herds of cattle were slaughtered and at the same time monkeys were worshipped, the unmeaning and inhuman sufferings and indignities which widows had to undergo, the vile treatment meted out to the untouchable Dhobi by all but Mr. White, even the hint thrown out by him as to the purity of Ramchandra's Brahminic blood, whose fiery and brave temper he attributed to a strain in his blood derived from a female ancestor of the soldier caste at a time when the *anulom* form of marriage, sanctioned by the law books, was still prevalent,—all combined to make him feel the Justice of Mr. White's retort to his remark—redemption is beyond your reach for all time'—

"The redemption, that is, the emancipation of the individual soul from the pains of mundane existence, all your systems which I have studied with you, propose to attain through the medium of the intellect, through this or that knowledge. I seek redemption by morality, and I believe that everyone may attain to it in this life. The disciples of Buddha, the enlightened one, whom you Brahmans have driven out of your land, have approached nearer to the true understanding of redemption than you."

But argue with the Judge as he might, Mr. White's friendly remonstrances had struck home, and we find Ramchandra thinking to himself thus :

"Your laws ? Your commandments ? And what if it be true, as the Sahib says, that the sacred laws are not given by the gods, but are the work of men ? No, no, it is not possible that by human laws millions of creatures are condemned to filthy misery, despair, and starvation ! I shall go mad if I think of it."

And the wise English Judge observing the workings of his friend's mind, said :

"Believe me, Ramchandra, you are in the true path to enlightenment. It will not be long before you, too, can distinguish between the will of God and the laws of Brahmanism."

Meanwhile Gopa's husband also died in distant Kashmere and Krishnadas, with the memory of his deceased sister still fresh in his mind, refused to shave her head and take away her jewellery, and was ostracised in consequence and his business was ruined. This was too much for Gopa, who, in her wrath, drove Ramchandra a bit of her mind :

"In the short time that has elapsed since Lilavati's death, this has become perfectly clear to me. The divine laws, of which you Brahmans are always talking, and whose most distinguished conservator you desire to be, are nothing but lies and deceits. The pitiful existence to which you condemn the poor Pariahs was formerly established as a law of your class through base selfishness. And the mass, the ignorant mass, has believed your words and has languished in these fetters from century to century. You Brahmans are not the protectors, you are the scourges of our people.....with your solemn faces, you stand there unassailable and say : 'it is the will of the gods that the widow must live in misery and despair'. I tell you, more tears have flowed from the eyes of the widows of our land, than waters from the Ganges into the sea ! But that does not move you ; sooner will the lofty glaciers of the Himalaya melt, than the icy coat of cold indifference round a Brahman heart..."

"Sobbing, she left the room."

"The Brahman stood there, deeply agitated, but at the same time a feeling of freedom came over his heart. 'From the lips of this woman,' thought he. 'the truth has been shown to me, and the truth will conquer and must conquer. I see redemption dawning upon us. But she does me an injustice. From this hour I am no longer a Brahmin, but a man'.

The first thing he now did was to take his meal with Krishnadas—a thing which he had so long scrupulously avoided ; then he confessed his love for Gopa and asked for her hand :

"I always loved you, Gopa, but I know it only a few days ago."

"The maiden lifted her happy eyes, leaned upon his shoulder, and whispered, 'I always loved you, and always knew it'."

The last thing that Ramchandra did was to break his sacred cord, as the last outward sign that bound him to his caste. This did not mean, however, that he renounced his religion. To the priest who said 'Next we shall hear that Ramchandra, the learned Brahman, has accepted the Christain faith,' he replied, "Oh no, rest assured I shall not become a Christian."

But when the priest, whom he had so far shown the greatest deference, commanded him to leave the outcaste Krishnadas and his house, with a calmness quite unexpected he replied :

"Only those should give commands who have power to compel their execution. You weaklings have allowed this power to be taken from your hands ; the Sahibs rule the land."

Then the priest cursed him and said, "May you never find redemption"

"Redemption ?" Ramchandra cried, "I have found it. There is but one in India, the redemption from the fetters of your delusion, from the soul-smothering bonds of Brahmanism."

Krishnadas was now the happiest of fathers, for Gopa was to be married (evidently under the Civil Marriage Act) by the Judge with Ramchandra whom he so dearly loved. He said :

"You are young.....and may live to see things change in our land, I shall not ; and it is not necessary. Having once partaken of such happiness as has been mine today, I have not lived in vain."

And the Judge Mr. White, turning to Ramchandra, said :

"You do not know yet what I owe *you*. You have restored in me the belief in your people, which I had lost. In you I see the future of this country"

This brings the story to an end, leaving the reader to ponder, in the year 1933, how far Mr. White's best wishes for the future of Hinduism have been fulfilled since Dr. Garbe wrote the book in 1896, and how many Brahmans since then have been redeemed, in the sense in which the author uses the word.

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HENRY DEROZIO : THE TEACHER-PATRIOT

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

I

HENRY Louis Vivian Derozio died in Calcutta on December 23, 1831, at the age of 23. In this short period he rendered immense service to Indians. Though of mixed descent, he always regarded India as his motherland. His poetry breathed deep love for India and her ancient culture and muse.* To the world outside he is known as a poet and a journalist.† His services to India, however, consisted chiefly in his work as a teacher in the Hindu College of Calcutta (1826-1831). His teachings moulded the life and character of the boys of the College. Some of these boys became pioneers of religious, social, political and intellectual movements in the country in after life.

Derozio was a brilliant alumnus of David Drummond's Dhurrumtolla Academy in Calcutta. In annual examinations he often stood first in recitation, reading, geography and other general subjects.§ In those days examinations were conducted with great pomp. The elite of the city, including the editors of newspapers, were invited to these functions. In the annual examination held on December 20, 1822, in the Academy, Derozio's recitation was very successful and excited the applause of the audience. The editor of *The India Gazette*, who was present on the occasion, wrote :

> The English recitations from different authors, were extremely meritorious, and reflect great credit upon the scholars and the teacher. A boy of the name of DEROZIO gave a good conception of Shylock ; and another fine little fellow, named EDWIN TURNBULL, gave Portia's appeal, and the speech on Mercy, with appropriate gesture, feeling, and correctness of accentuation. Colman's humorous Vagary of the Poetical Apothecary, was recited also by DEROZIO, and with capital ludicrous effect.... It was an interesting sight to behold the Native children sitting side by side with the sons of Europeans. This is as it should be. The Natives begin to duly estimate the value of education. Those who are educated together must contract kindly feelings towards each other and this must in the end prove generally beneficial.*

It should be noted here that Derozio's kindly feelings towards his pupils—all Indians, were nurtured in his *Alma Mater*, the Dhurrumtolla Academy.

II

Derozio left Drummond's school in 18[illegible]. He then went to Bhagalpur, and became clerk in a mercantile firm. During his stay over there he pursued his studies further in English literature, history and philosophy. A poet by nature he culled themes from what he saw around him and composed beautiful poems. He was still in his teens when he returned to Calcutta to serve as a teacher in the Hindu College. Derozio was amiable in nature, and had a sweet voice. His exposition of things was also excellent. He was not far above his pupils in age. It is no wonder then that soon after his appointment in the Hindu College, he became the beau ideal of its young learners.

Derozio's services in the College commenced in May, 1826.† In the pay-sheet of its teachers for January 1827 I find him stated as the fourth teacher and Rs. 100 against his name.§ We learn from the diary of Radhanath Sikdar that he took lessons from Derozio in English grammar, composition and poetry while he was in his fourth form.** This Radhanath Sikdar rose to be the Chief Computor of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India and discovered that Everest was the highest peak on earth. It is probable that Derozio later taught the boys of the second and third classes English literature and history.§ Besides Radhanath there were among his pupils such eminent persons as Sib Chandra Dev, Ramtanu Lahiri, Ramgopal

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* His sonnets "Why hang'st thou lonely on yon withered bough ?" and "My country ! in thy days of glory past" are illustrations to the point.

† Henry Derozio edited two papers—*Hesperus* and *East Indian*.

§ Two advertisements about Drummond's school appeared in *The Calcutta Gazette* of Dec. 25, 1817 and *The Government Gazette* of Dec. 31, 1818 respectively. In them were described the successes of the pupils at the annual examinations. About Henry Derozio we have :

Henry Derozio—First in Recitation, Reading, Geography, and general extraordinary acquirements at 8 years of age.

Henry Derozio—First Reader in the School and A Gold Medal remarkable powers in recitation, etc. (9 years of age)...

Walker's Elocution (prize)

* *The India Gazette* (Supplement), December [illegible] 1822.

† *Samachar Darpan*, May 13, 1826. *Cf. Samlochan Sekaler Katha*. Vol. 1. p. 28

§ *Hindoo College Proceedings*. Unpublished.

** *Arya Darshan*, Kartik 1291 B. S.

§ *Henry Derozio*. By Thomas Edwards. p. 30.

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Ghose, Raja Dukshinaranjan Mukherji and Pearichand Mitra. The Rev. K. M. Banerji, Rasik Krishna Mallik, Hara Chandra Ghose and Tarachand Chakravarty, though not strictly his pupils, were imbued with his teachings and became his friends.

Derozio loved his pupils dearly. He was impressed with the rapid progress they were making in their studies. He built high hopes on them. He believed that this noble band would one day bring honour and glory to their country. Derozio wrote a beautiful sonnet on his pupils, which shows, in vivid colours, the ideal teacher that he was :

Expanding like the petals of young flowers,
I watch the gentle opening of your minds
And sweet loosening of the spell that binds
Your intellectual energies and powers, that stretch
(Like young birds in soft summer hour),
Their wings to try their strength. O how the winds
Of circumstance, and freshening April showers
Of early knowledge,and unnumbered kinds
Of new perceptions shed their influence,
And how you worship Truth's omnipotence !
What joyance reigns upon me, when I see
Fame in the mirror of futurity
Weaving the chaplets you are yet to gain
And then I feel I have not lived in vain.*

III

In teaching Derozio followed a method which was not only interesting but also proved beneficial to the young learners. They have borne testimony to it in their writings. Radhanath Sikdar wrote in his diary :

Mr. Derozio was a very kind and indulgent teacher ; though often vain of his attainments, he was nevertheless a learned man. He first taught us the whole class the object and end of knowledge, an information which cannot be too highly valued ; and implanted that ambition of literary fame in my bosom which I am glad to affirm directs and actuates all my effort even to this day. He first directed my metaphysical studies and gave us those moral and liberal principles which I hope will ever influence my actions. Cut off in the prime of life, amidst innumerable projects for the reformation of India, his untimely death must ever be a matter of regret ; and it may be safely affirmed also that he has been the cause and the sole cause of that spirit of enquiry after truth, and that contempt of vice, which are so fashionable among the enlightened portion of the community, and which cannot but be beneficial to India.†

Derozio always aimed at instilling the spirit of enquiry into the minds of his boys. He wrote on one occasion :

Entrusted as I was for sometime with the education of youth, peculiarly circumstanced, was it for me to make them pert and ignorant dogmatists, by permitting them to know what could be said upon only one side of grave questions ? Setting aside the narrowness of mind which such a course might have evinced, it would have been injurious to the mental energies and acquirements of the young men themselves. And (whatever may be said to the contrary) I can vindicate my procedure by quoting no less orthodox an authority than Lord Bacon. "If a man," says this philosopher, "will begin with certainties, he shall end in doubts." ... ... One doubt suggests another and universal scepticism is the consequence. I therefore thought it my duty to acquaint several of the college students with the substance of Hume's celebrated dialogue between Cleanthes and Philo, in which the most subtle and refined arguments against theism are adduced. But I have also furnished them with Dr. Reid's and Dugald Stewart's more acute replies to Hume—replies which, to this day, continue unrefuted.†

H. L. V. Derozio

IV

Derozio did not instruct his pupils in the class-room only. Out of the college hours his

* Originally published in the first number of *The Kaleidoscope*, also reproduced in *The India Gazette* of August 10, 1829.

† *Arya Darshan*, Kartik, 1291 B. S.

† *Henry Derozio*. By Thomas Edwards. 1884. Pp. 83, 84.

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pupils and friends flocked to him to hear his discourses in the Academic Association or in Mr. Hare's school (now called the Hare school). The Academic Association, a debating club and perhaps the first of its kind in India since the advent of the British, was founded by Derozio, in 1828 or 1829. The Association met at first in Derozio's house; later it was transferred to Srikissen Singh's Maniktala Garden-House. Derozio's discourses in the Association on such subjects as fate, faith, the sacredness of truth, the nobility of patriotism, exerted immense influence on the minds of his pupils. These young learners started *Parthenon*, the first paper in English, ever conducted and edited by Indians. *The Bengal Spectator*, conducted by some of these pupils, wrote in its issue of September 1, 1842:

> About this time [early 1830] the lamented Henry Derozio by his talents and enthusiasm, by his unwearied exertions in and out of the Hindoo College, by his course of lectures at Mr. Hare's school, by his regular attendance and exhortations at the weekly meetings of the Academic Institution,* and above all by his animating, enlightening and cheerful conversation, had wrought a change in the minds of the native youth, which is felt to this day and which will ever be remembered by those who have benefited by it. It was then that the first native paper in English the "Parthenon," was put forth under his auspices. The first No. advocated the cause of colonization and that of female education. It condemned the superstitions of the Hindoos and prayed for cheap justice. It started the orthodox Hindoos, and their might and influence crushed it in the bud. The second number was in type, although it was never circulated. But the spirit of enquiry was not, could not be checked ... ... Half a dozen of Derozio's boys caused a fervent in society and gave the first shock to Hindooism. A strict and reverent adherence to what they were taught as their principles, an almost romantic attachment to what they deemed the spirit of truth, characterized these young men. There was indeed such a singleness of purpose, such a devotion to the cause of truth, such unflinching attachment to principle and such burning and pervading enthusiasm, that one might have predicted without extravagance, a revolution in the manners, the morals and religion of the Hindoos.

Derozio's pupils stood for truth, right and justice. They wanted to fight dogmatism to the finish, no matter from whatever quarter it came. The enthusiasm of some, however, ran to excess. They ate things publicly from forbidden quarters in defiance of Hindu orthodoxy. They went a step further. They became sceptics and lost all faith in established religions. Neither Hinduism nor Christianity was spared. In his auto-biographical sketch, the Rev. K. M. Banerjee wrote:

> The opposition they manifested to Christianity was nearly as decided as their antipathy to Hindooism. Several nights the subject of [illegible] sketch rambled in company with large bodies [illegible] friends in the principal streets in town, in order [illegible] throw the missionaries into ridicule, by feigning [illegible] to preach the gospel, and imitating their [illegible] pronunciation of Bengalee and their incorrect [illegible] of words and phrases in their language.*

Such conduct of the pupils was naturally resented by the orthodox people. They made Derozio responsible for this. An agitation was set on foot in the Hindu community against him which virtually caused his dismissal from the Hindu College. This happened on the 25th of April, 1831. Derozio wrote in reply to a letter from Horace Hayman Wilson, Vice-President of the Managing Committee of the College:

> If the religious opinions of the students have become unhinged in consequence of the course I have pursued, the fault is not mine. To produce conviction in their minds was not within my power; and if I am to be condemned for the atheism of some, let me receive credit for the theism of others. Believe me, my dear Sir, I am too thoroughly imbued with a deep sense of human ignorance, and of the perpetual vicissitudes of opinion, to speak with confidence even of the most unimportant matters. Doubt and uncertainty besiege us too closely to admit the boldness of dogmatism to enter an enquiring mind and far be it from me to say that "*This is*" and "*That is not*" when after most extensive acquaintance with the researches of science, and after the most daring flights of genius, we must confess with sorrow and disappointment that humility becomes the highest wisdom, for the highest wisdom assures man of his ignorance.†

V.

The period during which Derozio served the Hindu College was afterwards known as the "Derozian Period." With his departure from the college, its efficiency in teaching also fell. A person with the initial "W" wrote a letter to *The Calcutta Courier* in April, 1833, complaining of the miserable condition of teaching in the college. This led to a controversy in the papers, some supporting and others refuting the statements of "W." In the course of a letter, "A friend to the College" gave an account of the condition of the College in the time of Derozio. His estimate of Derozio's services to the college was almost thorough. He wrote:

> Your correspondent W. has drawn his conclusions from the state of thing, not as they were but as they *are*. Let him for a moment take a retrospective glance of what may with propriety be termed—*the Derozian period of the college*. The master-spirit of this young man, whose premature end will be deplored by every friend of humanity and of literature, called forth all the energies of the human breast. The charm of his eloquence nerved his young disciples to the most daring—yet

* A debating club over which Mr. H. L. V. Derozio presided for several years.

* *The India Review* for October, 1842. Also reproduced in *The Bengal Hurkaru*, November 1, 1842.

† *Hesperus, Heroines*. By Thomas Edwards. 1884, p. 8[illegible]

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the noblest acts doing what is unparalleled in the annals of any college, or even in the history of mankind. He infused into the infants the sternness of manhood, and taught them to sacrifice home and every kindred tie at the altar of Truth. Those who were near felt the violence of the times, and though his best friend applauded, yet that applause was not altogether unqualified : yet this one good was achieved—the Rubicon, that great moral barrier of Hindoo refinement, was crossed, and the triumph of reason and philosophy over ignorance and superstition may now be regarded as fixed and irrevocable.

To appreciate in a correct manner the rapid advances that education has made within the last few years, we need only to revert to other prominent facts connected with this eventful *Derozian period*. I shall point out a few of these. The *Parthenon*, a weekly moral and literary periodical, was got up under his auspices, and but for the friendly interposition of Dr. Wilson, who lamented its being a rather too premature production (a direct avowal this of an advance too rapid for the state of things), it bade fair to flourish, supported entirely by the contributions of the young students of the College. *The Academic Association*, another extremely useful institution, which has attracted the attention and elicited the applause of the first gentlemen of the place, was founded and fostered during his time and by him ; and despite the various efforts made to crush it at its bud, the spirit that animated its founder, continues to guide its operations to this day. A third work of his hand was the *Weekly moral and intellectual Lectures* given by him to the Students of College and other sister Institutions. I remember with feelings of pleasure the glow of enthusiasm visible on every countenance assembled on these occasions. Love, gratitude truth, honor, appear to have been the prominent features of his short but brilliant career ; and the spell that bound his pupils around him, served alike to animate them to almost super-human exertions. Those who benefited most by his instruction have brought themselves conspicuously forward ; some editing respectable periodicals, others aiding by contributions ; while a third class, moved by a congenial spirit, have spread themselves abroad and are benefiting their fellow countrymen by the establishment of gratuitous Seminaries, devoting thus not only their heads but their purse in the glorious cause of moral improvement...

One word more and I shall have done. In drawing our attention to the merits of the Hindoo College, I have been insensibly led into an eulogy of the late much lamented Mr. Derozio ; these have been so identified that, in dwelling on the one, I have not known how to separate from it the other.*

The spirit of enquiry Derozio infused into his pupils has come down to us and led us to acquire fresh knowledge every day with an open mind. Herein lies the greatness of Derozio—the teacher-patriot of the early nineteenth country.

* *The Calcutta Courier*, June 5, 1833.

COIN OF SAMPRATI MAURYA

BY K. P. JAYASWAL

CUNNINGHAM in his *Ancient Coin of India* has published a coin of the Taxila mint (Coin No. 20 on Plate II, opposite page 60). This coin has not been attempted to be read.

On the *reverse* the legend is in Kharoshthi and reads

(Line 1) स म्प्र (*Sampra*)

(Line 2) दि (di)

There is a *moon-on-hill* monogram of the Maurya dynasty placed on the top of a standard. The other symbol is of the four-quarters (चतुरन्त) ruling Empire by the standard the letter *di*. On the *obverse* side the coin has the same moon-on-hill symbol which started with the reign of Chandragupta and was a monogram on his name (*Chandra*, moon). There is a svastika below the monogram, as on Asoka's inscription at Jaugad, where it is placed on a standard. By the side of these symbols, there are two *aksharas* in Brahmi मौ and य्यौ (*Mauryya*), but the *yyo* is placed above *Maur*.

We have thus a second signed coin of the Mauryas. The earlier Mauryas gave only initials of their names on their coins which have been discovered at Pataliputra (Excavations). I am showing this in my book on Maurya coins.

I may add that the form *Sampradi* is correct, while *Samprati* of the Puranas, meaningless. The Divyavadana gives *Sampadi*.

Samprati (corr. *Sampradi*) was a grandson of Asoka. This coin and that of Dasaratha (already published) prove that both Dasaratha and Sampradi ruled, one after another, just as the Puranas state. That their empire included Taxila, like that of their grandfather, is now established by these frontier coins of Dasaratha and Sampradi, bearing legends in Kharoshthi, for circulation in Afghanistan and the neighbourhood.

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ESTABLISHMENT OF CLOSER RELATIONS BETWEEN KINDRED VERNACULARS

By DIWAN BAHADUR KRISHNALAL MOHANLAL JHAVERI, M. A., LL. B.

HIS Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda has recently sanctioned a scheme for holding, every year, a Conference in Baroda of Marathi and Gujarati writers of repute, for the benefit of the public. In accordance with it, the Vidyadhikari invites five scholars of each language to Baroda, and along with several other officers of the State, connected with the Educational Department, discusses with such scholars subjects bearing on the different branches of literature. The scholars are further invited to deliver lectures on some subject of their choice out of those determined at the Conference. Provision has been made for paying travelling and halting charges of the person invited to attend the Conference and also an honorarium to the lecturer. The scheme furnishes one more instance of the generous encouragement given to literature by His Highness. This year the time selected was the week beginning with 28th February, when His Highness' birth day celebrations were being held. Five subjects were selected for lectures, one of them being "Establishment of closer relations between kindred vernaculars." The others were: 1) Some thoughts on Gita: Principal A. B. Dhruva of the Benares Hindu University; (2) The critical edition of Adiparva: Prof. B. K. Thakore, B. A., I. E. S., (Retd); (3) Ideal of Indian Universities on linguistic basis: Mr. K. M. Munshi, B. A., LL. B.,—not delivered owing to illness; (4) Main tendencies of modern Gujarati literature: Mr. Ramanlal V. Desai, M. A.

The lectures were delivered in Gujarati.

The following is a translation of what the present writer said on the subject of the title of this article.

Out of the many vernaculars current in India, those that belong to the same gotra, *i. e.*, those descended from the same parent, have come to form allied groups. Hindi, Bengali, Marathi and Gujarati, for instance, have their origin in Sanskrit, and therefore form an allied group. The resultant advantage is that an individual speaking any one out of these four vernaculars finds it easier to pick up a working—if not an intimate—knowledge of any other or all the vernaculars of that group, than one speaking the vernacular of an alien group, *e. g.*, a Madrasi. A Gujarati or a Dakshni would more easily pick up Bengali or Hindi than a Tamil or Telugu speaking person from the south. The reason for this is that many words are common to each of the allied vernaculars, besides similarity in syntax, mode of thinking and expression of thoughts and ideas. On account of this element of commonness and similarity it is easier to establish closer relations betweet such vernaculars *inter se*, for literary purposes amongst others, than between them and those belonging to an alien-non-allied—group which have no common origin and lack contact linguistic and spotial.

Indians have an innate aptitude for studying foreign languages. Study of foreign languages has been their destiny for centuries. During the time of the Muhammadan rule, they had to study Persian, as that was the Court language and the language of their rulers. Indians learnt it so well that they became experts. They could write poetry, carry on correspondence in cultured style, and discuss such highly philosophical subjects as Sufism, most creditably in that foreign language. That was so all over the country, specially in the north, east and west. Then with the decline of the Mogul rule, our destiny became linked to the British rule, and for the last century and a half we have taken to the study of English and produced scholars of the calibre of Sir Surendra Nath Banerji, Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Shastri and the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale whose command of the language is unique and unquestioned. Aptitude for the study of languages, therefore, exists in us by nature. If we can study foreign languages so well, there could be no doubt that we can study Indian vernaculars with equal ease. The real question to consider is, what should be the means taken to facilitate their study. A few thoughts which have occurred to the writer, in connection with it, are set out here.

Out of the four vernaculars mentioned above two are near neighbours: Gujarati and Marathi, while the other two, Hindi and Bengali, though near neighbour to each other, are distant from graphically from the first two. Hindi had close contact with Gujarati in olden times. It possesses Mss. written in Vraj. Poets like Lallu Lal and Dayaram could write verses in Vraj. Dadu Dayal preached his Vani in Vraj, and the saints and sadhus who came to Gujaral in large numbers from the north also used Vraj. But that contact gradually disappeared. As for Marathi and Gujarati, their contact dates from the days when the former language began to be heard by the inhabitants of Gujarat on account of the conse-

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military expeditions undertaken by the Marathas to subdue the province. They constructed a fort at Songhad Vyara, their deputies began to take up residence in Surat, they created Thanas (military posts) at Baroda, Dabhoi and Petlard, in the heart of Gujarat; they began to dwell in Ahmedabad; and lastly due to their *Mulkgiri* and *Chouthai* raids in Gujarat and Kathiawad, echoes of Marathi began to reach the ears of the Gujarati. Although Persian was the medium of correspondence in political matters, and although Maratha officers stationed in Gujarat corresponded with the authorities at Poona and Satara in Marathi, still as they had to remain long in Gujarat, and as the language of the province was Gujarati, they could not ignore the existence of the language and had got to be acquainted with it. It is for this reason that many Dakshni families resident in Gujarat use very good Gujarati both in speech and writing. Similarly those Gujaratis, who have gone to the Deccan, for trade and other purposes and live in places like Poona, Dhulia and Nandarbar, and those who live in Thana and Bassein as natives of the district—specially the Agri Lad Banias of there—write and talk Marathi as well as the Dakshnis. Thus contact had long been established between these two vernaculars due to political and economic causes. In cities like Bombay where Gujaratis and Dakshnis reside in close proximity of one another or serve as colleagues in the same offices, they naturally pick up each orther's vernacular. However, what they talk is neither correct Gujarati nor correct Marathi. Gujaratis mostly employ Marathi servants, and a working knowledge of each other's language, such as would make his servant understand the master's needs on the master's part and such as would make the master understand the servant's needs on the servant's part, suffices for all practical purposes. It resembles the correct speech as much as the Pigeon English of the Chinese resembles the correct English of the Englishman.

This state of things shows one of the means to the end of the establishment of closer relations between the two varnaculars. It is a self-evident point, still requires noting, *viz.*, that if close relations between two vernaculars have to be established, then the speakers thereof should be brought into closer contact spotially and mutual intercourse for exchange of learning and ideas has to be established.

The fall of the Maratha power in Gujarat and the rise of the British power resulted in the termination of close contact between the Gujaratis and the Dakshnis. Excepting for those Dakshni families that settled in Gujarat and made places like Surat, Broach and Ahmedabad their home, those other Dakshnis who used annually to visit Gujarat and return to the Deccan at the end of the fair season, ceased to come, and thus the field of contact became circumscribed. Marathi found a permanent home only in one place, Baroda, and that also an isolated home, surrounded on all sides by Gujarati. Thus close contact between the speakers of the two vernaculars came to an end. It remains to be considered how it can be re-established.

Still the one means that is considered the chief and most important means of establishing closer contact between the two near vernaculars applies with equal force to all the four,—is common to them all. It is the suggestion that books, newspapers, periodicals, etc., published in these four vernaculars should be printed in Balbodh or Devnagri script. Marathi and Hindi have still adhered to that script. Gujarati has completely gone off it and Bengali partially. There is great advantage in having a common script. As mentioned above, there is commonness of words between these four vernaculars and also similarity in syntax and thought expression; therefore, if the script be such as could be read by all then it would not be difficult to follow the subject-matter of the writing. Bengali poems printed in Devnagri can be understood by Gujaratis and *vice versa*, Gujarati poems printed in the same script can be understood by Bengalis. Those Gujaratis who have settled in Calcutta and other places in Bengal, can testify to this. Gujarati quotations in the two books (1) Milestones in Gujarati Literature, and (2) Further Milestones in Gujarati Literature, published by the present writer have been printed in Devnagari with the object that those who can read Balbodh script may understand them. Diwan Bahadur Keshavlal H. Dhruva, who recently delivered a series of lectures in Gujarati under the auspices of the Bombay University has printed them in Devnagri script, as the subject of the lectures, पद्यरचनानीऐतिहासिक आलोचना, is from a literary point of view of importance not only to Gujarat but also outside the province of Gujarat. His object was that those outside Gujarat should avail themselves of the result of his researches, and as a a matter of fact, such outsiders have been making use of the scholarly publication. Old writers like Diwan Bahadur Ranchhodbhai Udayram also followed the same plan, and the Baroda State, so far as some of its publications,—*e. g.*, the History of Education by the late Manishankar R. Bhatt,—are concerned, uses the same medium, Further, the State Gazette (Agna Patrika) is printed in Balbodh. The argument advanced against the use of this script, is that thereby the vernacular loses its individuality; Gujarati printed in Devnagri is not Gujarati: it is so. Change of appearance does lead to some defect in its original form or shape: but that should not out-weigh the resulting advantages. Writers, therefore, in these four vernaculars would certainly be able to help the cause greatly by following the suggestion made in this direction.

H. H. The Maharaja Saheb has now made Hindi the court language, and thereby taking a most important step in the directon of establishing

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very close contact between Gujarati, Marathi and Hindi. His Highness' subjects, if they happen to be Dakshnis, have necessarily to study their mother tongue, Marathi, if Gujaratis, then Gujarati. In addition, Hindi being the court language, they both will have to study Hindi for reasons of state. The experiment, therefore, if successful, will certainly bring the three vernaculars very close.

If opportunites are afforded to those who speak these vernaculars to meet often, for exchange of thought, that would be an additional advantage. The present Conference is a concrete instance of it. They can at such Conferences, very easily find out, the common features between the vernaculars, their similarities and dissimilarities, and then consider, whether there is any room, and if so, in what way to bring about the desired object. They can take decisions on literary, social, scientific and other cognate subjects : further, prejudices harboured by one against the other would be removed.

Every province now holds its literary Conference (Sahitya Parishat). Marathi, Bengali and Hindi Literary Conferences have done and continue to do praiseworthy work. The permanent offices of the Bengali and Hindi Literary Conferences are doing great service to their own language and and literature. If authors and writers of allied vernaculars be invited to be present at the sessions of the Parishat of any particular vernacular that would do great good, but for that purpose the invited authors must make it a point to attend the sessions. To illustrate this, I would give only one instance. At the time the Gujarati Sahitya Parishat was in session at Lathi in Kathiawad during last (1933) Christmas holidays, the well-known Hindi speaker and writer Pandit Ram Naresh Tewari happened to come there. He was requested to attend and give the Parishat the benefit of his scholarship ; he agreed and for fifteen minutes held the audience spell-bound by his discourse on certain features of Hindi folk-lore, of which he is a deep student. He spoke in Hindi and drew a vivid picture of the poignancy of the grief of a doe whose mate had been shot and eaten by a King and of her appeal to the Queen to return at least the skin of the deer to her so that she might console herself by looking at it. The hearers followed him completely. If, therefore, this suggestion be adopted, it would result in some gain. Some such suggestion was once made at one of the previous Sessions of the Gujarati Sahitya Parishat, but nothing tangible came out of it. The suggestion, if adopted, will not surely lead to any harm. Such invited representatives may either discuss this very subject, of closer contact, or may deliver separate lectures and therein discuss the subject and invite exchange of views. If nothing else, the presence at least of such representatives would create curiosity, in the minds of the persons assembled, to know something about their language and literature. Even this awakening of interest would be a gain.

A common meeting ground can be arranged for persons living in the same town or city or passing through it. In Baroda there is the Central Library. In Bombay the Forbes Gujarati Sabha Mandir or the Dakshni Brahman Samaj Hall. The difficulty, however, is to create in people a desire to utilize such means, as, at present, one finds complete indifference thereabout.

Ideas and ideals of morality and immorality, liberty of thought and action, figure in different literatures in different ways. There is a clash between old notions and new, on these subjects. Realism is now coming into prominence. The portryal and evaluation of historical and Pauranic characters has also raised a controversy. Within what limits and to what extent can portrayers depart from the original source or materials, and where should they stop—these are some of the questions at present agitating both Gujarati and Marathi literatures. A common meeting ground would help their solution, as the original sources would be common.

The difficulty experienced owing to absence of suitable scientific (पारिभाषिक) terms in these vernaculars is a long-standing handicap to the spread and popularizing of education in scientific subjects through vernaculars. If scholars of these vernaculars can come to an agreement in this respect and prepare a vocabulary, it is bound to prove authoritative and can be easily used by all. In this way, something more than close relations would be established, as then there would be unity. The Hindi, Nagari Pracharini Sabha had prepared and circulated such a vocabulary sometime ago. The Bengali Sahitya Parishat had done something on identical lines. I do not know about Marathi. The late Prof. T. K. Gajjar had undertaken the task in Gujarati, with the help of His Highness' Government and seen it through. What is required is a sustained and systematic effort towards co-ordination.

Responsible literary bodies belonging to each vernacular should publish lists of their classics, so that the other vernaculars may know exactly which works are worth translation and which not. Mutual arrangements for translation of such works can be made.

In the Deccan, even though the States are not as large or rich as those in Gujarat and Kathiawad, their enlightened rulers wholehearted help the cause of literature. In Gujarat, H. H. the Maharaja of Gaekwad's generosity and wide outlook stand pre-eminent and act as a beacon light to others. If a leaf is taken out of H. H.'s book by other rulers in helping the fulfilment of this object, much can be accomplished.

These are a few suggestions which at present occur to the writer. Time alone will show how many of them can be or are acted upon with success, but, still, if an attempt be made to print books etc., published in the four related vernaculars

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Devnagri, it would facilitate the carrying out of that noble object, *viz.*, finding out a *lingua franca* for India, and making Hindi take the place of that common language.

His Highness the Maharaja Saheb cannot be thanked enough for devising such means as these to bring scholars of different languages together.

SO-CALLED SCIENTIFIC CRITICISM OF ORIENTALS

By DHIRENDRA NATH ROY, PH. D.,

Head of the Department of Philosophy, University of the Philippines

Of the various characteristics which have been ascribed to the people of the Orient—many of them designed to be in the form of criticism—the one that seems to be most appropriate is the lack of what is known as the scientific spirit. But in view of the usually admitted fact that orientals are in general philosophically inclined, this may sound rather paradoxical, unless the term "scientific" is proved to connote something antithetical to philosophical. If the end of science is to become philosophy, it is obviously impossible to establisb any antithesis between the two. But if science is regarded as an end in itself, there may be some such possibility, and the apparent paradox of the orientals being philosophical but unscientific may disappear.

Accepting the popular Spencerian meaning of science as partially unified knowledge, anyone may perceive its hypothetical nature from its own limitation. Scientific knowledge is rightly held as partially unified, because the collection of facts upon which knowledge is based can hardly be regarded as complete. Moreover, the facts that are thus collected give only a partial knowledge of them until they are studied in their relation to the whole reality. Each science builds its own little world of facts upon which it seeks to generalize. The truth of such a generalization may be established by the facts of this little world, but when one considers that these facts bear richer and fuller meaning in their relation to the facts of the vast outside one invariably finds it difficult to accept it as really established. This is why science leads to philosophy and does not oppose it. But science may oppose philosophy when its little world is all that it likes to recognize in testing the truth of its own generalization. Philosophy certainly admits the great value of scientific studies, but it cannot understand science when the latter claims its decision to be final.

The scientific spirit as revealed in such an exorbitant claim is clearly antithetical to any philosophical disposition. This spirit is found sometimes to go so far as to make itself positively harmful to the real cause of science.

In the case of any natural science such spirit, however, may not be so readily perceived, inasmuch as its generalization is based upon some facts of nature, and nature does not care as to what sort of opinion is passed upon it. Nature did not say anything when Ptolemy upheld his generalization about planets—the generalization which had long been the gospel truth. It was equally unconcerned when Copernicus proved that generalization to be false. But did not that peculiar scientific spirit reveal itself in that astronomical generalization which proclaimed its certainty and despotically sought to maintain that position ?

In the case of a social or rather humanistic science the so-called scientific spirit may be clearly visible. This is because its generalization affects men and men do not choose to be wholly indifferent to what is said about them. But science has an advantage peculiar to itself. It gives facts for its generalization and facts are very powerful for immediate influence over one's

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decision. Few are prepared to see through the game. For, these facts are very often collected with a hidden purpose and manipulated in a manner so as to compel the generalization already intended. The quaint and fantastic race theories of some 'distinguished' anthropologists might have been "scientific", because based upon physical differences, *viz.*, skull formation, skull content, facial bones, shape of the head, colour of skin, hair, and eyes, etc., but these have served very little of the real cause of science, inasmuch as physical characteristics are the most unreliable determinants of race divisions. On the other hand, when some person of that scientific spirit notices that those theories are merely convenient devices to flatter the theorists themselves and their kinsmen and to feed their national bigotry, he may try to uphold, with the same purpose, some counter-theory by means of equally scientific data. Of the many psychological theories of race qualities the one that is much talked of is the theory that maintains levels of race intelligence. Some races are generalized as superior in intelligence to some other on the bases of intelligence-quotient and statistics. When a person affected by this theory finds that the generalization invariably includes in the former group the theorist himself, he may become equally sensitive and try to prove the contrary, to his own advantage, in the same scientfic manner. The sociological theories of cultural levels, progress, and civilization have been upheld as scientific, while these may show to all reflective minds how each theorist has ingeniously collected facts to persuade others to feed his national egotism. While he recognizes some sort of natural divisions of mankind, he does not seem to feel shy of dogmatically upholding his own likes and dislikes as the sole criteria of other people's achievements and his own standard as the only measuring rod of all types of progress and civilization. There are certain fundamental ethical principles which, on account of their intrinsic value, have universal application. These are the acknowledged criteria of high moral life. So the same scientific spirit is found to play its part in the fatuous generalization about a whole people or race as morally depraved from some individual instances of failure to observe such principles. On the other hand, to please itself it may naively generalize about a people as highly moral from the instances of its individual members observing those principles, to a certain extent, within their own little group.

The absurdity of such theories or generalizations does not seem to strike those for whom these have some pragmatic values. On the contrary, they may try their best to uphold them neglecting or even hiding all facts that may be advanced against such theories. Reason fails because their will is determined. Only persons of similar scientific spirit may make them listen to another story,—persons who may collect, in an equally glaring manner, another set of facts to justify a contrary theory. They may listen and be temporarily silent about their own pet theories, but they will not like to admit that their theories are wrong until and unless they have tried all possible means to disprove the contrary and found themselves unsuccessful. Evidently, what is passing at present for scientific spirit is that confirmed habit of generalization upon facts without due regard to their adequacy. Science may thus define itself as an unusual attempt to generalize and to generalize, in a good many cases, with a hidden motive.

A little reflection upon the points described will show that science in this sense is a misnomer and the so-called scietific spirit is positively dangerous, if not suicidal. No real scientific spirit can ever think of admitting in the laboratory the idols of Bacon.

If we have hitherto endeavoured to describe the points in the abstract, it is because many ugly things are being done in the name of science,—things whose awful meaning may not be clear to all of us until the true nature of this science is exposed, and because it will now be easy for us to understand the mighty problem with which the Orient has been grappling.

And nowhere in the whole Orient is the problem so relentlessly exacting as it is in India and China. This is because these two countries represent two splendid civilizations which never yielded to the ravages of time and still refuse to yield, in their intrinsic values, to any upstart civilization. These two

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great countries have been turned into veritable laboratories in which any type of foreigners may come and investigate facts about the people or rather "natives,"—often without their knowledge and sometimes in spite of their protests—for some "scientific discoveries" most of which are usually more self-pleasing than scientific. The facts they collect are not what they find but what they look for and these too often without due regard to their quantity, time, place, and other circumstances so that the intended generalization may be justified. But even these facts may not have the same meaning for the foreigners as for the native people and hence, the former cannot be in a position to form a generalization representing the latter. Yet, hundreds of generalizations are ungraciously formed about the Orientals and then sedulously spread all over the world through books, newspapers, magazines, cinema shows, platform speeches, and pulpit orations. So the world has been educated to know the Oriental peoples and their civilizations in ways which are not only misleading but even insulting.

But in every case of such misreprentation the glaring array of facts, however magnified, gives it a scientific colour and hides its true nature. This is the age of science. The world likes to believe in anything that may be presented in the name of science, for science is the modern Pope, supposed to be infallible. This is why no amount of protest from the Orientals against such misrepresentation has been enough to impress the world. But the Orientals see and suffer from the injustice of it. They wonder how the world can accept the false stories of the foreigners who do not understand the meaning of the facts collected by them.

To give more concrete facts, it has been said and spread throughout the world that the Oriental people are very low in morals, superstitious, cruel, mean, treacherous, timid, conservative, and so forth. These ugly generalizations have been held before the world for a long long time and facts have always been available to support them. If at the beginning the facts were very few, the imagination was not lacking to make these highly sensational and thus impressive. Where imagination failed, the vastness and variety of the population helped, for no instance of human frailty is absolutely impossible to find in such a vast area of land with more than half of the world's population consisting of large heterogeneous types. Where even that failed, the long history of the Orient helped, for no people, however advanced in civilization, can, for all times and under all circumstances, keep itself free from some moral lapses or other, and the history of some of the Oriental countries being the longest known to the world may supply any required facts at some period or other. When all these ways are thus considered, one can easily understand how these generalizations have been supported by facts to make them scientific,—facts which the Orientals probably cannot deny and yet they sincerely believe that the generalizations are not true. But the world is given facts and it wonders why the Orientals should still venture to contradict.

While these generalizations have been thus working for a very long time in the mind of the world, no pains are being spared to discover, from time to time, new facts to preserve intact the world's impression already created. These new facts may be very few and far between but are certainly useful in confirming the old beliefs. Some of these facts may be picked up from those advertised a long time ago but are made fresh by new artistic skill in brilliant colouring, and the impression of the people is re-quickened. One can, therefore, well imagine what it really means to the Oriental people to convince the world that it has totally misunderstood them.

Take, for instance, the belief that the Orientals are of very low morals. This belief has become so deeply ingrained in the mind of some foreigners that it is clearly discernible in all their dealings with the Orient. We may mention in this connection the view of one of the world's most widely read European poet Rudyard Kipling as typical. Referring to the Oriental people to the east of Suez this honourable poet very impressively said that "there ain't no Ten Commandments." The motive of excluding the regions west of Suez from his pious attack is that these Ten Commandments are said to have originated somewhere on that side and he could not conscientiously attack

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the people of that sacred part of the Orient. The Ten Commandments, whether Mr. Kipling knows it or not, have never been unknown and unpractised in the land of the Buddha and Confucius, but they have been more in the form of principles than commandments. The Oriental people are by tradition not so used to commandments. A commandment, no matter from where it comes, has an autocratic significance—something imposed from outside, and is necessary only where people are morally crude and incapable of self-discipline. Mr. Kipling is, of course, both an effect and a cause. He was certainly not in all the countries he hits, but his sweeping statement is the result of his false education. As he has become very distinguished, although probably because of the nourishment derived from the same land of immorality, his statement has a great influence upon his readers. How can the world disbelieve a man whose literary craftsmanship has won him a Nobel prize? The Orientals naturally find it most difficult to convince the world otherwise. They know it is false and regret that a man like Mr. Kipling should say it. The only way they can consider him as not a liar is that "there ain't no Ten Commandments" for him and for other men of his type when they are east of Suez or speak of things east of Suez. The Orientals know it very well that there are foreign people who come to live among them without ever feeling the necessity of observing what they call their Ten Commandments. If Mr. Kipling means anything by his statement it is that he is one of these foreigners.

The same may be true of the other beliefs. It is said that the Orientals are superstitious. Of course, in a sense all people are more or less superstitious. But to specify the Orientals, especially the Indians and the Chinese in general, as very superstitious,—people who have given the world some of the profoundest types of philosophy, studying freely, persistently, and deeply all the rich varieties of cosmic mysteries and social problems, people who still cultivate such studies with unflagging enthusiasm,—is most ungenerous, puerile and ridiculous.

The Orientals are said to be cruel. But the facts of history do not seem to support it. They are not the descendants of the Vikings or Buccaneers. They have never sought to immortalize any bloody conquerors, tyrants, or marauders. Their tradition has not been desecrated by holy crusades and inquisitions. They have never sought to exterminate smaller and weaker races. On the other hand, they proudly trace their descent from saints and wise men. They have uncompromisingly sought to discard violence in thought, speech and action. They have sincerely acknowledged other people's right to believe and worship in their own way. They have always discountenanced oppressing smaller tribes and that is why these are still so plentiful in the Orient. Why, they have shown the world that by cultivating good feelings even the fierce denizens of the forest could be made to forget their cruel habits.

Are the Orientals mean and treacherous? If they really are or used to be, no foreigners could ever think of establishing themselves in the Orient. The proverbial hospitality of the Orientals is inconsistent with any kind of meanness. It is rather the indiscriminate generosity of the Orientals that has brought about their present misfortune. Time and again the foreigners, under the very shelter of some Orientals, proved faithless and intriguing and yet they were forgiven because they were guests. It was the spirit of extreme generosity, almost bordering on imprudence, that could trust a foreigner with a most responsible official position upon which rested the welfare of the people, and that was why an Italian Marco Polo could be a Governor in China. Had the Orientals been a little more inhospitable, it would certainly have been a real blessing for them. They would have been, then, suspicious and cautious in their dealings with the foreigners and thus prevented the latter, while there was time yet, from carrying out their wicked designs. The result is that the Orientals are now the pariahs even in their own lands. The foreign guests have shown their gratitude for the generous hospitality of the Orientals by seeking to rob them and having robbed by going even so far as to put the Chinese and dogs together out of their pleasure parks built in China. Why, the Orientals must

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obligingly receive in their own countries those foreigners and never interfere with their free movements,—the very foreigners who, in their own generous spirit, may proudly shut their doors against all Orientals by openly branding them as undesirables.

Similarly, it is not difficult to show the various other humiliating generalizations about the Orientals as unjust and cruel. If they are regarded as timid, it is because they have shown an undue spirit of patience and tolerance in the face of deliberate interference and brute aggression. A long tradition of cultured life invariably chastens the man and consequently he hesitates to express his violent passion even when bitterly annoyed or wantonly attacked. This spirit may be aptly described by the popular Indian saying, "If the dog bites you, you must not bite the dog in return." But this very spirit of self-restraint in the case of extreme provocation has been misinterpreted. Besides, the moral value of humility, as recognized by the Orientals in their daily life, cannot be understood by those for whom the greatest heroism lies in the exhibition of violent spirit.

And lastly, the Orientals may be considered as conservative, if by it is meant firmly and tenaciously adhering to those principles which are honestly held as very ennobling. They have a sort of traditional dislike for that hypocritical show of "civilized" life in which practice and profession are consciously set at variance. If certain principles are undeniably recognized as good, why should human life be ever lived contrary to them simply because they happen to be old? But probably the term "conservative" is taken here in a negative sense, *i.e.*, unprogressive. Yet, to generalize a people as unprogressive without first satisfactorily defining progress is no sign of scientific thinking. And who can give a standard definition of progress knowing it well that the progress of a people is determined by its own ideal and different peoples may have different ideals? Whether or not the Oriental people are progressing can be determined only by the fact whether or not they are struggling to realize more and more their own ideals. If it must be admitted that the Orientals have failed, in this sense to progress at the present time, it is because of the countless hindrances placed before them by those who are pleased to call them unprogressive. The Orientals have been using the best of their energy to resist these hindrances in the path of their progress or it could certainly have been used in the direction of greater realization of their ideals.

There is hardly any need of taking up some more generalizations of the kind we have just studied to show how unfairly these have been used to describe the Oriental people in general. But this is just what the authors of those generalizations do not like to understand. On the contrary, they seek new facts which, if available, are presented in lurid colour so as to divert the mind of the world from such explanations against them. The unfortunate Orientals are quite inexperienced in this peculiar game. Besides, there are two characteristic virtues in their life which seem to serve as obstacles in the way of their desire to counteract the effect of misrepresentation. Firstly, they are extremely shy of advertising themselves and singing eulogies of their own qualities. When they have to advance facts in support of their own qualities they seem to feel rather small and as such very hesitant. Secondly, they do not see any virtue in the profession of looking for other people's faults, since they know that they themselves are not perfect and should spend their time in freeing themselves from their own faults. They do not like to judge others as bad, for they do not like others to judge them in the same way. So they have observed silence for a long time, even though they have been aware of such worldwide misrepresentation. But this very silence has worked against them, for it has been misconstrued as the impossibility of the Orientals to deny those generalizations. The world has, therefore, taken them as true. And when in their dealings with the world they find how awfully and egregiously it has been impressed and prejudiced against them through misrepresentation, they can no longer help being restless and seeking some way to counteract its effect.

Nor is this all. They notice to their great helplessness that this persistent policy of misrepresentation has made the greatest possible contribution toward minimizing in the

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eye of the world the enormity of what may be rightly called as the most relentless aggression in the various spheres of Oriental life, especially political, economic, and religious. Every act of aggression or rather oppression is so skilfully whitewashed with the pretext of "carrying civilization" that if there happens to be any Oriental courageous enough to raise his voice of protest he is regarded as a silly agitator or as a dangerous extremist and if he gives real facts describing the incredible sufferings of the people these are regarded as nonsense.

What should the Orientals do then? They have tried every way consistent with their high ideals of life to correct those false and humiliating ideas about them, but none has proved successful. The cruel spirit of aggression has found these too useful to be given up. On the other hand, the long practice of vilifying the Orientals has so hardened the Occidental spirit that it no longer makes any secret of maintaining that the Orientals are not civilized. So the "carrying civilization" policy is justified even though it is causing awful sufferings to them. With miseries at home and humiliations abroad they find it now all but impossible to observe those noble principles which constitute the very essence of civilization. They find it impossible to observe them any longer in their relation with those who take advantage of their goodness and strike them without the least humane feeling. By long cultivating the inner goodness of life in all its outward manifestations the Orientals have become so good that they are about to be good-for-nothing. They know that *Ahimsa* (non-violence) of the Buddha, *Wu wei* (non-assertion) of Lao-Tze, and *Jen* (universal good feeling) of Confucius are undoubtedly the highest principles of civilization. Having known them as such they have been struggling, for more than twenty-four centuries, to realize them in life and have certainly made considerable progress in that direction. But it is this progress of the Orientals which, instead of inspiring the people who are still very crude in the inward refinement of life to emulate, has rather encouraged them to indulge in the worst crudities in their relation with the former inasmuch as there is little danger of being served in the same manner. That progress has necessarily stopped. But the Orientals could not immediately descend to the crude state of life and so have tried in vain all the peaceful ways of persuasion. Can they still continue to act in this way? How can they? Their increasing miseries and humiliations are making their lives almost impossible and it is simply the natural law of self-preservation that suggests to them that they must turn back and rebarbarize themselves.

This seems to be inevitable, however the wisdom of the Orient may deprecate it. For the Orientals have learnt from long experience that the higher values of life acquired by them through a long cultural tradition, cannot be appreciated and assimilated by those people who first began to talk about civilization not very long ago and are still guided by the principles of tribal life. The difference between the life that seeks to realize all great principles in their universal application and the life that satisfies itself by trying to apply them only within the little group of its own kind, is rather too great. It seems the Orientals have not thought of considering this difference in their dealings with others. Naturally their ways have been misunderstood and abused. To make themselves understood, therefore, they have to turn a little way back and adopt the old tribal spirit in all their international outlook of life. Then they will have so many things in common with others that there will be less difference and more understanding. This is quite in accordance with the common saying, "The best understands others when they show their teeth." It may be called an unfortunate retrogression but it seems to be the only alternative to living death.

Does it not seem quite assuring to the suffering Orientals? They have right before them a very glaring example,—that of Japan. This beautiful island country of the Orient was a faithful disciple of India and China. From her teachers she was deeply engaged in the problem of realizing, in all her activities, the higher values of life—those upheld by the Buddha, Lao-Tze, and Confucius, when, all of a sudden, some uninvited guests appeared and in their characteristic manner told her she was uncivilized. This strange kind of treatment from those who hardly tried to understand her things naturally disturbed her and as

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turned around watchful and suspicious she noticed, to her great fear, the growing helplessness of her neighbouring countries on account of the awful treatment meted out by the same kind of strangers. In order to prevent such a fate from overtaking her she promptly turned her attention to the strangers to understand their strange nature. From the struggles of her unfortunate neighbours she learnt the need of assimilating the spirit of the strangers and when she fully demonstrated it in her bloody encounter with the Russian she was readily understood and recognized as civilized. She is now so overflowing with that civilization that she intensely feels the duty of carrying it to all other peoples and is already on her way to fulfil the task. There can be no more criticism against her, no unscrupulous generalization; for she is only following the trodden way of what has been carried on in the name of civilization. She is now a great country, her children are a great people, and the world is bound to listen to her. This is what she knows and nobody can openly deny it. Her success, indeed, is remarkable. The question is not whether it is for her ultimate good or bad nor whether she has become what she is by choice or necessity, —the question is whether or not she has averted the dire fate of her great teachers India and China.

Naturally the temptation is great, if not irresistible, for the whole suffering Orient. Prostrate India still speaks of the spiritual values of life. China has too long been a sort of foot-ball to others and has been kicked enough to force her to lay aside, at least for some time, her Confucius, Lao-Tze, and Mencius and be prepared in the manner of Japan, to let herself be recognized as civilized.

And these, India and China, are the only two countries which have trodden for millenniums, on many a devious path of life-values to ultimately arrive at those that are universally applicable without prejudice to anyone. Other ancient countries fell in their journey, leaving footprints to warn future travellers against the pitfalls of a narrow tribal outlook. But neither the experienced voices of India and China nor the solemn warnings of the fallen ancient countries, like Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, Persia, Greece, and Rome seem to be impressive enough to stop the present madness of brutalizing mankind. India and China are being forced back to it under protest, for they still maintain that it is a sad reversion from civilization and once they get into it there is no knowing what would be the fate of the life-values which they still consider to be the best for mankind and for which they struggled throughout their history.

KEY TO THE FRONTISPIECE

A battle took place between Ballal Sen, the King of Gaur, and the Yavana Chief Vayudumba in 1091 of the Saka Era. Ballal Sen took a pigeon with him. Before he set out, he said to the women of his family:

"If the pigeon returns before me, you shall know that I have fallen in the fight. Only then you may observe *Jahar* (that is, plunge into fire and die)."

Ballal Sen won. On his way back the pigeon suddenly slipped off his hand and flew away. Ballal rode as fast as he could, and reached home only to see the last flames of the fire. This proved too much for him and he died by plunging into it.

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THE WATERS OF DESTINY

BY SITA DEVI

IV

PRATULCHANDRA'S home broke up, but the eternal current of life flowed on as before. Man's life and death are but bubbles on this stream. They appear and they burst, but who is there to notice it.

Three days passed. The three people in the house were busy, each with his or her own sorrow and problem and had no thought to spare for the others. Subarna wept and shrieked. She dashed her head now and then on the threshold of Narayani's room. The women from the neighbouring houses were there all the time, they looked her up, attended to her and tried to comfort her to the best of their abilities. Narayani's sister sat in a corner, wrapped up to her eyes. She seemed to have lost even hunger and thirst. Sometimes she would count the beads of her rosary and sometimes she would weep and now and then she would even discuss her return to her own home, leaving this abode of sorrow behind. What Pratul thought, none knew. He had no friend, no person to whom he could talk. Alone, in the house, his cheerless days passed on somehow. He tried to read, but his mind wandered. Now and then he would stare at his daughter with a strange light in his eyes. But the sight of the child never seemed to give him any pleasure ; for he would turn away his eyes very soon. He seemed to feel bitter to the very core of his being. The change in the girl was too much for him. Where was that beauty, which had led her grandmother to call her Subarna (gold) ? He had cherished high hopes about her training and education. But to what a plight had the girl been reduced ! She had neither health, nor education, nor any strength of will. She would cry out, if hurt beyond her endurance, otherwise she would suffer on in silence, like a dumb animal. Such was her life. She knew that there was such a thing as fate, but she had probably never heard of man's free will, which can fight against fate even. Such was Subarna, the only child of Pratulchandra, and such perhaps she was destined to remain to the end of her days. If the foundation is all wrong, one can hardly expect a magnificent edifice on it.

On the fourth day, as soon as Subarna opened her eyes, her aunt approached her and said, "You cannot go on like this for ever, my dear child. You must do everything that social usage demands. Today is the fourth day after your mother's death, you must perform your mother's *Sraddha*, you being her only child."

Subarna looked at her with eyes full of despair. "How can I perform it, aunt?" she asked. "I am penniless."

"Listen to the girl," said her aunt. "Nobody expects much pomp or magnificence from you. But you must do at least the minimum, enjoined by the Shastras. Call a priest and arrange about it and I shall ask your father to give you the requisite money."

"Very well," said Subarna, sitting up.

Her father at once supplied her with money when asked to do so, but he did not express any opinion about the coming ceremony. The priest was called, and the last rites were finished very simply.

In the evening, as Pratulchandra was sitting in his room, his sister-in-law came in and sat down on the threshold. He got up in a hurry and said, "Why do you sit there? Get up and sit in a chair."

"Don't trouble yourself," said the lady. "I am quite all right here. We are not used to chairs much. But I have come to discuss things with you. What has happened, has happened and there is nothing to be gained by grieving over it. You must think about your home now and arrange about it."

"I have not much of a home left now," said her brother-in-law with a sad smile. "For when your sister was alive, my home had ceased to exist. I shall send back Subarna to her husband's and start for Calcutta myself. When do you want to go? If you tell me I can arrange about it."

"First you must take Subarna to her husband's house, then I may go. Otherwise the house will remain empty. Besides you will have to arrange about your house and property here."

"I suppose, I shall have to," said Pratul. "But these things can wait."

They had not noticed Subarna, who had come in quietly and was sitting behind her aunt. Suddenly she cried out, "Father, please father, don't send me there." Her voice sounded like a wail of despair.

Her father was taken aback. "What ill-omened words are these!" cried her aunt. "You don't want to go to your husband's house? Where do you want to go then? Is there better shelter for any woman, anywhere?"

Subarna began to sob aloud. "If you send me there, they will bury me alive", she said between her sobs, "they won't let me live."

Pratulchandra's heart burned with rage and remorse. To this plight had his only child been reduced ! She was dazed with fear, and unable

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defend herself in any way, tears her only weapon. Our girls receive only this training, the training to suffer. Their human strength to fight against odds is rarely developed.

But Subarna was still crying and her father's thoughts came back to her, instead of straying further. She never spoke much to him, but now she must be made to explain herself. He could not clearly understand why she was behaving like this.

"Why do you cry like that?" asked Subarna's aunt. "All women have to suffer something at the hands of their husbands' people. At first you have got to submit to it. Afterwards when you will become the mistress of the household, things will be different."

"But I have run away from their house," said Subarna, "they will surely kill me if I go back now."

"Why did you run away?" asked her father.

"Mother was dying, yet they would not let me come," said she.

"My mother-in-law said it was a lie. What else could I do? As soon as she sat down to count her beads, I ran away. The boatman knew me, he agreed to row me over, when I told him that you would pay him his fare."

"Really, what else could the child have done?" said Subarna's aunt. "Was she to refrain from seeing her dying mother even? Her mother-in-law is a real fiend. But my poor child, you must submit to your fate now. Perhaps they will abuse you. You must be patient and listen silently. But you must never think of staying away. Your father himself will take you, perhaps that might appease them a bit. Everyone wants to be on good terms with rich relatives."

Pratulchandra maintained an angry silence. So he would have to come down to the level of those people! Subarna went on sobbing. She did not say whether she would go or not.

"The time is inopportune," said her aunt, "or we would have tried to bring about peace, through such presents."

"Don't think about these things now," said Pratul bitterly. "I shall take her there to-morrow. If they welcome her, well and good. Otherwise some other arrangement would have to be made."

"What other arrangement could you possibly make?" asked his widowed sister-in-law. "Since she has fallen into their hands, she must try to put up with them as best as she can."

Subarna left the room, still weeping. Her aunt followed her soon after. Pratulchandra was left alone in the darkness with his thoughts.

Next morning, preparations began early for Subarna's departure. Her face was swollen with continuous weeping, but she had no longer any strength to oppose her elders' will. When no one listened to her crying she submitted to her fate and prepared to go. Her aunt was cooking in the kitchen, Subarna sat by her, helping her with small services.

Subarna had come away only in the dress she was wearing. So she had not much packing to do. But she had to take away some things with her. Pratulchanda called Subarna's aunt to him and said, "Sister, give Subarna all her mother's dresses and ornaments. They would be of no use, if left here, and would only get stolen. These things rightfully belong to her, so let her have them."

But the widow was a wise lady. "Do not give them all to her, at once," she said. "Those two trunks contain things that are worth a lot. The ornaments alone will fetch three thousand rupees. I propose to give half to her now, and half afterwards in instalments at opportune times. You don't know these people, they are not as simple as you think. But we have been dealing with them for years and know them thoroughly."

Pratulchandra smiled and said, "Very well, do as you think best. But the remaining half must remain in your charge, and you must send them to her, whenever you think fit. If I take them to Calcutta, they would get stolen all the same, as the place I live in is nothing but an inn."

"All right," said the widow, "I shall look after them. My house is a brick-built one, so there is not much danger from thieves. Besides, my nephew is a very strict man, and nobody dares to play any tricks with him. He can make the cow and the tiger drink at the same pond. Let me finish the cooking first, then I shall sort out the things and pack them."

The cooking and the eating too, were finished very quickly. Subarna's aunt opened Narayani's trunks and began to divide the contents into two parts. The more costly things she kept back, and packed others into one trunk, which Subarna was to take with her. Subarna put on a dress, belonging to her mother, and got ready to start. Her heart was full to bursting with sorrow and fear, still she was trying to gather courage in her mind.

Pratul had decided to come back in the evening, after seeing the girl to her home. His sister-in-law would remain in his house till his return and start for her home afterwards. Pratul had decided to leave his house and property in charge of some relative and to go back to Calcutta. The village seemed to stifle him.

A bullock cart was brought and the luggage piled into it. Subarna bowed down to her aunt and got in too. It was morning, still some of the darkness of night seemed to linger on the earth. The sun could be seen and felt very indistinctly. Pratulchandra refused to use the bullock cart. He took his umbrella in hand and began to walk by the side of the cart.

It did not take him long to reach the riverside. A boat was ready, waiting for them. They had to wade through knee-deep mud to get into the boat. Very few people could be seen by the river, as none cared to be too near that destructive current. Two or three persons, who happened

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to be there on business, looked on silently at their departure.

The cremation ground of the village was situated close by. Certain portions of the bank had disappeared due to erosion. As soon as she saw the place, Subarna cried out in agony, "Mother, oh mother, where have you gone away leaving me alone?"

"Please stop," said her father. "What is the use of crying over something that is past and cannot be remedied? Better prepare yourself for the trials that are still before you."

The boat advanced slowly. There was nothing but water on every side, rushing past them, with terrific noise. It sounded like the din of destruction in poor Subarna's ears. But there was no one to whom she could unburden her heart. There was no one whom she could really call her own. Her mother was dead, her father was a stranger to her. The few people to whom she was bound by social ties, behaved like butchers to her. She was alone and helpless, the Bhairabi was not more terrible to her than the world. She had nothing to cling to, she did not know where the stream of destiny was carrying her.

It was nearly afternoon, when they reached Bhatgram. The sky had cleared up a bit by that time. Here too, the riverside was deserted. But a boy, belonging to the caste of fishermen, approached on seeing their boat. Pratulchandra got down and asked, "Can you get a palanquin for me, my boy ?"

"There is no palanquin hereabouts," said the boy. "But if you want a bullock-cart, I can fetch Chhidam's. Where do you want to go ?"

Pratul told him his destination. The boy grinned, and ran off to fetch the cart. Subarna got down from the boat, and stood on the slippery path with her veil pulled down over her eyes. Her father, with the help of the boatman, brought out all her luggage. "Please wait here an hour," he told the man, "I shall return by that time."

The cart arrived. Subarna got into it, and her father walked on by its side, as before.

V

It was a cloudy day. So the village street was mostly deserted. Pratulchandra met only two or three people, as he walked on. Everyone looked at the cart with eyes full of curiosity. Nobody in the village knew Pratulchandra, and Subarna was sitting inside the cart, all huddled up, with head bent down, so that it was not easy to distinguish her features. So everybody went on conjecturing about them, after seeing them pass by.

The cart came to a stop before a house. Pratulchandra looked at it carefully. It did appear to be the home of a fairly well-to-do family, according to village standards. The outer room was brick-built, the rest having mud walls with thatches of straw. The straw had been recently renewed. The front door was of strong thick panels. It was closed from inside.

Subarna got down from the cart with trembling steps and stood by her father. Pratul looked at her, the child's face had turned white with fear. He stroked her on the head soothingly and said, "Why are you so frightened? I am here with you. does not even that give you any confidence ?

Subarna gulped back the tears that were threatening to come out in a stream. The memory of her past sufferings were yet too fresh to be forgotton. Nobody had ever tried to protect her. So, though she heard her father's comforting words, she gained very little assurance from them.

Pratulchandra knocked at the door. Subarna seemed to feel the blow on her own heart. She felt faint, with fear and excitement.

The door opened with a jerk. A young woman, dressed as a widow, looked out from behind the half open door, with an enquiring glance. First she gazed at Pratul, who was standing in front. Next her glance passed on to Subarna, who was standing behind her father, veiled to her eyes. A crooked smile appeared on the woman's lips and she turned away her face, shouting to someone within the house, "Please strike up the band, the princess has returned from her travels."

Next moment she shut the door on their face with a bang.

"Do you see, father ?" asked Subarna, in a voice choked with tears.

Pratulchandra's face had turned red with anger. But he controlled himself somehow and said, "Very well. But don't get too much frightened. I shall see the matter through." He pushed the door open again, which had not been bolted. The woman had disappeared. He dragged in Subarna by the arm and pushed her towards the inner courtyard, saying, "Go in, you have a right to enter. You have paid dearly enough for it. They cannot cut through such ties, merely by shutting the door in your face."

Subarna advanced trembling. Pratul looked up and met the eyes of a young man who was standing by the outer room. His eyes were full of hostile curiosity. As Pratul looked at him, the young man lowered his eyes. This must be his son-in-law, thought Pratulchandra. He forced a smile to his lips and said, "Open the door, please. Am I to stand on the road all this while?"

The young man looked a bit embarrassed and ran to open the door. Pratul pointed to the luggage inside the cart and asked, "Where are these to be taken to ?"

"How shall I know ?" said the young man.

"Are not you Shribilas ?" asked Pratul.

The young man nodded in assent. "I am Subarna's father," said Pratulchandra. "Who else have brought her back, as you see. Who else tell me what I must do with these things ?"

Shribilas looked at him foolishly. He

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not give any answer. He bowed down to his father-in-law sheepishly and muttered, "Sit down please."

A pair of wooden bedsteads could be seen in a corner of the room, covered with a white sheet. A few bolsters were scattered on it here and there. In another corner stood a small table and a chair. This was the room in which Shribilas studied. Pratul dragged the chair forward and sat down. He looked at his son-in-law and asked, "In which year are you now?"

Shribilas looked rather annoyed and muttered, "I am in the second year of my college."

Pratulchandra was about to ask him something again, but a sudden shriek of fear from Subarna interrupted him. He got up hastily from his chair and came out of the room. At the same moment, Subarna ran out into the yard, pursued by a woman who had a broom in her hand.

Pratul cleared the few steps from the verandah to the yard at one spring, and caught hold of the broom, which the woman had raised again to strike Subarna. "What is this? What is this that you are doing?" he cried furiously.

The woman made a face, and shrieked at him. "How did she dare to show her burnt face at my door? Get out of my house, at once, else I will cut her in two with my fish chopper."

Pratul pulled away the broom from her hand and threw it away. He pushed Subarna behind him, thus covering her with his own body. Then he spoke to the woman again, "What are you saying? Was it such a crime to go to see her dying mother?"

Shribilas's mother, for the woman was none else, shrieked again like a lunatic, "Oh dear, dear! Like father, like daughter. So you have come to explain away her conduct and to show me the right and the wrong? Where have you been so long? I never saw any father of hers up to this time. A bride from a gentleman's family runs away at night, and you have the face to tell me that it was no offence? In which land have you been living?"

"That is immaterial," said Subarna's father. "I want to know whether you are going to take her back."

Subarna's mother-in-law waved her hands in his face, saying, "No, I won't. Get out of my house with your daughter. How dare you threaten me?"

Shribilas, too, had come out of the outer room, and had been standing on the verandah. Pratulchandra turned to him this time and asked in a tone of suppressed rage, "Is that your opinion, too?"

Shribilas looked at his mother. He was about to say something, but thought better of it, and remained silent. Subarna had collapsed on the ground and she was weeping. Shribilas looked at her, too, and frowned. "Have you got nothing to say?" asked Pratul again. "After all, it was you who married her."

"I have nothing to add to what my mother has said," said Shribilas. "Take away your daughter."

"All right," said Pratulchandra. "It will be a pleasure. If I had to leave her with you, I would have regarded it as a calamity. But understand that this going away is final."

He pulled Subarna up from the ground. The iron bracelet (the emblem of wifehood in Bengal) on her wrist scratched his hand. He looked at it for a moment. Then he pulled it out with a jerk and threw it at Shribilas. "I accept the fact that my daughter has no husband," he said; "a woman can never be married to a clod of earth."

Shribilas's sister shrieked wildly in rage as discarding the iron bracelet by Subarna symbolized the death of Shribilas. Pratulchandra passed out with his daughter. The cartman outside was nodding drowsily on his seat. Pratul gave him a push and said, "Get up. We must go back again."

Subarna got in, Pratulchandra followed her. The cart started with a jolt.

They reached the riverside in a few minutes. The boatman was amazed to see Subarna back again, but he did not have the courage to ask any questions. The frowning face of Pratul silenced him. The luggage was removed from the cart to the boat and the driver was paid off.

Subarna sat in the boat all huddled up and weeping. Only God knew what a storm raged in her heart. She felt with her immature mind that the greatest calamity in a woman's life had overtaken her. She had heard from her childhood and seen it too, that a gentlewoman could have no other home than her husband's home. She had lost this shelter for ever today. Where was she to go now, how was she to pass her days? She looked into the future and could see nothing but darkness. Her eyes filled against her will, and the terrible pain in her heart found relief in tears. A woman can only weep and blame fate.

Pratulchandra approached her and tried to comfort her. "Why are you crying, my little mother?" he asked. "Be glad rather that you are rid of those heartless butchers for ever."

"But what will happen to me, father?" asked Subarna.

"Why, everything can happen now," said her father with a smile. "If they had taken you back, that would have meant the end of all happenings for you. I shall try to give you that sort of education which I had hoped to give before your foolish marriage. We shall have to begin rather late, but that cannot be helped now. You must forget all these things, and try with all your power to build up your own future. You must not object to anything and must not fear anything, neither must you grieve about anything."

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Subarna probably did not understand him fully. But this much she felt that her father was there and he was trying to comfort her. As long as he was alive, she would have a shelter. She wiped her tears and became calm. No tie of affection bound her to the family which she was leaving for ever. She was afraid only of social calumny, of being helpless and shelterless.

When they reached Jamral, the darkness of a cloudy evening had closed in round the village like a pall. Pratulchandra looked ahead in the darkness. "Can you get any sort of a light?" he asked the boatman. "It is impossible to walk in the dark."

The man had a broken hurricane lantern with him. It gave out more smoke than light. But as there was no other light available, this had to suffice. The man lighted it and they stepped ashore. It was too late now to hope for a conveyance. They called and shouted and at last got two men to carry their luggage. Pratul took his daughter by the hand and advanced carefully. The village lane was entirely deserted. Pratul felt glad of this. He was in no mood to talk to people, or to offer them explanations about Subarna's return.

Subarna's aunt was alone in the house. She had lighted a single lamp, with which to scare away all evil from the homestead. The greater part of the house was in darkness. She had eaten a frugal supper and had gone and laid herself down on her bed. She had kept awake, as she was expecting Pratul back. In the normal course of events, he would have been obliged to remain in his daughter's new home at least for one day. But here there was no such possibility. So Subarna's aunt had prepared some supper for her brother-in-law and had kept it by the kitchen fire so that it might remain warm. She was waiting for Pratul and was feeling a bit nervous. Only the other day, Narayani had passed out of this house for her last journey. The very thought was making her flesh creep. While in this world, human beings are tied together by the closest bonds of love. But once they step beyond its pales, the love is replaced by feelings of deepest dread. The widow could no longer dream of seeing Narayani again.

Suddenly somebody knocked at the door. Had Pratul come back already? What awful people were those? Probably they had not even asked him to sit down once. He had turned back the minute his work had been done.

"Wait a minute, brother," she called out, "I shall light the hurricane lantern and open the door. If I take out the other lamp, it will be blown out immediately."

She took out the matchbox from beneath her pillow and lighted the lantern. She wrapped her *sari* closely round her shivering body, and getting down into the yard, opened the outer door. "Come in brother, come in, what a nasty—" but she could not finish her sentence. She looked at Subarna, bewildered.

Pratul came in, followed by the two men who carried the luggage. "Come this way," he said to them, "and put those things down there."

They deposited the luggage as directed and went away, after being paid. The boatman, too, went away with his broken lantern, after receiving his fare. Pratul entered and sat down in the big room with Subarna.

His sister-in-law now spoke for the first time. "What is this brother?" she asked. "Why have you brought Subarna back?"

Pratulchandra had been untying his shoes with bent head. He did not raise his head as he replied, "They won't take her back."

"How absurd, good God!" said Subarna's aunt, with her palm on her cheek. "Such awful people! they are just like butchers! Now what is to become of the poor girl?"

"Something good, I hope." said Pratulchandra. "If she had been left there, she would have had nothing but a dog's life."

His sister-in-law did not understand him fully. Still she said, "you are quite right brother. They are called gentlefolks by courtesy alone. But what is done is done. Now wash your hands and faces and take some food. I hope the rice will be sufficient for you both. Else I shall give you some ripe fruit"

But the supper was enough for them. Both the father and the daughter were too exhausted after the day's happenings to desire to eat much. They just touched it, and retired for the night. Subarna herself swept the floor and made up the beds. She also prepared betel leaves for her father and fetched some drinking water, in case he wanted it during the night. "Shall I put up a mosquito net for you, father?" she asked.

"No, my dear", said her father with a smile. "I don't want it. I could never sleep inside one."

"She is very useful for her age", he remarked, looking at his sister-in-law.

"So she is," she replied. "Else that demon of a mother-in-law would have killed her long ago. Strict mothers-in-law are a boon in one way, though they do torture the girls."

"But cannot one be taught to work through a more humane method?" asked Pratulchandra.

Subarna's aunt remained silent for a while. Then she said, "I must go away to-morrow brother. I only hope my home has not fallen into wreck and ruin by this time."

"I too shall start to-morrow", said Pratul. "So you can easily go away then."

"Are you going to Calcutta for the present?" asked the lady.

"Yes", said Pratulchandra.

VI

Next day, the bustle of preparation began here from the morning, Subarna's aunt cooked

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a hasty breakfast and served it to her niece and Pratul. She took some also herself, as one cannot start on such a long journey on an empty stomach. She had only a small tin trunk with her, so her own packing was easily finished. It took longer for Pratul and Subarna. As they were not coming back to their village home, they decided not to leave anything there. Everything that could be taken away to Calcutta was packed up by Subarna. The rest of the things, such as cooking utensils, furniture, etc, were deposited in a neighbour's house. Pratul wanted someone to remain in the house, but he did not manage to secure any one, in such a hurry. He decided to settle the matter from Calcutta. For the time being he engaged a man of the barber caste to look after the house at night. The man agreed to do so, when offered a salary of four rupees monthly.

Subarna's aunt started first. She did not have to cross the Bhairabi to reach her village, so a bullock cart was called for her. A woman of the village was to accompany her. She too arrived soon, ready for the journey.

Subarna burst into tears as she bowed down to her aunt at the time of parting. She was the last representative to Subarna of the familiar world, she was leaving behind. She had parted for ever from the other persons, she used to know. Her mother, the dearest and nearest, had left her for ever. Subarna did not know her father. His grave face, his serious words had made him an object of awe to Subarna. Still she was not a young child, she was thirteen and not a dull girl. She understood that her father was the only relative left to her, and he was the well-wisher of Subarna. Still her heart was ready to burst with grief at the thought of parting from her aunt.

Her aunt too wept. But she wiped her eyes soon and addressed Pratul thus: "I don't know what to say to you brother. I wonder what is in store for you with such a daughter in your hand. A girl is but an evil in the shape of a child, you can expect only misfortune through her. And her unfortunate mother, too, died at such an inopportune time."

She turned next to Subarna and said, "Don't weep my child, it is no use weeping. If your luck is good, your husband's people will change their minds. Have your trust in the gods, and never let your father suffer any pain on your account."

Pratulchandra did not say anything. A cynic expression stole over his features, as he listened to his sister-in-law. Subarna parted from her aunt still weeping, and the bullock-cart started.

Then they prepared for their own journey. As they had a large amount of luggage, they had to call three carts. A few neighbours had collected there, to see them off. Pratul took leave of them shortly and got into a cart, with his daughter. The man, whom he was leaving in charge of the house, came and took away the key from him.

Subarna sat, with head bent down. The life with which she had been familiar was ending today. An unknown future awaited her. She did not want to look anybody in the face. Her breast heaved with suppressed sobs. Her father was her sole refuge now, but him she did not know. She had never even heard him spoken of by her own mother. Her mother and sister-in-law had mentioned him frequently, but in such terms that Subarna had not learnt either to love or to esteem him. She had heard that her father was not a good man, that he did not walk the way of the righteous. She did not know what he intended to do with her. But whatever his intentions, she would have to submit to them. She had no other option, as her husband's doors had been shut against her for ever.

They had a long journey by boat. This kind of travel was nothing new to her, so she did not even want to look around. Besides, the terrible aspect of the Bhairabi only gave rise to a feeling of dread in her mind. She was feeling sad enough, as it was, so she spread a mat inside and laid herself down on it. After a while, she fell asleep. Pratul sat at the same place, throughout the journey. Thoughts crowded into his mind from every direction and he did not know what to decide.

After a long while, they reached their destination, which was a village containing a railway station. They had to wait another hour here for the Calcutta train. Getting down from their boat, they hired two carts for their luggage and themselves, as the railway station was situated at a distance from the river. Before starting for the station Pratul asked Subarna if she was hungry. In that case, she could have something from the sweetmeat shop close by.

"No, father," said Subarna, "I am not at all hungry." So they started for the railway station.

Subarna had never been in a train. She had not even seen a train ever. The few years of her young life had been spent in the two villages—Jamral and Bhatgram. She had to go from the one to the other in boats. So she had never had any occasion for travelling by trains.

It was a small village station, and passengers were few. It had a platform, covered with red gravel, and a few tin sheds. Even this looked strangely beautiful to Subarna. "Good heavens," she thought, "what a crowd! I wonder where they are going. And what an uproar! What was that man in a turban? How strangely he was speaking. Was that Hindi?" Subarna had never even heard the Hindi language. And who was that woman with him? Perhaps his wife. What a funny way of wearing the *sari*, with such tucks in front!" It seemed very masculine to Subarna, and a smile appeared on her lips. Pratul was busy purchasing the tickets

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and disposing of the luggage. He had also a wire to send to Calcutta. After finishing all these, he came and sat down by Subarna. She was still staring at the upcountry woman. "From which land does she come, father?" she asked, as soon as she saw Pratul.

Pratulchandra smiled at the question, "Why? Haven't you ever seen a Hindusthani woman?" he said. "Well, let us reach Calcutta, then you will see all kinds of people that live in this world."

Subarna's eyes glowed with pleasure. Hitherto an iron-load had seemed to rest on her mind. She had even forgotten to smile. Many years ago, she had once laughed aloud, in her husband's house She still remembered the furious flood of abuse that greeted her laugh. "Have you ever seen a gentlewoman showing her teeth like this?" her mother-in-law had shrieked at her. "You are braying like a donkey. What sort of a mother have you got? Didn't she ever teach you how to behave? If you again bare your teeth like that, I shall knock them out all." After that, Subarna had never smiled again. Not that she had very many occasions for doing so. Her mother-in-law and sister-in-law took good care of that.

Her heart was trembling with fear now, as she was standing on the threshold of a new life. Still, she could not but feel that the load on her mind had become much less heavy. Her father was a serious person, but he answered her, whenever she asked a question. If she laughed, he never threatened to knock out her teeth for that. She hoped that she would lose all feelings of fear and diffidence about him, after a while, if they stayed together.

The train was seen advancing towards them. So she had to go by this? Her heart seemed to freeze with fear, as she looked at the huge iron monster. She had never seen such a thing. She never knew that a vehicle could move so amazingly fast.

Pratul shook her by the arm and cried out, "What are you gaping at? Get in at once. It stops only for three minutes here."

Subarna came to herself and ran along with her father. Each car looked full to overflowing. Where were they to get in? The train stopped only three minutes. Alas, alas! they would never be able to get in this time.

Her father pulled open the door of a compartment and said, "Get in, quick." She got in somehow with his help. The coolies began throwing in their luggage in great haste. Subarna was suffocating with anxiety and dismay. Oh God, what was going to happen? The wretched coolies barred the way and would not let Pratul enter. Was the train starting? Subarna was the only girl in the compartment, the rest being male passengers. Oh, what was going to happen to her, if, perchance, her father was left behind?

But at last the suspense was over. Pratul got in after pushing a coolie voilently out of his way. The train started the same minute. The coolies ran along the platform, shouting for their money. Pratul gave them whatever they wanted, without haggling over it. He was too busy then to think of such small matters.

The compartment was only half full. Two of the benches were full, on the third there was only one old gentleman, lying down. As soon as he saw Subarna getting in, he sat up and gathering together his bedding, made room for her to sit down Subarna sat down, but she remained silent and motionless like a statue as long as her father did not come in.

"Why do you crouch like that?" asked her father, sitting down by her side, "There is plenty of space, why don't you stretch your limbs a bit? You will have to remain in this carriage till ten at night."

Subarna now felt more at ease. The old man asked Pratul, "Are you going to Calcutta, Sir?"

"Yes", replied Pratulchandra. The old man perhaps wanted to continue the conversation, but Pratul was not a talkative person. He spoke very little even with acquaintances, while before strangers he was totally dumb. So replying to the old man in a monosyllable he turned his back on him, and stared out of the window. He remained in this position for nearly two hours, without moving. Once only he turned to Subarna and said, "If you are feeling hungry, tell me. You had only a hasty breakfast in the morning."

But Subarna did not need any food. She had forgotten hunger and thirst in her first thrill of looking at a new world. She leant on the window gazing with all her soul in her eyes. She had heard of the world, but had hitherto, seen very little of it. Only two small villages, and Bhairab the terrible, these comprised her world. She did not know that such a vast place existed beyond. She did not know that it was so strangely beautiful. Her heart filled with amazement and expectation. She wondered what else was before her to see.

The train stopped at wayside stations, and Subarna's amazement grew apace. What a crowd of people, and what a din! She began to feel without understanding fully that not only this world, but life as well was vast and mysterious. It might contain many things, besides oppressive and tyrannical relatives and unkind husbands. Subarna did not know what these things were, but unconsciously she was preparing to welcome those strange guests of her future life.

She was gradually getting drowsy, through the constant motion and sound produced by the wheels. Her father looked at her and asked, "Do you want to lie down for a while?"

His old fellow-passenger was glad at having another opportunity to speak. "Yes, yes," he said, "Let the child lie down, she must be very tired."

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I shall go and sit on the other bench, it is half empty."

Saying this he got up and went away to the other bench. Pratul moved away, thus leaving space enough for Subarna to lie down. She did so, and was soon fast asleep.

They were nearing the end of their journey. He could see from a distance the whole sky lit up with the glow from hundreds of lights of the metropolis. It was like the waving aloft of a proud banner. Pratul pushed Subarna and said, "Get up, we are nearly there now."

Subarna got up hastily. She looked out with eyes still laden with sleep. Whence came such a glow of light and such noise? She felt rather bewildered. "What is this, father?" she asked.

"That is the Howrah station," said her father. "Is n't it very big?

Subarna looked at it agape. She had never dreamed of anything so vast. She could not believe her own eyes and ears. Was she going to live in such a place? How many people of her village had seen such a sight, she wondered. If she ever went back to Jamral, she would tell everybody about this and make them stare with wonder. She began to feel proud at the mere anticipation.

But as the train came to a stop by the platform, she felt her limbs shaking with fear. So she had to get down amidst this sea of people. She did not know where she was to be carried away. She felt her ears going deaf.

Pratul looked at her face and could understand what was going on in her heart. He smiled and said, "Don't be afraid. Let the porters take out the luggage first, then we shall get down. There is no cause for alarm."

Subarna sat crouched in a corner of the bench. The porters rushed in and began to carry down their luggage. Pratul ordered them to carry the things to a taxi. As he saw that the crowd had thinned somewhat, he took his daughter by the hand and got down from the train.

But Subarna could scarcely walk. She clung to her father's arm in desperation. "Why do you feel so alarmed?" asked her father. "You must not mind Calcutta so much. Afterwards you may have to go to England, even."

Subarna did not speak. She knew that the Sahibs and the Mem Sahibs lived in England. Beyond this her knowledge did not go. But sufficient unto the day was the evil thereof. She was too upset by Calcutta to think about her future voyage to England.

Pratulchandra dragged her along somehow and put her inside the taxi. "This is called a motor car," he told her; "you will see, how fast it goes."

Subarna was looking all round her with eyes full of wonder. Her eyes had never beheld such strange and wonderful sights before. When the taxi came to a stop before the house in which Pratulchandra had his rooms, Subarna still felt disinclined to get down.

The house was a three-storied one. The ground floor and the first floor were occupied by the lodgers. On the second floor, there were only two rooms and there was no kitchen. For this reason, the second floor remained without a tenant for the greater part of the year, as a family cannot do without a kitchen.

Pratul had wired to the manager of the lodging house, to get these rooms for him. He could not live on the first floor with the other lodgers, as Subarna was with him. But it would be difficult and very expensive to hire a separate house and have an establishment for themselves. These two rooms would suit him perfectly. He could remain aloof, yet have all the advantages of the lodging house.

The manager had at once engaged the rooms on getting Pratul's wire. Pratul climbed up to the second floor and saw that all his furniture and things had been moved into the larger of the two rooms. The smaller room, too, was not empty. There was a small bedstead and a clothes-horse there. Both these pieces of furniture were new. Most of the lodgers were asleep by this time, a few had gone out to enjoy the theatre or the cinema. The manager, the cook and the servants welcomed Pratul and Subarna.

"I have bought these two things for your daughter," said the manager. "Else the child would have been put to much inconvenience."

Subarna started at hearing herself referred to as the child. She had long since forgotten that she was a child.

"You have done quite right," said Pratul. "I forgot to tell about these. But you must not sit up any more for us. Go and lie down. The servants will see to our needs."

The manager went down. The servants untied their beddings and made up the beds in the two rooms. Then the servant and the cook brought their supper upstairs. They spread small carpets on the floor, and arranged the dishes and glasses of water nicely in front of them. Then they remained waiting.

Subarna had forgotten long ago what it was to be waited upon. She felt very glad, yet shy, at the same time. Was her future life going to be like this? She wondered.

(*To be continued*)

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A NEOLITHIC SITE IN THE SATPURAS

By DUNCAN GREENLEES M. A. (Oxon.)

INDIA, from Himalaya to Comorin, is divided on the West between plain and plateau by the hills that flank the Tapti and Nerbuda. These hills,—the Vindhyas, Mahadeos and Satpuras,—are still partly covered with remains of the ancient forests that once made them so impassable a barrier that, north and south, the Aryan and Dravidian nations grew together almost wholly ignorant of one another.

Their denseness in those days provided quiet retreats for Rishis and ascetics of every kind, and they have also been in every age the sanctuary of races driven by more highly cultured rivals from the fertile plains. The stories of the Epics and Puranas speak of these forests as the lair of Rakshasas, who often grievously harassed the saints at prayer and sacrifice. Although we think of Rakshasas as demons, in those times at least they were looked upon as wholly physical in their nature, though often with strange powers and bestial in their form.

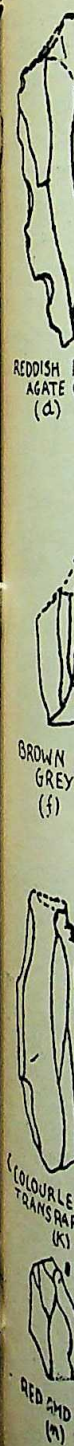
Who, then, were these Rakshasas ? It seems more than likely they were really the earlier savages, who seemed barely human to the civilized races who drove them from their hunting-grounds into the dark and fearsome forests. Such savages would very likely raid the homes of unprotected sadhus and steal the meats of sacrifice, and the comparative ease wherewith the Aryan heroes could destroy them also points to their lower state of culture. These Neolithic men, if this surmise is correct, displaced by the rising waves of civilization, were probably ancestors of those same "jungly tribes" whose life and customs today are but little removed from primeval savagery.

Casually wandering on these lonely hills, the scientific traveller of today has, from time to time, found arrow-heads of flint and agate, and other implements of the harder stones, still lying where they fell from the long-still hands of these ancient men. In Bundelkhand and Mirzapur great numbers have been found, in sandy gravel, at times with pottery and skeletons, and in many parts of India they are common, though I do not know of any specimens hitherto published from the Betul District of the Central Provinces.

Come with me into that district. Crossed by the Tapti Valley, with its still-densely wooded banks in the heart of the Satpura Range, it is still known as one of the most backward tracts in India. A great part of the people are Gonds, an interesting and picturesque race, who speak a Dravidian tongue allied to Tamil, and education away from the larger centres is a thing unknown. A yet earlier racial stratum survives in the Korku folk, whose language is of the primitive Munda family, known also among the Santals of Bengal. These may well be the descendants of the lost Neolithic people of Central India.

In the midst of these forest areas is the sacred place known as Baraling, from the twelve lingams cut in the rock here beside the River Tapti. If you climb the steep hill at whose foot the temples nestle, and pass the Korku "devasthan" on the summit, (a red-smeared rock, surrounded by five red flags with a yellow banner flying over-head,) you will come on the northern side to a flat ridge looking down upon the Gond village of Chichthana. This ridge is about 200 yards long and some 30 wide, and almost bare of trees. The rocky core of the mountain protrudes in places above the surface, which is clad with a hard gravelly sand, lightly covered with grass.

Here, at the southern end towards the river valley, which winds some six hundred feet below, I came upon a number of stone implements, apparently of Neolithic dating, lying on the surface of the ground. Out of some fifty which showed distinct signs of human workmanship, picked up in less than an hour, I select sixteen for illustration, these being typical and most clearly artefacts. These drawings are made life-size, so that they may give the best idea possible of the objects



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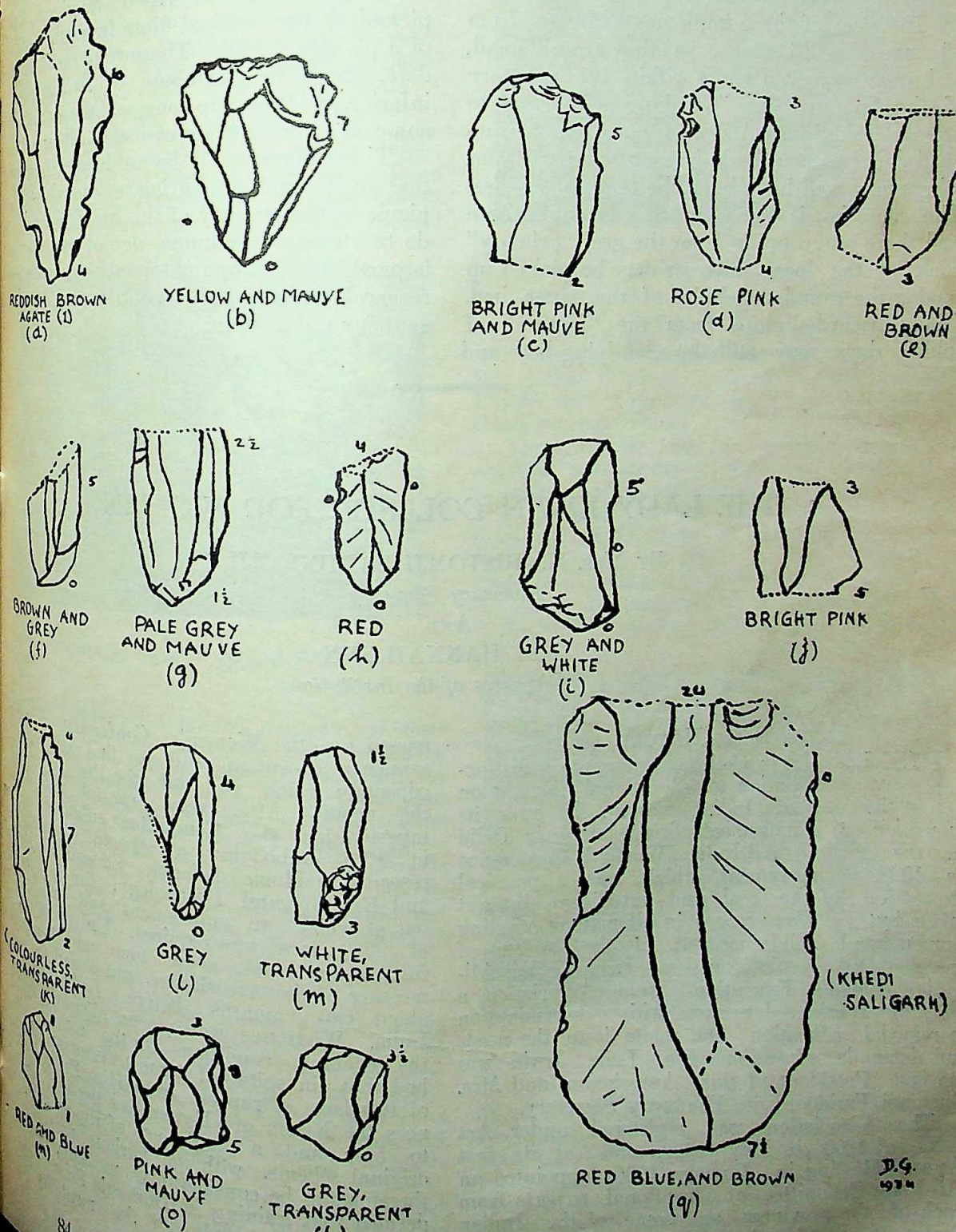
BARALING NEOLITHS

THICKNESS IN MILLIMETRES AT BULB AND POINT



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themselves, but it is a pity they cannot be reproduced in colour, for some of them, made of local stones, are of great beauty. Their hues range from a chocolete striped in fawn, through salmon to a lovely veined pink, and several are struck from colourless transparent stones and seem cut in glass or crystal.

The sizes of these implements range from 13 mms. to 46 mms., so they are all small, and some may even come within the category of the "pigmy flints," so long a mystery to pre-archæologists. A few seem to be arrow-heads, several may be knives or scrapers, and others may well have been the teeth of scythes. The material is such as may be found here and there outcropping from the grey "primary" rock of the local hills, or may be picked up among the rounded pebbles of the river bed. Many discarded chips from the "factory" of olden days may still be seen lying here and there on the ridge. Perhaps it was once the home of a family, high above the river's uncertain floods and easily defended from the tigers and leopards that still haunt the hills today.

About two miles from this spot, towards the large village of Khedi Saoligarh, I also picked up two worked flints from the surface of a ploughed field. These *may* be of similar date, though the technique of striking is far inferior. I illustrate one of these also, for comparison with those of the Baraling site.

There must surely be an immense amount that amateurs, even during a casual walk or picnic in the country of this ancient land, can do to increase our knowledge of its past. It is partly in the hope of stimulating some such research work that this contribution has been sent for publication.

THE LADY IRWIN COLLEGE FOR WOMEN

By Mrs. H. RUSTOMJI FARIDOONJI
Honorary Secretary
And
Mrs. HANNAH SEN
Directress of the Institution

A Brief History

THE Lady Irwin College represents a distinctive contribution to educational thought on the part of Indian women. It owes its inception to a movement first started in Delhi at the Second All-India Women's Conference in 1928, a movement which was a practical expression of the real and intelligent interest taken by the Conference in all matters affecting women and children. Out of the welter of speeches and resolutions there emerged the All-India Women's Education Fund Association, a body of experienced workers with a determination to remodel education and relate it to the needs and demands of Indian life. Lady Irwin was the first President of this Association and Mrs. Rustomji Faridoonji its Honorary Secretary.

The Association was registered under Act XXI of 1860 in May 1929, and at its first Annual Meeting in January 1930, appointed an All-India Committee of educational experts from each of the provinces and some of the Indian States to enquire into the several resolutions passed by the Women's Conference as regards women's education and to find out a type of education which will suit the life and needs of the people. After very careful and detailed investigation, this Committee submitted a report in 1931 embodying a scheme of study and research in Home Science, Educational Methods and Experimental Psychology, for the carrying out of which an endowment and building fund of 22½ lacs was required. Unfortunately, this full enquiry took some time and the general meeting of the Association sanctioned the scheme about two months before Lady Irwin left India. What was worse, soon after her departure the economic conditions in the country got so bad that in spite of a most generous donation of two lacs of rupees from His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad the fund amounted to four and a half lacs of rupees only. The original scheme, with its various proposals, had therefore, to be considerably modified, and it was decided that training in Domestic Science, coupled

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Indian child, promised the greatest measure of success and should be taken up immediately. With that ideal the Governing Body started the work of the college in November 1932 in spite of their small income. The college was formally opened by His Excellency the Viceroy in March 1933.

Aims and Ideals

The college provides courses of studies in Home Science as a fundamental step towards enabling the Indian woman to liberate the power of Science in her home, to add the beauty of Art to that home, and, conserving the best in Indian tradition, to raise society to a healthier and wider level of life and thought. It seeks through its trained teachers to carry the message of Hygiene and the Science of Living to every province and village in India. The method

Experimental work in applied Science

suggested is that these trained teachers on their return to their own provinces will train the primary teachers in the simple rudiments of Hygiene and Domestic Science in the vernacular. Later on, the Secondary teachers could be trained with a more advanced course and thus carry on the training with the help of new teachers as they passed out of this college right up to the University course and thus introduce this most necessary training for women in the education of Indian girls.

The Courses of Studies

The courses of studies cover a wide range of subjects intended in part for the efficient teacher and in part for use in home and civic life. A special Teachers' Course, with a year's training in Methods and Psychology, runs parallel with the Home Courses of one year and two years arranged specifically to meet the needs of wives and mothers.

In addition to the usual Domestic Science subjects of Cookery, Laundry, Housewifery and Needlework, the Home Course syllabus includes Elementary Anatomy and Physiology, Dietetics, Hygiene, First Aid, Home Nursing, Mothercraft, Eugenics, Gardening, Book-keeping, Civics and

Cookery class

Child Psychology. But the Teachers' Course is still more comprehensive and higher in standard, for it has a place reserved for the Sciences—Physics and Chemistry, pure and applied, Biochemistry and Biology.

These courses lay a strong emphasis on practical and laboratory work, and include visits to places and institutions of educative value. The practical side of the training is further developed, and a sense of responsibility aroused by the series of House Duties assigned to students in rotation, which entrusts to their care the entire management of the institution. Most of the visitors to the college have admired this

Laundry class

unique and useful feature. The Dean of the Department of Home Economics of the Kansas State College, during her short visit to Delhi, remarked that she had nowhere before seen the practical side of Home Science Training worked out with such thoroughness.

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The twin arts of music and dancing also receive their due share of recognition. For among the optional subjects are Indian music, both vocal and instrumental, and classical Indian dancing. The success of this section is guaranteed by the active co-operation and financial support of the Delhi Women's League, the Local Committee of the All-India Women's Conference. Already several trophies have been won at inter-collegiate competitions. Indian Painting, Shorthand and Typing are also taught.

Believing that no system of education would be complete and no syllabus of studies adequate, without some degree of physical culture, the college encourages the playing of games. Tennis, Badminton and Basket Ball are among the favourite forms of exercise. A swimming bath, attached to the premises, offers another enjoyable recreation. The Games Committee of the Students' Union keeps alive this ardent interest

Students Gardening

through tournaments and challenges to other Colleges. Periodical Medical examinations and the keeping of health record cards give added importance to the health and well-being of the students.

The Building

The college is housed temporarily at 1, Sikandra Road, New Delhi. The building consists of lecture rooms, work rooms, a library, the students' common and dining room, and provides also living accommodation for the students and members of the staff. Recently the All-India Women's Education Fund Association acquired an extensive piece of land on which it proposes to construct the main college block with its up-to-date laboratories and cottage homes. Those cottages, of many sizes and grades, will be the centres of experience for conducting homes of families differing in size and income. In these translating the knowledge of the laboratories into the practical needs of the cottages, the Indian women will learn to evaluate all sciences and arts in terms of the requirements of home and life.

Needlework class

A Plea

This new outlook on education, this brave venture, is a proud achievement. That the Conference continues to think along these lines is evidenced by the oft-repeated resolution which was once again passed at its last Session in Calcutta.

> "This Conference feels that there ought to be a re-orientation of the entire system of education in this country and is of opinion that government and private institutions should introduce vocational training immediately in schools and colleges."

By far the most important profession foreshadowed in the term "vocational" is that of the wife, mother and home-builder. It is a career that over 99 per cent of women have followed for centuries and which more than 170 millions of them in India pursue today. Any attempt to re-orientate education into a meaningful system must take into account the realities of life, its practical requirements. From everywhere comes the cry that female education advances but slowly and that the percentage of female students is regrettably low. If the desire to remedy this defect is sincere, if Indian women earnestly wish to awaken an increasingly popular demand for education, it is imperative that school studies be related to Indian homes and to the call of Indian citizenship. Home Science, in all its aspects in its limited and wider applications, demands attention as an integral part of all education. But the teaching and the study of this subject should be secured not merely through an All-India high grade institution, such as the Lady Irwin College, but by means of local schools and

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colleges making use of the trained teachers to adapt the courses to their varying needs.

This will give some idea to our friends in Bengal of the work that is being done by this All-India institution. In starting this scheme the original Committee specially wanted to avoid duplicating the work that was already being done in different parts of India and took up this one branch regarding which they were told that the need was great and the paucity of trained teachers hampered the work in the provinces. Money is badly needed for both the building and for the Endowment Fund. Subscriptions are so graded that the richest and the poorest can help this Institution if they desired. A Patron pays Rs. 20,000, a Vice-Patron Rs. 10,000, a Life Fellow Rs. 500 and a Life Member Rs. 100. Besides that, there are Annual Fellows paying Rs. 25 a year and Members paying the nominal sum of Rs. 5 a year. The United Provinces has contributed over Rs. 40,000 for the work of this college and the Governing Body appeal to educated Bengal which is in the forefront of all national causes to help this cause of Women's education.

Communicated by Mrs. S. C. Mukherjee, Hon. Secretary, All-India Women's Conference.

LABOUR POLICY ON INDIA

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

I have been much interested in reading an account of Sir Oswald Mosley's meeting in Stoke-on-Trent.

I do not propose to deal with his general statements about the failure of political parties to carry out their pledges and the need for reform of the machinery of Parliament. On many of these points we are all agreed, although we differ widely from Sir Oswald Mosley as to the remedies required.

What I do want to deal with is Sir Oswald's remarks on India—a subject about which he would admit that I do know something at first hand, after my many visits there, staying in Indian homes and trying to see things Indian through Indian eyes. Indeed, before going out to India, it was to me that Sir Oswald came for personal letters of introduction and recommendation to Indians, and he asked me in these letters to stress the fact that he was not only Labour, but Left-Wing Labour, and he then agreed that the government of India was a matter primarily for Indians.

Sir Oswald says that the Fascists are against the Government's Indian White Paper, root and branch. Well, we in the Labour Party are also against the White Paper, not, however, for Sir Oswald's reason that it is "the right and duty of Great Britain to remain and govern" in India, but because, according to Sir Oswald's own showing, we have not made such a brilliant success of the governing of this country that we should claim the "right" to govern India. How was this "right" acquired? The late Sir William Joynson-Hicks truthfully remarked that

"We conquered India as an outlet for the goods of Great Britain. We conquered it by the sword, and by the sword we should hold it. I am not such a hypocrite as to say we hold India for the Indians. We hold it as the finest outlet for British goods in particular, general, and for Lancashire goods in particular."

We believe that God has not yet made the people who are able to govern another people, and that freedom and the right to govern themselves is the right of all peoples.

Self-Determination

We fought a war for the self-determination of small nations. Indians ask why that self-determination should only apply in Europe and not in Asia. They are as much entitled to self-determination as is Belgium, or as we are. They had a civilization and culture while our ancestors were running about in their birthday suits decorated with woad.

Sir Oswald says it is our right to remain and govern because India owes everything to British rule. That is one of those sweeping statements so easy to make, but without any shadow of foundation in truth. He says it is our duty to remain and govern India because the withdrawl of British authority would result in a collapse into chaos and bloodshed. This is not the Left-Wing Labour point of view, but the Right-Wing Tory die-hard point of view. It is interesting to note that, speaking broadly, there has been much less chaos and bloodshed in the Indian States governed by Indian Princes than in British India under our rule—or, one might say, in Fascist Berlin and Vienna.

Sir Oswald says we possess today more effective and more humane instruments for the maintenance of law and order than in the past. Presumably Sir Oswald refers to our resort to bombing from æroplanes. All other civilized nations have expressed their willingness at Geneva to abandon this bombing from the air. We alone persist in our right to do so. We alone stand in the way of a convention which would put an end to it everywhere. If Sir Oswald considers bombing from the air a humane instrument, the Indians have another view.

Sir Oswald states that it is a profound illusion to suppose that our authority is challenged by the mass of the Indian population. If this really is his view, it shows under what profound illusions he himself is labouring. When Sir Oswald went out to India, I advised him to stay with Indians, in their

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homes, to whom I gave him letters of introduction. In that way he would have more chance of realizing their point of view. Indians are very suspicious of friends of Indian freedom whose headquarters is at Government House and who, naturally, are supposed to share the "official" views. Yet throughout the length and breadth of India Sir Oswald and his wife were mainly the guests of the Governors, by whom, no doubt, he was informed that the mass of the Indian population are quite happy with our government.

Sir Oswald goes on to say that our authority is challenged only by a small class who at every opportunity themselves oppress the Indian masses. That again is as untrue as it is sweeping. But it interests me to recollect that it was to members of this "small class," who challenge our right to rule them in India, that Sir Oswald was anxious to have letters of introduction and recommendation from me.

Sir Oswald told his audience that 250 different languages and dialects are spoken in India. Quite true. But how many are spoken in this country? If the census were taken in this country by the same method as is employed in India, every French, German, Spanish or other visitor who happened to be in this country at the time the census was taken would go to swell the number of different languages spoken in this country. The fact really is that, although, according to the last census, there were some 225 languages spoken in the Indian Empire, Hindustani alone is spoken by over 120,000,000 people; Bengali by well over 50,000,000; Punjabi by nearly 25,000,000 and Tamil by over 20,000,000 people. These figures are all to be found in the Abstracts of Tables giving the Main Statistics of the Census of the Indian Empire taken in 1931 and published in Command Paper No. 4194 of 1932.

Religious Differences

Sir Oswald is also worried by the fact that India is "rent by every kind of racial and religious difference." Of course, there are many religions in India. Practically every known religion is represented there. Indeed, Christianity was in India long before it was in this country, and it has continued there ever since. But let us face the real point about this great diversity of religions. The population of India amounts to over 350 millions of people. But of this about 240 millions are Hindus. Nearly 80 millions are Muslims; nearly 13 millions Buddhists. And about 6¼ millions are Christians. These figures also are given in the Command Paper I have referred to.

Sir Oswald went on to say that what "was really suggested by the Government's White Paper was the handing over of India to a small governing class of Indians who were either great capitalists or professional politicians in the pocket of the financiers." This is sweeping and absolutely untrue, and there is no foundation whatever for this in the White Paper, and I challenge Sir Oswald Mosley to point out any authority for such a statement in the White Paper. If he really had read it, he would realize that it is not the intention of the Government to hand over to Indians at all, but to retain the whole real power, by a series of safe-guards, in Whitehall.

I see that Sir Oswald goes on to say that the strong hand of the British Government was necessary in India, and one of the reasons he gives for this is the necessity for extended irrigation. Is Sir Oswald not aware, even after his journeys from Government House to Government House through various Provinces in India, that even with the very limited amount of self-government that India has at present, the fact that Indian Ministers were put in charge of irrigation has meant that since the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were initiated in 1921, irrigation in India has gone forward and been extended tremendously.

If the Fascist programme is as well informed on other subjects as their leader seems to be on India it is little wonder that the electorate throughout the country has turned them down so decisively.

COMMENT AND CRITICITM

"Need our Schools Continue Godless?"

An Experiment in Religious Education at the Gokhale Memorial Girls' School

By A. Margaret Barr, M. A. (Camb)

There has recently been brought to my notice the article entitled 'Need Our Schools Continue Godless?' in *The Modern Review* for January last, and I feel sure that readers of that excellent journal would be interested to hear of an experiment which is being made in an Indian Girls' School with a view to answering that question.

First let me say a little about the article in question. With the first part of it I am in complete agreement. I agree that education from which all moral and religious instruction has been eliminated is a danger both to the State and the individual. I agree also that sectarian education is, if possible, an even greater danger still. With most of the next two pages of the article however, I find myself at issue. The writer describes, and, I gather, commends, the system in force in Minneapolis, where special schools have been started for religious instruction, to which the children from the public schools go for certain stated periods each week. After drawing attention to the principles underlying the scheme, he adds, "The main aim of the school of religious education is to give religion its *legitimate place* in the life of the child, and to aid in developing in the pupil high ideals of character and citizenship." Then on the next page he defines what he means by religion, distinguishing it carefully from ritual and dogma, and adds, "The function of the school of religious education, then, must be not to train the pupils in rituals and dogmas but to build character." So far so good. I agree. But there seems to me to be an inconsistency here and on a vital point. The writer rightly recognizes that religion is not ritual or dogma, and wants to give it its "legitimate place in the life of the child," yet apparently believes that that can be done in separate, special schools. But surely the one thiug most vitally wrong with the whole thought about religion in the modern world is the idea that religion and life can be separated. To give religion "its legitimats place

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the life of the child" we must bring it back to the very heart of his everyday life. For that, and nothing less than that, is its "legitimate place." I disapprove, then and profoundly, of the whole idea of separate schools and special teachers for religious instruction. Teachers should be specially qualified, of course, as they are to teach Mathematics or Science or art or any other difficult subject. But they should not be special teachers for that subject alone. or if the school is large enough to have such a specialist, he or she should at least be at the same time (like the Mathematics or Sanskrit teacher) a regular member of the ordinary school staff. If we cannot achieve this then children will inevitably grow up with the ever-deepening belief that religion is something apart from everyday life, something always associated with special places and special times and special people, instead of being given its legitimate "place" as the motive and main-spring of the whole of life.

With the latter part of the article I am again in complete agreement. Here the writer pleads for "a fully developed but non-sectarian programme in social education in our public schools," which might succeed in promoting wide-spread respect in youth for the social values of all religions"... a system which would "provide children with adequate and definite instruction in right living" both as individuals and as social units. I entirely agree, but I believe profoundly that to set up special schools for the purpose is the surest way of defeating that purpose.

Let me now describe the experiment which is being made at the Gokhale Memorial Girls' School in Calcutta. As the experiment was only started six months ago, it is impossible as yet to speak of it save with the utmost tentativeness, or to do more than explain what we are *trying* to do.

The school is open to Indian girls irrespective of religious creed. And though in practice this confines itself to Hindus, Brahmos, Muslims and a few Christians, in theory there is nothing to prevent it containing in addition representatives of all the other religions of India. The problem as it stands, however, is quite sufficiently difficult; and for some years the school authorities have felt that the girls should be given some form of religious instruction, but have realized, of course, that any form of sectarianism is completely out of the question.

Last November the writer of this article came to the school for the express purpose of trying to work out an experiment in religious education on universalist lines, in addition to teaching English to some of the senior girls, and being in charge of the Boarding house.

The aim of the experiment is to put the history of religion in some sort of perspective, to fill in the gaps in the girls' knowledge by giving them some information concerning faiths other than the one in which they have been brought up, to give them some understanding and appreciation of the social values taught by all religions, and above all to open their eyes to the fact that the religions of the world *at their best* do not conflict with one another but agree, at any rate on fundamental issues.

The method adopted is as follows: The Juniors are given just stories of one kind and another—myths, parables, legends, incidents in the lives of great religious leaders,—any stories, in short, ancient or modern, true or legendary, which have any sort of moral or religious value. The Middle School girls are given outlines of the lives of the founders of the historic religions and the main points in their teaching,—Zoroaster, Moses, Laotse, Buddha, Confucius, Christ, Muhammad. And with the Senior girls is attempted the more difficult task of studying the world's great religious books and comparing the teaching that is found in them, selecting for memorizing purposes such texts and short passages as are most famous for their beauty or universality.

Let me remind readers once again that this experiment is still in its very early infancy. It will be impossible to assesss justly its success or failure for some years to come—not indeed until the children now in the First Form shall have reached the top of the school, having passed through all stages of the experiment. That these girls will emerge with a finer sense of honour and morality, with higher ideals of citizenship and service, with a broadminded and tolerant attitude towards all forms of religious faith, and with a sincere desire to vindicate in their own experience the universal truths which are taught by them all,—that, in short, religion will for them have been given its "legitimate place",—this we dare not assert, but this and nothing less than this is our hope and aim.

Great political passion is a precious treasure; the feeble hearts of the majority of mankind have but little room for it. Happy the generation upon which stern necessity imposes a high political ideal which, great, simple and comprehensible to all, campels all the other ideas of the time to serve it.—TRIETSCHKE.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Tagore on 'Man'

In an illuminating paper in *Visva-Bharati News* Rabindranath Tagore writes :

Man's endeavour strives from one nature towards another. It is only when his enquiries go beyond individual inclinations that his science is founded on universal knowledge. It is only when his efforts take him beyond all personal interests and the inertia of customary habit that he becomes विश्वकर्म्मा a world-worker. It is only when his love transcends his self-seeking that man becomes a Mahatma—a great soul—through his relationship with all creatures. One nature of man obscures him, the other gives freedom.

The astronomer observed that a planet had deviated from its orbit. He asserted with conviction that it was due to the attraction of some other unseen plant. It was observed that the mind of man also did not move along the course prescribed by its nature for the preservation of life. It deviated towards the uncertain, towards the transcendent. This led man to imagine the realm of the spirit. He asserted that commands came from there, it was there that his centre of being lay. Men wrangle and fight to decide who it is that presides over that realm. Whoever He may be and whatever name we might give to Him, He did not let man rest within the limits of animal life.

The sea becomes restless. There is the continual ebb and flow of the tides. The restlessness of the sea would by itself prove the attraction of the moon, even if that remained invisible. Even the new-born babe knows instinctively that the hunger which indubitably is in him has an object that is real also in the external world. Man's lifelong efforts have often been directed to things which have no connections whatever with his immediate physical needs. A life transcending death leads him on to the paths of adventure, not for the sake of self-preservation, but for the sake of immortality.

In Vedic language God has been called : *Avih* अविः denoting that his nature is Revelation. About him it has been said—यस्य नाम महद् यशः—His great glory is His name : His truth is in his great expression. It is the same with the nature of man : it is to reveal the glory of his soul. The creature preserves his life by taking in food from outside, the soul reveals itself by pouring itself out, and crossing nature's limits. Even the savage in his own way wants to transcend nature for the sake of his self-glorification, which according to him is the expression of his truth. He pierces his own nose and sticks in it a rod. Through a painful process he sharpens his teeth. He flattens his infant skull between wooden boards and deforms it. He concocts strange garments and hideous ornaments and endures insufferable pain and discomfort in putting them on. In all this he attempts to declare that he is potentially greater than what he can normally be. This greater self of man is contrary to nature. The God whom he exalts as his ideal is equally strange. A nursling of nature and yet man has this fighting attitude which always seeks to defy nature. Here in India we see people, some with hideous arm, some lying on a bed of thorns, some hanging with head down towards a raging fire. They declare in this way their superiority, their saintliness, only because they are unnatural. In the modern European countries also there are people who glory in facing unnecessary hardship which are called breaking records. Most of these they perform in order to glorify unnaturalness. The peacock feels proud in being a peacock : ferocious animals exalt in the success of their ferocity. But Man prides that in his exaggerations he is more real than in his normal reality.

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South America and India

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose offers a few valuable suggestions for the establishment of cultural contact between India and Latin America in *India and the World*. He writes :

South America, according to the South American Handbook, is one-half the area of the whole British Empire, and in 1931, despite the crisis, these Republics did the equivalent of about £612,000,000 of foreign trade, with a difference of about £120,000,000 in favour of their exports over imports.

Now it happens that what India produces is being bought by South America from other third countries, as England and the United States. We must try to establish direct contacts and sell our articles to South America, who will benefit a reduction in price instead of leaving all the benefit to the intermediaries.

A friend from Cuba suggested to me, among other things, that a ship as a floating exhibition of India should be sent by us to visit Central and South American countries. This should interest business circles. At each harbour contacts would be established on board the *S. S. India*.

Besides, in our leading cities there should be Consuls of each of the South American Republics. If the Consul is honorary he should be an Indian, not a foreigner. This would greatly help to facilitate information and further connections.

We should distribute in South America a pamphlet in Spanish with data and illustrations about India.

In order to co-operate with this new plan of India's expansion, this *Review* will publish a series of articles devoted to each one of these countries. The actual isolation between ourselves and that important branch of the Latin race must not continue.

The first steps in order to start bringing South America and India closer to each other could be :

(1) Study of Spanish. All the twenty Republics speak Spanish with the exception of Portuguese speaking in Brazil and French in Haiti. Commerce is acquainted with English nevertheless.

(2) Exchange of professors and students in order to promote personal contacts.

(3) Travelling in these beautiful countries.

(4) More information about trade and conditions.

Trade relations should exist as well with North America as with South America. India can sell direct

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let us say tea, and obtain in turn : oil and cacao from Venezuela, silver from Mexico, coffee from Colombia, etc.

—

The Imperial Library of Calcutta

Mr. Rabindra Mohan Datta tells us in the same paper that the State libraries of most of the civilized countries are copyright libraries. On publication of books there a number of copies must be given to the libraries under the penalty of a fine. Only the libraries in India do not enjoy the privilege. So Mr. Datta writes :

Unless the Imperial library is made a copyright library, its growth must necessarily be slow. For making it a copyright library, the only thing the Government of India has to do is to amend the Indian Copyright Act, III of 1914, on the lines of the Imperial Act, and provide for the accommodation of books thus received.

With a little imagination, the Copyright Act can be so amended as to make the libraries at provincial headquarters recipients of all books published in the vernacular or vernaculars of the province, wherever published in India. We will make our meaning clear by an example ; many books in Tamil, Telegu and Malayalam are published by the Baptist Mission Press of Calcutta ; they are sent to the Bengal Government under the Press and Book Registration Act ; the Bengal Government after a time either sends them to the Imperial Library, where the majority of readers cannot use them, or simply destroys them. If these books were sent to Madras, they would have been of more use. Similarly with the Oriya books.

We also suggest that unless there is reciprocity between Britain and India in the matter of exchange of publications, unless the British Parliament is willing to amend their Copyright Act for having an additional copy of all new publications to be sent to India, we in India should have the Act of 1867 so amended as to stop the book tribute we have been paying to Britain for the last 70 years. Let the Government of India move in the matter and secure by amicable negotiations the just rights of India in the matter ; and we believe Britain will not be ungenerous if the matter is properly put to her.

—

Pramathanath Basu's Works

The following account of the works of the late Pramathanath Basu from *The Insurance and Finance Review* will prove interesting :

Pramathanath's explorations and discoveries regarding India's mineral wealth are strewn over the pages of the "Record of the Geological Survey of India" and the "Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India." It was Pramathanath who discovered the iron mines at Garumohisani, Badampahar, Panchpir and Kalimati, and it was he who made the Tata Iron and Steel works possible. While in Government service, he discovered the Manganese ores in Jubbalpore, Darjeeling coal, Granite in Tavoy and Mergui. The following articles and pamphlets published in the "Memoirs" and "Records", will show the extent of his researches and explorations in geology all over India.

1. Geology of the Lower Narbada Valley (Memoirs, Vol. XXI, pt. 1.)

2. Undescribed Fossil Carnivora from the Sivalic Hills (Vol. XIV, pt. 3).

3. Notes on the History and Comparative Anatomy of the Extinct Carnivora ('Geological Magazine,' Vol. VII, 1880).

4. Notes on Lighite near Raipur, Central Provinces (Records Vol. XXVII, pt. 3).

5. The Manganese-Iron and Maganese Ores of Jubbalpur (Records, Vol. XXI, pt. 3).

6. The Darjeeling Coal between the Sisu and the Ramthi Drivers (Records, Vol. XXIII, pt. 4).

7. On the Geology and Mineral Resources of Sikkhim (Records, Vol. XXIV, pt. 4).

8. Note on Mahismati or Maheshvara on the Narmada ('Proceeding,' Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1933).

9. Chhatisgar : Notes in its Tribes, Castes, and Sects ('Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXI, pt. 1.)

10. Note on Granite in the district of Tavoy and Mergui (Records, Vol. XXXVI, pt. 3).

11. Note on the Geology of a part of the Tenasserim Valley (Records, Vol. XXVI, pt. 4).

12. The Geology and Mineral Resources of Mayurbhanj (Records, Vol. XXXI, pt. 3).

13. The Geology and Mineral Resources of the Raipipla State. (Own Publication).

Pramathanath was a social reformer and educationist of the first rank. He was one of the founders of the National Council of Education in the wake of the Swadeshi movement in Bengal. He was sometime Rector of the Bengal Technical Institute founded at Jadavpur under the auspices of the above Council. Pramathanath was Secretary to the "Indian Society" in London, and advocated the cause of indigenous trade and industry long before the Swadeshi movement, since he could foresee that India's economic salvation lay only in a proper industrialization and utilization of her enormous natural products in indigenous industries. He published a book on *Technical and Scientific Education* in the year 1886, the suggestions contained wherein were responsible for the many important reforms carried out in the curricula of the Calcutta University. He was to a large extent responsible for the introduction of geology as a subject of study at the Presidency College, Calcutta, where he acted as a Professor for some time. He founded the "Indian Industrial Association" in 1891, and was elected its Secretary. He presided over the "Bengal Industrial Conference" in 1891, and was elected Chairman of the Reception Commitee of "Indian Industrial Conference" in 1906. He encouraged joint-stock enterprises among his countrymen and established the Rangpur Tobacco Company, and the India Prospecting Company. He established a sugar factory and operated two coal mines near Asansol in 1895.

Pramathanath had an intense love for literature and maintained a keen interest in literature and philosophy all through his life. He has written several books in English as well as Bengali on Indian political and social problems. His *History of the Civilization during British Rule* (3 Vols.) is the most critical analysis of British rule in India. The following are some of his popular books :

1. Sawaraj—Culture and Political
2. Epochs of Civilization
3. Some Present-day Superstitions
4. Essays and Lectures
5. Survival of Hindu Civilization
6. Illusions of New India

The following pamphlets also caused much sensa-

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tion among the intelligentzia of our country when they were first published.

1. The Root Cause of the Great War.
2. National Education and Modern Progress.
3. The Economic Aspect of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme.
4. Give the People back their Own.
5. Degeneration—A World Problem.
6. An Eastern View of Western Progress.
7. Educational Reform in Bengal (1888).

—

Planned Economy

While the Indians have been clamouring for political and economic *Swaraj* for years, the Government of India has remained adamant and stuck to the principles of a by-gone age. So Mr. F. E. James, M. L. A. writes of the Government in *The Indian Review* :

It requires overhauling, in order to be more responsive to the new conditions and more adaptable for the execution of the national planned policies which are being forced upon all countries. That is why, during the Budget debate, I tried to focus the attention of the legislature on this aspect of the matter, and to suggest changes that could and should be made forthwith. The Government's attitude was a grudging and unwilling recognition that something perhaps was required, and a passionate claim that everything they were doing was right. Bureaucratic habits die hard, and it was not to be expected that suggestions for their change would be readily accepted. But the modification of the administrative machine will be forced upon them, for the old mechanism is no longer adequate. The trouble is that most of the present members of the Viceroy's Executive Council are men who have been trained in their early days in the prewar schools of liberalism, free trade, low tariffs and unrestricted individualism. In a country where economic nationalism is liable to become exaggerated, such an attitude is a useful corrective. It should not however be permitted entirely to dominate the policy of the country. The world is moving fast and economic changes are not, in India, waiting on political reform. The determination of all the countries to plan their national economy, to set their people to work in industry, to cut out unnecessary imports and to concentrate upon internal rather than upon international trade, is a fact which cannot be ignored. Those who are responsible for India's economic policy must keep in touch with what is happening in other countries and must be prepared to forget for ever the economics of the days before the war. The nation that is not prepared to organize is the nation that will go to the wall in the present economic struggle.

Internally the machine of government needs adaptation on the lines suggested above. Externally India needs a progressive policy of trade extension and by-lateral and multi-lateral agreements. If the British Commonwealth is to mean anything to India, the full economic advantage should be extracted from it. These are matters which transcend politics and which call for the most earnest study and co-operation from all citizens of India irrespective of politics, community, and race.

—

Dr. Sven Hedin's latest Expedition

Dr. Sven Hedin is now 68. He is still pursuing his explorations in Central Asia. A correspondent writes from China in *The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health* :

A vast unbroken stretch of highway extending all the way across Europe and Asia from the Atlantic on the west to the Pacific on the east,—this is the dream of Dr. Sven Hedin, famous and intrepid Swedish explorer, as he set it before the writer on the eve of the departure of the Suiyuan-Sinkang Highway Expedition for the regions of Central Asia, in behalf of the Chinese government. Starting from his headquarters at Kueihua, Suiyuan, on November 10, [1933] Dr. Hedin is setting out across Mongolia toward Hami and Tihwa in Chinese Turkestan, possibly pushing on toward Chuguchak, Nigyuan, or Kashgar on China's westernmost borders, and returning through Kansu along the old imperial highway, to terminate his journey at Sian, capital of the province of Shensi. It is expected that about eight months will be required for this gigantic undertaking.

—

Health from Sunshine

Much has been said on the efficacy of sun-shine. We take the following from the same paper :

For growing babies, five minutes' exposure to the sunlight twice daily is an excellent practice. It has been found that daily exposure in this way increases the amount of phosphorus in the blood, and phosphorus is an essential element for growth. The amount of iron in the blood has been found to be increased after exposure to the sun's rays for a time.

Sunlight is death to germs, Few germs can withstand the sun's rays for one hour. Sunlight is also of benefit in the treatment of tuberculosis. The same invisible ultra-violet rays are responsible for the cure of certain skin diseases, chronic leg ulcers, etc.

In the absence of natural sunlight, artificial sunlight can be utilized in the treatment of rickets and tuberculosis. There are certain types of electric lamps particularly the quartz lamp, which produces a great quantity of ultra-violet rays. These lamps are extensively employed in the treatment and prevention of rickets and other deficiency diseases. They are also valuable in treatment of some forms of skin diseases. Such treatment should be under the direction of the doctor.

—

Contribution of the Kols to Indian Civilization

We welcome publication of the tenth volume of *The Dacca University Journal*, 1934, edited by Mr. P. K. Guha. It contains many valuable papers on important cultural topics. There is a paper on the beginnings of Indian Civilization by Dr. S. K. De. We read with interest the following extracts containing an account of the contributions of the Kols to the Indian Civilization :

In India the Indo-Aryans came in contact with two important types of people, the Dravidians and the Kol-Mundas, besides the Tibeto-Chinese whom we may dismiss for the present as they come into the field at a much later date when Hindu culture had been fully characterized and established. The commingling of these three peoples Arya, Dravida and Kol, has resulted in a most remarkable synthesis of cultures, *viz.* the Hindu culture as it is known today. The intermingling

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has been so close and complex that it is difficult today to disentagle clearly the lines of development; but it is becoming more and more apparent that the Aryans were not single-handed in building up the culture of India and that the deeper substratum of this culture is to be found in the Kol and Dravidian contribution, which has been no less great.

The Kols are now confined roughly to west Bengal, Chote-Nagpur, north-east Madras Presidency and the Central Provinces; but on linguistic, ethnic and other grounds it has been surmised that they were in India before the Dravidians, and at one time overran the whole of the Gangetic plains from Western Himalaya to Gujarat and Maharastra in the west and to Bengal in the east, in which last place they were contiguous to their kinsmen, the Mons, the Khmers and other peoples, who at one time occupied the whole of Indo-China. The language which they speak is distinct from Indo-European and belongs to a linguistic family to which the name Austric or Austro-Asiatic has been given by Peter Schmidt.

Even where they preserved more or less complete isolation from the currents of Hindu civilization, it must have been almost impossible for them not to have been profoundly influenced by the irresistible influx of Hindu notions; they are thus no longer purely Kol or Austric. It Is necessary however, even if it is difficult, to separate and restore the Kol or Austric elements, and this can be done partly by a study of the present-day Kol people and partly also by helps derived from Indo-Chinese and Indonesian studies. When we have some general idea about the real character of Austro-Asiatic thought and culture we shall be able to trace it in ancient and mediæval Hindu thought.

Among the fundamentals of Hindu notions and ideals, of tansmigration, which is not an old Aryan belief but which developed in comparatively recent times, as perhaps of Kol animistic origin. Some customs and ways of life current among primitive Indonesians, who are the kinsmen of the Kols, have their counterparts in ancient and modern India. Kol myths and legends must have been Hinduized in Hindu mythology, for the legends and traditions of a country seldom die. But thorough investigation have not yet been made into these questions.

—

Need of a fresh Insurance Law

India has made rapid progress in life insurance business in these years. A law was enacted in 1913 to control this branch of business. To adapt it to the modern needs the law requires complete overhauling. Mr. S. C. Ray says in *Insurance World*:

(1) Operations of all classses of Insurance business should be regulated by law.

(2) The initial deposit of Rs. 25,000 may remain as it is but every company should be called upon to deposit another sum of Rs. 25,000 in some recognized Bank from which they will be allowed to draw money not exceeding Rs. 1,500 per month for meeting their current expenses. The main difficulties of a new Insurance office lie in first two years, and the deposit while checking to some extent formation of company does not help much in the transaction of the business while it is formed. The aforesaid deposit with the bank with limited withdrawal may solve the problem to some extent.

(3) The Government Actuary should be vested with more powers to check the activities of insolvent Insurance companies and provision may be made for the inspection of the books of Accounts of the company by the Government Actuary in order to ascertain the real position.

(4) There should be no exemption to foreign companies with regard to deposit.

(5) Non-Indian companies should be compelled to keep separate account with regard to their Indian operations and also to make a separate valuation of their Indian business They should not be allowed to distribute bonus on their Indian business out of profits on business written outside the country.

(6) Every foreign company should be required to invest in India the reserve against their Indian policies.

(7) The principal representatives of such foreign companies within this country must be Indian.

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"Local time" and "Standard time"

The following appears in *The Educational Review*:

What generally goes by the name of "local time" is the relative angular distance of the sun from the meridian of a place or locality. It may be either apparent or mean "local time." The reading of the sun-dial shows the apparent solar "local times" of the locality in which the sun-dial is. If the "equation of time" with its proper sign be applied to the "local apparent solar time" we should get the "mean solar local time" of the locality. The local time is different for different places on the earth, unless they are exactly in the same longitude. In order to avoid this difficulty and to co-ordinate the activities of a country, a standard time is adopted by the ruling authority of the country. For example, in British India, the Government has adopted (from the first day of January 1905) a standard time for India as a whole, called the "India standard time" which is five hours and thirty minutes ahead of Greenwich *local time*. Railways and Telegraphs in India are guided by this time which is truly the "local time" of places 82°30' east of Greenwich Longitude. Similarly, each country adopts for convenience a "standard time" which differs by a constant amount of time from the "local time" of some prominent place which possesses an observatory whose meridian is taken as the standard. There is every likelihood of the Greenwich meridian being adopted as the standard meridian for the whole world. To find the "local time" of any place from the "standard time" of the country, the longitudinal difference of the meridian of the place and the standard meridian should be known and this difference converted into time at the rate of 15° per hour and 15' per minute should be added to or subtracted from the standard time, according as the place is to the east or to the west of the "standard meridian" of the country. Conversely, "the local mean time" derived from the reading of the sun-dial and the application of the "equation of time" may also be converted into the "standard time" of the country by applying to it the longitudinal difference between the meridian of the sun-dial and the standard meridian as in the previous case.

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The Sad Plight of Jute-cultivators

Cultivators of jute are not satisfied with things of small profit. Jute has recently brought them immense gain, so the smaller cottage industries have been neglected. Mr. Sukumar Chatterjee

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writes in *The Bengal Co-operative Journal* on the sad plight of the jute cultivators :

A suitable home-industry in which the spare time of the cultivators may be profitably employed and which is capable of universal adoption has yet to be found, but there are many occupations which cultivators all over the world actually follow in order to supplement their income. These are market gardening, fruitgrowing, rearing and catching of fish, poultry farming and dairying. These are, in fact, essential parts of farming, because apart from the addition they make to the cultivator's income, they enable him to obtain without payment a considerable part of his food, namely, fish, milk, poultry and vegetables. The income derived by the cultivators from these sources may be small, if taken individually, but in the aggregate, for he whole year, the amount is by no means negligible.

It is in respect of these subsidiary sources of income, so essentially important to the agriculturist, that jute has done the greatest disservice. The disparity between the price of jute and that of fish, milk, eggs or vegetables was so great that it almost seemed a mean and niggardly thing to take the trouble of producing them or to offer them for sale, and, of course, the land attached to the cultivator's homestead, where one would expect a kitchen garden, could be more profitably utilized for the growing of jute.

This feeling grew and strengthened through the quarter of a century ending in 1929, the year when the crash came, until the idea was deeply imprinted on the minds of cultivators that one lost caste by selling fish, eggs or poultry. In my discussions with these people, especially after the depression had set in, I had frequently to stress the fallacy that if a man did not lose caste by selling jute he could not lose it by selling fish or eggs. Arguments are, however, of little avail when deep-rooted prejudices hold the field, and it is only the continued suffering extending over four long years that is gradually altering the cultivator's angle of vision. In the Sub-Division with which the writer is at present connected, *fatwa* has recently been given by a spiritual leader of the Musalmans that there is nothing degrading in the sale of fish. The Namasudra population is waiting for a similar *fatwa* from their leaders who, up to the present time, have considered such occupation to be degrading. Cases are not rare where poor people belonging to this community, who are driven by poverty to sell fish in the market, are threatened with the penalty of being outcasted and several instances were brought to the writer's notice where Namasudras had for this reason been compelled to forsake the faith of their fathers and be converted to Christianity.

—

Rice-Bran as a preventive of Beri Beri

The following appears in *Scientific Indian* :

In the Philippines beri beri is a very common and fatal disease among the poor classes who live on a diet that consists principally of polished rice and is deficient in vitamine B. For a number of years the Bureau of Science has been making a standard extract of rice bran (known as Tikitiki extract) which contains vitamin B. This extract is widely used for curing or preventing beri beri. It has been estimated that for adults approximately 30 grams of high grade rice-bran contain enough of the antineuritic vitamin B, for their daily requirements as a preventive of beri beri. This is about 2 equivalent to 11 level (not heaping) tea-spoonfuls of bran or approximately 2 cubic centimeters of standard rice-bran extract.

—

Pottery manufacture in India

Mr. Kishen Kumar Nijhawan writes in *The Mysore Economic Journal* :

In India all the raw materials for the pottery manufacture are to be found in abundance. China-clays are found in Bengal, Bihar, the Panjab, C. P., Rajputana and Madras. Ball clays and other lower grades are found in Delhi, C. P., Bihar and the Punjab. Quartz is found all over India. Felspars are found in Ajmere, Delhi, Jubbulpur, and Dholpur and Gwalior States. It is possible that some of the deposits in India have not been excavated so far.

Today India is producing ceramic-ware out of Indian raw materials in all its phases though on a small scale, so small indeed that she cannot meet her own needs if required. Pottery of one kind or another is made in India at Delhi, Lahore, Gwalior, Calcutta, Benares, Bombay, Mysore and Thar Kathiawar. Red-clay industries are spread all over India. The only experimenting and teaching stations in India are Benares and Lahore, while in foreign countries a large number of institutions give instruction in this important industry.

In spite of the progress already made, the final stage of development of ceramics has not yet been reached. In some of its applications it seems to have reached near perfection, but in others much remains to be done and the progress of metallurgy and numerous other industries will give rise to fresh development in ceramics. Finally there still are many branches of life in which pottery could with advantage replace the materials now employed, on account of its indestructibility or the brilliance of its decorations.

—

The Religion of the Aimol Kukis

Mr. J. K. Bose contributes a paper on the above subject in *Man in India*. Part of it is as follows :

Chafion (the presiding deity of the field).—This is the deity of the fields and by the worship of this deity they [the Aimol Kukis] get abundance of crop. This deity can be worshipped only in the presence of the people of the superior moiety but the people of the inferior moiety can take the sacrificial meat. The place for residence of this deity is made near the village gate where a circular piece of land is cleared and surrounded by bamboo hedges. In it are kept the various symbols of the deity and the things for worship. Generally a small house is made and within it two baskets full of earth with various small plants are kept, outside the house there are some bamboo zu glassas, and water glasses, and baskets to keep rice and meat after the worship. They think that after the annual worship the soul (pitay) of various plants take these offerings and are pleased on them so they get abundance of crop and cotton and other cereals from the fields and jhums.

The worship is preformed in the month of Thamu (July) and 'Khulpu', the chief priest of the village officiates as the priest. On the day of worship all the village officers engage themselves in the making of those symbolical things and in the afternoon they start with those things towards the village-gate; the 'Khulpu' marches in front of the party with a red turban. When

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may reach the place the 'Khulpu with his assistants first clear off the old things and replace them with new ones. Then the 'Shumpu' and the 'Tangba' (Village officers of lowest rank) sacrifice a pig and two cocks respectively, both at the same time. The pig is pierced with a bamboo knife and cocks are sacrificed by a Then a portion of these meats are put in the basket and the glasses are filled with zu and water.

After the sacrifice the priest invokes the deity with the following incantations:

"Oh, God of fields, we are invoking thee and offering thee pig, cocks and zu. Do thou be kind on us and take all these offerings. The souls of all directions (east, west, north and south) be ye kind on us and take this humble offering of this people."

—

Spread of literacy among the Bhils

The Social Service Quarterly writes editorially:

As a result of the work done by it [The Bhil Seva Mandal] during the last ten years, a number of young students are now completing their course of study at the schools run by the Mandal. Some of them go back to their fields to follow their ancestral profession but others whose families have not sufficiently large blocks of land often turn for their maintenance to casual labour. Some of the more intelligent among them can well be trained as village guides, as can the girls who have completed their education at the various Bhil Ashrams. The Bhil Seva Mandal hence proposes that such of the students as wish to settle down in their villages and conduct local schools should be encouraged to start these schools by the sanction to them of small grants amounting to five-sixths of the expenditure incurred by them. The remaining one-sixth of the total cost is met by local collections. The number of these village Panch schools is 20 and each has an attendance of about 30 pupils. The girls attending the schools get small scholarships of annas two to five derived from special funds at the disposal of the Mandal. It is a matter for satisfaction that the educational activities of the Bhil Seva Mandal have created a desire for better living and education among the Bhil population and that the alumni of the Ashrams are themselves meeting this need with the help of the Mandal.

—

Hinduism in the Philippines

There is wonderful ethnic and cultural similarity between the Hindus and the Filipinos. Dr. Dhirendra Nath Roy has brought forward this fact clearly in a paper in *Prabuddha Bharata*. He writes in part:

Besides these facts of lenguage relationships there have been many other facts lately unearthed. It has been found that in the island of Masbate the ancient quicklime method of the Hindus was used by the gold miners to excavate the rock. The relics found in the island of Mindoro seem to prove that it "seems to have been the very centre of Hindu civilizing influences." Mr. Russell says that "every settled town had a temple and most temples had collections of books." They were written in the native characters on palm leaves and bamboo and stored with the native priests. But unfortunately the Spanish people destroyed that precious heritage of the people. It has been said that "one Spanish priest in southern Luzon boasted of having destroyed more than three hundred scrolls written in the native character."

About the interesting folklores Professor Kroeber thinks that they are "quite demonstrably of Hindu origin and all are cast in Hindu mould. Inasmuch as many of our own fables are also known to be of Indian origin or patterned on Hindu examples, it is not surprising that these tales from the Philippines have a strangely familiar ring in our ears. It is no wonder, since both we and the Filipinos have derived them from the same source" (*Peoples of the Philippines*, p. 197). Images of bronze, copper and even of gold representing the god Shiva, one of the Hindu Trinity, have been discovered by archaeological exploration. There is one statue, supposed to be some Hindu god, which has been preserved at the Ateneo de Manila, a very ancient Catholic college. One Dutch archaeologist thinks that it is the statue of Ganesha. In Chao Ju-Kua's description it is found that "in the thick wood of Ma-yi, the ancient name for the island of Mindoro, are scattered copper statues of Buddha, but no one can tell the origin of these statues." The islands received an abundant supply of brass, bronze copper, tin armour and various types of weapons from India. "The characteristic sarong, turban, bronze bells and armlets and a variety of smaller ornaments appear to be Indian. The skin-tight trousers of the Sulu Moros are suggestive of Indian puttees" (Beyer, *The Philippines before Magellan*, Asia, Nov., 1921). The old names of coins used in the islands are of Indian origin. Indeed, the Indian influence is most obvious "in all the most highly developed ancient handicrafts in the Philippines."

—

City-planning

Architecture plays a great part in making the city beautiful. Prof. Claude Batley writes in *Journal of the Indian Institute of Architects*:

The very existence of a city denotes co-operation and, therefore, discipline, or planning, the earliest cities go as far back as man's efforts to combine in order either to defend his home or to trade with his neighbour.

The city plan owes much to the lay-out of the camps of the early military powers as the survival of the suffixes in India of 'gar' or in Europe, of 'castra', or chester', prove. It was the Romans who throughout their Empire did much to encourage the finer ideals of civic life ..

What a vision for our City Fathers of today; a city in which the civic control is unadulterated purity, which cleanses and refreshes the city and the district beyond it.

The old cities grew up for the co-operative defence against enemies who used carnal weapons, such as catapults battering rams and war elephants and the architects of those days were so succesful in devising their design that the frowning battlements and spike-studded gates often took the heart out of the besieger or ever they undertook its assault.

In our modern cities the enemies are still there but the weapons are different, dirt, disease, dacoity, ignorance and, worst of all, corruption.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Principles of Universal Peace

The following philosophical discourse on the principles of Universal Peace from the pen of Horace Holley appears in the *World Unity* and shall draw a school of thoughtful readers around it :

The duality mingled in all human affairs and conditions is the duality of body and soul. Man lives simultaneously in two different worlds, though far more conscious of the world of the body than of the world of the soul. This dual nature projects itself outward whenever important social problems stir individuals to the depths. It projects a spiritual content into questions which seem entirely and exclusively material ; it projects a material content into questions which seem entirely and exclusively spiritual. For there is duality throughout the history of churches as of governments. The spiritual and the material elements are ever intermingled, never isolated ome from the other, never purely spiritual and never purely material or physical. This intermingling is the mystery of human life on earth.

Thus, in considering the duality surrounding the supreme social issue of peace, the inevitable division obviously lies not between property and lack of property but between that interest which is local and that which is universal or human.

The question of peace is not a mere social question but a crisis. It cannot be determined by any form of popular referendum nor by any application of authoritative civil action. Peace is in reality the capacity of mankind to continue existence under the terms and conditions which destiny has laid down in this age.

The view of life which has been termed "local" in distinction to the view termed "universal" is inability to perceive and understand the area of operation of the law of cause and effect. People limited to localism in any form attempt arbitrarily to exclude the operation of cause and effect from any and all social areas outside that area of which they consciously form a part. Outside their government there can be no political reality ; outside their class no economic principle ; outside their creed no almighty God. Their consciousness dwells on an island, large or small, and admits no dependence upon the rest of the world.

Peace, then, is capacity to be educated and trained in the principles of that reality which applies to man as mind or soul rather than as physical body. Peace is a collective life, a mutual response to laws and principles which God has given to men as He has given other and lesser laws to animals. The "struggle for existence" is the law of the animal, and for the animal serves the aims of life. Man has passed from the domain of this law in an age which reveals ever more clearly the law of unity and interdependence.

—

India and the League of Nations

Impotency of the League is a question which at present haunts every thoughtful mind. We, in this country, doubt whether we can derive any benefit from the upkeep of the Geneva Show. Some say, we will be benificent if India gains her freedom. But Indians abroad advise the mother country to dissociate from the League, though a third group favours a wait-and-watch policy for the present. However, the following appears in the columns of *The Indo-Malayan Review* :

It is not easy to work up enthusiasm for the League of Nations in this country. Our people have long ago realised the futility of expecting the League to fulfil any of the high promises held out by its promoters at the time of its inception. Not only have we witnessed the League looking on in helpless impotence when might asserted its sway over right ; we have also seen it covered with contempt and ridicule at the hands of imperialist-minded nations in both the hemispheres. Moreover, during the fourteen years of its existence it has had progressively to forfeit what prestige and authority it could command in early years. Leaving aside the United States and Soviet Russia, which were never members, both Japan and Germany have forsworn their quondam association with Geneva and are now among those who consider the League more as a hindrance than a help to the peace of the world. Of the three other great powers, Britain and Italy have recently given expression to views and sentiments that more or less belie the belief that they are strongly attached to the League. We see, therefore, that, in the political field at any rate, the League has failed, and failed miserably at that—to make good. It is small wonder hence that India reckons as an unpardonable waste the large amount of money she spends year after year towards the upkeep of the Geneva show.

—

The Congress of Young Asia

Under the auspices of the Young Men's Cultural Organization a "Congress of Young Asia" was held in Japan, for the revival of the spiritual civilization of the Asiatic races, in which prominent Asiatic countries including India took part. The idea of such a Pan-Asiatic Federation is undoubtedly welcome. The noble and heroic ideals embodied in the programme of the Congress are reproduced below from the *New History* :

PREAMBLE

"In Asia lay the cradle of the human race and the origin of human civilization. Thousands of years before the Christian era, when humanity had scarcely emerged from barbarism, the Asiatic peoples had already built civilized institutions of their own. Humanity's cultural debt to Asia, thus, can hardly be overestimated.

The glory that was Asia and the granedur that was the Orient are no more. Freedom and justice have fled. Disruption and alienation, ignorance and injustice, oppression and exploitation have taken hold of the Asiatic peoples and bound up their destiny in shackles of iron.

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Now is the time for the youth of Asia to revive the ancient traditions of the East—the spiritual culture which has persisted in the face of great vicissitudes. When the great inspirations of the past arise in the hearts of Asiatic youth, then shall a great light illumine the footsteps of the Asiatic races. Then shall a splendid new civilization and a better and happier humanity arise out of the ashes of the modern materialistic civilization "with the light of morning in its eyes."

PLATFORM

1. Asia shall be a happy home for the Asiatic races.

2. Firm conviction must be gained that the same blood and thought are interfused among the Asiatic peoples. A new spirit of Asia will be born in realizing this to be the case. This new spirit must be upheld by virtue of mutual understanding, sympathy, co-operation and unity.

3. The spirit of Asia demands freedom and justice—liberation of the Asiatic races from all forms of slavery and oppression.

4. Inspired by the glory of the past, the youth of Asia must unite and co-operate for the fulfilment of these noble aims.

5. The new spirit of Asia promises to humanity the rise of a higher and happier world from the ashes of the materialistic modern civilization."

—

Nepal and her relation to Britain

The following contentions of Mr. Wilkinson-Guillemard, C.S.I., C.I.E., based on an address in a discussion meeting, reproduced from the *Journal of the East India Association*, are perhaps not complete in themselves. There may be causes other than these:

What is our policy towards Nepal? A complete answer to this question was given by Sir Denys Bray in the aphorism, "We have no policy towards Nepal, only friendship. "This friendship has subsisted unbroken since 1816, and is now stronger than ever.

By way of parenthesis may I refer to the frequent question as to why, if Nepal is our friend, she excludes our nationals from her territory and makes herself a closed land? Her attitude has been much misunderstood but it is completely natural and reasonable and consistent with friendship. In the first place, she sees what has happened in India, and has observed that in the past penetration has led to influence, interference domination, and even annexation. Secondly, she has heard of Sir Lee Stack and goes in fear that something may happen to the British Envoy or other foreign functional if allowed to wander at large in wild places. Thirdly, she knows that Europeans on tour, especially as guests among a hospitable people, must have copious supplies, transport, and attendance, which it is difficult to provide in a poor, sparsely-populated country, where every able-bodied man is required for the army or agriculture. Lastly, as it has been the tradition for so long that foreigners should be kept out, any Government which abandoned that tradition might be suspected by an ignorant people, who would think that it a change of practice they intended a change of policy, and were betraying them.

—

Japan and the British Dominions

In order to promote trade relations between Japan and the British Dominions and the colonies, Hon. Mr. Koki Hirota, the Foreign Minister, is anxious for an exchange of ministers there; but this is not possible, as the British Government withholds diplomatic rights from the Dominions, which is occasioning considerable inconvenience in Japan's diplomatic dealings with the latter. The following note appears in the *Japan Weekly Chronicle*:

The *Asahi* says that with the steady advance of Japanese goods into world markets, Japan's trade relations with the British Dominions and the colonies have become more important than with the United Kingdom. In view of the situation, the Osaka journal says, Mr. Hirota, the Foreign Minister, attaches special importance to relations with British Dominions and colonies and is evidently bestowing much consideration on the matter of improving them.

As it is, the fact that the British Government withholds diplomatic rights from the Dominions and colonies is occasioning considerable inconvenience to Japan's diplomatic dealings with these countries within the British Empire. The Foreign Minister has been studying, in concert with Mr. Matsudaira, the Japanese Ambassador in London, measures aiming at the elimination of these inconveniences. His aim is apparently to exchange Ministers with the British Dominions and colonies as Ministers are actually exchanged between Japan and Canada, but so long as the British Government continues to deny full diplomatic rights to them, it cannot be realised. As an alternative, there is a strong body of opinion in Foreign Office quarters that Government delegates should be exchanged to attend to diplomatic matters generally.

The proposed device is, of course, intended as a provisional one, but the idea is to invest on these delegates with practically the same powers as are given to Ministers, their main duty being to promote trade relations between the countries concerned.

It is said that the British Government dose not regard the scheme with favour, but the authorities of India, Australia and South Africa are desirous of its realisation.

—

War Situation in the East

General Blucher, Chief of the Soviet Army of the Far East, after reviewing the strategic conditions of both the Communists and the Japanese in the East, has come to the conclusion that war-clouds are gathering on the Far Eastern horizon. Some fragments of his speech, delivered at the All-Union Party Congress are quoted below from the *Unity*:

But war is not in our plans. We do not wish to fight. What is the difference at root between the measures taken by the Japanese commanding staff in Manchuria and ours in the Soviet Far East? It is this, that the measures we have taken can only serve the ends of defense of our borders, while the measures taken by the Japanese commanding staff follow the direction of attack.

In the first Five Year Plan we have made in the Far Eastern Region more capital investments than the Czarist government made during its whole existence. The second Five Year Plan contemplates a mighty program of socialist industrialization there.

The second Five Year Plan gives our region the task of developing a great iron and steel industry, a ship-building industry, and a great extension of transport, food industries and consuming industries generally

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As Stalin has stated, one of the most important tasks there is the development of a coal base in the Burian district. When you consider that there are an estimated hundred billion tons of coal in this district and two billion tons of iron ore and some copper reserves, you will see what importance we give to the Burian development. When we add the development of transport from Lake Baikal eastward, we shall make of the Burian district a second Kuznetsk Basin.

If war advances upon us in the Far East, the Special Far Eastern Army, from the soldiers to the commanding staff, devoted heart and soul to the Revolution, under the beloved leadership of our commanding Chief Veroshiloff, the Central Committee of the Party, and the great leader of our Party Stalin, will answer with a blow from which the foundations of capitalism will totter and in some places crash.

—

Indian Tea-Planter

Mr. George Cecil in *The Catholic World* gives a humorous account of a tea-planter in India, which may be read with much interest :

The problem, "What to do with our sons." has long been solved in England—so far as the "upper class" is concerned. The eldest son of a landed proprietor has served as an officer in the army until such time as he succeeded to the property ; his brothers have earned their living in equally honourable capacities, If there remained a son who having failed to pass examinations, had to be provided for, he was shipped off to a tea-garden in Ceylon or India, usually India. Other fathers disposed of their offspring in much the same manner, the tea-garden always being reserved for the dullard. . . . "Poor Jack is, alas, not bright ; no doubt he'll do well in India." ... The tea-garden was used as a sort of waste paper-basket.

Nowadays, much the same thing happens, only to a smaller extent. There is comparatively little demand for brainless lads, proprietors jibbing at paying salaries without receiving "value for money." On many tea-estates Scotsmen of the peasant class are imported, those who finance the concern preferring young men who learn quickly, take work seriously, and content themselves with a modest salary at the beginning. "Tea," in short, is no longer the happy hunting-ground of every stupid fellow who wants something for nothing.

When the Scots first made their appearance, they were viewed with extreme disfavour. These unwelcome people could neither ride nor play tennis ; they were not considered a social acquisition. By degrees, however, the established planters became accustomed to them, the dislike gradually vanishing, or at least giving place to superficial friendliness.

—

Free the Air from War

Aerial warfare, which is at present a vital issue, confronting international politics, is considered to be a curse to humanity. The remedy lies in the internationalization of all air-services. The following interesting editorial favouring a policy of elimination of air forces, appears in *The Month* :

The chance of abolishing military air-craft which, a year or so ago, was a real one, is gradually passing away. No one, not even an expert, can class fighting aeroplanes as anything but aggressive weapons : they become defensive only after aggression has begun—aggression which would not be possible if no country possessed them. The abolition would necessitate, of course, the internationalization and inspection of all air-services, so that civil machines could not at will be turned into bombers, and the cessation of the manufacture of air-bombs of every sort. Such a course is not impracticable for, nearly a year ago—in April, 1933—the Air Commission received a joint memorandum from the delegates of Japan, U.S.A., Canada and the Argentine, agreeing to the regulation and supervision of their civil aviation, if air forces were abolished in Europe. If Japan and America are thus in agreement, it is not likely that other nations will hold out. The common sense of the world regards the conquest of the air as, potentially, either an immense boon or a terrible curse to mankind. It is still in our power to eliminate the potential curse, since, as we have said, air forces are primarily engines of aggression and there is no Power but disclaims all ideas of aggression—and only very doubtful means of defence. The alternative to abolition is competition disguised as parity, with Germany joining in the race.

—

Avatars

An interesting study by "Wayfarer" of the ideas of Avatars appears in the columns of *Calamus*. The writer draws a painful picture of a modern Avatar of the World Religion, whose visions are of a United World but who are even now being crucified by the common crowd:

It is sometimes argued that there can be no world religion without the coming of a Great Teacher, an Avatar. It is pointed out that most religions have had their origin in some outstanding presonality, and it is suggested that the driving power and inspiration of such a personality is needed to create a world religion.

People who argue like this, usually claim that such an Avatar has, or has not, appeared. Those who point to the Avatar as having appeared (and it is not necessarily the same Avatar) are few. Those who say the Avatar has not appeared are many.

Accepting, for the moment, the idea that an Avatar is needed to make a religion, let us follow the argument from history to its logical conclusion. Avatars have never been recognized during their lifetime by more but a very few followers. They have been accepted only by succeeding generations. This means that the faith of those few who are sure the Avatar has come may be right. It also means that it is useless arguing that the Avatar has not come.

The Avatar of the World Religion may be living today. Or he may already be dead.

Kahlil Gibran, the Syrian poet, says he has met the Saviours. And he has seen them being crucified.

They are not crucified with the great crucifix,
And therein is their pain.
The world crucifies them every day,
But only in little ways.
The sky is not shaken,
And the earth travails not with her dead.
They are crucified and there is none to witness but the few.

It would not be difficult to point to persecuted individuals who are suffering today because they have had a vision of a United World. The unthinking crowd may even now be crucifying the Avatar of the World Religion.

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Indian Labour in Ceylon and Malaya

The following report on the decline in employment of Indian labour in Ceylon and Malay appears in the *International Labour Review*:

In Ceylon the estimated Indian estate population fell from 740,000 in December 1929 to 651,000 in December 1932 and to 596,000 by 30 June 1933. In 1931, arrivals of estate labourers receiving assisted passages totalled 68,000 and departures of estate labourers 75,000, and in 1932 50,000 assisted labourers arrived and 58,000 labourers left. Until November 1933 the recruiting of Indian workers by *kanganies* (workmen employed on the estates for which they recruit) continued. Of the recruited labourers, however 2,157 were close relations of the *kanganies* and only 5,946 were other labourers. Another method of obtaining Indian labour for Ceylon is by granting free passages to workers in India who have been nominated by their friends or relations in Ceylon. During 1932, 5,320 workers were so registered.

In Malaya the movement back to India was more marked than in Ceylon. There was no recruitment of Indian labour during 1932 and except in a very few special cases the system of paying for the passages of Indian labourers was not applied. Immigration, however, was not restricted and during the year 17,734 Southern Indians arrived as deck passengers by the regular immigrant boat services. The main stream of migration, however, was towards India, 85,051 deck passengers leaving Malaya, of whom 56,476 were repatriated free of charge. The movement decreased during 1933 and by the end of August a balance of only 15,257 Southern Indians had left the country during the eight months of the year.

The Sinkiang War

Situated on the northern border of India, Sinkiang, formerly called Chinese Turkestan, the least known inhabited portion of the earth's surface, occupies an important strategic position for which Britain, Japan and Russia contend. The following editorial comment appears in *The New Republic*:

A three-sided war has been raging in what is probably the least known inhabited portion af the earth's surface—Sinkiang, formerly called Chinese Turkestan. Ostensibly the three contending factions are, first, the Mohammedan natives of the southern part of the province, around Kashgar; second, the latter Mohammedan tribesmen of the north; and third, the Chinese provincial government. Actually the Sinkiang war, in which many thousands have been killed and 2,000 massacred in a single night, is being fought among three of the Great Powers: Great Britain, Japan and Russia. But this statement, too, must be qualified. Russia is not really a party to the war, has shown no wish to conquer Sinkiang and has maintained extremely friendly relations with the Chinese provincial government. Since the building of the new Turksib railway, these relations had indeed become entirely too friendly and had involved too flourishing a trade to suit the ambitions of Great Britain and Japan. Both of these powers would like to occupy Sinkiang, as it occupies an important strategic position, since it lies on the northern border of India and since it could easily serve as a base for an attack on the Soviet Union.

It is generally taken for granted that the Japanese have been sending money and arms to the Mohammedan tribesmen of the north; and the charge that the southern rebels are armed with British rifles and are receiving direct advice from British agents in Kashgar has been made often and on weighty authority both Russian and Chinese. The struggle in Sinkiang is still undecided. The pro-Japanese faction was defeated by the Chinese provincial government in the north and thereupon moved south to fight against the pro-British faction, which had meanwhile set up an "independent" State. Meanwhile, a note of light comedy was injected into a situation full of danger for the world by a United Press report from London to the effect that Dr. Khalid Sheldrake, the son of a British pickle manufacturer, would soon be crowned as "King of Islamestan"—which is nothing else than Sinkiang or Chinese Turkestan, under a new name.

1936 or 1934?

After having a retrospective view of the past situations in China Mr. Chen Kung-Po, Minister of Industry, gives a graphic account of what would befall her in the event of a Russo-Japanese conflict. The following extracts are taken from *The People's Tribune*:

Since 1931 the perilous position of China has been clearly revealed to the world, but from the middle of last year I have seen in the newspapers and heard in private conversations repeated references to "1936". One may have ideas about the events of 1936, and of what China may become in that year, but nobody appears to have studied the reasons why 1936 should be so vital a point in China's history, which appears to be a very general impression.

While the year 1936 may be one of very great moment for other nations' it is this year of 1934 which actually makes the turning-point for us—which means our national life or death. If China's fortunes are decided this year, and the tide goes against us, there will be no chance for us to talk in 1936.

The immediate problem which confronts us is the possibility of a Russo-Japanese clash, the imminence of which causes us to be most apprehensive. The resumption of diplomatic relations between the United States and the U.S.S.R. may have delayed the danger or hastened it. Everyone has his own views on that point, but it goes without saying that China will grow relatively weaker and her position become more perilous following the resumption of Russo-American relations.

In the event of a Russo-Japanese clash, China is certain to be victimized. We have already had two bitter experiences—the Russo-Japanese war in the Three Eastern Provinces and the German-Japanese conflict at Tsingtao.

The situation in the event of another Russo-Japanese clash will be entirely different. Japan will no longer have an understanding with Great Britain nor will she see the American attitude so aloof as it was. Even if these two Powers declares their neutrality, they cannot help taking defensive measures along the coast to protect their interest in North China. Communications in the north and transport facilities along the coasts will be seriously interfered with and perhaps paralysed. China will not enjoy the independence and freedom even

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of the smallest State, and her suffering will be appalling.

—

Sigmund Freud on War

Singmund Freud, the founder of the School of Psycho-analysis, describes in the columns of *The Modern Thinker*, a series of problems, which confronts Society, today. These are, whether 'War can be averted' or not, 'Is pacifism an Utopian dream ?' and 'What are the psychological factors that underlie the War drive ' etc. We quote below the concluding portions of his remark :

Let us bear in mind that in human beings the desire to hate and destroy is rampant. There are two kinds of desire in human beings : the one to retain and unite, which we call the erotic or sexual desire and the other to destroy or kill which we call the desire of aggression or destruction. We may justly call the erotic urge the life desire and the latter the death desire. It is clear then that there is no sense in even endeavoring to abolish the aggressive inclination in human beings. Although it is said that in happier parts of the earth where nature abundantly provides man's material needs, there are tribes that lead a life of tranquility where coercion and aggression are unknown, I personally find it difficult to believe. I wish I knew more about those happy people. The Bolshevists too, hope that they may abolish human aggression by satisfying material needs and in general creating equality among the people. I consider this an illusion. At present they are most carefully armed and hate is not the least of the ties with which they bind their followers together against those who defy them.

To find a formula for the indirect abolition of warfare, let us go back to our psychological studies. If the willingness for warfare is based on the desire for destruction, then it is obvious that if we try to bring against it its opposite, the erotic desire, it will be counterbalanced. That is, erotic desire in a wider sense, in a platonic sense, without sexual goal. (Psycho-analysis does not have to be bashful when it talks of love. Does not religion, too, say "Love thy neighbor as thyself" ?) This of course is easily suggested but difficult of fulfilment. The other kind of emotional unification can be achieved by identification. Identification can be created by anything which is common to humans. Upon this identification rests to a great extent the evolution of human society.

How long we will have to wait until the whole world become pacifist it is difficult to say. Perhaps it is not a utopian dream after all that the factors I have outlined and the justifiable fear of the terrible effects of a war may put an end to warfare. In the meantime we may say whatever helps the development of culture helps to avert war.

—

Bertrand Russell on Insects.

Insects have an advantage in their numbers. Another advantage is the fact that they eat our food before it is ripe for us. In the next [illegible] war, if the scientists on either side invoke [illegible] aid of insects and micro-organisms against [illegible] crops and man-power of the enemy, it is by [illegible] means unlikely that the pests and germs will remain the sole ultimate victors. Bertrand Russell writes in *The Modern Thinker* :

Amid wars and rumors of wars, while the acrimonious of Disarmament Conferences threaten the human race with unprecedented disaster, another conflict perhaps even more important is receiving much less notice than it deserves—I mean that between men and insects.

We are accustomed to being the Lords of Creation; we no longer have occasion, like the cave-men, to fear lions and tigers, mammoth and wild boars. Except against each other, we feel ourselves secure. But while big animals no longer threaten our existence, it is otherwise with small animals.

Once before in the history of life on this planet large animals gave place to small ones. For many ages dinosaurs ranged unconcerned through swamp and forest, fearing nothing but each other, not doubting the absoluteness of their empire. But they disappeared and give place to tiny mammals—mice, small hedge-hogs, miniature horses scarcely bigger than rats, and such like.

The mammals, having become supreme, proceeded to grow big. But the biggest, the mammoth, is extinct and the other large mammals have grown rare, except man and those that he has domesticated. Men, by his intelligence, has succeeded in finding nourishment for a large population in spite of this size. He is safe, except from the little animals—the insects and the micro-organisms.

Insects have an initial advantage in their numbers. A small wood may easily contain as many ants as there are human beings in the whole world. They have another advantage in the fact that they eat our food before it is ripe for us. Many noxious insects which used to live only in some one comparatively small region have been unintentionally transported by man to new environments where they have done immense damage.

Fortunately science has discovered ways by which insect pests can be kept under. Most of them are liable to parasites which kill so many that the survivors cease to be a serious problem ; and entomologists are engaged in studying and breeding such parasites.

Unfortunately, so long as war contiues, all scientific knowledge is double edged. In the next big war, the scientists on either side will let loose pests on the crops of the other, and it may prove scarcely possible to destroy the pests when the peace comes. The more, we know, the more harm we can do each other.

If human beings, in their rage against each other, invoke the aid of insects and micro-organisms, as they certainly will do if there is another big war, it is by no means unlikely that the insects will remain the sole ultimate victors. Perhaps, from a cosmic point of view this is not to be regretted ; but as a human being I cannot help sighing over my own species.

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RELATIVE PUBLIC SPIRIT AND ENTERPRISE OF HINDUS AND MUHAMMADANS IN BENGAL

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

[Mr. Ramesh Chandra Banerjee in his 'Hindu and Muslim Public Spirit in Bengal' in *The Modern Review* for March 1934 has anticipated me and has anticipated well. In the following article I shall attempt to leave out the matters dealt with by Mr. Banerjee. I began to collect materials some two years ago; and as the latest annual reports etc. were not always available the facts and figures are somwhat out of date. I have tried to be up-to-date, but have not sacrificed accuracy to up-to-dateness. If any body helps me by giving the later figures, whether in support of my conclusions or against them, they would be equally welcome. If any error or mistake has crept in, I shall be grateful if it is pointed out.

J. M. D.]

THERE is a general belief that the Muhammadans are not enterprising or public-spirited or are less public-spirited and less enterprising than the Hindus. We do not want to define public spirit; throughout this article we use it in the popular and loose sense of the term. We all understand what is meant by public spirit or enterprise. It is manifestation of character in the individual, and of tradition of service in the community. Hence by comparing the relative public spirit and enterprise of the two communities we get a measure of their respective fitness for self-control or self-government or their ability to carry on the work of civilized government.

Let us examine how far the popular belief is justified. Bengal is malarious; to prevent its spread and to control it, if possible, the Central Co-operative anti-Malarial Society was established by Rai Bahadur Gopal Chandra Chatterjee, M. B., C. I. E., in 1919. Even Miss Mayo has been compelled to praise its beneficial activities. It is responsible for the establishment of some 1640 subsidiary village societies throughout the length and breadth of Bengal. None of its Directors, none of its honorary organizers, none of its advisory committee are or have been Muhammadans; of the 72 medical volunteers, only 3 are Muhammadans; of the 6 gold and silver medals offered every year, only 1 Muhammadan has ever been found to deserve it; of Rs. 6,050 received as contribution in 1931, not a single pie has been paid by any Muhammadan. Of the secretaries of these 1640 village societies, 241 are Muhammadans. This works out to 21 per cent; while their proportion in the population is 55 per cent. Even this 21 per cent is not a true index of their public spirit; for in many cases a Muhammadan had to be elected as secretary to obtain facilities and grants from the communally-minded Muhammadan Chairman of certain District Boards and Local Boards. The writer could give specific instances, but refrains through fear of injuring the particular societies.

The Tuberculosis Association of Bengal is a semi-official organization for combating the disease. Any one can become its member by paying a subscription of Rs. 5 only, 3 per cent of its members are Muhammadans. No member of the medical committee, none of its life members, is a Muhammadan. Not a single pice has been donated towards its funds by them. And tuberculosis is more rampant among them on account of strict *purdah* in the congested *bustees*.

From the Report of the Mission to Lepers it appears that in 1929-30 out of a total of donations and subscriptions amounting to Rs. 39,424, the Muhammadans contributed Rs. 45 only. In 1930-31, out of a total of Rs. 22,532 their share was Rs. 75. Working out their percentage on the average for 2 years, it comes to 0·19 per cent. Rai D. N. Mallik Bahadur Trust Fund pays Rs. 2,000 annually.

From the Report on the working of the Albert-Victor Hospital for Leprosy at Gobra for 1928 and 1929 it appears that 211 Hindus and 95 Muhammadans were treated as outdoor and indoor patients. The income of the trust funds created by Hindus amounted to Rs. 2,907; but no such fund has been created by any Muhammadan. Excepting H. E. H. the Nizam, who paid Rs. 1,250 during his stay at Calcutta, no Muhammadan has contributed anything.

In the Bengal Provincial Branch of the Red Cross Society, only 3 per cent of the members and associates are Muhammadans. In the Nadia local centre only 7 per cent of the members are Muhammadans, although they form 61 per cent of the local population.

The Committee of the All-Bengal Women's Union for the promotion of social purity throughout Bengal is 40 strong. Out of 40 only 3 bear Muhammadan names; one of whom we know to be an Indian Christian married to a Muhammadan gentleman, and we hope the other two are Muhammadan by religion.

The Saroj Nalini Dutt Memorial Association is well-known throughout India for its welfare work amongst the Indian women. It has organized nearly 400 Mahila Samitis (or ladies' clubs,) throughout the length and breadth of Bengal. The central association has been

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specially directing its efforts to the benefit of the Muhammadan community, and as a result 2 Muhammadan Mahila Samitis have been established. Out of Rs. 71,000 received as donations, the Muhammadans have contributed Rs. 2,000. Of its 151 life members 2 are Muhammadans; and of its 450 ordinary members only 23 are Muhammadans.

It appears from the Annual Report of the Calcutta Health Welfare Week 1933 that not a single Muhammadan contributed anything towards its cost.

At the time of the last serious flood in Eastern Bengal, the two Muhammadan Ministers of the Government of Bengal contributed Rs. 50 each towards flood relief, the Hindu Minister contributed Rs. 250. The flood affected the tenantry of one of the Muhammadan ministers; and he is getting Rs. 64,000 per annum—the same pay as the Hindu Minister.

Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray, who cannot be accused of the least communal bias, says about flood relief in 1922 and 1931 in his *Life and Experiences* at p. 256:

> "But, perhaps, the most significant fact about the flood is that it presents the problem of Hindu-Moslem entente in a somewhat more hopeful light. For the benefit of those who do not believe in the possibility of such an entente, let us point out that nearly 80 per cent of the suffering population were Mussalmans, but nearly 99 per cent of the help rendered—in men and money—came from the Hindus, and we are sure no Hindu ever grudged a single pice or a particle of energy that was spent on behalf of his Muslim brother."

The response is that the British Red Crescent Society sends money for the Muslim sufferers in the Bihar Earthquake and a special fund is started for rebuilding the Mosques.

In the *Review of Rural Welfare Activities in India 1932*, published under the auspices of the Indian Village Welfare Association of England, 13 different unofficial organizations are mentioned for their welfare activities in Bengal. Of these 13 only 1 is a Muhammadan organization which "ameliorates the condition of rural Muslims, encouraging education, hygiene, recreation, and thrift."

The Society for the Improvement of Backward Classes in Bengal and Assam was established in 1909, and has been doing good work since then. In 1932-33 it was imparting education to 11,813 boys and 5,260 girls in 444 schools, of these 1,830 were Muhammadan boys and 553 Muhammadan girls. They formed the second strongest class or caste among those receiving instruction. Public subscription during the year amounted to Rs. 13,941-14-11, but not a single pice was contributed by the Muhammadans. Contributions towards the Permanent Fund amounted to Rs. 35,537-8-0 and the late Sir Muhammad Shafi has been the only Muhammadan to contribute and he contributed Rs. 10. All credit to him, a Panjabi Muhammadan.

The Bengal After-care Association looks after the welfare of the juvenile convicts after release. Out of 77 subscribers to its funds 8 are Muhammadans. In the Employment Committee, which provides for their suitable employment, only 1 is a Muhammadan. None of the district correspondents is a Muhammadan.

While the Muhammadan politicians and the Muhammadan merchants could organize themselves into a Muslim Chamber of Commerce within 3 days of the announcement of the Premier's Communal Award, so that they might secure 1 out of the 5 Commerce seats allotted to Indian commerce none of the Muhammadan merchants would or could come forward, none of the Muhammadan politicians would or could induce them to be members of the Employment Committee and thus be instrumental in providing honest work for the juvenile ex-convicts, although a large proportion of such juvenile offenders are Muhammadans.

From the Annual Report on the working of Hospitals and Dispensaries under the Government of Bengal for 1929 (published late in 1931) it appears that large donations amounting to Rs. 40,545 were paid by the Hindus in Calcutta as against the Rs. 10,500 paid by H. E. H. the Nizam during his stay. No other Muhammadan paid anything. Outside Calcutta Rs. 96,788 were donated by the Hindus as against *nil* by the Muhammadans. In statement H, accounts of invested capital of hospitals and dispensaries are shown. It is rather difficult to estimate the relative contributions of the Hindus and the Muhammadans, for though we know that almost the entire sum of Rs. 9,28,000 of the Carmichael Medical College Hospital has come from Hindu sources, we do not like to be dogmatic in favour of the Hindus. So the method we have adopted is that if a Hospital or a Dispensary is named after a Hindu or a Muhammadan, we take the capital to be donated by a Hindu or a Muhammadan as the case may be: for example, Bidhan Nath Bose's Dispensary, Barrackpore, with an invested capital of Rs. 1,55,000 is taken to be donated by a Hindu; while the capital of the Hoogly Imambara Sadar Hospital, Rs. 18,... is taken to be a Muhammadan gift. In this way the Hindu contributions total Rs. 1,72,000. As against the Muhammadans Rs. 9,25,000 form 16 per cent. Muhammadan's contribution are concerned only. So far as the benefits are concerned, 30 lac Hindus were treated as against 34 lac Muhammadans, although the bulk of the Muhammadans live in non-malarious and healthy Eastern Bengal districts. The year 1929 is an exceptional year in favour of the Muhammadans. In 1926, for example, the Hindus donated Rs. 1,55,000 as against *nil* by the Muhammadans.

The Muhammadans are overwhelmingly ... The Bengal Home Crafters' Associa...

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started in 1928 to demonstrate improved agricultural methods has got 2 Muhammadan members out of 71.

In 1930, the Bengal Government appointed Irrigation Committee to consider the advisability of the formation of provincial waterways board, creation of a department of waterways, etc., under the presidency of Mr. Hopkyns. The Committee toured throughout Bengal for 2 months, especially in Eastern Bengal and invited evidence from all and sundry. Only 29 Muhammadans gave evidence out of 168 ; and several of them jointly in groups.

From the Annual Report of the All Bengal Libraries Association, it appears that all the office-bearers and members were Hindus in 1928. Of the 183 libraries affiliated, only 11 are founded or organized or maintained by the Muhammadans; and some 4 or 5 though organized and mainly financed by the Hindus are maintained jointly with the Muhammadans. Of those we made enquiries some 76 are organized, founded, financed and maintained exclusively by the Hindus.

In the Calcutta University Institute for students reading in the local colleges, we find that of 1466 student members only 7 came from the Islamia College, *none* from the Calcutta Madrassah as against 21 from the Sanskrit College (Report for 1929-30). All the donations for the ambulance work came from the Hindus. In the inter-collegiate recitation competition, not a single Muhammadan got any prize or honourable mention in English, Bengali, Sanskrit or Hindi; of course the 3 prize-winners in Urdu were Muhammadans. Those Muhammadans whose mother-tongue was Bengali could not compete. The most significant thing is that all the donors of medals and prizes were Hindus, of the 478 members of the General Committee representing the elite of Calcutta, only 3 were Muhammadans.

In the Calcutta University registered graduates have the right of electing a certain number of senators; but they have to pay an annual contribution. Only 6 out of 788 registered graduates are Muhammadans; and if the registered graduates do not elect any Muhammadan for want of suitable qualifications, the blame must be laid on the Hindus, as they must be guilty of being communally minded.

Of the college teachers the Muhammadans are less than 6 per cent. It is not the communal bias of the Hindus or the over-partiality of the Government in favour of the Hindus which is responsible for so low a percentage. Of the graduates produced by the Calcutta University since 1857 not more than 6 per cent are Muhammadans. Khan Bahadur Aziz-ul Haque, B. L., M. L. C., in his *Plea for Separate Electorates to Bengal* complained that amongst the University Professors and Lecturers in the Calcutta University the Muhammadans are conspicuous by their absence. May we ask him in reply, how many, if any, Muhammadan M. A.'s or M. Sc.'s there are in, say, Experimental Psychology, Comparative Philology, Anthropology, Geology, Botany, Zoology, etc? and if there is 1 Muhammadan there are at least 10 better qualified Hindus. Speaking of the intellectual achievements of the Muhammadans it would not be uninteresting to compare the number of papers submitted by them to the Indian Science Congress—an all-India body.

At the session held in 1932, the president of the plenary session is a Hindu, of the 9 sectional presidents 6 are Hindus, but no one is a Muhammadan. And 1932 is not an exceptional year. None of the general presidents during 1914-1932 was a Muhammadan ; none of the sectional presidents during the same period in Agriculture, Chemistry, Zoology, Botany Geology, Medical and Veterinary Science, Anthropology and Psychology was a Muhammadan. Only 1 Muhammadan was a sectional president during these years. None of the members of the Council, Executive Committee, Secretaries, Treasurers, etc., was a Muhammadan. Of the papers read (in 1932) 1out of 57 in Agriculture, 7 out of 118 in Mathematics and Physics, 3 out of 221 in Chemistry, 2 out of 41 in Zoology, 11 out of 123 in Botany, *none* out of 36 in Geology, 1 jointly with Hindu out of 42 in Medicine and Veterinary Research, 1 out of 22 in Anthropology and *none* out of 28 in Psychology are by Muhammadans. They contributed 26 out of 693 papers or less than 4 per cent of the total. This is not an exceptional year, in 1930 the Muhammadans contributed 22 out of 671. Of the 225 permanent members 5 are Muhammadans; of the 252 sessional members 8 are Muhammadans and of the Associates only 2 are Muhammadans ; of the 96 members of the Reception Committee 2 are Muhammadans.

They have contributed largely in Botany, we may therefore expect to find their largest percentage in membership in the Indian Botanical Society. Only 3 out of 86 life and full members, and 1 out of 49 associates are Muhammadans. As this is an all-India Society, the Muhammadan's all-India percentage of about 22 should be remembered for comparision.

The membership of other scientific societies, such as, the Indian Chemical Society, Physical Society, Calcutta Mathematical Society, Indian Mathematical Society, Calcutta Geographical Society, etc., shows a paucity of the Muhammadans.

All the Indian scientific journals are founded and conducted by the Hindus. *Current Science*, a monthly journal devoted to Science on the lines of the celebrated *Nature*, is published with the editorial co-operation of 21 different scientists; but none of them is a Muhammadan. *The Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society*, *The*

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Indian Journal of Psychology, Journal of Physics, The Indian Physico-Mathematical Journal, Journal of the Indian Chemical Society, Quarterly Journal of the Geological and Mining Institute have all one feature in common—the absence or paucity of the Muhammadans amongst its contributors and conductors.

Taking the all-India institutions into consideration, we find no institution founded by the Muhammadans corresponding to the Bose Research Institute founded by Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose, the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science founded by the late Dr. Mahendralal Sarkar, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona or the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore. Speaking of the Bose Institute the capital value of its endowments is over 10 lacs, the entire amount of which has been furnished by the Hindus, of its life members and associates only 1 per cent. is Muhammadan. Similar is the case also with the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science.

Coming to the literary (as opposed to purely scientific) societies, the position of the Muhammadans is not better. Only 7 per cent of the members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal are Muhammadans. The membership of the other learned societies like the Indian Philosophical Society, Calcutta Psychical Society, Indian Economic Society etc., are almost exclusively Hindu. The Bengali Muhammadans' interest in Bengali language and literature is evidenced by the fact of their being 11 Muhammadans out of 1,100 members of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat (the Bengal Academy of Literature), an institution of over 40 years' standing. Of course, the Mussalman Bengalis have a separate Sahitya Parishat of their own.

The number and variety of magazines in Bengali may be taken as an index of the development of all round activities of the Bengali society. Their number and the class to which they belong, so far as we have been able to ascertain them, are shown in the table below :

Class	Conducted by Hindus	Muhammadans
General	35	4
Ladies' journal	4	
Economics	5	
Health	5	
Co-operation	2	
Cinema	4	
Agriculture	3	
Children's magazine	5	
Radio, etc.	2	
Science	1	
Insurance	1	
Religion, Philosophy	4	
Local Self-government	2	
Miscellaneous	7	2
	80	6

The influence of a magazine can be estimated from its circulation. Some of the first class Hindu magazines claimed a circulation running up to 15,000 before the present economic depression; even now they may have a circulation not below 10,000. On the other hand, the maximum circulation that can be claimed for a Muhammadan magazine is 2,600. In size and get-up they cannot compare with the Hindu. We have not taken into account the caste magazines, as caste is a Hindu specialty.

Of the 158 members of the Indian Journalists' Association of Calcutta, only 18 are Muhammadans; and of the 98 journals represented therein 9 are conducted by the Muhammadans.

Turning now to the commercial activities of the Muhammadans, certain facts and figures would not be uninteresting. In the membership roll of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce (before the establishment of the Muslim Chamber of Commerce) we find 3 Muhammadan names out of 307. There is not a single Muhammadan member in the Bengal Chamber of Commerce; the number of Bengali Hindu members being some 5. We are told that there are no Bengali Muhammadan members of the Indian Chamber of Commerce and of the Marwari Chamber of Commerce.

None of the members of the Calcutta Stock Exchange is a Muhammadan.

The Bengal Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee remarks that the Muhammadans play an insignificant part in the trade of Bengal.

We now turn to the activities of the Muhammadans in the field of Insurance. All the 14 Indian-owned and edited journals in English and the different provincial vernaculars are founded and edited by Hindus. The 3 insurance magazines issued from Calcutta are all conducted and edited by Hindus. The 3 Insurance Associations and Institutes in Bengal are conducted by Hindus, not a single Muhammadan being among its committee members or Secretaries, of the 20 Indian Life Insurance Companies with their head offices in Bengal, we find 15 Muhammadan directors out of 152; and if we leave aside the one exclusively Muhammadan recently started, the figures come to 7 out of 144. In the governing body of the Commerce College there is 1 Muhammadan out of 14. In the *Who's Who of Indian Insurance* we find 3 Muhammadans out of a total of 234. We read in the *Insurance World* for April 1934 that "at present out of about 140 Indian insurance companies there is only one that is being conducted by Muslims."

Recently we have heard much about the employment of the Muhammadans in the Calcutta Corporation. About 17·5 per cent of its employees are Muhammadans; but of the members of the Calcutta Corporation

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operative Death Benefit Society, less than 13 per cent are Muhammadans.

The Bengal Muhammadans are very loud in claiming representation proportional to population. They claimed reservation proportional to population, and they have got it in the new Bengal Municipal Act. At the first all-Bengal Municipal Conference held in June 1932 to consider the new Municipal Bill, only 11 Muhammadans attended! The President, the Chairman of the Reception Committee and the organizers were all Hindus.

At the preliminary meeting held at the Senate Hall to celebrate the Centenary of Raja Ram Mohun Roy only 21 Muhammadans were found out of 363. And this proportion in a land where they are 55 per cent; and to honour a man to whom distant America, France and Japan are paying homage.

Many gentlemen of taste and culture present birds and animals to the Calcutta Zoological Gardens, one of the largest and best organized gardens of the world; the number of such Muhammadan donors is 3 out of 55.

Of the 111 endowments held under the Charitable Trusts Act of 1890 in Bengal totalling Rs. 16,43,000 only 2 are the gifts of the Muhammadans, and their aggregate value is Rs. 30,700.

If one goes through carefully the membership lists of the various Ward Health Associations or Committees under the Calcutta Corporation, one is struck by the paucity of Muhammadan names.

Amongst the subscribers or shareholders of the Calcutta Public Library, which later on under the control of Government has developed into the Imperial Library, a Muhammadan name is a rarity.

Of the various public, charitable, literary and scientific societies named below, the strength of the Muhammadan membership or their proportion of contribution towards their respective funds are either insignificant or below 5 per cent of total strength. It would be tedious to the readers if we went on giving details.

(1) Bengal Social Service League.
(2) Calcutta District Charitable Society.
(3) Society for the Prevention of Cruelty towards Animals.
(4) The Refuge.
(5) Society for Protection of Children in India.
(6) Agri-Horticultural Society.
(7) Albert Institute.
(8) All-Bengal College and University Teachers' Association.
(9) All-India Cow Conference Association.
(10) All-India Homoepathic Association.
(11) Anthropological Society of India.
(12) Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education of Indians.
(13) Association of Apprentices for Accountancy and Auditing.
(14) Association of Engineers.
(15) Automobile Association of Bengal.
(16) Bengal Co-operative Orgainzation Society.
(17) Bengal Land-holders' Association
(18) Bengal Olympic Association.
(19) Boy Scouts Association.
(20) British Indian Association.
(21) Calcutta Chess Society.
(22) Calcutta Temperance Federation.
(23) Economic Society.
(24) Calcutta Geographical Society.
(25) Indian Association.
(26) Indian Life Saving Society.
(27) Indian Society of Oriental Arts.
(28) Children's Fresh Air Society.
(29) Indian Medical Club.
(30) Institute of Incorporated Accountants.
(31) Insurance Institute.
(32) Calcutta Blind School.
(33) Calcutta Deaf and Dumb School.

So far as it is individually possible we have tried to be accurate and exhaustive. There are errors of omission and if there are errors of unconscious commission, we shall be thankful if they are pointed out.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Hindu Bengalis are by no means as public-spirited and enterprising as they ought to be. They are backward. It is only because of the greater backwardness of Mussalman Bengalis that the former shine by contrast. As Mussalman Bengalis are going to be invested with a greater share of real or nominal political power than Hindu Bengalis, both ought to be at least equally public-spirited and enterprising. It would be something if Mussalman Bengalis founded and maintained as many educational and other institutions for the exclusive benefit of their co-religionists as the Hindu and Christian Bengalis have established and maintain for the benefit of all communities.

The collapse of liberty on the continent of Europe is in every case attributable to the failure of men of progressive ideals to cohere and co-operate on the only issues of immediate moment. Survival of liberty has been subordinated to the triumph of particular groups.—Mr. LLOYD GEORGE

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

SCEPTICISM AND CONSTRUCTION : *By Charles A. Campbell* : *George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.*

Mr Campbell's book has been before the public for some time now and while it has established the author's reputation as a clear and acute writer it has not equally established his constructive originality. The author set out to prove that Bradley's half-hearted disbelief in the reality of the world should be pushed to its extreme limits, and not only the Bradleian theory of the Degrees of Reality but also the non-relational cognition of the Absolute should be abandoned. He tries to prove in the manner of Kant that Noumenal Truth is unattainable by the human intellect and that its highest achievement lies in articulating "final phenomenal truths" by which he means such truths as are "intellectually incorrigible" or insusceptible of revision or modification under the conditions of finite experience. The author tries to prove that the experience of self-activity, moral experience and religious experience are such incorrigible truths, for unlike illusions (which, by the way, is the name given to Religion by Freud) they cannot be removed by fuller knowledge and yet at the same time they cannot be said to give us an intellectually coherent knowledge of Reality as a whole. "Reality in its true character must be pronounced to be disparate from each and every thought-product." Even the felt unity of immediate experience, postulated by Bradley, is not a fact nor even a thought unity ; hence it cannot be said to be mental in character in any sense and the main thesis of Idealism is not proved.

But the author is not willing to go all the way with Spencer and to declare roundly that Reality is unknown and unknowable. He claims that we have a knowledge of Reality but only in a negative way, namely, as what it *is not* rather than what it *is*. The validity of this position rests ultimately upon the significance of the negative judgment, that is, whether without knowing any positive content it is possible to say what a thing is not. The author draws from this position the consistent conclusion that Reality being unknowable in its true nature the coherent theory of truth is inadmissible and to finite mind correspondence with another is the highest attainable truth, although he admits that ideal truth must be envisaged as an experience in which thought and reality are no longer disunited. The shadow of Kant is unmistakable here. The author's attitude towards religious experience is vacillating for while he uses it to prove that it is based on two contradictory beliefs that God is perfect and that evil exists to be combated, he feels at the same time that its factual character is not so sure as that of moral experience and of self-activity. He thinks that the unknowability of God proceeds not from characterlessness but from the infinite dimensions of His attributes of power, wisdom and goodness—a position with which even the most devout man would thoroughly agree without subscribing to the sceptical aspect of the author's philosophy. The author admits however that although philosophy is unable to find the form of God, direct experience possibly can, but in that case God would be supra-rational. Obviously such a God cannot be known to be personal and no historical individual can serve as a medium between Him and man. "Surely the right attitude to the historical exemplars of goodness is not to sit at their feet but to stand on their shoulders."

The book is a most helpful introduction to the ethical problem and the careful reader will profit much by a perusal of the author's review of the problem of freedom and moral obligation. Though the ethical portion is disproportionate and the reader would have liked a fuller treatment of the philosophical issues involved, there is no reason why the author should not get credit for his acute discussion of moral principles and theories. He fights for the autonomy of the moral experience without reference to its religious significance and for a direct experience of free will-energy. He even fights the cause of Indeterminism and admits that the end of the individual as such is relative to the culture of the individual involved and need not be considered from an absolute standpoint.

The author reacts negatively to all absolutistic

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philosophy that professes to characterize Reality in a positive fashion and jeopardizes the reality of finite initiative. He might have discussed the whole thing in his own way without reference to Bradley whose philosophy he professes to develop but whose *Essays on Truth and Reality* he studiously ignores.

H. D. BHATTACHARYYA

POETS OF OUR TIME: *Eric Gillett, M. A. (Cantab), Professor of English Language and Literature, Singapore. With an introduction by J. C. Squire. Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd. 1932. 2s. 6d.*

An anthology of contemporary poetry, in which A. E., Hilaire Belloc, Laurence Binyon, W. H. Davies, Walter de la Mare, John Masefield, W. B. Yeats figure with others, is always welcome; "a simple lyric may outlive many ambitious monuments" —as Mr. Squire says in the introduction, and the lyrics selected have the advantage of being pure lyrics, free from any *doctrinaire* taint. Notes by the compiler given at the end of the volume will increase its usefulness as a text-book.

THE HEART OF HINDUSTHAN: *Sir S. Radhakrishnan. Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co, Madras. Re. 1. 1932.*

A collection of seven essays on the subject written by Sir Radhakrishnan and published previously in the Hibbert Journal and other periodicals. The usual lucidity of the author's exposition is here and the fact that in an incredibly short time the book has run to a second edition is a sufficient testimony of its popularity. Messrs Natesan & Co. have been well advised in bringing out this handy volume and making it avilable at a cheap price.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

RABINDRANATH AS SEEN THROUGH HIS "GARDENER": *By Govind Balwant Makoday, Gwalior, C. I. 1933, Pp. 48.*

In paying this tribute to Rabindranath the author tells us something about the poet's views on art and certain general questions. Incidentally he also enunciates his own views on art, which appear to be of an utilitarian character. The author is sometimes carried away by his enthusiasm and his style seems to be a little verbose. But this is excusable in an essay frankly written as a tribute.

The printing and get-up ought to have been better.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

THE REORGANISATION OF EDUCATION IN CHINA. *By the League of Nations' Mission of educational experts: C. H. Becker of Berlin, P. Langevin of Paris, M. Falski of Warsaw, and R. H. Tawney of London. Published by the League of Nations' Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, 2, rue de Montpensier, Paris I. Pp. 200 Medium 8vo. Illustrations and Maps. Price not mentioned. The Book Company, Ltd. College Square, Calcutta.*

The authors of this important, informing, interesting and very useful book are all distinguished educationalists in their country. What they have written for China other educationally undeveloped countries of Asia will be able to utilize by some necessary adaptation. They have treated of the educational situation in China, national education and foreign influences, the spirit of teaching especially in science, language and writing, principles of administration, financial organization, the teaching staff, the distribution of schools over the country, rational utilization of schools, social selection of school children and students, the school system, primary education, secondary education, university education, adult education, and conclusions and suggestions for preparatory measures of reform.

INDIAN PROBLEMS: SPEECHES BY LORD IRWIN. *Pp. 376 Medium 8 vo. With a portrait of Lord Irwin. Cloth Price 12s. 6d. net. George Allen & Unwin Ltd.*

This volume of Lord Irwin's speeches is representative, but not exhaustive. The speeches included in it were delivered before the two Central Legislative bodies; before the Chamber of Princes; at University Convocations, Universities, Colleges, and other educational institutions; at agricultural conferences; at various clubs; to different commercial bodies; &c., and at Toronto University, 1932. They are distin guished by his clearness of style and suavity of tone. They enable the reader to understand his policy in regard to various Indian problems.

KESHAB CHANDRA AND RAMKRISHNA. *By G. C. Banerji, retired District and Sessions Judge, B. & O. Ordinary binding Rs. 2, cloth Rs. 2-8. Pp. 402+xviii. Crown 8vo. with portraits of Ramkrishna and Keshab. To be had of the Author at Gyan Kutir, Katra, Allahabad.*

According to the author, this book is "a statement placing before the public the true spiritual relationships that subsisted between the God-intoxicated soul. Paramhansa Ramkrishna and Samanvaya-Acharya Brahmananda Keshab Chandra Sen." He "holds both of these great men in the highest estimation." With reference to certain matters M. Romain Rolland has informed the author that his (Rolland's) lack of knowledge of those things led him into certain errors in his work on the Paramhansa "which I shall try my best to rectify later on."

The author has rendered a distinct service to the cause of truth by writing this book.

INFORMATION ON THE WORLD COURT: *By J. W. Wheeler-Bennett, Hon. Secretary, Information Service on International Affairs; Hon. Information Secretary, Royal Institute of International Affairs; and Maurice Fanshawe, Director of Inquiries and Reports of League of Nations Union; with an introduction by Sir Cecil Hurst, G. C. M. G., K. C. B., Legal Adviser to the Foreign Office. Issued under the auspices of the Information Service on International Affairs. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London. Price 10s. net.*

Sir Cecil Hurst says in the introduction:

"Submission to the National Law Courts is a thing we all understand: it seems so natural that we have ceased to think anything about it; but the idea of being placed under the control of some international tribunal, a Court where the judges are mainly foreigners, men who do not understand our laws and who talk foreign tongues, that is something new, and not to be acquiesced in without careful consideration.

"This is why it is essential that we should know all about the Court under whose rule we are going to place ourselves for the future.

This book is designed to tell us the story of how the Court came into being, how it is constituted, the laws which it applies, the work which it has done and the procedure which it follows in deciding the

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cases which are brought before it. These are all matters with which seriously-minded people in the country should make themselves acquainted. The reason is not far to seek. If the Court at The Hague is to be accepted as part of the international life of the country, the people must have confidence in it; there can be no confidence in an institution about which we know nothing."

The book supplies the information needed. The authors are in a position to do so. They have given a full account of the origin, personnel and procedure of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and a review of the cases and of the important work done for the peace of the whole world, together with the text of the Statute, Court Rules, and other documents.

That a Court of Arbitral Justice is a necessity is being recognized more and more. For, "disagreements between States are bound to come," and to settle them without recourse to war is a distinct gain not only to the parties concerned but also to humanity at large.

C.

ANCIENT SOLUTIONS OF MODERN PROBLEMS: *By Shri Bhagavan Das, M.A., D.L. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, India.*

This is a lecture delivered by Dr. Bhagavan Das at Allahabad. Dr. Das like many others feels that the world today is groaning under the weight of modern civilization with its machinery, armament and maladminstration. And he suggests that the world could be cured of these evils only if it could be persuaded to live according to the maxims of conduct laid down by the ancient thinkers of India. Dr. Das apparently belongs to the same class of thinkers as the authors of the *Republic* and the *Utopia*. But like them he has to recognize that, after all, instead of leaving things to the inherent goodness of mankind, society has to undertake legislation of some kind at some stage or other. But who should make the laws? "The men of wisdom obviously" (p. 53), says Dr. Das. So said Plato also. But how would the men of wisdom and none else, be sent to the legislatures of the world? To this neither Plato nor Dr. Das has given any satisfactory answer. And the democracies of the world are still groping for a solution of this problem.

Although there is much that is commendable in Dr. Das's scheme of social organization, some of his *obiter dicta* will cause surprise in many quarters. For instance in p. 65 he makes the astounding statement that Sambuka, the Sudra, who was beheaded by Rama, King of Ayodhya, for alleged participation in religious rites which were open only to the Brahmins (*Ramayana*, vii.76), was *"the Health officer of Ayodhya."* This would be quite interesting if it were true; but Dr. Das gives no authority for this statement and the Ramayana does not support him.

We are not one of those who believe that ancient wisdom has solved beforehand all our difficulties of today. If the past generations were really so wise, the evils of the present should have been forestalled. But we have our miseries in spite of the wisdom of our forbears. That is no reason, however, why we should not draw inspiration from the wise men of the past, whenever possible. And any attempt at social reconstruction may receive considerable help from similar attempts in the past.

U. C. Bhattacharjee

HISTORY OF SHAHJAHAN OF DELHI *By Banarasi Prasad Saksena, M.A., Ph. D. (Lond.) The Indian Press, Allahabad; p. xxx+372.*

This well-written and scholarly monograph on Shahjahan by Dr. Banarasi Prasad Saksena opens with a highly appreciative foreword by the eminent historian, Sir Wolsley Haig. It is undoubtedly the first attempt to fill a blank in modern researches on the rule of the Mughal Emperors of Hindustan. In print and get-up, method and treatment, Dr. Saksena's book bears a family likeness to Dr. Beniprasad's History of Jahangir. It deserves every praise as a distinct and original contribution to the history of Medieval India.

It will be sheer injustice to Dr. Saksena to judge his work as the last word on the reign of Shahjahan which is due not to the author's limitations as a scholar but to the rigid limit of time and space forced on him by the exigencies of a University examination. The political history of Shahjahan as treated in this book may not at first appear strikingly original because here the author had to encounter the disadvantage of traversing a field for the most part explored by Dr. Beniprasad and Sir Jadunath Sarkar. However, on a closer study one cannot fail to notice that Dr. Saksena has been able to throw interesting sidelight by utilizing some hitherto unutilized MSS. on this period.

There were two episodes in the early career of Shahjahan, namely, the invasion of Bengal by the rebellious Prince Khurram and his relations with Malik Ambar of Ahmadnagar, which might have been studied by the author with greater advantage. Of these two Malik Ambar episode has recently been studied exhaustively by Dr. Jogindranath Chaudhuri, Ph. D. (Dacca University). But the other topic still awaits investigation. The author nowhere refers to the exteremely rare MS. of Baharistan-i-Ghaibi by Mirza Nathan first brought to the notice of scholars several years back by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. This MS. contains enough materials for a very interesting chapter on the early career of Shahjahan. Another important source, which was not available to Dr. Saksena in England was a valuable collection of letters in the Jaipur Archives, written by Mirza Raja Jai Singh to Shahjahan and his sons, and *farmans* and *nishans* received by him from them. Sir Jadunath Sarkar has got transcripts of about 1000 documents of this nature.

"Shahjahan in his (Dr. Saksena's) hands," says Sir Wolsley, "is not the virtuous sovereign with hardly any blemish on his character as depicted by contemporary Indian chroniclers, nor on the other hand is the monster of moral depravity as described by some European travellers." This is true no doubt but somehow we miss Shahjahan *as a man* in Dr. Saksena's book. Shahjahan was, as everybody will admit, a compound of Dara and Aurangzib. Dr. Saksena has brought out clearly the Aurangzib in Shahjahan, a pious Muslim, a destroyer of temples, a repressor of infidelity, who enforced some of the provisions of the so-called Charter of Caliph Umar on his Hindu subjects. It is indeed possible to multiply more instances of Shahjahan's bigotry than those given by Dr. Saksena; *e.g.*, a local officer rewarded by Shahjahan for carrying on a *jihad* converting a remnant of Hindu population of Dardu 40 miles south of Jalalabad and throwing of Chris icons into the Jamuna (Waris, 107 *b*; Lahori, I. It cannot be denied that this is the picture

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Shahjahan as he would have liked to portray himself, and as a matter of fact the official history of his reign depicts him as such. But a man is not always what he poses to be. Things, which in the opinion of the Emperor and his Court-historians appeared not fit to be recorded, have been gratefully commemorated by his Hindu subjects as marks of their ruler's liberal and catholicity of heart. Dr. Saksena, we are sorry to say, has failed in his duty as a historian by omitting mention of these facts side by side with Shahjahan's acts of bigotry. We should like to draw the attention of the author to a few facts :

1. Temples were repaired and bebuilt during this reign as Jain inscriptions of this period show.

2. Shahjahan restored the temple of Chintaman in Gujrat, (desecrated by Aurangzib)—to the Hindus.

3. Shahjahan received very kindly a deputation of Hindus, headed by Kavindracharyya Saraswati, a Maratha hermit and scholar residing in Benares, and in response to his prayer abolished the pilgrim-tax on Hindus (Introduction, Kavindracharyya Samgraha ; Gaekwad Oriental Series).

4. A *farman* of Shahjahan granted to Goswain Vithal Rai of Vallabhacharyya sect confirms the grant of Mowza Gokul "by His Majesty *for his use and the expenses of the Thakordwar*, tax-free and exempted from payment of dues.)" (*Imperial Farmans* by K. M. Jhaveri).

Indeed after Akbar, Shahjahan received the highest encomium from his Hindu subjects for his benevolent and paternal rule, though occasionally marked by outbursts of intolerance.

There is room for improvement on Dr. Saksena's chapter on Cultural Institutions, as the author admits. The defect has been mainly due to the author's omission of Fakira literature from his bibliography, and also the inadequate use of Abdul Hamid's *Padshah-nama*. The author might have with very great profit used Sher Khan Lodi's *Mirat-ul-khiyal* in writing biographical notices of poets of Shahjahan's time.

Considering the bulk of Dr. Saksena's book and the range of topics dealt by him, errors of fact and of judgment are comparatively very few. The following perhaps require revision ;

i. "Lal Khan, a son-in-law of Tansen (History of Shahjahan, p 268). If we are to accept the authority of Shahjahan's Court-historian, Abdul Hamid, Lal Khan was *the son-in-law of Tan Sen's son Vilas Khan* (*Damad-i-Vilas pisar-i-Tan Sen ast* ; Pad. iii. 5.)

ii. "Rao Amar Singh, sister's son to Raja Jai Singh" (p. 319). Amar Singh was *not* "sister's son to Jai Singh" ; but the *husband* of the Rajah's sister, by whom Amar Singh had one son Indra Singh, and a daughter, Indra Kumari. Indra Kumari was married to Sulaiman Shukoh. A letter written by Dara to Jai Singh (Jaipur Archives) makes this point clear.

iii. "Dara's minor son Sulaiman Shukoh built a name for himself in the fort of Qandahar, besieged it and conquered it" (p. xriii). Khafi Khan who misquotes *Lataif-ul-Akhabar* also attributes this childish pantomime to Sulaiman Shukoh. But we have by our side a MS. of *Lataif-ul-Akhabar*, in which the whole affair is attributed to Dara. Sulaiman Shukoh, so far as history goes, was not present at Lahor at this time. Mr. Khusrav's plot (p. 10). There has on this point perhaps been an error of judgment on the part of the author, who without critically sifting evidence, accepts the version against Khusrav. We should remember that *within a few months* of the betrothal of Asaf Khan's daughter to Prince Khurram this affair happened and men whom Khusrav is said to have taken into confidence were a brother, and a nephew of this Asaf Khan, and confession was made to no other person than the Diwan of Khurram. This plot was not hatched not by Khusrav *but against Khusrav.*

We most sincerely congratulate Dr. Saksena on the publication of his book, which has added considerably to our knowledge of the subject treated by him. We wish this valuable work wide publicity and general acceptance.

K. R. QANUNGO

HINDU PHILOSOPHY AND ETHICS OF THE GITA : *By S. Subrahmanya Sastri, M. A., Retired Professor of Philosophy, H. H. The Maharaja's College, Trivandrum. Printad at The Bhaskara Press, Trivandrum, pp. 32.*

This booklet attempts in three lectures a presentation of Indian Philosophy. Prof. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, M.A., has very creditably performed his task. Most of the expositions of Hindu philosppy are written in a way unsuitable for the Western reader, but this booklet is an exception. Without sacrificing any of the deeper principles of Hindu philosophy the author has been able to present a synthetic account of Hindu philosophical doctrines in their complete form. The style is pleasant and the expositions are lucid. The ethics of the Gita has been very well brought out.

THE HEART OF BHAGAVATAM : *By Susarla Srinivasa Rao, B.A. Printed at Sri Vyasa Press, Tirupati, 1931. Re.1-4. pp. 179.*

Mr. Susarla Srinivasa Rao, B.A., has given in this book 367 verses selected from Srimad Bhagavat Purana with translations and expositions in English. The selection was originally made by Sri Jayatirtha Swamin also known as Vishnutirtha. It is claimed that the right spirit of the doctrines of Bhagavata could be appreciated by a perusal of these verses. The Bhagavat Purana itself is a very big book. Needless to say that the selections deal with only one aspect of the Bhagavat Purana, *viz.*, the philosophical doctrine of Bhakti. The Puranas contain other matters than philosophy and there has been no attempt to give any information regarding such topics. The translation has been on the whole satisfactory. The notes enable the reader to appreciate what the author thinks to be the true spirit of the verses.

THE BHAGAVAD GITA (STUDENT'S EDITION) : *By D. S. Sarma, M. A., Professor, Presidency College, Madras. The: Current Thought Press, Pycroft's Road, Triplicane, 1930, pp. 299.*

Professor Sarma has prepared this book for the use of students. In the preface he has discussed the age of the Gita and is wise in saying that the student is warned that the account given is largely a matter of hypothesis and imagination. The form and message of the Gita as also a synthetic presentation have been attempted. The translation of the verses is true to text. The notes at the end of the book will be found to be very useful. The author has also given the synopsis of Mahatma Gandhi's and Aurobindo's views on the Gita.

MUSINGS ON THE BHAGAVAD GITA : *By Nehal Chand Vaish, M. A., B. Sc., LL. D., Barrister-at-Law, Member, Bar Council of the High Court and*

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Allahabad University Court. Published by S. N. Basu, M. B., (Cal.), Allahabad, 1931. Price Rs. 4. Pp. 560.

The Bhagavad Gita has drawn all sorts of people to its fold and numerous and varied have been the interpretations of the doctrines of the Gita. Dr. Vaish is a lawyer and is also a student of Moral and Mental Science. He frankly admits that he has deviated from the views of Shri Sankaracharyya, Ramanuja and others. He has given an exposition of the Gita according to his own experience in life. He has pressed the reader to appreciate the teaching of the Gita by the exercise of his own judgment rather than view it through the eyes of great pandits. It will be seen that Mahatma Gandhi holds similar views. The translation has not been always happy. The book will no doubt interest those who would like to study the different interpretations of the Gita.

PRANAYAMA, Pt. I: *By Srimat Kuvalayanda, Kaivalyadhama, Lonavla (G. I. P.) Bombay, India, 1931. Price Rs. 2-8. Pp. 156.*

Most of the books that have appeared in English on Yoga by popular writers are on pseudo-scientific lines. Although this book is not altogether free from that defect the author has given a fairly correct account of the physiological processes concerned in Pranayama. The book is intended as a practical manual for those who want to take up Yogic exercises. There are photographs of the different postures that a Yogi is advised to adopt during Pranayama exercises. The explanations and descriptions are clear and the book will be useful to both Eastern and Western readers.

G. Bose

CHRISTIANITY IN A CHANGING INDIA—*Clifford Manshardt, pp. 248, pub. Association Press Calcutta, price, cloth Rs. 3 only, paper Rs. 2 only.*

Bernard Shaw in his recent play *On the Rocks* has a Prime Minister who is so busy making speeches that he has no time to think as one of his principal characters. The Prime Minister for reasons of health goes away for a holiday, and decides to take the opportunity to study Marxism, with the result that he returns a firm believer in Marxism. Many missionaires in India remind one of Shaw's Prime Minister, they are so busy talking, and doing things that they have no time to think of the importance of what tkey are doing. Dr. Manshardt's book would be a very good thing for them to read since it could hardly fail to stir them into active thought. Most probably a good many people will condemn the book out of hand, but those who read and think will be glad that the book has been written.

The main theme in the book is that in Christianity quality is more important than quantity. Christianity should not mean the mere intellectual acceptance of Christ as God, but the proving of this acceptance by a life based on the standards of Christ. People in India will believe the assertions of the Christians that Christ is God, when they see the Christians practising what they preach. One of the most interesting chapters in the book is that in which the problem of Church and State is discussed, and the part played by the Christians in the Civil Disobedience movement is investigated. What is said is true enough, that missonaries especially those concerned with educational institutions are receiving government money, and therefore often become virtual defenders of *status quo*. The idea that the mission should carry on their schools and colleges without government aid is countered by the argument that to refuse government aid would mean closing down a great many institutions. This may be true, but one cannot help wondering whether keeping them open on these terms is not really a "second best" policy, and whether a "second best" policy is likely to attract people to Christianity. It is true that the surrender of the Government grant would mean the cutting down of salaries, and considerable financial sacrifices, but it is probable that sacrifices of this sort would do more to spread Christianity, which after all is what is aimed at than the present policy of "making the best of a bad job."

Christopher Ackroyd

KHANDAN THE PATRIOT: *By S. P. Vankataramani.*

A story of India in the making: the book contains excellent description of railway mismanagement. Every railway Agent should read it.

LYRICAL THOUGHTS: *By B. B. Poonegar, Bombay.*

There are fifty-one poems which give evidence of vast culture.

SILENCE SINGS: *By E. A. Pires, Bombay.*

The poems are of exceptional merit. The subjects include even the bullock-cart.

PARVATI: *By T. Venugopal, Bezwada.*

A story of post-puberty marriage. Every Indian will be interested in this true story. Social evils are admirably dealt with.

TWENTIETH CENTURY ADDRESSES: *By Dickinson and Sharma.*

The object of this book is to develop critical faculty among students. We were delighted with the address on Jargon. Every author should read it.

FLUTE TUNE: *By B. N. Bhusan.*

There are many sublime poems in this little book. Mr. Bhusan has many admirers, and many new readers are bound to be attracted by the charming poems.

Critic

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN THEORY AND PRACTICE: *By C. K. Webster and Sydney Herbert. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 10s. Pp. 320.*

Professor Webster is a famous name in the field of International Relations. The book under review which he has written in collaboration with his colleague, Mr. Sydney Herbert, is the fruit of many years of study and thinking. He has had again the advantage of frequent visits to Geneva where he came into intimate contact with the working of the League machinery. The book begins with an introductory chapter on the international organizations as they existed before the outbreak of the war in 1914. It then discusses the influences of the war itself on the outlook of the leaders of different nations. It shows how many men of outstanding ability became convinced of the necessity of organizing an international body for the solution of common problems and the peaceful settlement of international disputes. It then takes us behind the secrets of the body which was responsible for the drafting of the League Covenant. After the discussion of these historical preliminaries, the book deals

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the different factors of the League constitution. The Assembly, the Council and the Secretariat of the League, all come in for a detailed treatment. Their composition and their inter-relations are all brought out into clear relief. Along with them the permanent Court of International Justice is also given sufficient attention.

Once the mechanism of the League organization is fully described, its duties and achievements come in for discussion. By illustrations the book points out as to what the League has done during the few years of its existence for the pacific settlement of disputes, and for the reduction and limitation of armaments. It devotes a chapter to the consideration of the Minorities problem in the different countries of Europe which was specifically committed to the charge of the League for solution. We are also acquainted by the book with the manner in which the League has discharged its obligations in connection with the mandatory States. The achievements of the great experiment at Geneva in other fields of activity have also been elaborated with care by the authors. How again side by side with the League of Nations is working the international Labour Organization is also fully emphasized in the book. Within a compass of three hundred and odd pages, the authors have given us a vivid and detailed idea of the working of the League of Nations.

NARESH CHANDRA ROY

METAPHYSICS: *By Mahendra Nath Dutt. Published by Pyari Mohan Mukherjee, B.L., from 3 Gour Mohan Mukherjee Street, Calcutta. Price 12 as. Pp. 99 and xii.*

This treatise, as its name suggests, deals with subjects relating to the prime course of things, such as Time, Space, Causation, Vibration and Concept. Some of these problems have for sometime past been given great prominence not only in Contemporary Physics and Mathematics but also they play a prominent part in Contemporary Metaphysics. Eminent metaphysicians of the Neo-Realistic School like Russell, Whitehead, Alexander and a host of others have tackled these problems from the philosophical point of view and Einstein, Eddington, Robb and other great scientists have treated them from the scientific stand-point. But it is doubtful if these have yet been properly understood by ordinary people. These problems remain even now as highly abstruse as before. So it is gratifying that the author has attempted to establish the theory of the doctrine of continuity in the cosmic universe in his own way. His ideas are all Indian but tinged with his knowledge of the Western philosophy and science. In some places the author objects to the Western conceptions, *viz.*, the conception of atoms and molecules by Western thinkers and has given new theories in their place. Some of these seem to be very interesting and illuminating, but some of them, I am afraid, need further explanation for the absence of which they seem quaint and unconvincing. However, it must be admitted that the author has succeeded within this limited scope of about one hundred pages in showing that in dealing with these problems science and philosophy have one common basis. For this reason alone a patient perusal of this treatise will give some food to philosophers and scientists to meditate upon.

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

FRENCH

LA FEMME AMERICAINE DANS LE MARIAGE MODERNE: *By Madame Sonya Ruth Das, D. Litt. (Paris): being her thesis for the doctorate presented before the Faculty of Letters of the University of Paris. Published by Marcel Giard, 1 Rue Soufflot, Paris.*

The problem, as suggested by the book, is limited by time and space; Survey of Modern Marriage from the point of view of American women. But the author has successfully transcended the limitations by treating the subject from a comprehensive sociological point of view. One feels that she has not only been studying the problem for years but that she aspired to make some positive contribution to the much vexed question inducing so many tragedies and comedies. Very appropriately, therefore, the book opens with chapters on the development of personality and the new conception of marriage. Then follow detailed analyses of the conditions of divorce, the state of the family and the status of the married woman with special references to American womanhood. A highly suggestive and interesting chapter deals with Modern Marriage in American Literature showing forcibly what a fruitful field of social investigation lies unexplored in the jungle of contemporary novels and fiction. The concluding discussion on new sexual morality, maternity rights, revisions of conjugal status and the protection of children lead naturally to a dignified and altruistic winding up of the thesis which was honoured with the doctorate of the University of Paris. We congratulate the author on the publication of this thought-provoking volume, which is worthy of her intellectuality and liberal culture, and urge the women scholars of India and the Orient to make exhaustive surveys of their respective marraige systems along the line of Dr. Sonya Ruth Das.

LA SAINTE VIE DE MAHATMA GANDHI: *By Eleni Samios. Published by Editions Delachaux and Niestle S. A., 26, Rue Street, Dominique, Paris; pp. 174.*

This is a sincere and artistic homage of a daughter of Modern Greece to the Indian Saint. Towards the end of the book the author definitely says that "the book is an act of faith." She has offered this noble life to the coming generation of European children so that they may come to understand and appreciate the Universal principle of Ahimsa or Non-violence manifested through the life of Mahatma Gandhi.

The whole book is composed with delicate artistry and pathos of a musical composer. Gandhi appears before the Grand Opera and is made to recite his own story in a most moving manner. Though cast in the form of a monologue, the piece offers many dramatic interludes, gradually leading us to a climax wherein Gandhi decides to offer his life for the sake of the untouchables through the epic fast. The book is a moving testimony of the fact that there are many men and women in the Occident who take India, and her great sons and daughters, seriously, nay, reverentially.

KALIDAS NAG

GERMAN

DIE NORDISCHE RASSE BEI DEN INDOGERMANEN ASIENS: *By Prof. F. K. Guenther, Jena (Germany). J. F. Lehmanns Verlag, Munich, 1934.*

Very keen interest is shown in these days in Germany in racial problems not only of the German

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people but also of other nations. Prof. Guenther is a well-known writer on this subject. He has published in J. F. Lehmann's Press, Munich, a number of books on Races in Germany, Nobility and Race, Races in Europe, Racial History of the Romans and the Greeks, etc. The book under review has just been brought out. It treats of the nordic race among the Indo-Germans of Asia. Prof. Guenther investigates the question of the original home of the Indo-Iranians, goes in quest of the nordic element in Asia and shows that it has for the most part been engulfed by other races in Asia. Some of the Brahmans of India, especilly in the North-west of the country, still preserve it intact. Professor Guenther belongs to that group of European scholars who believe in the antipathy of Buddhism towards life. He is of the opinion that Buddhism symbolizes *tedium vitae*. Prof. Guenther seems to forget that the history of Buddhism is brimful of glorious examples of heroic deeds of men and the worldly grandeur of empires. If Prof. Guenther were in the right, no Asoka had been possible, and Japan would not have been able to become such a mighty power in the East. It is very dangerous to ignore the historical achievements of a religion. One should not keep only the doctrines in view which govern and mould the life of ascetics in Buddhism, but pay attention to its practical aspect which is mirrored in the doings of its votaries as a nation. Moreover, the attitude of a religion changes very often, when the world with its manifold problems rears its head again and again before it. This has been the case with Christianity, too.

I would like to remark here, in order to avoid misunderstanding, that I am not a Buddhist, but a Brahmin from the Panjab.

P. TARACHAND ROY

HINDI-ENGLISH

THE KALYANA KALPATARU: *(God Number). Edited by C. L. Gosvami, M. A., Sastri, Gorakhpur, January, 1934. Pages 1-308.*

Special numbers of the *Kalyan* in Hindi—which are like so many useful independent works—intended to present in a lucid and popular form different aspects of Indian culture and literature have already been accorded enthusiastic reception at the hands of the general reader. It is this reception that has induced the authorities of the Hindi *Kalyan* to bring out an English edition in the form of the *Kalyana Kalpataru*. The number under review consisting of articles on theistic topics from the pens of a galaxy of renowned scholars is absolutely non-sectarian in character.

It opens with the texts and translations of the daily prayers of the most popular of the religious systems of the world and contains articles about the conception of God according to them. It is profusely illustrated with representations of a good many well-known religious teachers who flourished at different periods of time in various parts of the world. Some of these illustrations are multi-coloured and highly attractive. Every one who has any religious tendency will go through the volume with not a little interest and much profit.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

RABINDRA-JIBANI, or LIFE OF RABINDRA NATH TAGORE. *By Prabhat Kumar Mukhopadhyay. Librarian and Professor, Visvabharati. Volume I. from 1861 to 1912. Price Rs. 4; with illustrations Rs. 5. Pp. 16+519 Demy 8vo. Cloth. To be had of the Author at Santiniketan, and at the Visva-bharati Bookshop, 210 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.*

This is the first detailed biography of Rabindranath Tagore. The author has taken great pains to collect materials from some members of the Tagore family, from some persons connected with the poet or the Visvabharati and magazines and other publications. He has also had the advantage of talks with the Poet himself on many matters. His collection of materials has thus been rich, though not exhaustive, as he has not apparently taken advantage of the proximity of the older professors of Visvabharati.

The book gives an adequate idea, not only of the works of the poet published up to 1912 at present available, but also of those which the poet wrote in his younger days but has not allowed to be republished. It thus enables one to follow the growth of his mind and art. From it one can learn Tagore's views in relation to all important questions and problems which have agitated the public mind from the time of his early manhood. It will be found that he has all along tried to think independently. One aspect of his personality shows that he has all along been, to use present-day political parlance, a constructive non-co-operator. So far as the matter contained in the book is concerned it is an excellent work. All who want to know Tagore as a poet, a novelist, a story-writer, a dramatist, an essayist, a journalist, a maker of songs, a public man, an educationalist, etc., must read this book. All future biographers of the poet will have to use it until it is superseded. At present it is indispensable. The literary and typographical execution leaves much room for improvement, as there are many spelling and grammatical mistakes. The printing is neat. Some of the illustrations have a superior artistic quality.

MANER KHELA, or MIND'S PLAY. *By Bijoy Lal Chattopadhyay. Pp. 96+viii. Crown 8vo. Price Re. 1. Gupta Friends & Co., 11 College Square, Calcutta.*

This is a fair popular presentation of psychic analysis. The author's style is elegant. It is a pleasure to read what he writes.

He should avoid the occasional use of English words in the midst of Bengali sentences. In Bengali book English words should always be translated, or when their Bengali equivalents cannot be found or coined, they should at least be transliterated.

ENGLISH-BENGALI-SANSKRIT DICTIONARY. *By Binode Bihari Kavyatirtha. Pp. 479+viii Crown 8vo. Cloth. Arya Publishing House, Silchar. Price Rs. 2.*

This is a very useful little dictionary for Bengali school children,

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FINANCE AND INSURANCE

India's Foreign Trade in 1933-34

The *Accounts relating to the seaborne trade and Navigation of British India for March 1934* which has just been published gives us detailed statistics of the Import and Export trade of British India for the last three financial years. As our currency policy and indeed our National Economy itself depend to a very great extent on our export surplus, an analysis of this important publication is called for. Such an analysis would not only help us in estimating our position in the world trade, it would also be important for other reasons as well. The movements of the Foreign Trade of a country for the year just ended would roughly show how far the forecasts of 'recovery' throughout the world are justified by the Trade Returns. Apart from the psychological influences which no doubt play an important part in these matters, it is through the mechanism of the International trade that the forces leading towards recovery or otherwise make themselves felt in the principal countries of the world. A depression which has been worldwide should naturally be succeeded by a period of recovery which also is worldwide in scope. In a previous issue we referred to the possibility that it is the upward thrust in industry provided by the N. R. A. in America which is partly at least, responsible for the slow trade revival that has been marked in most of the industrial countries. It is not possible at this stage to say how far the "recovery" artificially promoted in the U. S. A. is instrumental in provoking "revival" elsewhere, but that there is a strong possibility of a causal connection, we think, there are few who would deny.

By a study of the quantity and value of the goods internationally traded we may form a judgment whether the improvement is merely fortuitous or whether there is a substratum of economic permanence underlying it. It is common knowledge that international trade today is characterized by bilateral agreements and "quota" schemes. In view of this fact, even more important than the study of International trade as a whole is a study of the relative importance of the countries traded with. Again, in view of the appointment by the Legislative Assembly of a Committee to examine the effects of the Ottawa Agreement, the study of relative shares of other countries in our foreign trade has become very important.

We are nowadays constantly hearing of "Economic Nationalism" and "Economic Planning" both of the ideas generally going together. From the point of view of both of these ideals, a detailed study of our imports and exports has become essential. Within the limits of these notes, all these aspects cannot be possibly dealt with, besides a complete study of the problem with reference to our industrial possibilities and other national economies, though badly wanted, would require an amount of painstaking research and expert knowledge which is totally beyond the scope of these notes. We would merely try to analyse here some of the informations relating to the Foreign Trade of India which are available in the publication mentioned.

Before we do so it is necessary that we discuss some definitions used. Thus Imports include goods landed, whether they are intended for "home consumption, bonding or re-exportation," and such articles in the passengers' luggage as are dutiable. The weight recorded is the net weight and the values of goods imported or exported represent, according to the provisions of the Indian Sea Customs Act of 1878, Sec. 30.

> "The wholesale cash price, less trade discount, for which goods of the like kind and quality are sold or are capable of being sold at the time and the place of importation or exportation, as the case may be, without any abatement or deduction whatever, except in the case of goods imported, of the duties payable on the importation thereof."

That is, the value of the exports is the market price less the trade discount, and the value of the imports is the market price less trade discount minus the import duty. The countries from which the imports come are the countries from which they are consigned, and not necessarily the countries of origin. So also the countries to which the exports are sent are not necessarily the countries where they are consumed. Owing to the high tariff walls in most countries, the exporting countries are generally the countries of origin and the importing countries the countries of consumption unless the countries referred to are without any sea-board.

Since the imports include the re-exports, for the purpose of ascertaining the Balance of Trade or of accounts, we should take the export both of Indian merchandise and of foreign articles (*i.e.* the re-exports). For the purpose of studying the effects of the protectionist policy or the importaace of the imports on our national economy, the net imports (gross imports minus re-exports) should be considered. Since however the re-exports do not amount in India to more than three to four per cent of the total Imports, we will not be liable to any serious error if we take the figures of total imports for all purposes.

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Since the onset of the depression the net results of our foreign trade have been as follows :

	(In crores of Rupees,*) 1930-31	1931-32	1932-33	1933-34
Exports (Indian merchandise)	220.49	155.89	132.41	146.31
Re-exports (Foreign merchandise)	5.14	4.66	3.22	3.42
Imports	163.01	125.72	132.27	115.02

The net imports and the Balance of trade in merchandise were as follows :

	(In crores of Rupees) 1930-31	1931-32	1932-33	1933-34
Net Imports	157.87	121.06	129.05	111.60
Exports	220.49	155.89	132.41	146.31
Balance of Trade in merchandise	62.62	34.83	3.36	34.71

In addition to this there were heavy exports of gold during these years,—57.98 crores in 1931-32, 65.53 crores in 1932-33 and 57.05 crores during 1933-34. So also we have to include private import of silver and export of currency notes. As against these, we have to consider Council Bills, sterling purchases in India, payments in India to Local Bodies, etc. against proceeds of sterling loans floated by them in London, as also remittance by other means and to other countries.

The total visible Balance of Trade has been as follows:

	(In crores of rupees) 1930-31	1931-32	1932-33	1933-34
Balance of Trade in merchandise:	62·52	34·83	3·36	34·71
Balance of Transactions in treasure:	—24·45	55·65	64·93	57·23
Visible Balance of Trade:	37·60	90·48	68·29	91·94

We can account for a part by means of Council Bills, purchases of sterling and other Government remittances to the U. K., interest drafts on India in respect of Government of India securities less sterling transfers on London sold in India and Transfers of Government securities.

The residuals amounting to 37·52 crores in 1930-31, 56·16 crores in 1931-32, 19·66 crores in 1932-33 and 31·50 crores in 1933-34 have to be explained by remittance of funds from U. K. in other ways or from other countries, or as being due to temporary accommodation.

It will be seen from the above that our net imports have dwindled from 157·87 crores in 1930-31 steadily to 111·60 crores in 1933-34 which is a decrease by about 29·4 per cent. Of this a part at least must be attributed to the protectionist policy we have adopted. At the same time, our exports had a catastrophic drop on the 1930-31 figure by 29·2 per cent. during the single year, 1931-32 and by 10·5 per cent. more during the next year, that is, by 39·7 per cent. on the whole. But for the enormous export of Gold, there would have been a crisis in the Indian Finances during the first part of 1933-34.

During 1933-34, there has been a very decided improvement in our export trade which has increased by 10.6 per cent on the previous year's figure. The position is incomparably sound as compared with the previous year, though the export figure is still much lower. This is because the Balance of Trade is much higher.

The Balace of Trade in merchandise fell to Rs. 34.83 crores in 1931-32 which is a dangerously low level since the needs of the Secretary of State are nearly 35 crores annually. The export of about 58 crores worth of gold during the latter half, however, led to a substantially active balance in favour of India. In 1932-33, however, the export surplus fell to only 3.36 crores which is only about one-tenth of the Secretary of States' needs. A serious financial dislocation would have resulted unless it were for the exodus of gold on so large a scale. During this year about 65.53 crores worth of gold moved from India to the United Kingdom. During the year 1933-34, the export surplus has gone up to 34.71 crores which is just equal to the figure for 1931-32. The average balances of trade in marchandise before the depression were as follows :

	(In crores of rupees) Balance of Trade in Merchandise	Total Visible Balance of Trade
1922-23	90.01	29.75
1923-24	144.88	96.23
1924-25	155.01	60.74
1925-26	161.13	109.25
1926-27	79.47	40.14
1927-28	81.98	49.79
1928-29	86.47	52.11
1929-30	78.98	52.73

From the above table it will be evident to what extent the changing conditions of the depression have adversely affected the secular position of India in International Trade.

Before entering into details, we note the changes in the following major subdivisions of the Imports and Exports. Class I consists of "Food Drink and Tobacco," Class II of "Raw materials and produce and Articles mainly manufactured" while Class III consists of "Articles wholly or mainly manufactured."

IMPORTS

	(in crores of rupees) 1931-32	1932-33
Class I	18.24	20.49
Class II	20.85	94.53
Class III	83.89	132.58
Total	126.37	

It is clear from the above that though 1932-33 has been the worst year so far, the value of Imports as a whole in that year has been

* The figures do not include the value of Railway materials imported direct by the State Railways.

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highest, the increase being substantial (12.6 per cent) with respect to Class III. Again, although we have reasons to believe that forces leading to recovery have been already operating during 1933-34, we find that the total import trade has fallen by 12.9 per cent from the 1932-33 level and is still below the 1931-32 level, by 8.7 per cent. If any general observation we are to make, it is that in India probably the level of income was still going lower in 1933-34 while in other countries, the level of income had distinctly come up. If the "Recovery" is due to world factors, as there are ample reasons to believe, it is reasonable to expect that owing to backward economic organization, the wave of prosperity should take some time in making its effect felt in our country.

The following is the corresponding table relating to Exports :

Exports

(in crores of rupees)

	1931-32	1932-33	1933-34
Class I	44.34	37.32	36.02
Class II	66.98	54.92	68.93
Class III	42.62	38.48	39.92
Total	155.89	132.41	146.32

With the "return of prosperity," the value of our exports has risen, though it is still below the 1931-32 level, the increase being the most remarkable in case of raw materials (class II). This is only as it should be.

Coming to greater details, the most important variation in Class I Imports has been with regard to sugar. The value of sugar imported was Rs. 617 lakhs in 1931-32, Rs. 423 lakhs in 1932-33 and only Rs. 271 lakhs in 1933-34. The decrease in 1933-34 is by Rs. 152 lakhs (36 per cent) as compared with 1932-33 and Rs. 346 lakhs (56 per cent) as compared with 1931-32. In this particular case the phenomenal decrease is clearly due to the high tariff. The other important change is with regard to tobacco for which the decrease is Rs. 24.78 lakhs (25.6 per cent) on the 1932-33 value (Rs. 96.94 lakhs). Under class II, the most serious decrease has been with regard to raw cotton and oils. The former shows a decrease of Rs. 370 lakhs on the previous year's figure of Rs. 725.7 lakhs, which means a decrease of 51 per cent. As regards the latter, the total export during 1931-32 was Rs. 972 lakhs from which it has progressively declined to Rs. 681.3 lakhs during 1930-34, a decrease by Rs. 271 lakhs or by about 30 per cent. Under class III, we find an *increase* in the imports of "Cutlery, Hardware, implements and instruments" by Rs. 61 lakhs, of machinery by Rs. 180.8 lakhs, of silk yarns and manufactures by 75.6 lakhs and of woollen yarns and manufactures by 89.8 lakhs, over the 1931-32 figure. The import of the last three items has been less in 1933-34 than in 1932-33. The highest increase is under machinery which registers an increase of about 20 per cent over the previous year's figure.

As regards Exports under class I, there has been a serious decrease with regard to "Grain, Pulse, and Flour" as compared with the previous year. On the other hand, tea shows a decided improvement. The decrease in the former case is by 433 lakhs (27 p. c.) and 862 lakhs (42 p. c.) as compared with 1932-33 and 1933-34 respectively, while the increase in case of the latter is by Rs. 269 lakhs (15.7 p. c.) over 1932-33. Under Class II, except for oilcake almost all the items show an increase over the previous year's figures, and except for rubber, seeds and wool, the figures are well over the 1931-32 values. The most noticeable increases are with regard to Raw Cotton (Rs. 628 lakhs), Seeds (Rs. 235 lakhs). Hides and skins (Rs. 148 lakhs), "Gums, resins and lac" (Rs. 123 lakhs) and Jute (Rs. 120 lakhs). The percentage increases over the previous year are 30.4, 20.8, 53.5, 90.0 and 12.3 respectively. In Class III, the only articles which have shown any serious decrease on the last year's figures are when we compare the 1933-34 returns with the 1931-32 figures. We find the same thing—while "Hides and Skins," and "Woolen yarns and manufactures" show decided increase, yarns and manufactures of Jute and Cotton show a serious decline. "Hides and Skins" show the largest increase (+Rs. 107 lakhs, or 22.4 p. c.) while the most serious decreases are with regard to "Cotton yarns and manufactures" (—Rs. 56 lakhs, or 17 p. c.), and "Jute yarns and manufactures" (—Rs. 34 lakhs, or 1.5 p. c.). If we compare with 1931-32, Cotton yarns and manufactures have fallen by Rs. 209 lakhs (43.5 p. c.) and Jute yarns and manufacture by Rs. 54.9 lakhs. (2.5 p. c.). In the former, the effect of Japanese competition is evident.

It will thus be seen that on the whole the imports have declined as compared to the previous year, the only substantial increases being under the heads "Cutlery, Hardware and Implements" and "Machinery." The increase in the import of machinery is certainly beneficial to the national economy. If this decline in imports had taken place together with an increase on the level of national income, we could be reasonably sure that our country is becoming more and more self-sufficing as regards manufactured goods. As regards exports, it is encouraging that the position of tea, hides and skins, seeds, raw cotton and jute is definitely better than in the previous year and except for cotton and jute yarns and manufactures, most items show either an increase or only a small decrease. On the whole we think we are justified in concluding that India's position, so far as her external trade is concerned, is distinctly brighter than in the previous year.

Sailendra Nath Sen-Gupta

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Indian Insurance

Life Assurance Companies and Income Tax

For some time past Indian Life Offices have been challenging the equity of the present practice of making the income tax assessable on the annual average of the actuarial surplus. In a case before the Lahore High Court, the Bharat contended that on "such parts of the surplus as are distributed amongst the participating policy-holders, being expenditures necessary for the earning of profits," no income-tax should be assessed on it but the High Court did not agree with the contention as, in their opinion, "any expenditure incurred solely for the purpose of earning profits would ordinarily precede and not follow the accrual of profits." The "Laksmi" is also contesting the equity of such assessments on the ground that 'bonus distributed among the participating policy-holders represent the return of the excess amount collected in advance from the policy-holders" and as such cannot he considered to constitute the "income, profits and gains" of a company. If any tax were to be assessed it would be assessed only upon the surplus which are distributed to shareholders as dividends. Mr. H. E. Jones, who has made a deep study of the subject, read an interesting paper on the "Indian Life Assurance Companies' Assesment to Income Tax," in the last session of the Indian Insurance Conference, where he made referrences to the practice in England. Before the appointment of the Royal Commission on Income Tax in 1925, the Income Tax authorities in England had the option to assess Life Assurance Companies. to income tax either on the profits as actuarially ascertained or on their "Interests less Expenses" whichever was higher. But since then the Law has been amended "excluding such proportions of the profits, for the purpose of Income Tax" as belonged to or was allocated to or reserved for or expended on behalf of policy-holders or annuitants. This is what appears to be a fair and equitable basis of assessment and obtains almost everywhere excepting India where, curiously enough, the Income Tax is assessed on the whole-actuarial surplus, whether it be meant for the policyholders or the shareholders.

"The Empire of India" Results

The Empire of India is one of the "Big Five" of the Indian life offices and although measured by the standard of new business it stands fourth, it easily comes out as the second best with a life fund of about Rs. 382.25 lakhs. Evidently it has no craze for huge business figures, and its reputation as an intrinsically safe and sound life office is unquestionable. During the year ended February 28, 1934, the Company has written a business of Rs. 1,38,24,000 distributed over 7602 policies, which marks an increase of Rs. 25,68,000 over the figures of the previous year. The total number of policies at the end of the year was 57,639 assuring a sum of Rs. 11,16,64,855, inclusive of bonuses and assurances. As regards investments the Empire follows a conservative policy and restricts itself to investments in Government and other securities repayable at par at fixed dates. At the end of the year the total assets amounted to Rs. 4,37,51,613. The Life-fund which stood at Rs. 3,82,25,855, showed the satisfactory increase of Rs. 19,09,831. An additional source of strength to the Company consists in the various Reserves it has set up,—the Life Insurance Fund Reserve, The Investment Reserve, the Surrender Value Reserve,—which, in all, amounts to Rs. 34,73,819. The low expense ratio of the Company is specially gratifying, being only 22.1 per cent last year. With its rigorous selection of lives, favourable mortality experience, low premium rates and economical management the Empire of India is certainly eminently worthy of setting an example to late-comers in the field.

Per Capita Insurance in India

India possesses the record of having the lowest *per capita* insurance. While this is doubtless a deplorable reflection on the stage of our insurance development, it is at the same time an encouraging indication of the scope, opportunity and duty that lie ahead of us. In opening the Mysore Insurance Offiice the other day Mr. S. P. Rajagopalachari, Member of Council, Government of Mysore, made certain interesting observations. Comparing the position of Indian Insurance with that of other countries he said that the total life insurance on the books of all the Indian companies put together comes to only a fraction of the total insurance written by a single large company in the U. S. A., Canada, or even Japan. Hardly five per cent of the insurable population are protected by insurance and according to the calculations of an expert, said Mr. Rajagopalachari, the total sum assured by all the Indian companies worked out to only about Re. per head of the population as compared to Rs. 300 in Britain. According to the figures quoted by Sir P. Thakurdas on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee Celebration of the Oriental the total number of policies existing in India is 7,14,000 assuring 168 crores which works out to Rs. 4-12 per head of the population as against Rs. 2,000 per head in the U. S. A., and Rs. 4 in Japan. Sir P. C. Ray in his presidential address of the last session of the Indian Insurance Conference gave as his estimate that "one person in every 500 holds an insurance policy on his life and the *per capita* insurance in India is only Rs. 5 whereas in America practically out of every three persons hold policies and the *per capita* insurance is Rs. 2,600." Although these estimates vary being approximately based on different kinds of data, the fact remains certain that in spite of the remarkable progress

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Indian Insurance in recent years our *per* insurance is still the lowest in the world.

ORIENTAL'S BRILLIANT RECORD

The Diamond Jubilee Celebration of the Government Security Life Insurance Ltd. is a landmark in the history of Indian Insurance. The six decades that the has lived, have been a period of remark- achievement. From a humble beginning in it has steadily forged ahead and today as India's biggest life office, with rami- all over the country and even beyond Its progress reads like a romance by of the odds it had to fight in overcoming determined opposition offered by interests strongly entrenched. In 1884 ten years the company came into being—the Oriental a total assurance of Rs. 159¼ lakhs with an income of more than Rs. 6¾ lakhs and fund of about Rs. 14½ lakhs. By 1914, these rose upto Rs. 1237 lakhs, Rs. 72½ lakhs Rs. 473 lakhs respectively. Remarkable as advance was, still more so was the progress during the decade following 1923. In year the Company issued 7790 policies Rs. 174 lakhs whereas in 1933, 38,191 have been issued for an aggregate of Rs. 704 lakhs. The total number policies issued during the decade was 2,42,120 an assurance of Rs. 5005 lakhs and the premium income increased from Rs. 79 to Rs. 219 lakhs. An idea of the magni- position attained by the Oriental will be from the fact that at the end of 1933, had on its books a total business of more Rs. 4793 lakhs, with an annual income of Rs. 343 lakhs, and a fund exceeding 430 lakhs, having so far paid away more Rs. 1527 lakhs in claims. With such records in the past the Oriental may reasonably look forward to a still brighter future, may justly claim to be an ideal and for all Indian indigenous institutions.

RESULTS OF THE NATIONAL INDIAN

Established in 1906 under the aegis of Messrs. & Co., the National Indian Life Insurance has passed its adolescence, and its early years well utilized in building itself upon a foundation. It cannot, of course, boast new business figures nor of an expansion as its age would presuppose. As a matter younger companies have made much headway. But if the National Indian has less energetic in pursuing a policy of expansion, that is because it has always aimed at quality than quantity. During the year ended Dec. 31, 1933, the National Indian received 2506 proposals for Rs. 36,41,850, of which 1656 resulted in policies assuring on the aggregate a sum of Rs. 24,27,350, showing an increase of Rs. 5·75 lakhs over the figures of the previous year. While this is satisfactory, we are inclined to advise the Company to make endeavours for a more vigorous expansion. The National Indian is fortunate in having Sir R. N. Mookherjee at its helm and any attempts made by it towards expansion should be amply rewarded. Apart from anything else, the name of Sir Rajendranath is in itself a guarantee of sound and cautious policy.

Foreign Insurance

INSURANCE-MINDED U. S. A.

The United States of America lead the world in insurance. Her tremendous progress in this direction reads more like fiction than fact. The enormous proportions of insurance in the U. S. A. constitute positive proofs of the excellent habits of "thrift and economy" of her people, and their sense of obligation to their dependents. The financial development of a nation, it is said, is measured by the *per capita* insurance it carries, and judged by that standard the U. S. A. is by far the most advanced country in the world. I just quote a few facts and figures to shew the tremendous nature of the operations of the Insurance companies in the U. S. A. In 1932, a sum of about 5269 millions was paid into Insurance Companies as premiums for all kinds—fire, life and casualty. This imposing figure represented 12 per cent roughly of the national income. At the end of 1932, life insurance alone had assets $20,700 millions, as against $18,800 millions in 1930 and $ 17,000 millions in 1929—distributed every year over the "whole sweep of sound American trade, commerce and enterprises." During the three years 1929-1932, insurance companies of all classifications in the U. S A. paid the policyholders and the beneficiaries to the extent of $11,722½ millions. In 1933 new life business alone amounted to $13,000 millions and although it was about 10·4 per cent less than the figure of the previous year, the fact must be remembered that conditions were anything but favourable. Exact figures are not yet available, but it is estimated that during the year life offices will have disbursed $3100 millions; $2175 millions going to policyholders, and the remainder of $925 millions to widows and orphans.

M. G.

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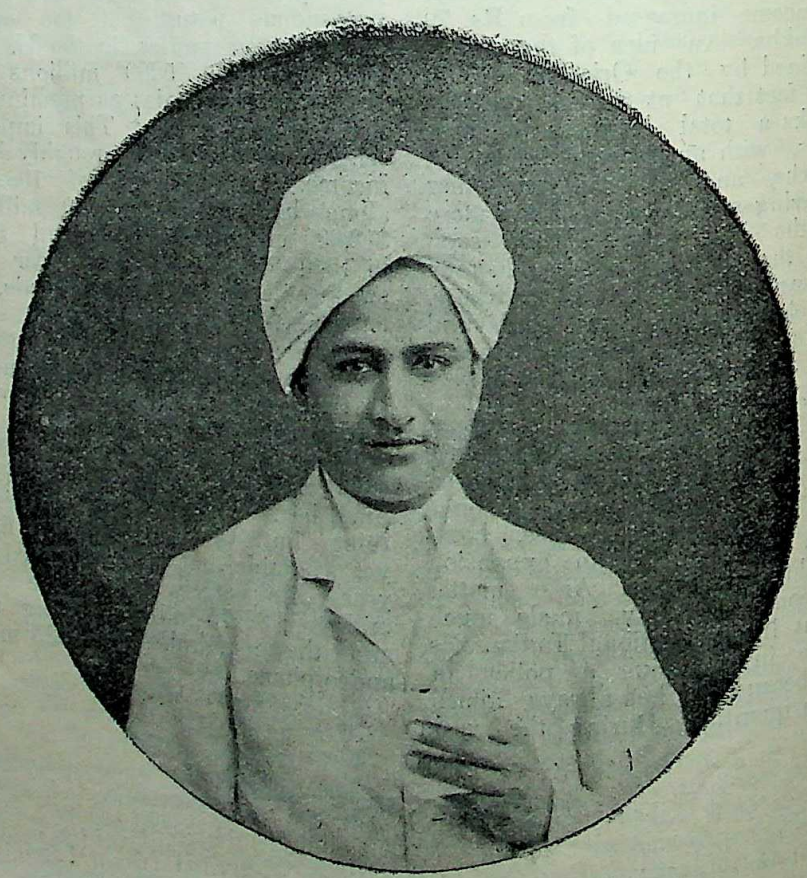
INDIANS ABROAD

By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

Arya Samaj in the Colonies

Whosoever happens to go to the colonies cannot but be struck by the wonderful work that the Aryasamaj has been doing there for the social and educational progress of the Indians settled in those parts. In fact, it is our conviction that one must go to the colonies to realize the potentialities of Aryasamaj as an institution for the regeneration of Hindu society. Schools for boys and girls that are being conducted so efficiently bear testimony to the managing capacity of the Aryasamajists in the colonies. The Aryasamajists abroad are a small minority compared to the followers of other social or religious organizations, but they are a compact body fired by enthusiasm and determined to do their work wholeheartedly. It was really unfortunate that these colonial Aryasamajists had so long been neglected by the Aryasamajes at home who did not appreciate the work of their compatriots abroad. This period of negligence has happily now passed and it appears from the booklet, 'Videshon Main Aryasamaj' published by the Sarvadeshika Sabha of Delhi that the Home Aryasamaj is now alive to the problems of social and educational progress of our countrymen overseas. We have already referred to the above-mentioned booklet in these columns and are now placing a few suggestions before the authorities of the Sarvadeshika Sabha for consideration.

The first thing that the Sabha ought to do is to invite a small conference of workers who have been in the colonies and who have got



Bhai Parmanand

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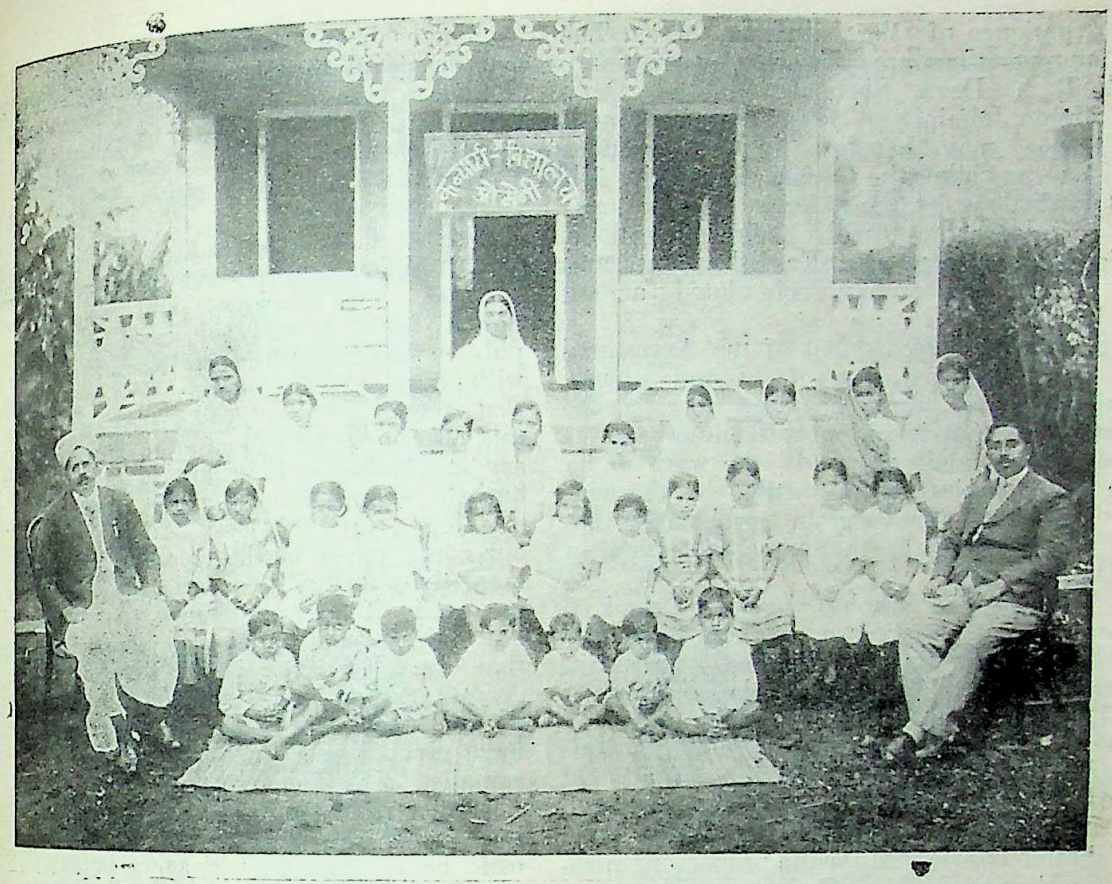
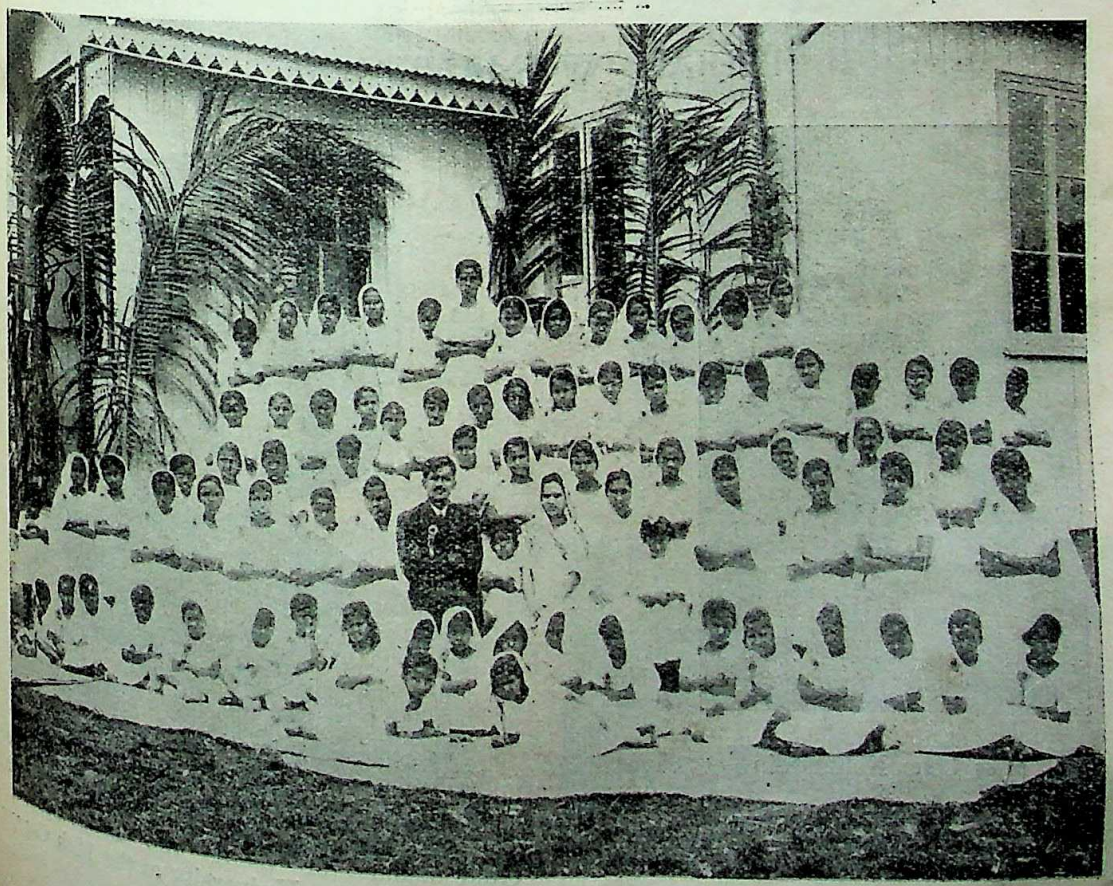


Arya Kanya Patnsŧala, Omeni, Mauritius



Arya Kanya Pathshala, Suva, Fiji.

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personal experience of the situation there. The foremost among them are Sjt. Bhai Parmanand, Principal Ram Deva, Shrimati Shanno Devi, Shriman Mehta Jaimini and Swami Shankaranand. The conference may be held in October next and in the meanwhile the Sabha can invite full report of work done by the different Aryasamajes in the colonies along with their suggestions. A questionnaire printed in English, Hindi and Gujerati should be widely circulated among colonial Indians.

Foreign Mission Department of the Aryasamaj has to be organized on a sound basis. Unfortunately this work has not received the serious attention that it undoubtedly deserves.

Broad outlines and policy of the work to be done in the colonies may be settled by the conference but there are certain problems that require immediate and thorough discussion in the press.

The Sarvadeshika Sabha ought to send a deputation of at least two workers to see the condition of Aryasamajis in the Colonies. Sjt. Sudhakarji, the Secretary of the Sabha, and Swami Bhawani Dayal will make a good combination and they should be sent to East Africa and Mauritius for the present. The Sabha has got funds at its disposal and ought not to grudge this expenditure. I wonder if the Sabha realizes that this tour is absolutely essential for the proper organization of the Foreign Mission Department.

There have appeared from time to time complaints in the Press regarding some of the preachers that have gone to the colonies. The writer of the booklet, "Videshon Main Arya samaj," has referred to these complaints. They require thorough investigation at the hands of responsible people.

Steps should be taken for the compilation of a bigger history of the Aryasamaj in the colonies. The President and Secretary of the Sabha have already declared their intention to publish this book and the work should be begun without any further delay. We may add here that it was nine years ago that a resolution to this effect was passed at the Dayanand Centenary at Muttra in February 1925 and the work has already been delayed too much.

There are not less than three millions of our countrymen in the colonies and out of them more than two millions are Hindus. They stand in need of our guidance. A number of them are fairly well-to-do and it is almost certain that the Foreign Mission Department of the Aryasamaj will find adequate financial support if the work is taken up in right earnest. I have given these suggestions not as an Aryasamajist. In fact, I do not belong to that Society but I strongly believe that Aryasamaj is the only organization among the Hindus that can be entrusted with this important work of connecting India with Greater India culturally.

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Miss Leita Najmuddin

Miss Leita Najmuddin stood first among the girl candidates in the Matriculation Examination of the Panjab University. She beat all previous records by securing 689 marks. She is only 14 years.

Srimati Nilima Dutt

Srimati Nilima Dutt of the St. Stephen's College, Delhi, was awarded the M. Makhan Lal Gold medal for being the best Hindu Lady candidate in the University at the 12th Convocation of the Delhi University.

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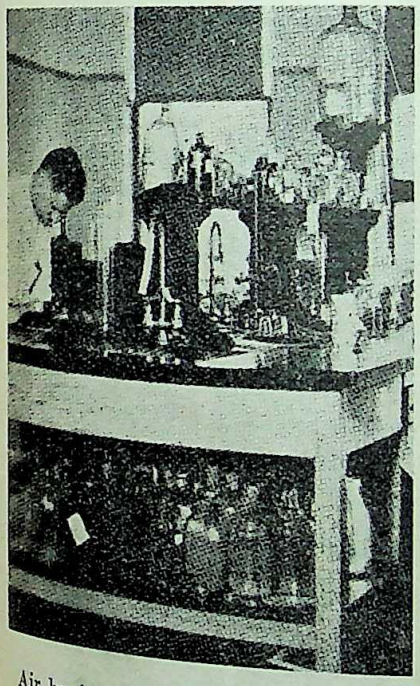
GLEANINGS

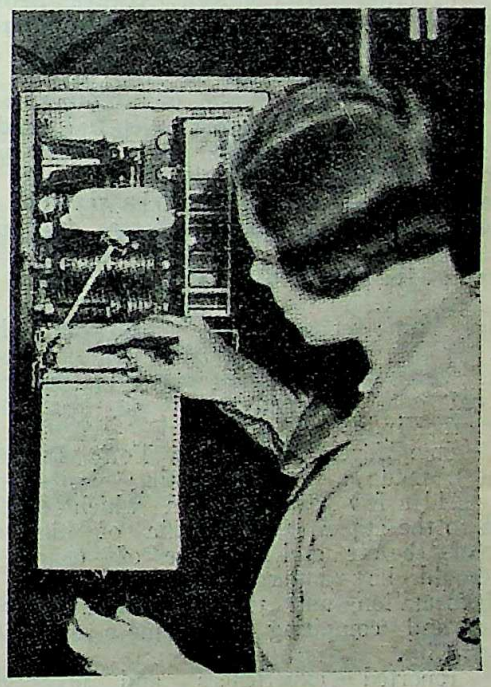
Making the City Smokeless and Dustless

Mellon Institute's [in Pittsburgh] election to present its pure air campaign plans to medical societies is consistent with its handling of the problem from the very start of its investigation. It is a matter of record that campaigns against smoke and dust get satisfactory results only in cities where physicians take a leading hand. There is also the oft-repeated Institute declaration that save pure air is primarily a medical consideration, the necessity for medical leadership cannot safely be disregarded.

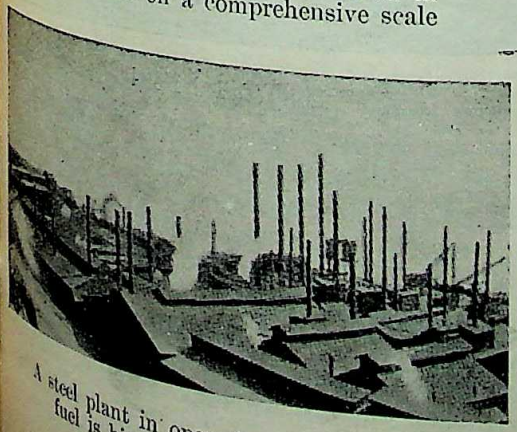
Along with the promulgation of the modern campaign plan, the Institute has expressed the opinion that an unusual opportunity exists to make progress in the restoration of hygienically pure air to the cities, and it urges medical societies to assert their leadership. It is pointed out that the scientific research workers, engineers, and others who would be entrusted with the execution of a municipal program want to know what substances, now present



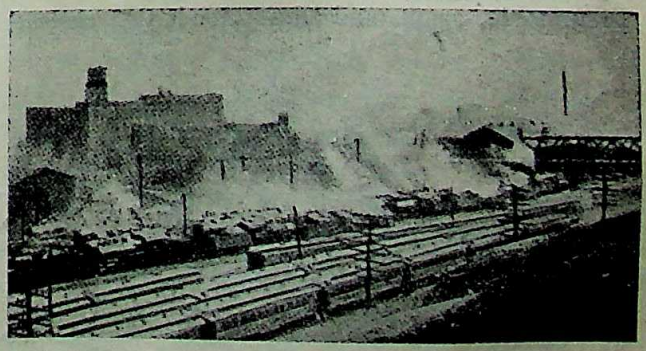
Air hygiene studies are carried on in laboratories on a comprehensive scale



Air pollution is found by recording ultra-violet rays received from sun



A steel plant in operation. The principal fuel is bituminous coal that is being properly used in the furnaces



Smokeless firing of locomotives. Engines in the Pennsylvania yards in Pittsburgh ready for rail service

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in city air, must come out to make that air conform to the necessities of human comfort and health. They wish to have the physicians set the limit for smokelessness and dustlessness.

For the benefit of the layman who might be constrained to think the physicians have been unduly hesitant or dilatory in asserting their leadership in this important matter, it should be explained that only recently have leading combustion engineers and other related specialists fully demonstrated their ability to fill a prescription for the smokeless and dustless operation of small as well as large fuel-burning plants, to be done practically and at reasonable cost. In these demonstrations, of course, they are employing appliances, processed fuels, and firing methods brought to perfection in the last few years. Under these altered circumstances, it can now be said with assurance that, if the physicians will write a prescription setting up reasonable standards of dustlessness and smokelessness, the engineers can fill it without committing fuel consumer, to costly, experimental ventures. Always heretofore there has been the objection from some quarters that while pure air is a city asset of fundamental value its attainment could not be secured save at undue expense. Thanks to the efforts of inventors, research workers, manufacturers, and progressive fuel producers, that objection no longer holds good. Eighty percent of the solid particles now emitted by stacks where solid fuel or refuse is burned can be kept out of the air by tested appliances and processes that are not burdensomely expensive. In many cases, a large percentage of the cost would be returned as direct savings.

It has been reported that certain derivatives of tar will, through repeated irritation, cause cancer of the skin. These derivatives are among the constituents of soft coal and oil smoke, and may also enter the air from other industrial sources.

Dr. Jerome Meyers, of the New York Department of Health, made a very interesting partial survey in this field a few years ago, in which he called attention to the apparent parallelism of high smoke content of the air and incidence of cancer. This study should be resumed in the light of most recent information and the improvement in the gathering and compiling of cancer statistics in New York City.

Other reported experiences and investigations include other harm done to health by dust, gases, or unburned (atomized) oil coming from stacks, and various metallic oxides and chemical substances thrown off by domestic and commercial incinerators and industrial plants.

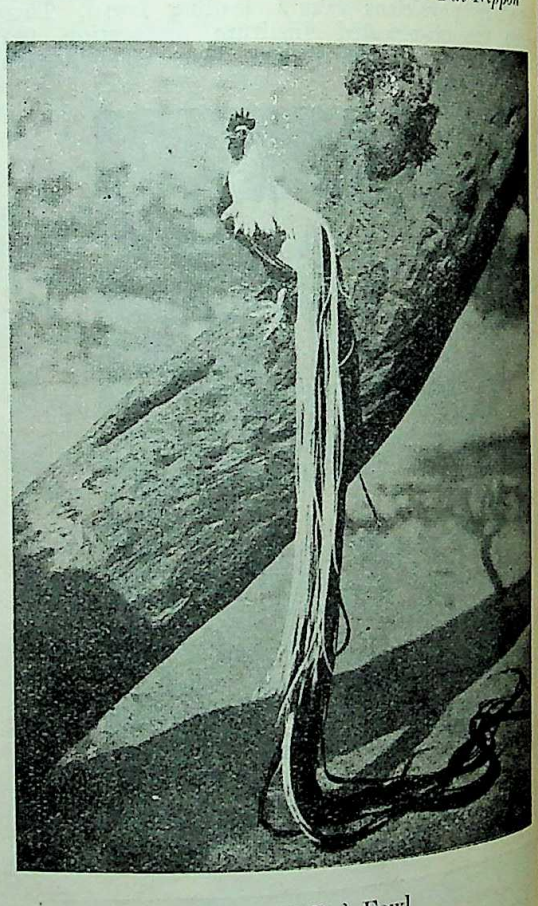
Preventable smoke and dust clouds that obstruct solar radiation and fill the nose, throat and lungs with irritants are perilous.

—*Scientific American*

The Long-Tailed Fowl

One of the most peculiar specimens of fowl I is produced only in Oshino-mura, Nagaoka-gun, Kochi prefecture. There are white and pale violet colored fowls. Only the cock has long tail while the hen does not differ from any common hen. The longest tail measures about 26 feet. These cocks live about 10 years. The best long tailed cock is worth more than Yen 3,000. They are very frail and naturally difficult to raise. About 30 eggs a year laid, and it is difficult to raise even one cock even out of 200 eggs.

—*Dai-Nippon*



Long-Tailed Fowl

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NOTES

Lying Anti-Indian Propaganda in Great Britain

In recent years there has been a much larger volume of anti-Indian propaganda in Great Britain and America than perhaps ever before. The object is obvious—to prevent any real transfer of power in India to Indian hands. There have been many lying propaganda books. One of the latest is "Letters of an Indian Judge to an English Gentlewoman," published by Messrs. Lovat Dickson. In a preliminary note to this book the publishers say that they have satisfied themselves that the letters are genuine. The Indian opinion on the contrary would and must be that they are fictitious and constitute lying propaganda of a not too clever character. In fact the forgery is quite transparent.

The "English Gentlewoman" to whom the letters are alleged to have been addressed remains incognito. So Indians cannot cross-examine her. All the letters except one are anonymous. The one which is signed bears the signature of "Arvind Nehra," who is said to be or to have been an Indian Judge and a delegate to the Round Table Conference in London. Now, "Arvind Nehra" is not and cannot be an Indian name, though "Arvind" is reminiscent of Aurobindo Ghose and "Nehra" of Jawaharlal Nehru. In the second place, to the best of our knowledge there has never been—at least recently, an Indian High Court or District Judge of that name. In the third place, no Indian Judge was a delegate to the R. T. C. In the fourth place, no provincial Governor has ever been assassinated by an Indian—in any case none during the R. T. C. sessions. In the fifth place, there is no province named the "Northern Provinces" over which the assassinated Governor was said to have been ruling.

Let us now look at the story told in the letter signed by this Arvind Nehra. This man was said to have received his education at Cambridge. Cambridge Colleges and Cambridge men ought therefore to be able to spot him. It is curious that both Aurobindo Ghose and Jawaharlal Nehru were educated at Cambridge. When at the Round Table Conference, one day while taking a stroll on the road, Arvind Nehra saw a poster, **"Governor of the Northern Provinces Assassinated,"** and wrote he to the "English Gentlewoman":

> "Horrified, as you may imagine, I bought a paper, and learn it is my son, my first-born son Arvind, who has done this thing. He has announced that it is for India's freedom he has struck a blow. He lies, I hear, in the hospital, because he has also tried to shoot himself."

Hindu fathers do not give their own proper names to their sons—no Hindu whose proper name is "Arvind" will name his son "Arvind." This is an additional reason for concluding that the letters to an English *Gentle*woman are a forgery. Let us, however, proceed with the story, as told in *The Hindustan Times*.

The judge returns to India. Proceeding to the hospital where his son lies, he finds the 'Senior Police officer in charge' at the bedside of the assassin. Is it the rule in India for Senior *Police* officers to be in charge of hospitals? Of course, in imaginary countries they may be! This Police Officer is a friend of the judge. So when the two friends met, the policeman shook his head and said: "It is a terrible thing for you. The best thing that can happen to the boy now is. . ." He did

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not finish the sentence, but his meaning was quite clear. He meant that death in hospital would be the best thing that could happen to the boy. The boy, however, recovered. But death came to him nevertheless in another way. The "Head Superintendent of the Hospital," another friend of the judge, now appeared on the scene and gave him some tablets for sleeplessness, warning him that more than two at a time would be fatal. So this hospital had two heads, the Senior Police Officer in charge and the Head Superintendent! Let that pass, however. We need not follow the story step by step. Evidently, the judge, taking the hint given by the Head Superintendent of the Hospital through the 'warning', gave more than two of these tablets to his son—the two heads of the hospital conniving, of course. So there occurs the following sentence in his next letter to the English *Gentle*woman: "My son has died in his sleep, quietly and without pain."

Hence, the readers of this book are to conclude that in India Judges, senior Police Officers in charge of Hospitals and Head Superintendents of Hospitals—all Indians, are indirectly promoters of terrorism and conspire to defeat the ends of justice and, therefore, Law and Order and Justice must not be transferred to Indian Ministers!

The fertile brains of some other British *gentle*man or *gentle*woman should be equal to inditing other genuine letters to prove that no department or subject should be transferred to Indians.

The British Sedition Bill

Two different kinds of government cannot co-exist in the same State—whether the state be called empire or commonwealth does not much matter. When Britishers speak of the British Commonwealth of Nations, they refer to Canada, Australia, etc., but not to India. Similarly, when they speak of the British Empire, they have India in view particularly—not Canada, Australia, etc. Britishers govern their own country and India. They do not govern the Dominions. So the government of Great Britain and India must tend to be similar in course of time. This is inevitable. As Britishers do not want that India should have self-rule of the British pattern, they have been obliged to take a leaf out of their rule as it exists in India. The British Sedition Bill is an attempt—perhaps unconscious and unintentional,—to Anglo-Indianize British rule in Britain. It seeks to circumscribe the liberties of the British citizen, though not to the same extent as British-made laws in India have done.

Increasing England's Air Force

England desires to increase the number of her aeroplanes and her air force, so that she might occupy the first place in air warfare instead of the fifth, as she does at present. This does not look like disarmament or reduction of armaments. All States which are increasing their armaments say that they are doing so in order to promote the cause of peace!

At present France is strongest among nations in the air arm. What will be her reaction to England's desire for the first place?

Mahatma Gandhi and the Nobel Peace Prize

Unity of Chicago writes:

The *Christian Century* has nominated Mahatma Gandhi for the Nobel Peace Prize. There could be no more obvious, nor more impossible, suggestion. Obvious, because the Indian saint is pre-eminently the greatest man of Peace in our time! Alone among the world's leaders he preaches and practises those principles of non-violence and brotherhood which lie at the heart of every peace gospel ever given to mankind. But this suggestion is also impossible because the record of the Nobel Peace Prize shows that the trustees of the award are not engaged in honouring peace champions of this Gandhian type. It is true that they once decorated Jane Addams—and then spoiled their own action by dividing her prize with Nicholas Murray Butler, who is about as much of a peace man as Marshall Pilsudski, of Poland, who has been significantly nominated for the Prize this year! But with such chance exception, the Nobel Prize has gone consistently year after year to statesmen and diplomats who have walked the familiar and well-trodden ways of world polity. No the Peace Prize has never quite been able to rise above the level of dynamite and arms in which it had its origin....In this age of wars and rumours of wars, it should have been easy to bestow this Prize upon those heroic men and women who have outlawed war from their hearts and are striving at fearful cost of labour and reputation to do away with it for ever!

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Lord Lloyd on "Britain's Great Heritage"

On May 24 India was described as a country with "hundred Irelands inside it" by Lord Lloyd in a speech at Exeter. But actually there is not yet a single Ireland in India—the "hundreds" are all potential. He said that 'the country had been ruled not so much by the sword as by British impartiality.' Let it be assumed that there has been "British impartiality." How would Lord Lloyd then explain the genesis of a hundred Irelands in India, if they really existed? Impartial rule may produce contented Utopias, not discontented Irelands. As a matter of fact, as we have said above, owing to the difference in the Irish and the Hindu temperaments, there is actually not yet a single Ireland in India. Whatever impartiality there may have been is being replaced by discrimination against the Hindus. Such discrimination would be at its highest if the White Paper constitution or something worse were given to India. Hence, a corollary to Lord Lloyd's dictum looms in the future, namely, that the less there is of British impartiality the more there must be of the British sword. 'Lord Lloyd inquired into the rights of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Mr. Baldwin, "the transient figures of the fleeting moment," to hand over Britain's great heritage without consulting the people.' Which people? Not the people of India to be sure! He said that 'the surrender of China, Ceylon and Egypt was closing the avenues of employment for the British people.' Exactly. And therefore India, which provides employment to so many Britishers, must not be surrendered to Indians! By the by, China, Ceylon and Egypt should not have been classed together. China was never a British possession or protectorate; at the worst, part of it was within the British sphere of influence. Egypt was a British protectorate and is not yet really independent. Ceylon is still a British possession, without real self-government.

Lord Lloyd added, if the Conservative Party would not guard the interests of Britain as well as of India they could not be surprised if more and more people of Britain perferred the Black Shirt to the White Paper. He agreed that Britain had pledged to make experiment of self-government for India but not at any particular moment and in a particular way.

The Indian view is that there is as much difference between the Black Shirt and the White Paper as there is between tweedledum and tweedledee. It was extremely truthful and generous for this lord to admit that Britain had *pledged* to make *experiment* of self-government for India but *not* at any particular moment and in a particular way! That is to say, the *pledge* was to make the *experiment* on the Greek Calends, in his opinion.

Two British Supporters of the White Paper.

So far as India is concerned, there is really nothing to choose between those Britishers who like Churchill, Lloyd and others, denounce the White Paper and those who, like Sir Laurie Hammond (ex-governor of Assam) and Mr. Edward Villiers (ex-president of the European Association in India), support it. The former denounce it because it does not in their opinion sufficiently safe-guard the political and economic interests of Great Britain by adequately restricting the political and economic freedom of India. The latter support it because they think that it does adequately safe-guard the political and economic interests of Great Britain by restricting the political and economic freedom of India quite sufficiently, while at the same time it professes or pretends to give an instalment of self-government to Indians. It is probable, too, that the former, the die-hards, as they are called, condemn the White Paper with the additional object of deluding Indians into the belief that "it must be a very valuable boon, otherwise why should these sahibs be so unwilling to grant it to us."

At a London meeting, in supporting the White Paper, Mr. Edward Villiers laid stress on securing "Indian good-will," as if Indians were dying to get the White Paper and their good-will could be had by giving it to them! The surest means of obtaining their ill-will would be to force the White Paper on them. Sir Laurie Hammond thought or pretended to think that there would be some risk in transferring the government of India from British to Indian hands, but he considered it to be a "preferable risk," as if the White

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Paper really purported to make any such transfer and as if the constitution outlined therein involved any risk of loosening of the British hold on India! Sir Laurie laid down the proviso that the transfer, which in his opinion should have been made fifteen years ago, should be accompained by three conditions, namely, "adequate finance, entry of Indian States into the Federation and adequate safe-guards capable of enforcement."

But there can be no adequate finance so long as there is a highly paid British army of occupation in India, so long as there is a very expensive civil administration with lavishly paid British personnel at the top, and consequently so long as there is quite inadequate expenditure in the 'nation-building' departments.

The entry of the Indian States into the Federation is calculated to nullify popular government. For the States, according to to the White Paper, would have a disproportionately large number of seats in the Federal Legislature to be filled, not by men elected by the States' people, but by nominees of the Princes. Thus their entry will prevent the transfer of power from British hands to those of the representatives of the people. It will also, as we shall show below, prevent India from ever becoming a Dominion, not to speak of her becoming independent.

And then Sir Laurie wants "adequate safe-guards," too. Indians understand what they mean. They are a negation of freedom.

States' Entry into Federation and Prevention of Dominion Status

It is common knowledge that the entry of the Indian States into the Federation and the assigning to the nominees of their Rulers an excessive number of seats in the Federal Legislature are calculated to reduce to impotency the forces of nationalism in that Legislature. But it is not so generally understood that their entry into the Federation is calculated also to prevent India from ever becoming a Dominion. The following extract from an address delivered in Poona on the 15th May last by Mr. R. G. Pradhan shows how an India federated *a la* the White Paper is not likely ever to become a Dominion:

"Its basic principle of an All-India Federation with paramountcy as regards Indian States vested in the Crown with its perpetuation of existing relations between them and the British Government—which relations will ever debar them from attaining Dominion Status—and with its denial of any recognized place in the constitution to the people in the States, will be found to be a permanent and serious barrier to our own full growth into a Dominion, much less into an independent nation. The scheme as regards the Centre is so cleverly and ingeniously devised as to delay indefinitely, if not altogether to prevent, our becoming a Dominion as defined in the Statute of Westminster, and to prevent absolutely our claiming independence as a right constitutionally arising from Dominion Status.

"In the first place, the achievement of Dominion Status is extremely problematical. But suppose at some remote period, it is achieved somehow and Federal India then claims the constitutional right to secede. That claim will be countered by the cogent argument that it cannot be conceded without disintegration of the Federation itself; in other words, that Federal India as such cannot claim independence constitutionally, inasmuch as it contains two elements, one of which does not and cannot have Dominon Status owing to the paramountcy of the British Crown. It is this constitutional implication that has made the British Government so much enamoured of the scheme of an All-India Federation.

"I shall put it differently. The British Government is confident that it will be able to put down any attempt on the part of India to sever the British connexion by force. But the question assumes a different aspect when a Dominion wishes to exercise the constitutional right to secede. Such exercise of a constitutional right cannot be put down by force. So the rise of such a situation itself must be provided against and what should be done is to devise a scheme which will prevent such a claim being made, and even though made, being constitutionally recognized. And this is what has been done in the White Paper Scheme."

Mr. R. G. Pradhan's argument appears to us flawless and shows up the cunning statecraft of the authors of the White Paper. His reasoning may induce a mood of despondency in those who want India to be by constitutional methods a Dominion and afterwards, if need be, an independent country. But those who believe in any revolutionary method may perhaps rejoice that, by preventing constitutional evolution, the White Paper has been unintentionally promoting their cause and facilitating recruitment to their ranks.

Ignorance or Deliberate Misrepresentation?

It is said to be generally believed in Great Britain that the White Paper is acceptable to the majority of Indians. If so, it shows the Britishers' prevailing lack of correct information

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relating to India, their indifference to obtaining such information and the success which has attended the efforts of British bureaucrats, news agencies and journalists to prevent correct information relating to India reaching the people of Great Britain. The ignorance of the generality of Englishmen may be excusable. What is inexcusable is the ignorance of leading men and those who have spent years in India. Yet they, too, display such ignorance, or (shall we say ?) indulge in deliberate misrepresentation. At a meeting of the East India Association in London, addressed by Sir Frederic Sykes, ex-Governor of Bombay, on May 15 last, Sir Hugh Cocke said that he believed that "by far the greatest body of opinion in India, both European and Indian, favoured the White Paper." He may believe or pretend to believe whatever he likes, but so far as Indian opinion goes, exactly the opposite of what he believes is true.

Congress and Council Entry

It has been decided at the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee held at Patna that those Congressmen who think that they can do some good to the country by entering the legislatures will have the liberty to do so, No-changers continuing to do other kinds of Congress work outside the Councils. These are to be of a constructive kind. For Mahatma-ji's statement of April last, advising the discontinuance of civil disobedience by all except himself, has been endorsed by the A. I. C. C. Congress candidates for the legislatures will be nominated by a Parliamentary Board of the Congress, of which the personnel has been already selected. Dr. Ansari is the chairman of this Board. During his absence in England Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya will act as chairman.

Though civil disobedience has been reserved for Gandhiji at his suggestion and advice, he has said that he will try to act in such a way that the starting of civil disobedience may not be necessary.

Considering all these circumstances, Government may be fairly expected to lift the ban against all Congress bodies so that the holding of a plenary ordinary session of the Congress may be possible and Congressmen may not be hampered in doing constructive work. It has been announced that the next session of the Congress, the 48th, will be held at Bombay in October this year.

The decision to carry on the campaign of elections to the Councils by a Parliamentary Board of the Congress itself seems to us more satisfactory than by a separate Swarajist party, though connected with the Congress. There is no essential incongruity between Council work, provided no Congress principles are violated in the process of doing it, and constructive work outside the Councils. Should Congress undertake civil resistance in the future, either in the sole person of Mahatma Gandhi or as a body, Congress members of the Legislatures will simply have to come out of them, if called upon to do so.

It has been contended that, as at Lahore Congress in full session assembled prohibited Council entry, the ban on Council entry can be lifted only by a plenary session of the Congress. Logically and technically this appears to be the correct position. But if preparations for contesting seats at the forthcoming general elections can be commenced only after a full Congress session has lifted the ban, there must be much delay, and much precious time must be lost. Perhaps this practical consideration has led the A. I. C. C. to take upon itself the responsibility of lifting the ban. This may be technically wrong but not morally so. Moreover, as Mahatma Gandhi is still practically the dictator and as he has given his opinion in favour of those entering the Councils who want to do so, there is no real harm in anticipating the verdict of a full session of the Congress held under his lead.

It has been our opinion that, under the constitution of India as it stands at present and is likely to be in the near future, Swaraj cannot be won on the floor of the Council Chambers, though some useful preventive and constructive work may be done there. We note that at the Patna A. I. C. C. meeting the opinion was expressed by some men that Swaraj could not be won by Council work.

There was also opposition to Council entry there by an important minority. But it is noteworthy that no resolution was moved

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in favour of the actual resumption of civil disobedience now or in the immediate future.

Congress and the Communal "Award"

Neither at the Swarajya Party's conference at Ranchi nor at the meeting of the A. I. C. C. at Patna was the Communal "Award" of the British Prime Minister either accepted or rejected. The motive behind this silence was good. The desire was that the country should offer united opposition to the Government's dual policy of real repression and so-called reform. But, as was anticipated by us, this silence has satisfied neither the supporters nor the opponents of the so-called Award. The supporters—for the most part communalist Muslims, have expressed dissatisfaction at Congressmen not declaring themselves unequivocally in favour of the Premier's Communal Decision. On the other hand, members of the Hindu Mahasabha and some Hindu members of the Congress also have not been pleased with this Congress attitude of sitting on the fence—they want out and out and open rejection of the Communal Decision. Dr. Ansari made a statement saying that a Constituent Assembly to be called hereafter would deal with the matters dealt with by the Premier's so-called Award. This, too, did not satisfy any party. So Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. Aney have had to come out with statements of which the purport is that, as Congress stands for national unity and joint electorates, it cannot tolerate even for a short period any arrangement like the Communal Decision which makes for national disruption and disintegration and separate electorates.

Messrs. Malaviya and Aney's statements cannot please Muslim communalists. Perhaps they will displease some, if not all, Muslim nationalists also. For there is this difference between Hindu and Muslim Congressmen that whilst Hindu Congressmen—at least many of them, openly denounce Hindu Mahasabhites, few, if any, Muslim Congressmen denounce their co-religionists of the Muslim League and the Khilafat Conference. So, all Muslims who will enter the legislatures, whether on the Congress, Muslim League or Khilafat Conference, may be able to work together particularly as Maulana Shaukat Ali is going to contest a seat in order to preserve Muslim solidarity in the Central Legislature.

The Hindus, on the other hand, may be divided into four or more parties. There will be Hindu Congressmen, and in addition there may be Hindu Mahasabhites, Hindu Liberals, Hindu Sanatanists, Hindu Harijans and Hindu nondescripts.

It would be desirable, and it would be advantageous, to have in the country Parties, if any, only along political and economic lines—not along communal, sectarian, caste or socio-religious lines. But if the latter kind of party cleavage be inevitable under present circumstances, the fewer the parties in a community the better it would be not only for that community but for the nation as well.

For these reasons, it would be best for all communal parties to join hands with the Congress, as that is the biggest organization and is also non-communal. It is and has been trying to keep itself non-communal though many Muslim leaders had said before and have recently also asserted that it is a Hindu communal body of Hindu Mahasabhite complexion. The fact is, whoever does not cry ditto to everything that communalistic Muslims demand or say is dubbed as communal, the inference being that the communalist Muslims are the only real nationalists and non-communalists in the world!

Communal Unity

The condition, laid down by British imperialists for their acceptance of any Indian nationalist programme of constitutional advance, that it must be an agreed programme of all parties, is mischievous and meant to prevent all real reform and progress. When Canada got self-rule by a new constitution it was not after fulfilling any such condition. The condition was not laid down in her case that the French and the British settlers—the Catholics and the Protestants—and the aboriginal Indians also must submit an agreed and united petition for a new constitution before it could be granted. On the contrary, the British Government of the day of their own accord gave Canadians a constitution which

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produced unity, which was lacking before. In the case of India the British Government has done no such thing. On the contrary, to the Round Table Conference, which was called ostensibly to devise means for Indian constitutional advance, not a single nationalist Musalman was invited and, originally, no Congressman also. The White Paper produced by the arbiters of India's destiny in London creates more political divisions and parties among the inhabitants of India than existed before and exist now. If, instead of following such methods, the British Government had given India a constitution like or approaching that of any of the British Dominions or like those of the States in Europe constituted after the war, it would have on the whole produced contentment in India and made for her progress. We mean progress of all communities.

The fun of the thing is that when British imperialists insist upon an agreed draft constitution or programme, they do not name the parties who must agree. To say that the Hindus and the Muslims must agree is of no use. For there are parties in both the communities. And if the parties in existence at present agreed, a dissenting new party might be born over-night mushroom-like, and it would be sure to be used by British die-hards to disprove the fact of Hindu-Muslim unity. Moreover, these are not the only communities in India. There are the Christians, the Sikhs, the Buddhists, the Jains, the aboriginals, and so on. So, even if the major communities agreed, the minor ones could and would be trotted out for disproving Indian unity.

There never was in any subject country, nor is there at present, such complete unity as British imperialists insist upon in the case of India. Why speak of subject countries alone? Is there such complete unity in any free and independent country?

So the best course for the British parliament and people to follow would be to do the right thing and shame the devil—the devil in British imperialists and die-hards and in Indian communalists and job-hunters.

There is a vicious circle which should be plain to all. There cannot be any communal unity in India so long as the domination of British officials lasts, and their domination cannot terminate with the voluntary consent of the British people so long as there is not communal unity. So it is best for all Indian communities and groups to try to secure greater and still greater political rights *separately* and *independently* without laying stress on unity.

Communal unity presupposes the absence in any community of any group which is so lacking in self-respect as to prefer British favours to national solidarity. It also presupposes the lack of power on the part of the British rulers to outbid the national leaders in the matter of advantages that may have to be promised to selfish groups to purchase either their acquiescence in national subjection or their adherence to the cause of national freedom.

Maulana Shaukat Ali has declared that he is dying for unity. Mr. Jinnah, Sir Muhammad Iqbal, Maulvi Shafi Daudi, etc., are dissatisfied with the decisions of the A. I. C. C. in Patna. It is necessary, therefore, to know on what exact terms they can unite with non-Muslims in a national struggle for freedom. The terms must be definite and final. It should also be stated whether all the advantages which they want are wanted for a definite period to be stated exactly, or for ever, or during their pleasure. Supposing non-Muslim leaders agree to all these terms, the Muslim leaders laying down the terms should state beforehand that they would not only not be a party to other Muslim leaders, who may spring up, driving a bargain with the British Government for still greater advantages but would denounce and fight such bargaining.

Turkey for Turks

Istambul, *May 25.*

Thousands of foreigners employed in the professions or who are artisans (notably 1,200 of Maltese extraction but not speaking their mother tongue) are precariously situated as a result of the Government's approval of a law whereby certain professions are reserved for Turkish nationals. The law states that from this week foreigners employed as chauffeurs, hair-dressers, tailors, shoe-makers, stock exchange clerks and musicians will cease work while delays (?) ranging from three to twelve months are given to foreigners employed as general labourers, waiters, actors, printers, chemists, Government employees and others (?).—*Reuter.*

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When Congressmen enter the Central Legislature will any of them introduce a Bill there for reserving some professions and the best-paid services for Indian nationals ?

"Nationalism Suits Hindus" !

A Muhammadan contemporary has more than once quoted Mahatma Gandhi as having said words to the effect that the Hindus are Nationalists because it suits them to be so. We do not remember to have read any such utterance of Mahatmaji. But as evidently some at least of our Musalman countrymen are under the impression that Hindus are or profess to be Nationalists because Nationalism is of advantage to them, the notion requires a little examination.

The Musalmans referred to above will, we hope, agree that those Muslims who want separate electorates with seats reserved for them and weightage in addition where their co-religionists are a minority, desire these things because they consider these to be advantageous and advantages suit them. Now, Hindus are in a minority in Bengal, the Panjab, N.-W. F. Province and Sind. But no conference of Hindus in any of these regions has asked for these advantages as their first choice. On the contrary, they have as their first choice or only choice asked for joint electorates without reservation of seats on the population basis, and of course they have not asked for any weightage. Their Nationalism has impelled them to agree to forgo the advantages which Muslim minorities have got everywhere. So Nationalism may be said to suit these Hindu minorities in the sense that disadvantage suits Hindus where advantage suits Musalmans.

It may be said, of course, that in India as a whole Hindus are a majority, and, therefore, Nationalism suits them. But they are not responsible for the fact that they are a majority in India—they have taken pretty good care to be a dwindling majority for centuries ! Afghans, Turks, Japanese, Persians, Britishers, Frenchmen, Germans, etc., are majorities in their respective countries and are Nationalists. Perhaps because Nationalism suits all of them. Neither History nor Geography tells of any people who are Nationalists *for the reason that Nationalism does not suit them.* But History and Geography do tell of one and only one country in which the majority has been reduced to the position of a minority in a famous official document and in which the majority community has agreed to an important minority community having weightage in provinces where they are a minority and also in the Central Legislature. And that country is India. Perhaps it may, therefore, be humbly claimed that Hindus are Nationalists even when and where Nationalism does not suit them !

"The Dismemberment of China"

Such is the title of one of the fortnightly *Foreign Policy Reports* published by the Foreign Policy Association of New York on April 24, 1934. It begins thus :

> "Japan's recent conquest of Manchuria and Jehol has rounded out ninety years of territorial losses by China, starting with the British annexation of Hongkong in 1842. During this period China has lost control of roughly 2,400,000 square miles of territory out of a total of nearly 4,500,000 once ruled by the Manchu empire. Of these lost territories, France has annexed Indo-China ; Britain has taken Hongkong, Upper Burma, and Sikkim, and dominates Tibet ; Japan has annexed Korea, Formosa and the Pescadores, and controls Manchuria and Jehol ; and the Soviet Union dominates outer Mongolia. While the seizure of Manchuria therefore constitutes merely the latest in a long series of similar episodes, it has also a special significance with respect to developments in the immediate future ; for the loss of Manchuria has had an unsettling effect throughout the remaining outlying territories of China, and may be the prelude to a new era of territorial dismemberment."

The Report continues :

> "The seriousness of this threat becomes clear when it is realized that the eighteen provinces of China proper have been dominated historically by a double ring of outlying territories. The outer ring consists of Manchuria, outer Mongolia, Singkiang and Tibet. Three of these areas are already subject to foreign control, while the fourth—Singkiang or Chinese Turkistan—is now in the throes of political upheaval. The inner ring consists of Inner Mongolia on the north and "Inner" Tibet on the west, separated by the narrow western tongue of Kansu province. Inner Mongolia has been recently organized into the four new provinces of Jehol, Chahar, Suiyuan and Ninghsia. Of these Japan now occupies Jehol and the strategic eastern edge of Chahar, near the city of Dolonor, which dominates the passes leading further into Mongolia. "Inner" Tibet is composed of the newly organized provinces of Chinghari and Hsikang. During the past two years large sections of Chinghai and Hsikang provinces have been occupied by British-trained Tibetan troops.

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"China's outer ring of territories has thus been almost wholly lost, while the inner ring is under partial foreign occupation and in immediate danger of complete alienation."

The Report is carefully documented and treats of China's land and sea frontiers, race and religion on the border, the three Mongolias, "Inner" Tibet, revolt in Sinkiang, and Yunnan a French sphere, and contains a map. It concludes thus :

"In the test over Manchuria, the historic 'open door' policy of the United States, with its corollary requiring the maintenance of China's territorial integrity, has apparently suffered a decisive set-back. More than at any time since 1900, tendencies leading toward the dismemberment of China are definitely in the ascendant."

Shrapnel and Poison Gas

"The Arbitrator" (England) states that at the close of the World War there were 1,500 blind men, victims of battle service, in Great Britain. Recent figures, however, show that since then, 500 additional service men have lost their sight from the effects of shrapnel wounds or gas poisoning.

"By the way," asks the bulletin of the Webster Groves, Missouri, Peace Council, "do you happen to know what country is now taking the lead in the production of poison gas ? The great plant at Edgewood could produce in two months more poison gas than the Germans used throughout the War."—*World Events.*

Literary Activity in Soviet Russia

No country in the world, according to recent claims of the *Soviet Union Review*, publishes as many books as Soviet Russia. In 1932, it contends, the U.S.S.R. issued more scientific works than were put out in Germany, Italy, France, and England combined. The Soviet Press, which is largely restricted to the governmental viewpoint, has 7,000 papers with a circulation of nearly 40,000,000. In 1912, Russia published 133,562,000 copies of all books ; in 1932, the figure is said to be 1,300,000,000.—*World Events.*

India at the Olympic Games

The Berlin *Olympic Games News Service* states :

At the meeting of the India Olympic Committee during the celebration of the All-India Olympic Games of 1934 at Delhi, the invitation to the XI Olympied at Berlin was accepted. India will defend her old mastership in hockey ; and also in various other events Indian competitors will meet the best athletes of the world at the Olympic Games, 1936.

University Teachers and Politics

The Aligarh University Inquiry Committee of 1927-28, presided over by Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah, made the following observations and recommendation with respect to members of the staff of that University seeking election to the legislatures :

> Our attention has been drawn by many witnesses to the effect produced on the academic atmosphere of the University by members of the staff standing for election to a legislature and taking part in politics.
>
> The political duties assumed by these teachers of the University are by no means inconsiderable. In addition to attendance at the meetings of legislatures, both (Dr. Ziauddin and Dr. Hyder) have sat on important Government commissions and committees and have been absent from duty for long periods of time. It is not surprising, therefore, that many witnesses have represented that the interests of the students have suffered.
>
> In 1926 Dr. Hyder was re-elected and is now serving on a Government commission. Mr. Habib, Professor of History, was also selected a member of the provincial legislature. Dr. Ziauddin did not stand for re-election. Aligarh appears to be in danger of being used by some members of the staff as a stepping-stone to political advancement.
>
> The work has suffered by the frequent absence of teachers of the University on political duty. It has also been pointed out in evidence that during those election contests numbers of students have been absent from the University for the purpose of canvassing.
>
> We recommend, therefore, that university teachers should not be permitted to stand for election to a legislature. Should at any time a seat in the legislature be given to the Aligarh University, then there would be no objection to a teacher of the University standing for that seat.

The Allahabad University had a salutary rule on the lines of the Aligarh University Inquiry Committee's recommendation. But it has been, we hear, recently repealed, to facilitate Dr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan's political activities. It is rumoured that, as Dr. Khan is an official favourite, the Allahabad University authorities are afraid of the historico-political Doctor someday becoming the U. P. Education Minister and having it out with them.

Compulsory Education in U. P.

The U. P. Government has, it is said, resolved to spend Rs. 100,000 for making a beginning in the direction of compulsory education. A not too early beginning.

Glimpses of U. P. Administration Report for 1932-33

Some extracts are given below from the Government Report on the administration of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh in 1932-33, the headings being mostly our own :—

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Position of the Congress

"Any account of the political events of the year must, for practical purposes, be little more than an account of the activities of the Congress party, for it alone, among the shifting and overlapping interests of Indian politics, possessed for a short time a single policy and programme and an organization with some effective hold over large numbers of its followers. Outside the Congress and its offshoots there was less than the usual political enthusiasm, for most classes and communities were too absorbed in their own domestic difficulties to do more than record their reactions to the proposals for reform."

The Liberal Party

"The Liberal party, while disapproving of the Congress programme, was dissatisfied with the White Paper and continuously demanded the release of political prisoners so that the Congress party might participate in the discussions on the reforms."

The future Programme of the Congress

"On the future programme of the Congress, opinion was divided. One section [of the Press] favoured the capture of the legislatures, while another showed sympathy with the views of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, who, in a series of articles entitled 'Whither India?' stated that India's immediate goal was the abolition of all special class privileges and vested interests, and the severance of the British connection."

"Political and Communistic Propaganda"

"'The *Chand* published an article urging that Indian Chiefs should be pensioned off and their States annexed to form a single State. Some papers sought to represent Russia as a modern Utopia for peasants and labourers, and the *Mazdoor* claimed that Russia afforded a proof of the administrative capacity of the peasants and their superiority over capitalists in the art of government. The same paper advocated the immediate establishment of a labour party in India in order to capture the legislatures and establish a government controlled by peasants and 'workers'."

Political prisoners

"Many papers regularly published complaints of the ill-treatment of political prisoners in several jails in this province, particularly at Fyzabad, and the death of two political prisoners in the Andamans jail was followed by a prolonged campaign against the transfer of political prisoners to those islands."

"Muslim affairs"

"Aerial bombing on the North-West Frontier evoked vehement protests, especially from the Muslim press. British policy and administration in Palestine were bitterly criticized by the same press, and some papers, usually moderate in tone and supporters of Government, affirmed that there could be no Anglo-Muslim *entente* in the face of the 'Anglo-Jewish crusade' against the Arabs."

Warning to the Princes

"Some papers warned the Princes that their security lay, not in depending on the paramount power for help, but in winning the good-will of their subjects and in helping Indians generally towards the attainment of *Swaraj*."

Terrorist Outrages in Bengal

"Newspapers of all shades of opinion condemn the terrorist outrages in Bengal but considered the measures adopted by the Bengal Government for the suppression of terrorism would merely aggravate the evil, which could only be eradicated by the removal of the root causes of political and economic unrest."

Cow-killing at Bakr-Id

"In a pamphlet published by Maulvi Mahadeo Prasad of Benares University it was alleged that India was the only Muslim country where cows were killed at Bakr-Id."

The Round Table Conference

"Newspapers generally expressed keen disappointment at the proceedings of the Conference, especially at the concluding speech of the Secretary of State, and urged that no constitution with the proposed safe-guards in military and financial matters could be acceptable to Indians. The *Sind* characterized the reform scheme as reactionary, while the *Hamdam* described the Conference as a fools' paradise."

"The Communal Award"

"The comment was general that the excessive fragmentation of electorates was prejudical to national interests, and was a manifestation of the Government's Policy of 'divide and rule.'"

"The Viceroy's Bihar Relief Fund"

In a communication sent to us from New York Dr. Haridas T. Muzumdar writes:

"I cannot understand the psychology of our people. You have started in India what is euphemistically called 'The Viceroy's Bihar Relief Fund.' Why the Viceroy's? Has the Viceroy donated a year's salary for the relief of the victims of the earthquake tragedy?"

Dr. Muzumdar is mistaken in thinking that the people of India have started the Viceroy's fund. It is called the Viceroy's Fund because it was he who started it. No doubt the richer people have contributed to it, for obvious reasons, in preference to other funds started by men of the people. As regards the Viceroy's own contribution that was for him to decide.

Glasgow Indian Union

We have been asked by the honorary information secretary of the Glasgow Indian Union (c-o the Glasgow University) to state that

"The "Glasgow Indian Union" has an Information Department which supplies information to

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student intending to come to Glasgow to proceed with further studies.

Realizing the difficulties met by the newcomers in this country, and also the lack of information to those who intend to come over here, the Glasgow Indian Union has taken up the task of offering help to them. In case any individual student wishes to consult us, we will be glad to supply full information about the University of Glasgow and the various Colleges in Glasgow. The Glasgow Indian Union will help the newcomers with reception, lodgings, etc., if previously informed.

Some general information regarding exemptions from preliminary and first science examinations for the degree of B. Sc. in Engineering at the Glasgow University, have been sent to the Principals of most of the Colleges in India. During the last two years a good number of Indian students have come to Glasgow to attend the course of Sugar Technology at the Royal Technical College, Glasgow,—a three year course for the Diploma of the College.

Laudable Public Spirit of Senhati Ladies

Senhati is a village in the Khulna district of Bengal. Forty ladies of that village have set a noble example of practical philanthropy, as described in the following news item :

Khulna, May, 2.

The members of the Senhati Mahila Samity (a branch of the Saroj Nalini Nari Mangal Samity) have set an example in the direction of village welfare. A big reserve tank, which mainly supplied the drinking water of the majority of the villagers, has now fallen into disuse owing to the growth of excessive weeds. Repeated representations to the authorities of the Local Board for clearing these having proved of no avail, about 40 ladies, young and old, set themselves to the task and, after working for full four days, cleared the tank of the weeds. The Secretary of the Samity has now requested the chairman of the District Board to make arrangements for disinfecting the tank—Associated Press.

World Population Trends

The Commonweal of New York writes :

"Professor Charles Richet, winner of the Nobel Prize for Medicine in 1913, has just issued a remarkable world population survey from which he draws three conclusions : (1) Yellow and mixed races are increasing in rate five or six times more rapidly than the white races. (2) Among the white races Europeans increase the least. (3) Among the European peoples the most civilized nations show the least population increase. If the trend continues at its present rate, the Asiatics will have increased 140,000,000 in the next ten years, the American nations by 35,000,000, the Europeans by 20,000,000. While Shanghai shows an increase of 55 births per thousand population annually and Tokyo 44 per thousand, New York increases only 19 per thousand annually, and neither London nor Paris has shown any birth increase in the last decade. On the basis of the present increase rates Professor Richet estimates that New York will be the world's largest city in 1944, with Tokyo second and Shanghai third ; London will be out-ranked by Berlin and Moscow. M. Richet held it impossible to estimate populations more than ten years ahead, but stated that if the present rate of increase continued, Tokyo would become the world's largest city by 1955."

So far as India is concerned, there is at present greater increase of population among the poorer and illiterate classes than among the middle class literate people—particularly in the Hindu community. There are several causes at work to lower the birth-rate among literate classes. The number of young men and young girls who remain unmarried—at any rate till a more advanced age than before—has been increasing, and there is also a progressive use of contraceptives among them. There are other causes also at work. If all these causes continue to work, the Hindu cultured classes may be swamped in course of time, if they do not in the meanwhile dwindle and die out.

Anti-war Demonstrations in America

The New Republic of America writes :

It is, we think, both significant and important that in a large number of colleges throughout the country many thousands of students last week participated in anti-war demonstrations. We do not assume that such demonstrations, even on a much wider scale, will have any very important effect upon the likelihood of any given war in the future, or even that all of the demonstrators would live up to their anti-war principles when to do so might mean persecution and imprisonment. But we feel it is a healthy thing for so many young men and women to be thinking about the war problem and we assume that their interest in all probability extends to the causes of war, which in the modern world are so largely economic and an outgrowth of private capitalist enterprise. Among the demonstrators were Communists, Socialists and young people who are of neither of these faiths, and they showed an ability to co-operate for common ends that their elders have sometimes lacked. In some colleges, counter-demonstrations were arranged by students who (having been on the average four years old when the Great War ended) feel more friendly toward militarism ; and it was probably a good thing that the pacifist marchers should realize thus early that their ideas are not accepted by the whole community. In a few places, the police were called in to beat up the participants in the anti-war parades ; and this, also, was doubtless educative to the students, who got a vivid illustration of the fact that the way of the peace-maker is hard.

Sir C. V. Raman's Academy of Science

We had come to know some weeks ago that Dr. Normand, Director of the Meteorological

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Survey of India, had refused to be a member of Sir C. V. Raman's "Indian Academy of Science." We now find that the news has been published in newspapers in places so far apart as Lahore and Calcutta. We know that Dr. Normand has given Professor Raman some salutary advice, too, all of which has not appeared in the papers. So we shall not publish it in part or in its entirety.

It was not so very long ago that Sir C. V. Raman "conceded" the scientific leadership of Calcutta, though he has been latterly reported to have spoken of Calcutta scientists as a coterie or a clique. Wrote he in the sixth anniversary number of the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette*:

> It would be folly, however, to believe that Science can only flourish in monastic seclusion away from the surge of human life. Nothing could be further from the truth. Science derives her strongest impulses from the desire to serve human needs as well as from the purely philosophic desire to understand Nature more deeply. Hence, to be in touch with life, to understand the claims for service made by Humanity and to attempt to satisfy them, makes for true scientific progress. Further, Science cannot do without libraries and laboratories, and she must have the means to free her votaries from the necessity of otherwise earning their daily bread. If Science chooses to live and work in seclusion, she runs the risk of losing the sympathy of those who can provide her with resources. Thus, Science and Humanity need each other, and they both can flourish only when their obligations to each other are understood and discharged.

Typical Paris

In view of what has been said, it is not surprising that at least in some great centres of human life, we do also find flourishing schools of scientific research. Paris is a typical example of a great city which is not only the political and social but also the intellectual capital of its country. Calcutta claims a similar privilege so far as Bengal is concerned, but an impartial observer would probably also concede without hesitation that the proud privilege she once enjoyed of being the Imperial Capital has not yet disappeared in the sphere of scientific activity. She owes her prestige and influence in the sphere of learning to her century-old tradition of culture and research, to the long line of eminent scholars, both Indian and European, whom Calcutta has numbered and numbers among her citizens, and not least to the efforts of such men as the late Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar and Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, who strove to create the facilities for higher studies and research that others now enjoy.

Calcutta's Lead

Conceding the fact that Calcutta exercises a leadership in scientific research which extends far beyond the limits of the Province of Bengal, it must be a matter of pride and personal concern to every one of her citizens to see that such leadership is maintained for the future.

So those who strive to maintain the scientific position of Calcutta may not be an intriguing clique or coterie but only patriotic citizens.

Promoting Drink and Drug Habit in Bihar

In the course of his presidential address at the annual meeting of the Indian Mining Association, Jharia, Mr. Mrinal Kanti Bose said:

> The Royal Commission on Labour, speaking about the condition in 1928, said that the Dhanbad Sub-Division collieries, which employed 55,000 male workers, were responsible for the consumption of country spirit to the value of six lacs and seventy thousand. The licence fees on the consumption of country rice beer brought a revenue of 1,20,000. Besides there were ganja and other intoxicating drugs. The Commission estimated that the total expenditure incurred by these miserable colliery workers in drink and drug in 1928-29 was ten lacs of rupees. The Commission recommended that the drink and drug shops should be gradually closed in the interests of the industry and of the workers. But we find today that far from giving effect to the recommendation of the Commission the Government has reduced the price of country spirits, so much so that one bottle of country liquor which was formerly sold at annas eight or annas ten, is being sold at annas two now. The result is that the drink evil has become more widespread. It is idle to say that the illicit distillation would supply the want, if the Government stopped or reduced the sale of liquor. In 1930, due to picketing for six months, the liquor and drug shops were closed but illicit distillation did not supply the demand. You may punish illicit distillation, but why pander to a vice by making the satisfaction of it incredibly cheap? Mahatma Gandhi could not stop the practice, the labour unions cannot. The evil could be brought under control only by State action—absolute prohibition.

Mr. Bose added:

> The large majority of the workers do not turn up on Monday for the effect of intoxication begun from Sunday. The collieries have, therefore, been forced to close on Monday. Even on Tuesday the attendance is poor. The effect continues on Wednesday. If anybody wants to see how human beings are systematically brutalized, let him come to coal areas. The workers cannot find the bare necessaries of life, but drink and drug have been made cheap for them so that they may maintain an existence of forgetfulness. Can anybody expect the workers to be efficient in such conditions? Can industry prosper with workers so debased?

Flood-stricken Orissa

It is mentioned in the papers that Mr. Damodar Das, whom Gandhiji had deputed to inquire into the condition of the villages devastated by floods last year, has reported that relief is still necessary. When last we

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weather we visited some flood-stricken villages in Cuttack district we came to the conclusion, which we published in the papers at that time, that help would be required for six months or so. But perhaps that help was not then forthcoming. Hence the inhabitants of many villages are still in distress.

Vernacular Medium in the Panjab

It is stated that candidates for the Matriculation and school-leaving certificate examinations in the Panjab will be allowed the option of answering questions in the vernacular from 1937 onwards, except in the subject of English. That means that the examinees must be taught through the medium or vehicle of the vernacular. But which vernacular? Properly speaking there is one predominant vernacular in the Panjab, namely, Panjabi, which is spoken by the mass of the people, whatever their religious persuasion may be. But among three different religious communities there are zealous advocates of Urdu, Hindi and Panjabi.

Maithili in Bihar

This reminds us that in Bihar there is a considerable section of the intelligentsia who want that Maithili should be recognized by the University and the education department as an independent language. They assert that it is spoken by one-third of the population of Bihar, and it has also a literature of its own. Its script is almost the same as that of Assamese and Bengali.

We do not wish to pre-judge the claims to recognition of any vernacular or any script of India. But perhaps the gradual approximation and the ultimate unification of several allied vernaculars would be desirable.

Tornado in Sylhet

The benevolence of the generous public has not yet been equal to the task of relieving the victims of the earthquake in Bihar. Yet now the same public must attend to the needs of those who have been reduced to destitution by a destructive tornado in Sylhet. And there is scarcity of food, if not famine, in parts of the Mymensingh and Jessore districts.

Babu Rajendra Prasad's Appeal

In the course of a few weeks Bihar will have its rainy season. Owing to the earthquake, in many areas there the levels of the land and of the river beds have changed. So floods and water-logging are anticipated. And these may cause outbreaks of various diseases. Babu Rajendra Prasad has therefore issued a timely appeal for medical workers to volunteer their services. Medical practitioners of both sexes will be required.

The Transfer of Sylhet to Bengal

There are areas now included in the province of Assam which are really parts of Bengal and which formerly formed parts of the administrative province of Bengal, as their prevailing vernacular is Bengali. The district of Sylhet is one of these areas. The Bengali inhabitants of these areas, who form the majority, have for years expressed a desire to have them included in the administrative province of Bengal. And hitherto generally the Assamese have opposed their transfer to Bengal. But recently some leading Assamese gentlemen have petitioned the Government of India to transfer Sylhet to Bengal. We are not aware why they want this transfer now. On linguistic and similar other grounds, if Sylhet is to come back to Bengal, we do not see any reason why the Bengali-speaking regions of Cachar and Goalpara should not also come back to Bengal. If there is to be a transfer, all the Bengali-speaking areas should be given back to Bengal.

We must add that we have not been ardent advocates of the transfer of Sylhet and other Assam districts to Bengal. Nor do we advocate such transfer now. It is not necessary to say why. What we contend is that, if there is to be any such transfer, justice and logic would require the transfer, not merely of Sylhet, but of all Bengali-speaking areas in Assam to Bengal.

The Bengali-speaking areas tacked on to Bihar should be similarly transferred to Bengal.

Textile Workers' Strike in Bombay and Nagpur

The textile workers' strike in Bombay began more than a month ago and is still

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going strong, though the police have fired on the strikers on several occasions, killing some and wounding many more. Firing is resorted to in India more frequently than in Great Britain, though the situations to be faced and controlled may be more menacing in Great Britain than in India. Bullets for (imaginary or real) bricks, is the maxim here.

As neither the millowners nor the workers evince any disposition to yield, it was and still is the duty of the Bombay Government to call a conference of both parties to settle the points in dispute. A better course would be for both parties to choose arbitrators in whom they have confidence. Wise Governments and wise employers of labour do not try to break the spirit of the people. They rather take advantage of it by directing it into profitable channels.

It has been contended on the part of the capitalists that Bombay wages are higher than elsewhere in India. That may or may not be true. But when wages are taken into consideration, living costs also have to be taken into consideration. And they are high in Bombay.

Both parties should be interested in saving the cotton industry in Bombay from ruin. If they go on fighting, they would be helping Japan and Lancashire. Moreover, the industry may be diverted more and more to other provinces in India.

Cotton mill operatives in Nagpur also have struck work. As in Bombay, so in the Central Provinces, the leaders of the people and the Government ought to take steps for the early termination of the strike.

Terrorism Again

It is greatly to be regretted that terrorism of all kinds still persists in Bengal, as indicated by the attempt to shoot the Governor of Bengal at Darjeeling, who fortunately was not hurt, and by the steps taken to combat it.

Sir John Thompson, formerly Chief Commissioner of Delhi, has recently expressed his views on terrorism, condemning it in unequivocal terms. The attempted assassination of the Bengal Governor gave him the occasion for his observations.

Congratulating the Bengal Governor and his daughter on their fortunate escape, he added that unhappily it was impossible to suggest that legislation in accordance with the White Paper policy would result in the disappearance of terrorism from India. It would almost certainly persist, whatever type of constitution was secured, though it would inevitably diminish as the Indians were increasingly entrusted with their own affairs. Then he uttered a timely warning and expressed his firm conviction that it would increase if reactionaries in England succeeded and their view prevailed that there should be no constitutional advance until terrorism disappeared.

Corruption in British Municipalities

The following paragraphs have been published in some British and Indian papers:—

The Ministry of Health sent out a stern warning to municipal authorities throughout Britain.

That warning indicated that graft is rampant in certain towns and cities.

And the order was: "Stamp out graft!"

The chief forms of graft which the Ministry is determined to suppress are:

Acceptance by councillors of gratuities—not always money—from contractors and

Giving highly paid jobs to councillors' relatives.

An urban councillor secured well-paid positions with the local authority for four members of his family and three other relatives.

A rural district councillor placed two sons, two daughters and three other relatives in well-paid positions in the local council offices.

A concise statement of the law as it affects councillors is to be sent to all those likely to be affected.

Corruption in municipalities is a disgrace wherever it exists. Its existence in Britain would not make it less disgraceful in India, if and where it exists.

Britain's Silver Deal and India

According to the *United Press*,

Sir Montagu Webb who only recently sent a cablegram to President Roosevelt in connection with the free mintage of silver, has issued the following statement to the press:

"There is a talk of Great Britain making another 'token' payment next month to the U. S. A in silver. India should be keenly on her guard lest another twenty millions of her precious monetary metal are quietly removed without her permission and then not properly paid for."

"Last year, it will be recalled, in pursuance of the Hilton-Young policy of monetary restriction and silver demonetisation, 20,000,000 ounces of India's silver were without the Indian Legislature's permission, quickly shipped to the United States under arrangement with the British Government. But when, last year, the U. S. A. generously accepted 20,000,000 ounces of silver from Great Britain as a 'token' payment towards Britain's Liabilities to the U. S. A., President Roosevelt credited Great Britain with the same "fifty pence per ounce" that India had been compelled (by her own default) to pay to U. S. A. for her silver in 1918-19.

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"But Great Britain only credited India with 20 and ⅓rd pence per ounce, which was, of course, more than the current market rate at the time. But why was India not credited with the full 50 pence per ounce that she had paid?

"Therefore, it is of vital importance that, if England makes a 'token' payment in silver to the U S A next month, she does not do so by withdrawing precious metal from the working of the Reserve Bank of India Act. The recent issue in Calcutta by the Government of three crores of rupee notes based not on silver, but on the Government of India's sterling paper balance lying (quite uselessly and unnecessarily) in London, is now secretly working to push India off silver (just as they themselves have been forced off gold) so that India with a paper currency 'here' based on a paper currency 'there' may be more easily controlled within the sterling (paper) area in which London money powers are working to 'enmesh' and control the whole world."

Industrial and Commercial Enterprise in Bengal

Presiding at the first quarterly general meeting of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce last month, Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker referred among other things to Bengal's backwardness in industries. Said he:

The causes underlying the backwardness in the development of our industries are common knowledge. The foremost among these is the shyness of capital in this province for investment in industrial and commercial enterprise. This is due, firstly, to the exaggerated importance attached to investment in land prompted by a desire for safety and acquisition of the social standing conferred by the ownership of lands; secondly, to the lack of confidence in industrial investment on account, perhaps, of the sad experiences in connection with our early industrial ventures accentuated by the lack of business enterprise and industrial opportunities.

As Mr. Sarker is an experienced and successful man of business his suggestions and advice, some of which are quoted below, are worthy of serious consideration:

Here, in Bengal, we shall have to depend for necessary capital primarily on the pooling of the scattered resources of its not very wealthy people. Such a state of affairs generally demands that an industry to be able to raise sufficient capital must inspire the confidence of the small investors. This is essential in view of our past experience of failures.

It seems to me that the only way out of the difficulty lies in an organized effort to start some model industrial, commercial and financial concerns—at least just a few such as would be assured of active public support and encouragement. In my speech at the last Annual General Meeting of the Chamber, I suggested the establishment of a voluntary development trust. My idea was this. We should first decide by an examination of all relevant facts what particular industries we can profitably develop in Bengal.

I am convinced that it should not prove difficult to raise sufficient capital for a few model institutions if only before we embark upon any venture and seek the patronage of the investing public, we place before them all relevant facts as well as the opinions of experts in support of the soundness of the scheme. It is also necessary that only such persons should be associated with the promotion as well as management of these model ventures as will enjoy the confidence of the public in respect of their honesty and efficiency.

No company should, I think, be promoted or floated, in these circumstances, unless adequate capital money has already come into the hands of the promoters, or is perfectly assured. And if the requisite capital money be not forthcoming within a reasonable period, say, one year, or so, then all the money so far collected, should be returned to the subscribers without any deductions whatever. But, of course, this cannot be done, after the company has been formed, *i. e.*, after its registration. The only way to return the money after registration, is by sending the company into liquidation.

The promoters should themselves shoulder the risks of preliminary expenses, etc., without any expectation of recovery unless the company is actually formed. Even when the company is actually started, they should not look for profits for some-time. Only by this kind of disinterested service can confidence in joint-stock enterprise be restored and firmly established.

What I want to impress upon you is that in the matter of promotion of new companies in Bengal, means will have to be devised by which the share capital should be preserved in full as trust money unless and until the company can secure adequate share-capital to enable it to bring the concern to a stage of actual working. If within a reasonable time such a stage is not reached, the shareholders should be paid back in full.

In this country, directors of companies are generally satisfied with merely attending meetings and accepting fees for such attendance. It should, however, be remembered that their responsibility is great, inasmuch as they are vested with not inconsiderable powers for control and direction. To induce them to take more interest in their respective companies, I would suggest that they may be paid an additional remuneration cut of the profits of the concerns with which they are associated.

Possibilities of Salt Manufacture in Bengal

Mr. B. N. Sasmal has published a timely note on the possibilities of manufacturing salt in Bengal. He writes that

The Bengal Government has not yet spent a single farthing out of 13 lacs of rupees which have come to its hand from the additional salt import duty, though there was the definite assurance from the Central Government that the proceeds of the duty would be devoted to the development of Salt sources in the provinces which consumed the imported salt.

He is right in holding that

The real grievance of the people that the Government has not yet made any serious attempt at developing Salt industry in Bengal on a successful basis still remains to be removed.

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The Press-note misleads the public as to the possibilities of salt manufacture in Bengal with statements which cannot but raise doubt in our mind as to the real motive behind the notes sometimes issued by the Press-officer and sometimes by the *Associated Press*.

His contention is that,

"if the salt industry be taken up in right earnest both by the Government and the public on scientific and improved methods there is every possibility of its success in Bengal."

Perhaps in Bengal coal is as cheap as, if not cheaper than, in any country exporting salt, and therefore the discouraging argument based on coal prices need not prevent entrepreneurs in Bengal from undertaking the manufacture of salt on modern improved methods. In Mr. Sasmal's opinion,

> The process of boiling is the best alternative to solar evaporation and is adopted by all salt producing countries save and except some desert places like Aden and Karachi. It has been adopted by Burma with success and shall have to be adopted by us in Bengal also. If Liverpool and Hamburg can manufacture salt from sea-water by boiling and export the same profitably to Bengal from a distance of thousands of miles with heavy transport costs, is there any earthly reason why Bengal alone should be frightened to give up salt manufacture at the supposed difficulty of cheap coal alone ventilated in newspapers for ignorant public consumption without any attempt to remove the same in the course of the last three years ?
>
> As to crusts of salt—the villagers on and near the sea-board are following the old crude process of manufacturing without any sort of encouragement and advice from the Government, and are producing salt which can stand competition even with that of Liverpool and Hamburg.
>
> The cost of factory salt cannot exceed 6as. per maund as far as we know from the results of factories run on scientific lines in all advanced countries and specially in Burma. So if we add Re. 1-9as. as the duty on salt the price of one maund of factory salt together with retailers' profit and freight charge cannot exceed Rs. 2-5 as. which is much below the price of duty-paid imported salt which is fixed at Rs. 2-13 to Rs. 3.3as. given out in the press-note by the Press-officer.

Mr. Sasmal concludes with an appeal.

> I appeal to the public of Bengal and the pioneers in the field of salt industry to concentrate their attention, energy and money on learning and adopting the Burma process of salt manufacture and put pressure upon the Government to train up young men at its own cost in Burma salt works and help the new salt concerns with funds for which they are unable to start factories on scienfic methods out of the proceeds of the additional duty on foreign salt so that Bengal may produce her own salt in the next few years without depending on foreign supply for the same.

The Late Sir B. B. Ghose

The late Sir Bipin Behari Ghose was a younger brother of the late famous jurist and patron of education, Dr. Sir Rash Behari Ghose. Like his famous brother Sir Bipin Behari took to the profession of law after finishing his university education. He made his mark as a lawyer and was promoted to the High Court bench, where he distinguished himself as an impartial judge. After retiring from the High Court he officiated for some time as a member of the executive council of the Bengal Governor and of the Governor-General of India. He took great interest in educational and other public institutions for the promotion of public good. He kept up his cordial relations with his old class-fellows, among whom the present writer is one, and was a gentleman in every sense of the term and a man of varied culture.

Animal Sacrifices in Madras Presidency

At the time of writing this note we do not know whether the ghastly animal sacrifices at Ellore fixed for the 27th May last were performed on that day.

> On or about April 25 K. Bapayya and other trustees of the temples situated in the East and West streets of Ellore and persons conducting the said Jathara announced by beat of tom-tom that the festival known as Poleramma Jathara will be celebrated at Ellore on May 27. This Jathara or festival is celebrated to propitiate the deity Poleramma, who is supposed to influence the small-pox epidemic. The celebration of the Jathara consists chiefly of animal sacrifices such as goats, pigs and fowls. The heads of the animals sacrificed will be piled in a mound before the goddess and it is alleged that between 5000 and 6000 animals will be sacrificed on that day in the public street. Later in the night buffaloes will be sacrificed.

Mr. T. Prakasham and other enlightened gentlemen of Ellore and Madras have moved first the District Magistrate and finally the Madras High Court, though unsuccessfully, to obtain an order prohibiting the horrible sacrifices, are entitled to great credit.

Under the auspices of the South Indian Humanitarian League a public meeting was held in Madras on the 20th May last at which the following two resolutions were passed unanimously :

> "That this meeting of the citizens of Madras convened under the auspices of the Humanitarian League have learnt with profound consternation that lives of 30 innocent goats are to be sacrificed to the Yaga that is proposed to be performed at Kumbakonam, and wish to protest against the proposed such sacrifice involves wholesale slaughter

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animals, and appeals to the organisers to give up the sacrifice and introduce such inanimate substitutes such as cocoanut, etc."

"A further 'Aj-medh,' goat sacrifice, is reported to take place at Katpadi near Thiruvannamalai about the same time. This meeting expresses strong protests against this Yagam as well and authorizes the President to send similar representations to the organizers."

The speakers were all Hindus versed in the Shastras. There was general concurrence in the view that the Upanishads taught a higher religion, including *ahimsa*, than the religion of animal sacrifice inculcated in the Rigveda.

The Buddha's Birth-day

The 27th of May, the day fixed for the sacrifice of 6,000 animals at Ellore, was this year the anniversary of the day on which the Buddha was born, attained enlightenment and entered into Nirvana. On that day and on the next public meetings were held in different places for showing reverence to the great teacher and for dwelling on his teachings and the significance of his personality.

At one of these meetings presided over by Mahamahopadhyaya Pramathanath Tarka-bhushan, principal of the Benares Hindu University Sanskrit College, the Pandit said:

It was a significant feature of the history of India that in the darkest hour of its history when the nation lay groping for a ray of light amid the encircling gloom, an "Avatar" had always come to the rescue of the nation and helped it to find its way to the path of progress and enlightenment. Lord Buddha was the greatest of all 'Avatars.' The truth that this Prince of Peace tried to inculcate through his teachings and deeds was that every man must strive to be a man in the truest sense of the word. There was nothing higher in this world than man. Reason—and not a blind, superstitious adherence to the Sastric injunctions, must be the guiding star in a man's voyage through life. Man must try to understand everything by the light of his reason and judgment. Lord Buddha preached the gospel of non-violence. That was his legacy to humanity, and India of the present age would do well to participate in this noble and rich heritage.

Mr. Subhas Bose's Activities in Europe

Though in a weak state of health, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose has been making strenuous endeavours for establishing cultural contact between India and various European countries.

Organization and inauguration at Vienna on May 3 of the Central Indo-European Society has resulted in a tremendous call on Sj. Sabhas Chandra Bose's time and energies. An Indo-Czech Society is already functioning in Prague.

Under pressing invitations from pro-Indian friends in these countries, Sj. Bose has for the last few weeks been travelling in Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, and Germany. He is now in Bucharest and will shortly proceed to Yugo-Slavia. Leading intellectuals, like Rene Fullop Miller, have extended tremendous response.

He has also received requests from several Turkish societies in Angora for delivering addresses on India and Indian questions. He has received invitations, too, for visiting the Turkish industrial centres. Proposals are under consideration for the establishment of an Indo-Turkish society.

Ghose Travelling Fellowship for a Lady

This year for the first time the Calcutta University has bestowed a Ghose Travelling Fellowship on a lady student. She is Miss Sakuntala Rao, M. A. She passed the M. A. examination of the Calcutta University with credit twice, once in English and then in Sanskrit. She has also obtained the Sanskrit title "Veda-tirtha" after passing an examination. She has been a research scholar under Professor Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. She is engaged in preparing a thesis for obtaining the title of "Sastri", *i. e.*, one versed in the Sastras.

Calcutta Mayoral Elections Fiasco

It is to be hoped that the persons and parties concerned will be able to arrive at some agreement which will prevent Calcutta from being disgraced in the eyes of the world more than she has already been by the recent Mayoral elections fiasco. It would be a calamity if Government were compelled to interfere and take drastic steps. It should be remembered by all concerned that all the kinds of public welfare work for doing which the Calcutta Corporation has been brought into existence are not being properly carried on owing to the absence of a properly elected mayor.

"Bharati Works" & "Bharati" Pens

Some days ago we had occasion to visit Messrs. G. C. Law and Co.'s "Bharati Works." This factory manufactures different kinds of fountain pens of different prices. All the parts, except the iridium-pointed gold nibs, are manufactured

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in the factory. We were shown all the processes. These nibs will also be made as soon as the demand for fountain pens increases. We use a "Bharati" pen. It writes well and is as good as foreign pens of the same model. Some of the machinery also, used in the factory, have been manufactured there. Besides fountain pens, the factory makes pencils, pen-holders and nibs. We found the workers actually making all these things and could theoretically follow the processes.

Calcutta's Drainage Outfall

Calcutta is a cosmopolitan city. In it literally more persons from the different provinces of India earn their livelihood and make money than in any other Indian city. Its health should, therefore, be the concern of all provinces of India. And its sanitary condition depends to a great extent on its drainage. It should, therefore, be a matter for satisfaction for the whole of India that

> After more than four years of deliberation and through a maze of expert opinion, Dr. B. N. Dey's scheme for the disposal of the drainage outfall of Calcutta has been accepted by the Bengal Government. The conference of representatives of the Calcutta Corporation and the Government of Bengal have, after enquiry, been able to arrive at the decision that Dr. Dey's scheme would function satisfactorily and that action should be taken thereon forthwith.

Rabindranath Tagore in Ceylon

On his arrival at Colombo in the evening of May 9th last, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore received a warm welcome. Next day *The Ceylon Observer* published the following account of his landing :

> Despite the very wet weather and the late arrival of the ship, a large crowd had assembled from an early hour in the afternoon. Ticket-holders were accommodated on the lower landing. As Dr. Tagore came ashore he was garlanded by Sir Baron Jayatilaka, who also sprinkled perfume and offered sandalwood paste. "I extend to you a hearty welcome to this Island and hope your stay in our midst will be very pleasant," said Sir Baron in greeting the poet. The Mayor of Colombo then offered Dr. Tagore a welcome to the City.
>
> As he walked up the stairs, the poet received a rousing ovation from those present. From the jetty he drove, in the company of his Secretary, to "Sri Ramya," Colpetty, the residence of Mrs. Helena Wijewardene, whose guest he will be during his visit to Colombo.
>
> KINSHIP WITH CEYLON
>
> Interviewed by an "Observer" representative last night, Dr. Tagore said he was no politician, but as an impartial observer he saw some ugly tendencies in recent developments in international affairs. Dr. Tagore said that he felt a certain kinship with Ceylon. In her vegetation and scenery, Ceylon was in a way very like Bengal, although the latter did not have so much rain.
>
> "I am very happy to be back once again in Ceylon" he said, "and I hope my special mission this time would be a success.
>
> "I know your hospitality and this time I am sure my experience in the past will be repeated.
>
> "As I have said, I have a special mission this time. I have brought something from India, some aspect of the culture, some delight of her arts and I hope you will realize that it is of eternal value.
>
> "With politics I am not concerned. My mission is of spiritual delights, of art and beauty far and wide. I have no other gifts to offer you. I am not a politician. I do not want to reform the world.
>
> "I do not know sufficiently of your culture," he said, "but I do hope you have a contribution to make to Indian culture. Politically you may have been apart from India, but culturally, you are part and parcel of India. You are really Indians. The blood which runs in your veins is the same as that of Indians. We want you to come to us and share our heritage."
>
> Editionally it wrote, in part :
>
> Ceylon should welcome in more than one way the visit of the distinguished Indian poet, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, who arrived here yesterday on what may be described as a mission of cultural assistance. Never was the need for such an impact with all that is best in Indian poetry, music and art greater than at the present time when there is an increasing tendency to ignore the spiritual values of the indigenous arts and to glorify the catch-penny amusements of the modern machine age. No better *guru* could Ceylon have wished for in her ascent to the gleaming mountain tops of all that is pure and beautiful than the Sage of Santiniketan, who has combined the idealism of the seer with the practical qualities of a man who gets things done. Dr. Tagore's vision is not limited by the boundaries of his own country, and his effort to harmonize the cultures of the East and West has had the most encouraging response from savants all over the world.

He was accorded a civic reception by the Colombo Municipal Council at a special meeting held at the Town Hall and presented with an address of welcome. The Indian Mercantile Chamber of Ceylon gave him a separate reception. "A crowd of people, who had gathered opposite the Chamber gave Dr. Tagore a rousing reception."

The presentation of his musical play "Shap-Mochan" fascinated and made a deep impression on the spectators and audience. Column after column of appreciation appeared in the papers in Columbo, for which we have no space. We can quote only detached sentences from a few papers. *The Ceylon Observer* wrote :

"Gorgeous colour flooded the stage." "India of the past was presented fittingly to India of the

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present in all its glamour and music." "This is a cultural event not to be missed by any one."

The Ceylon Independent wrote :

"The play is a compact poem in which every movement fulfils a purpose, in which every detail is placed in a harmonious relation to the general purpose, and which also reveals that a static beauty can convey more than the impetuosity of passion of most occidental plays."

"The dances were also exquisite."

"The melodies were really wonderful."

The Daily News of Colombo expressed the opinion :

"Since the unknown artist put the last finishing touches to the frescoes on the face of the rock at Sigiriya, nothing greater in the way of oriental art has been achieved in this Island than that created by the Tagore players in the presentation of "Shap-Mochan."

The pictures from Santiniketan exhibited in Colombo have also been highly appreciated.

The Poet's addresses were largely attended and made a deep impression. Some of the subjects were "The Challenge of Judgment," "Ideals of Indian Art," "A Message to Youth," "Ideals of an Indian University," etc.

His visit has given a great impetus to the forces making for a national renascence in Ceylon.

Four Ministers for Sind !

The Dow Committee "makes provision for accommodation on the assumption that no less than four Ministers may be required" for Sind. This for a deficit province containing less than four million people ! No wonder we are told that

"the future University of Sind is to be provided by the autonomous Government of Sind but by means of a novel scheme under which two educational officers, employed by the Sind Government, one of them a British Professor of English, are to go round Sind with a beggar's bowl appealing to fatty lords of money-bags and wealthy widows to commemorate their name or that of their departed dear ones by subscribing funds to raise the University !"—*The Sind Observer.*

Similarly, Sind is to have a High Court by "waving a wand."

Art in the Panjab

An academy of art has been recently founded in the Panjab with the artist Mr. M. A. R. Chughtai as the protagonist. As he is a Panjabi, the event is a fresh proof that the art movement has taken root in that province.

Art Exhibition in Karachi

Mr. Vinayak S. Masoji, an artist of Maharashtra, who has received his training in Santiniketan, exhibited some of his paintings at Karachi last month. They were all duly appreciated. Seeing that there is enthusiasm for art in Sindh it may be expected that some Sindhi artists will come into prominence ere long.

Howard League on Death Penalty in Bengal

The latest criminal law amendement Act of Bengal (and of Assam, too) imposes the death penalty for the offence of carrying arms with intent to commit terrorist crime. It is not unlikely that such legislation may be undertaken for other provinces also.

Lord Mainhead of Exeter, President of the Howard League for Penal Reform, has written a letter on behalf of the League to Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for India, expressing the deep regret with which it has heard of the new legislation. The greater part of the letter is reproduced below. It will be noted that the arguments contained therein were brought forward in the Bengal Council by the opponents of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill.

"The Howard League fully appreciates the seriousness of the terrorist menace and the strain placed upon magistrates and the public servants who were working in constant danger of assassination. They realize that it is the bounden duty of the Government of India and the provincial Legislatures to provide adequate protection to these men. They are convinced, however, that security from crime, whether committed by terrorists or others, can never be gained by mere severity of punishment. They are supported in this view by the whole history of capital punishment at home and abroad ; and far from believing that Bengal terrorism can be stamped out by a brutal penalty which has failed signally in every other country, they are convinced that the imposition of the death penalty for this crime is singularly impolitic. For it is not to be expected that the young men and boys of the terrorist movement will be deterred by the fear of death from a course to which they have been impelled by fanatical, however misdirected, patriotism. It is indeed possible that the added risk will mean greater glamour and therefore additional strength to the terrorist movement.

"Apart from the question of expediency, my committee would urge that this country should not

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at this time, when barbarous and arbitrary punishments are being restored in many lands and applied with special harshness to political offenders, extend the scope of capital punishment, with its risks of irremediable injustice (all the greater when the offence is one depending on the unexpressed intention of the accused, apart from any overt act), in any part of the British Empire. Still more strongly would they protest against a law which would inflict the death penalty on the young men and boys, many under twenty years of age, concerned in the terrorist movements."

Peaceful Revolution in Bulgaria

In the absence of details it is not possible to judge whether the bloodless revolution which has taken place in Bulgaria will be good for the Bulgarians. But in any case it is good news that it has been a peaceful change. One reform at least, however, which has been effected is in the right direction. The new cabinet ministers of Bulgaria are to receive only £430 each per annum, which is equal to about Rs. 5733 at the present rate of exchange. Many Indian deputy magistrates get higher salaries than this, though India is the poorest country in the world under civilized rule.

Detenus to be Trained

The Bengal Government have resolved to give detenus training in short-hand, book-keeping and type-writing in the Berhampore camp. Experience will show what this training will be worth. But whatever its value, it should be welcome as giving the detenus something to occupy their minds in jail.

Bengal Dacoities and Guns

Week after week many dacoities are reported in Bengal, indicating, for one thing, the unsatisfactory economic condition of the province. During the week ending May 19 last there were 48 of them, in four of which guns were used. In the previous week the number of dacoities was less. As it is not reported that any of the dacoit gangs were terrorists and four possessed guns, it would not be right to presume that unlicensed guns are procured, possessed and used only for terroristic purposes.

By the by, why are not the police able to stop the illicit traffic in fire-arms ?

Mr. MacDonald on Democracy and Freedom of the Press

At the ninety-fourth annual dinner of the Newspaper Society in London Mr. MacDonald said in the course of his speech :

> I am in favour of a free Press and if I live to the age of Methuselah that belief will never go. A free Press is a condition of a free democracy and a free democracy is a condition of a free Press.

Reading these two sentences, Indian journalists might be in a hurry to criticize Mr. MacDonald and to ask him, "Why don't you then break our chains ?" But they should read his words carefully. He says, free democracy and a free press go together. But India is not a free democracy and the British National Government, of which Mr. MacDonald is the head, does not intend that it should be one. Why then should India have a free press ?

Horrible Hecatomb at Ellore

In a previous note we have written that the news of the actual performance of the ghastly animal sacrifices in Ellore has not yet reached us. It has now come.

> Ellore, May 2
>
> Five hundred animals and 500 fowls were sacrificed on Sunday to appease the goddess of small-pox. At midnight 8 buffaloes were decapitated. The chief priest wearing clothes soaked in the blood of the slaughtered animals led a procession through the town. Along the route rice mixed with blood was strewn. —*United Press.*

This beats Kalighat hollow.

In each of numerous slaughter houses of big cities in Europe and America much larger numbers of animals are killed every day. But the difference is that they are killed to propitiate the stomach of carnivorous human beings, not any deity.

Wars in Two Hemispheres

Fighting has been going on in Arabia and in some South American countries. These wars could not have gone on if some European countries had not gone on supplying them with arms and ammunition. And these European countries are among the leading members of the League of Nations, of which the main object—the *raison d'etre*—is the establishment and maintenance of world-peace.

The League of Nations and India

It is common knowledge that the main object of the League of Nations has not been gained. But it has done much useful work in other directions. It has investigated many economic and labour problems; inquired into and published reports on the traffic in

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women and children and the trade in opium and other drugs; appointed committees to report on malaria, leprosy, sleeping sickness, tuberculosis, etc., and tried to create and maintain intellectual co-operation among nations. This is not an exhaustive list. But owing to India's subject condition and other causes, she has not derived much benefit from the Leagues' labours—she has not, in fact, received much direct attention. But in spite of that fact we are not in favour of severing connection with the League, as our country should preserve all the contact, direct or indirect, little or great, which it has with other countries and strive for more, as Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, for example, has been doing.

As an indication of the small interest which the League takes in India we will mention one little fact. In the "Index to the Monthly Summary of the League of Nations," Vol. XIII—1933, India is not to be found, though one finds Argentine Republic, Assyrians, Australia, Austria, Bangkok harbour, Bolivia, Bulgaria, China, Danzig, Denmark, Germany, Greece, Greenland, Guatemala, Hungary, Iraq, etc. That means that, though India suffers from a plethora of political, economic, social, sanitary, hygeinic and educational problems, none were directly tackled by the League.

Chittagong Scratched !

Reuter cabled the news a few days ago that "Chittogong has been scratched for the Derby." This will not bring any solace to the Hindus of Chittagong, nor will it mean any humiliation to the Bengal Government. For it does not mean that the Chittagong Policy of that Government, including collective fines, cufew orders, home internment *en masse*, etc., has been reversed. It means that a race-horse named Chittagong has been withdrawn from competition at the Derby race !

Sir Shadilal on Independence of the Judiciary

Sir Shadilal sat on the bench of the Lahore High Court for a long term of years during fourteen of which he was chief justice. On his retirement he has been elevated to the judical committee of the Privy Council. His reply to the tributes paid to him by the Bench and the Bar of the Lahore High Court contained observations on the independence of the judiciary in Britain and India which are worthy of serious attention —particularly as they are the words, not of a "disgruntled political agitator", but of a man whose distinguished services have been appreciated and recognized by the British Government.

> The essence of political liberty as recognized by British courts, observed Sir Shadilal, was that justice should be administered with complete impartiality and those who were innocent should receive and enjoy freedom. The Chief Justice mentioned a recent English case in which a communist, who had been convicted for breach of law, claimed damages against the head of the London police on the ground that the bundle of papers which the police had lawfully seized had been detained longer than was justified. The case was tried before the High Court and he was awarded for this ordinary mistake £30 as damages.
>
> "Would it be improper to ask," continued Sir Shadilal, "what would be thought of the judge in India who, imbued with the traditions of British justice acted in a similar manner ? Would he not thereby subject himself to disfavour and even resentment, which would be manifested in no uncertain manner ? These and other disadvantages have sometimes to be borne 'sub silentio' by a person who is true to the oath which he solemnly takes on accepting the office of His Majesty's Judge."
>
> He quoted from the memorandum prepared about two years ago by Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature in England in which it was pointed out that for two centuries it had been considered essential that judges' security and independence should be maintained inviolate.
>
> It was long ago said that there could be no true liberty in a country where judges were not entirely independent of the Government, and the soundness of the remark had never been questioned.

Continuing, Sir Shadilal observed that no reasonable person could take exception to this authoritative pronouecement.

> "It is, however, said that these doctrines of the English constitution cannot find a full scope in this country, where there are peculiar circumstances which tended to impair the independence of the Judiciary. On principle I am unable to see any valid ground for making such a distinction, and I trust, no Judge of this court will ever depart in the slightest degree from the solemn promise which he makes before entering upon the execution of the duties of his office even if he is subjected to personal disadvantages."

Sir Shadilal concluded :

> "The confidence of Indians of all schools of thought in the even-handed justice as administered by High Courts is the greatest bulwark of the British rule in this country and that a person, who does any act tending to shake that confidence causes the greatest possible harm to that rule."

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A Legal Dead Letter in India

On taking over charge of the office of Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court Mr. Justice Young received addresses from members of the Bench and the Bar.

> Replying to the addresses Justice Young referred to accumulation and delay in the disposal of cases in the High Courts in India and suggested various remedies.
>
> "Justice delaved is justice denied" said His Lordship and observed litigation ought further to be reduced by a courageous modification of the personal law of the Hindus, especially that of Mitakshara.

For expediting the disposal of cases he has also suggested that the number of holidays enjoyed by the Judges ought to be curtailed.

Proceeding his lordship said :

> "To no man will we sell, to no man deny and to no man delay justice or right. This great declaration of the Magna Carta is almost wholly a dead letter in India."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Health

It has been reported in the papers that Pandit Jawaharlal's Nehru's weight in Dehra Dun Jail is less than what it was in the Alipore Central Jail. He had already lost weight at Alipore. A further loss of weight must cause anxiety. Dehra Dun is believed to be a healthier place than Calcutta. The authorities of the Dehra Dun Jail should lose no time in scrutinizing the living conditions of the Pandit there.

The Chamber of Princes

Dailies all over India have recently published long accounts of what the Princes or their Ministers have been doing or have been thinking of doing to revive the Chamber of Princes under its original constitution or to reconstitute it in a different manner. But whatever they may do, their only security lies in making themselves constitutional monarchs and giving their subjects a popular constitution and the reign of law. However buttressed, antocratic rule cannot last.

Fruit Culture

Though India is an agricultural country, it imports fruit from abroad worth about two crores of rupees per annnm. Physicians have been increasingly advising greater consumption of fruit. Indians should pay far greater attention to fruit culture and fruit research. There is enough land in India suitable for growing a large variety of fruits for internal consumption as well as for export.

Sir Henry Page-Croft on the Safety of Christians in India

Sir Henry Page-Croft had written in a letter to the Archbishop that in India the fury of the Hindu or the Muslim against the Christian was now suppressed by the British arm ; but was ready to burst out when that arm was withdrawn. But Sir Henry has been thrown overboard by many missionaries and other Christians.

There have been numerous Christians in India from before the age when the British emerged as a civilized people.

Legislation in Indian States Against "British-Indians"

It is greatly to be regretted that "British-Indians" should be considered foreigners in any Indian State and that any Indian State should legislate against them under extraneous pressure. But that is what is happening, as the following messages show :

> Bombay, May 26.
>
> The "Sun" publishes the draft of a Bill which the Bikaner Darbar proposes to pass into law in order to deal with foreign subjects who reside in Bikaner State, either temporarily or permanently or pass through or travel in the State.
>
> The Bill does not affect the subjects of the State or law-abiding and peaceful foreigners.
>
> The Bill 'inter alia' provides that any foreigner may be ordered to remove himself forthwith from the precincts of the State.
>
> It also empowers the Government to apprehend and detain a foreigner who refuses ro remove himself.
>
> It further demands that every foreigner should report himself to the authorities within forty-eight hours of his arrival, giving full particulars.
>
> No foreigner is to travel through the State without a pass or permit.
>
> Section 17 says that if a traveller is found without a permit he may be apprehended without a warrant by any officer exercising the powers of a Magistrate or by any commissioned officer not below the rank of a Sub-inspector.—Associated Press.
>
> Bangalore, May 26.
>
> A Bill to introduce Extradition and Foreign Jurisdiction Regulatlon in Mysore on the lines of the British Indian Act will be introduced at the ensuing sitting of the Legislative Council at Mysore next month.
>
> The procedure that was being followed in the case of Mysore subjects being surrendered for trial before British Courts was under the Chief Commissioner's notification. But in a specific case brought to the notice of the High Court the validity of the Notification having the force of law in the State was negatived in the light of the revised Treaty of 1931—United Press.

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Burma Retrenchment Committee

Even the sweepers and the punkha-pullers have been recipients of the tender mercies of the Burma Retrenchment Committee. But the President of the Committee has pronounced the opinion that, if the five per cent. cut in the pay of the fat-salaried officials be continued, it will make them "discontented, slack and corrupt employees"! Pouring oil on oily heads has never been a rarity.

Ireland's Progress Towards Republicanism

The following message is an indication of the determination of de Valera and his party to make Ireland a republic :

Dublin, May 25.

The Dail passed the Bill for the abolition of the Senate by 54 votes to 38.

Before the passage of the bill Mr. de Valera expressed his views on second Chambers forcibly at the Dail.

Mr. de Valera declared that a second chamber formed an effective safe-guard for neither the constitution nor people's liberties. Many in Europe existed only for the preservation of ancient rights and privileges.

The House of Lords in Britain, which had always been an ally of the Conservatives, was regarded as a sort of historical monument, only tolerated as long as it did not really become obnoxious.

The French Senate also opposed workers' holidays, prevented enfranchisement of women and opposed every modern social development.

Declaring Ireland's right of absolute freedom, Mr. de Valera opined that the majority of the people want.d a republic.

He said that a republic was not declared because the repetition of the civil war of 1921 was not wanted. But if the "threats of hostile action against the Irish people" were withdarwn, they would see how long Ireland would be without a republic.

Mr. McDermot on behalf of the Opposition declared that a million of Free State citizens had racial and other ties with Britain.

Mr. de Valera retorted that three-and-a-half million were dissatisfied with the membership of the Empire.

The Bill is expected to be rejected by the Senate but in any event can become law in about a year.—Reuter.

Holland Against Export of Arms to Belligerent Countries

Geneva, May 26

Holland is the latest and thirteenth country to agree to the League's proposal for embargo on war munitions to Bolivia and Paraguay. No reply hitherto has been received from Czecho-Slovakia, which is one of the largest sources of supply for arms trade in South America.—Reuter.

Bravo Holland !

The Late Prof. S. C. Roy

Professor Suresh Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L. who retired long ago from his chair in Morris College, Nagpur, and was an Emeritus Professor of that College, recently died in Calcutta at the age of about 75. He was one of those pioneers of education who strove hard in the latter half of the nineteenth century to promote higher collegiate education, for which no facilities existed at the time within the Central Provinces. He was one of the three Indian graduates who joined the Morris College when it was formally opened in June, 1885. For more than 36 years he taught Mental and Moral Science at the Morris College and was very popular among the students. He was intimately connected with the Nagpur University and served as a member of its University Court, Academic Council, Faculty of Arts and Board of Studies in Philosophy and various other sub-committees. He was the first President of the Nagpur Philosophical Society. For a quarter of a century he worked as Secretary of the Dinanath Boys' School in Craddock Town, Nagpur.

C. P. Government and Jubbulpore Municipality

The Central Provinces Government has been pressing the Jubbulpore Municipality to dismiss the "ex-civil-disobedience convicts from their employment," saying that otherwise Government grants to that municipality amounting to Rs. 20,000 would be suspended. But the president of the municipality continues to assert the right of local bodies to choose their own servants. These ex-"convicts" are six in number. As they were not guilty of any moral turpitude, we do not see why their dismissal should be insisted upon. Ex-"convicts" have served even as Ministers of Provincial Governments. The fact that civil disobedience has been withdrawn should also weigh with the Central Provinces Government.

League Policy and British Empire Policy

A leaflet published by the League of Nations Union, London, concludes thus :

Let no one think that support of a League of Nations policy is contrary to British interests. In

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the words of the Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, late President of the Board of Education:

"The Policy of the League is the Policy of the British Empire."

Yes, the Policy of the British Empire is the Policy of the League.

Supplying Japan with Arms

The Daily Herald of London says:

"British and European firms have arranged to supply Japan with munitions for the conquest of China and these munitions are being manufactured in India in the hope of keeping the whole thing secret."

As arms and munitions cannot be manufactured in India without the knowledge of the Government of India, that Government should be in a position to either confirm or contradict the news.

What would Great Britain and its allied European powers gain by making Japan still more powerful? Moreover, China has not been fighting them, nor does she intend to do so. Is there any secret plan of parcelling out China?

Uplift of Chota Nagpur Aborigines

When Mahatma Gandhi visited Ranchi, a reception committee was formed there for welcoming him, with Mr. Sarat Chandra Roy, the distinguished anthropologist, as its chairman. The address presented by him to Mahatmaji contains passages relating to the education and uplift of the aboriginial population of Chota Nagpur which deserve careful consideration. Some of these passages are transcribed below.

> In this District the aborigines, who number about ten lakhs out of a total population of about 16 lakhs, form the most important factor in its population. And the problem of their education and social uplift is at least as important as, if not immensely more important than, that of the depressed classes. And we must hang down our heads in shame at the thought that though Government and the Christian Missions have done and are doing much for their education, we Indians have shamefully neglected our duty towards them.
>
> We Hindus have so far stood much more aloof from the aborigines than even from the Harijans, and taken still less interest in their welfare. So far perhaps it has been in a way good for the aborigines; for, if they had entered the Hindu fold with its existing caste-divisions, they would undoubtedly have been relegated to as low and degraded a position in Hindu Society as that assigned to the Harijans.
>
> As for the aborigines themselves, if the caste-Hindus look down upon them as untouchables, the aborigines, or at least a large proportion of them, in their turn, reciprocate the feeling and avoid as much contact with the Hindus as they can. Though they have been an oppressed race, fortunately they cannot be called depressed. Being outside the caste-system, no barriers except their own lack of means and opportunities prevent the full development of their intellectual and spiritual capabilities. The So-called *Shuddhi* movement and similar other movements begin at the wrong end and necessarily end there, after helping to swell the number of depressed castes. And the activities amongst them of a certain class of avaricious *Gosains* and *Gurus* produce the same deplorable result. The inclusion of aboriginal tribes in the lowest grades of Hindu Society has had, in many cases, the disastrous result of introducing amongst them the vices of the lower orders of Hindu Society to which they had been strangers till then without bringing any compensating advantages worth the name
>
> The first and essential thing required for the uplift of the aborigines is, therefore, not their Hinduization but the spread of education on right lines amongst them. As far as we Hindus are concerned, what is as essential for our own purification is the eradication, even from our subsconscious minds, of the untouchability-feeling where it may lurk when all outward manifestations may have been suppressed. The feeling of inner purity or attention to the growth of *Sattvaguna* or spiritual tendencies is quite different in kind from the untouchability-feeling connected with caste or race.
>
> With this idea our Society here freely admits aboriginal pupils to our schools. In our humble view, to have separate schools for Harijans exclusively, in this District, would be to create a cleavage where none really exists. And further, for the social and economic progress of the country the elevation of the aborigines to our own level of culture is as essential as the similar uplift of the Harijans.

Turkish Women to be Enfranchised

It is welcome news that a committee appointed by the Turkish Government to examine the question of the enfranchisement of women has recommended that women should have the right to take part in elections on the same terms as men. This push further Mustafa Kemal Pasha's work for the complete emancipation of Turkish women. Turkey has already got rid of polygamy, the purdah, education has been made compulsory for girls, and careers and occupations are now open to women in offices, factories, hotels, shops, etc.

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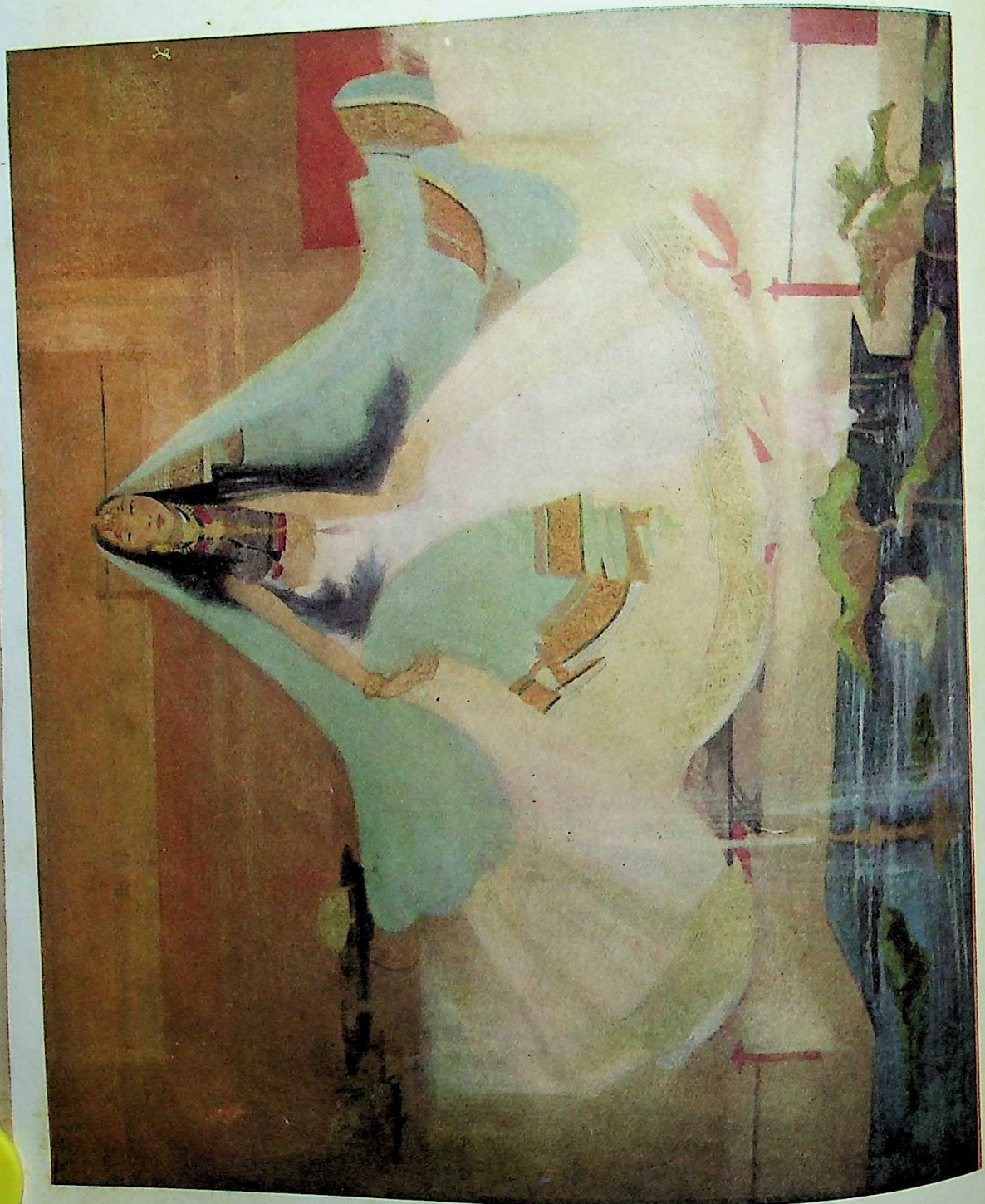

THE PALACE DOLL
By Debi Prosad Roy Chowdhury

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THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION

BY R. G. PRADHAN, B.A., LL.B., EX-M.L.C., ETC.

MY object in this paper is to review the present political situation and to consider how best, in the present circumstances, we may work for the attainment of our national goal. The turn that events have recently taken makes such a review and consideration both opportune and necessary.

The outstanding features of our internal political situation as it is being moulded by ourselves are (*i*) the suspension of civil disobedience, and (*ii*) the lifting of the boycott of legislatures by the A. I. C. C. Both these decisions are of great importance, and it is not quite easy to foresee exactly what colour they may give to our national politics for some years to come. Externally, we are confronted with a scheme of constitutional changes, the exact nature of which will only be known after the publication of the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, but which, it may be predicted with confidence, will not be better or less illiberal than that embodied in the White Paper. Besides these new elements of the situation, the problems of Hindu *Sangathana*, of Hindu-Moslem unity, of the status of our countrymen in our Indian States, and of the economic order that should be established so as to ensure a reasonable standard of well-being and comfort for the masses and the lower middle classes, have produced and are producing varied currents of thought and activity.

Since 1921, our political life and movements have been dominated by the spirit and methods of direct action. We have employed the weapons of non-co-operation, non-payment of taxes, and civil disobedience, hoping that thereby we may be able to awaken the conscience of the British, and to bring moral pressure to bear upon the Government so that they may be persuaded to agree to a political settlement such as may ultimately eventuate in the full fruition of our national aims and as therefore we can accept without derogation to our national self-respect. Our national movements have passed through various phases and vicissitudes of fortune, but our objective has always been definite and clear, *viz.*, either Dominion Status, or complete national independence. It may seem preposterous to talk of national independence when even the semblance of dominion status is so remote or problematical ; but in politics, grudging and inadequate practicalism must be met by growing idealism, particularly when such idealism, being rooted in sound principle, cannot be regarded as mere utopia, in the unknown and unknowable evolution of national destinies which no doubt are largely the products of human designs and endeavours, but from which the working of the Divine in time and in the conflicts of races and nations cannot altogether be eliminated.

The voluntary sufferings and sacrifices

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which we have undergone during the last twelve years have not, it must be regretfully confessed, succeeded in bringing about those tangible results at which we aimed. We have succeeded neither in appealing to the reason of the Government nor in awakening their conscience, nor in producing a change of heart, or spirit or will in them, nor in exercising such pressure upon them as to make them bend to our will. Mahatma Gandhi's soul-force has produced no effect whatever upon the fundamental political policy of the Government, though in one respect, *viz.*, the Communal Award in its relation to the depressed classes, that soul-force, when it was backed by the higher soul-force manifested in the unity of the Hindus in the matter, led to a modification of the Award. Except to this limited extent, our soul-force has not triumphed over the repressive, the legislative and the political forces of the Government. It is open to a protagonist of soul-force to argue that it has failed, not because it is in its nature incapable of succeeding, but because it was not manifested on an adequately wide and intensified scale. It is also arguable that a movement even of soul-force must become national both in thought and deed before it can hope to succeed, and that the failure of our soul-force movement is only another illustration of the truth that a partial or sectional movement cannot hold its own against the immense material and political resources of an astute and powerful foreign Government adept in the arts of ruling a subject population. Our past history, it may be said, records many an instance of our struggles for preserving or regaining our national independence having failed because they did not crystalize into united national movements. The Rajput, Mahratta and Sikh movements in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries failed because they did not embody the spirit of All-India national patriotism. The movement of 1857 failed also for the same reason. And Mahatma Gandhi's movement of Satyagraha or soul-force has failed not because of its inherent inefficacy but because it did not receive adequate response from all communities and classes of India. These arguments are not without any force whatever. In terms of logic or *a priori* reasoning, it is possible to conceive that even the hard and hardened hearts of our rulers may melt at the sight of millions of our people patriotically and cheerfully courting imprisonment and undergoing the hardships and tortures of jail life, in the cause of their country. But, humanly speaking, in the present circumstances and conditions of India, such a national mass movement of soul-force or civil disobedience does not seem to be a practicable proposition. Mahatma Gandhi expressed the hope that ten millions of people would follow him in the practice of civil disobedience. That hope has not been realized, and he has found it expedient to suspend it step by step and to reserve it exclusively to himself, at any rate for the time being. We may regret the failure of all these Congress movements ; we are bound to take note of the length to which the Government may go in meeting such movements. But we must transmute all our experiences into principles and guides for future policies and programmes.

On the other hand, I do not think that these movements have been barren of any good results or are utterly destitute of moral value, or of political significance. Our national consciousness has grown ; our spirit of resistance has risen ; our ideals are being crystalized and are taking wider forms so as to embrace social and economic issues. Come what may, there is no possibility now of our taking wrong and injustice lying down ; and we are being led to think more and more about a social, a political and an economic order in which we can find our national self-realization at the highest level. Even the region of religious thought and life, I may observe in passing, is being re-surveyed in the light not only of our own vast accumulated religious experiences but also in the light of Western developments of thought regarding the relations between science and religion. The fact is India is having a new birth and what we have witnessed and are witnessing around us is the pangs and the travails thereof. Apart from these indices to the moral significance of our movements, they have also led the Government not only to take the offensive but also to be on the defensive. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was imprisoned for his alleged continuance of the no-tax campaign in

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violation of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact ; but the U. P. Government realized that some measure of relief must be granted to the peasantry if it was to be weaned from Congress influence. Sir Frederick Syke's scheme of rural uplift is but a governmental reaction to Congress agitation and work among the masses. I should not be surprised if all the provincial Governments were to be busy devising ways and means for stemming the tide of nationalist and socialist influence upon the masses.

These are observations of a general character, perhaps they are even platitudinous. But they are necessary in order to make the general situation clear and to enable us to see it in the proper perspective. I now proceed to examine it in some detail.

There is a consensus of opinion that Mahatma Gandhi has done well in suspending Civil Disobedience. This suspension may mean suspension *sine die*, which will be virtual withdrawal or abandonment, or it may mean discontinuance for some time. Apart from expediency, I do not think that Civil Disobedience should in no circumstances form part of our armoury for fighting freedom's battle. Its justification may be determined by the policies and attitudes of Government and by the readiness and determination of large united sections of the people to resort to it with a fair measure of persistence. Granted that it may not succeed ; at all events it is a moral method of lodging national protests in justifying situations. We cannot therefore agree to absolute and permanent surrender of a legitimate weapon. The only way to prevent its use is for the Government to broadbase their authority upon the will and consent of the governed.

Now let us see what the decision of the A. I. C. C. to lift the boycott of legislatures exactly means. I shall quote a material portion of the resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee on the subject. It says,

> "In as much as there exists in the Congress a large body of members who believe in the necessity of entry into the legislatures as a step in the country's progress towards its goal" etc., etc., and further on "The Board shall select only such Congress members as candidates as will be pledged to carry out in the legislatures the Congress policy as it will be determined from time to time."

In speaking on this resolution Mahatma Gandhi said,

> I shall retain my disbelief in the legislatures as an instrument for obtaining Swaraj in terms of the masses...Council-goers hope to reap limited benefit for the nation through the councils. There is no doubt in my mind that the benefit would be insignificant when compared to the energy that must be spent on it. The Parliamentary work must be left to those who are so inclined. I hope that the majority will always remain untouched by the glamour of council work. In its own place it will be useful.

From this it will be seen that Mahatma Gandhi still does not believe in council-entry, though he has not now used such condemnatory language about it as he more than once had done in the past. In spite of his lack of faith in legislatures he has begun to realize that at least in its own place council work will be useful. It cannot yet be concluded whether or not a majority of members of the Congress is in favour of council-entry. The resolution of the A. I. C. C. as it stands simply recognizes that a large body of the members of the Congress believe in the necessity of entering the legislatures and that they believe in it as a step in the country's progress towards its goal. And acting on this recognition, the A. I. C. C. has passed a permissive resolution allowing those who have faith in council-entry to work for it and requiring that those Congressmen who may be elected to legislatures on behalf of the Congress must work in them subject to the control of the All-India Congress Committee. As I understand the resolution, the Congress is not yet committed to council-entry. If and when the Congress meets in October next, it may accept one of the following alternatives, *viz.*, (*i*) Vetoing altogether the resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee. (*ii*) Without deciding whether a majority of Congress delegates is or is not in favour of council-entry, it may adopt the resolution as passed by the All-India Congress Committee, and (*iii*) though a majority of Congress delegates may be found not to be in favour of council-entry, yet the Congress may decide to allow those of its members who believe in council-entry to contest elections or otherwise to take part in them. I will not hazard a prophecy ; but I feel certain that under the powerful and almost compelling influence of

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Mahatma Gandhi the first alternative will not be preferred by the Congress. If the Congress decides by a majority to favour council-entry, it will mean that the majority of Congress men have begun to realize that legislatures should not be boycotted.

In October last, the Democratic Swaraj Party was formed at Bombay. I have joined that party and naturally feel interested in the question of the relations between it and the Congress. In this connection, may I make a few personal references, so as to clarify my own position? I had hoped that the deliberations of the Round Table Conference would result in a satisfactory settlement of our political and constitutional problem. I expressed that hope in my books viz. *India's Struggle for Swaraj* and *Principles of the Constitution of the United States of India* and in the speeches I had occasion to make on the subject in the Bombay Legislative Council. In the first issue of an English journal which I started in September 1932, and which unfortunately had to be discontinued, in describing the general policy of the paper, I wrote as follows:

> I do not yet despair of India's legitimate development taking place as an integral and equal member of the British Commonwealth. When I feel convinced that such development is not possible within the British Commonwealth, I may withdraw my present support of the British connection.

Then came the White Paper. Lecturing on the White Paper at Nasik in May 1933, I publicly declared that in view of the nature and trend of the proposed constitution, I no longer thought or hoped that the legitimate development of my country would, within a reasonable period of time, take place within the British Commonwealth; and I decided to join or rejoin the Congress. I had some correspondence with Mr. Aney, the then President of the Congress, in which I conveyed to him my desire to become a Congress man, making it plain, however, that I did not approve of the boycott of Councils and would work within the Congress for lifting it. When therefore the Democratic Swaraj Party was formed, I had no difficulty in joining it and even accepting the condition that a member of the party must be a member of the Congress, when Congress organizations would function again. Such having been my own personal reaction to the policy of the White Paper, I am bound to consider the question of the relations between the Democratic Swaraj Party and the Congress. A meeting of the Central Committee of the Democratic Swaraj Party was held on the 13th May to consider what should be its attitude with regard to the Swaraj Party formed at Ranchi. The All-India Congress Committee has scrapped that party. No doubt the situation arising out of the decision of the A. I. C. C. will be carefully considered at a meeting of the Central Committee of the Democratic Swaraj Party to be held in July next. I for one shall feel very happy if conditions will come into existence, favourable to the discontinuance of the Democratic Swaraj Party as a separate body. At the same time, I must make it clear that, as far as I can see, there are three grounds of difference between the Democratic Swarai Party and the A. I. C. C., *viz.*, (*i*) the attitude of the Democratic Swaraj Party towards council-entry is not exactly the same as that of the A. I. C. C. The Democratic Swaraj Party does not believe in the boycott of the legislatures; (*ii*) the Democratic Swaraj Party is opposed to the Communal Award and does not accept it as a settled fact; while the A. I. C. C. has neither accepted nor rejected it but adjourned it *sine die* for the consideration of a constituent assembly if and when it is convened; and (*iii*) the Democratic Swaraj Party feels a certain amount of scepticism about the soundness of Mahatma Gandhi's methods; it thinks that Mahatma Gandhi should not be so much guided by his inspirations and intuitions, and that he is at times unduly and unnecessarily uncompromising, and at other times launches upon the country changes of policy as sudden as to be almost volcanic. In spite of these difficulties, I for one have every hope that an understanding will be reached between the Congress and the Democratic Swaraj Party. If the Democratic Swaraj Party feels assured that there is no possibility of a sudden reversion to the now discarded policy of boycott of legislatures, such an understanding may be facilitated even though it may involve the extinction of the Party.

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I now come to the White Paper. I wish to go somewhat deeply into the matter. I make a distinction between the White Paper Constitution as it relates to the Centre and as it relates to the provinces. In its relation to the Centre, it is open to grave objections of a fundamental character. Its basic principle of an All-India Federation with paramountcy as regards Indian States vested in the Crown, with its perpetuation of the existing relations between them and the British Government—which relations will ever debar them from attaining Dominion Status—and with its denial of any recognized place in the constitution to the people in the States, will be found to be a serious barrier to our own full growth into a Dominion, much less into an independent nation. The scheme as regards the Centre is so cleverly and ingeniously devised as to delay indefinitely, if not altogether to prevent, our becoming a Dominion as defined in the Statute of Westminster, and to prevent absolutely our claiming independence as a right constitutionally arising from Dominion Status. In the first place, the achievement under the scheme of Dominion Status is extremely problematical. But suppose at some remote period, it is achieved somehow, and Federal India then claims the constitutional right to secede. That claim will be countered by the cogent argument that it cannot be conceded without disintegration of the Federation itself; in other words that Federal India as such cannot claim independence constitutionally, inasmuch as it contains two elements, one of which does not and cannot have Dominion Status owing to the paramountcy of the British Crown. It is this constitutional implication that has made the British Government so much enamoured of an All-India Federation. I shall put it differently. The British Government is confident that it will be able to put down any attempt on the part of India to sever the British connection by force. But the question assumes a different aspect when a Dominion wishes to exercise the constitutional right to secede. Such exercise of a constitutional right cannot be put down by force. So the case of such a situation itself must be provided against, and what should be done is to devise a scheme which will prevent such a claim being made, and even though made, being constitutionally recognized. And this is what has been done in the White Paper Scheme.

The position as regards the provincial part of the White Paper constitution is different and better. It gives us a vantage-ground of which the best use can be made, if only we would make it. Provided that ministries consist of able, independent, and patriotic men devoted to principles and determined to promote measures necessary for the healthy growth of national life, and provided further, that adequate funds are available for giving effect to large schemes of improvement, a lot of good can be done. And in case, the Governor opposes such measures and goes on exercising his veto situations may arise in which he will find it impossible to have ministries at all. The result will be that either he will have to yield or the constitution itself will have to be suspended. The suspension of the constitution in such circumstances need not be regretted, as the ultimate consequences cannot fail to be beneficial.

Now let us realize exactly what we mean when we say that the White Paper scheme must be rejected. One thing is certain. The scheme in its present form or in some worse form, is going to be thrust upon us, unless Mr. Winston Churchill succeeds in wrecking it. If Parliament prefers to accept Mr. Churchill's lead and to wreck it, it is its business and we are not concerned with it; our opposition cannot be given up or weakened because it may furnish him with an additional weapon for wrecking it. We shall not be in sack-cloth and ashes if it is wrecked. But I do not think that the scheme will fail to pass through the present Parliament. We shall be confronted with the proposed constitution as an actual fact. What shall we do then? When we say that it should be rejected, do we mean that the new legislatures should be boycotted? That cannot now obviously be our meaning in view of recent developments. All that our rejection of the scheme would mean is that we declare that we do not accept it, that it is imposed upon us against our will and consent, that we protest against it, that its principles are not binding upon us, that we shall work it only under protest, that we shall make what use we can of it with the sole object of promoting our own ends and ideals.

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A survey of the present political situation must take some note of the new currents of political and economic thought flowing into our country. Socialism and communism have each its exponents in India and perhaps we may have Fascism also. I belong to a generation which was nurtured and nourished on Western political radicalism combined with our own metaphysical and religious view of life as expressed in the *Bhagvadgita*. I have been studying and thinking over these different systems ; and on the whole, my inclinations are more towards Socialism adapted to our own conditions than to Fascism or Communism. But what I wish to stress is this : our chief objective is and ought to be to win political power. How is it possible to establish a communistic, a socialistic or a fascist state unless we first succeed in winning political power? It is on that objective that all our attention and energies must be concentrated ; and the ranks of our nationalist movement must not be divided by uncompromising insistence on differences as regards the very type of the State to be ultimately evolved. Our political problem is already difficult and complicated. It is not wisdom to add to its difficulty and complexity by unnecessary emphasis on issues which are themselvas controversial and which cannot be successfully tackled, without winning political power.

I now come to the second and more difficult part of my paper. This survey of our present political situation is by no means inspiring. We had to retreat and we have retreated. But what about the future ? Can I or can anyone point to a royal road whereby we may reach our national goal most quickly ? The goal seems to recede more and more in the distance. The hopes of four years ago have been dashed to the ground. The plain truth is that there is no royal road to the achievement of freedom. Freedom's battle is going to be long and arduous and will make a great demand upon our perseverance and constancy in purpose. We may not, we ought not to, despair ; but the realities of the situation must be faced. Hindu-Moslem unity is an essential condition of success and it must be achieved. I have always said and written that the achievement of this unity will be a greater manifestation of our national soul-force than individual acts or a partial movement of civil disobedience. I am fully conscious of the difficulties in the way of Hindu-Moslem unity ; but they are not insurmountable and I believe that they can be overcome and the unity brought about. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's idea of a national convention or the idea of a constituent assembly is magnificent ; but is it practicable without Hindu-Moslem unity ? What will be the value of such a convention or assembly if the majority of Moslems remain aloof from it? We may not, we ought not to, give a blank cheque to Moslems ; but without doing so, efforts must continuously be made to bring about such unity. Even leaving aside for a moment this question of Hindu-Moslem unity, is there any real organic unity among Hindus themselves ? We are about 23 crores in number ; the Moslem population *all over the world* is about 25 crores. Of these there are 7 crores in India, 5 crores in Indonesia, 2 crores in Western Asia, about 2 crores in Siberia and China, 5 crores in Africa and about 2 crores in the Balkan States and South Russia. Though scattered over so many countries, they have a sense not only of religious but also of social solidarity. Though we inhabit one and the same soil, we have no such sense of solidarity. Hindu *Sangathana* is absolutely necessary, but it must be organic and real, not superficial. It is my strong conviction held for the last forty years that so long as there are castes, sub-castes, and untouchables among us, Hindu *Sangathana* can never go deep. The Hindu society must be reconstructed on a non-caste basis and then only Hindu *Sangathana* will be a real, living and potent fact.

So the work of realizing Hindu and Hindu-Moslem unity must go on side by side with work of a purely political nature. Constructive work is one of our watchwords and rightly so. This work must be done not only in cities where it is comparatively easy but also in towns and villages where it is difficult. I think it is not now possible to avoid political parties ; they will probably increase in number. I would therefore suggest that besides party organizations, in every district there should be a non-party Association whose sole duty shall

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be to carry on constructive work on agreed lines. Such work should include adult education, education in the elements of political science and in citizenship, the building up of a non-caste, non-communal patriotic spirit and the promotion of *Swadeshi*. It should be purely educative and free from any more propagandist colour than may be inherent in the work itself.

I am glad that the neo-Swaraj Party recognized the value of foreign propaganda. Mahatma Gandhi has hitherto belittled its importance but I hope that he will now realize it. In thinking of India's future, I often think of the policy of the Philippinos in promoting their cause of national independence. They maintained a national embassy in America with a view to impressing upon the Americans the justice of their demand for independence. The American Legislature has recently passed a Bill promising independence to the Philippine Islands in ten or twelve years. America has set a noble example which Great Britain ought to follow. What America has done she can certainly do, if only she has the will to do it. But I know she has no such will. And yet our national work should always include a department of foreign propaganda. Such propaganda should be carried on mainly in America, Switzerland and Great Britain.

Apart from concrete programmes, I insist on the right state of mind being preserved and maintained in all circumstances, through thick and thin. Whatever may happen, however far-off may be the attainment of our national goal, however depressing the situation may at times become, we must always be true, loyal and devoted to our ideal. We must cherish and worship it in the shrine of our hearts. Our national struggle may sometimes be attended by reverses ; what struggle has there been in history which was all victory and no defeat ? But a reverse or even a series of reverses must not weaken our *morale* and our flag must never be lowered, much less hauled down. The fight must be fought to the finish, whatever changes in methods or programmes or tactics may be made. In the serene confidence born of faith in the justice of our cause and in its ultimate victory, we must steadily advance towards the goal. Sometimes the advance may be quick ; more often it may be slow ; at times we may have to halt and wait for a more favourable season for pressing forward. But I for one am as sure as that the day follows the night that the victory and the glory of the victory will be ours, if only the flame of our devotion to our ideal is kept burning with undiminished and untarnished radiance.

INTERNATIONAL LAW AND TRUSTEESHIP

By BAMAPRASANNA SEN GUPTA, M.A., B.L.

Trusteeship the Back-Ground of the Modern Theory of Colonization

STARTING originally on a different basis altogether, namely, economic exploitation, pure and simple, the conquests of England had to give place to the theory of trusteeship, which ultimately became the back-ground of the modern theory of colonization. This principle has been definitely recognized by America in relation to the Philippines and is now more or less theoretically recognized as the sole justification for the government of one country by another in all cases. None in the twentieth century can possibly defend that they are holding empires for any other purpose save for looking after the interests of people, unfit, due to their comparative backwardness, for self-government. Logically this leads to the conclusion that the ruling race owes a duty to the governed and the civilisation at large to educate its wardens to such capacity and to renounce government over them as soon as the people are so fit.

The Principle in International Law

International law and the society of nations have in modern times emphasized this doctrine often as opportunities occurred for it, till the principle has been finally accepted in the cases of mandated territories by the League of Nations—thanks to the insistence and idealism of ex-President Wilson. International law in the course of its development has striven in its own way to exhibit that the regulation of the relations between the sovereign and subject States does not always affect only the States concerned but touches the humanity at large and should therefore form a matter of concern for international law and international machineries. The theory of "trustee-

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ship" so clearly embodied in Art. XXII of the Covenant of the League of Nations, may be traced for its first germ in utterances of idealists like Elphinstone, Metcalfe and Macaulay. But the theory took no definite shape at that time, it ended there with utterances and pious wishes.

The Principle in Practice

The principle however was put into practice in the cases of the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary, which task was assigned to her by the Treaty of Berlin subsequent to the Russo-Turkish War, as well as that of England over Egypt. The incidents referred to however arose in this way.

The concert of European Powers had ever been keen in presenting before the Porte proposals for the reform of administration of his Christian subjects and often brought in moral pressure to atone for the inhuman atrocities that Turkey perpetrated on the neighbouring Christian States under their subjugation.

When in 1875, the Muhammedan aggression and atrocities reached almost their climax and the slaves in Herzegovina, revolted as a consequence of the relentless Turkish oppression, a Note (known as Andrassy Note, after the name of the Austrian Chancellor of the time) was prepared which contained a scheme of reforms to be pressed on the Sultan for conciliating the insurgents at Herzegovina. The Note was prepared by the governments of Russia, Germany and Austria and comprised in its proposals for reforms "(*i*) the improvement of the lot of the peasantry; (*ii*) complete religious liberty; (*iii*) the abolition of the farming of taxes; (*iv*) the application of the local taxation to local needs; (*v*) the appointment of Commission, half of Moslems, half of Christians, to supervise the execution of these reforms and of others recently promised by the Porte."* The Note could not however be presented to the Porte in 1875 because of the diplomatic intervention of the British Cabinet that was of opinion that the Note was inopportune and that Turkey ought to be given time to carry on the reforms, which by *'irade'* of October 2, 1875, the Sultan had promised to all his Christian subjects. It was however presented to the Porte in January 31, 1876 and Great Britain gave a reluctant assent to it. The Note was accepted by the Porte on February 11, with one reservation. But the Sultan who had been very enthusiastic about promises was lacking in action and the Powers realized that "unless energetic steps were taken by the Powers to stop the spread of the conflagration it would soon wrap the whole of Balkan Penninsula in flames." Accordingly the Berlin Memorandum' was drawn demanding 'the adoption of an armistice for two months; the repatriation of the Bosnian exiles and fugitives; the establishment of a mixed Commission for that purpose; the removal of Turkish troops from the rural districts of Bosnia; the rights of the Consuls of the European Powers to see to the carrying out of all the promised reforms. Lastly, the Memorandum stated that if within two months the three Imperial Courts did not attain the end they had in view (*viz.*, the carrying out of the needed reforms), it would become necessary to take "efficacious measures for that purpose." The Memorandum could not however be presented because of the refusal of the British Government to sign it and consequently the concert was broken up.

Next came the massacre of the Christians in the Balkan Mountains by the Turks as a return to the murder of some Turkish officials there. This completely alienated British sympathy from the Turks. Lord Derby wrote to Sir Henry Elliott on August 29 that "the impression produced here by events in Bulgaria has completely destroyed sympathy with Turkey. The feeling is universal and so strong that even if Russia were to declare war against the Porte, Her Majesty's Government would find it practically impossible to interfere." And so it came to pass. In the war of 1877 between Russia and Turkey, Great Britain remained neutral, and Austria who ever dreaded Russian extension of power kept herself aloof from the struggles. At the Treaty of Berlin in 1878 some Christian States got independence and Bosnia and Herzegovina were placed under the administration of Austria-Hungary, who was to rule there as trustee so long as the people were not fitted to rule themselves.

An analogous incident took place in the history of Egypt. As early as 1798 when the French conquered Egypt and continued occupying it for three years till 1801, British statesmen were alive to the sense of the strategical position of Egypt for safeguarding Indian Empire but England took no step for occupying it at that time. The French conquest and occupation for three years weakened considerably the power of the Mamelukes, a Christian military caste in Egypt, before whom the authority of the Sultan over the country had dwindled to mere shadow. This caste was however finally ruined by a collision with Mohamed Ali, an Alban soldier with strong following, who first in Sultan's name and finally in defiance of his power won the allegiance of the different races of the country and set himself as the virtual lord of the land. In 1823 this powerful Pasha conquered the northern Sudan and formed Khartum as the southern bulwark of his realm. In 1821, he built up an army and navy and was on the point of overthrowing Turkish power in Syria, when Great Britain intervened and by the capture of Acre compelled the ambitious Pasha to abandon his northern schemes and own once more the suzerainty of the Porte. From that time till the Great War Egypt was virtually under the suzerainty of the Sultan though actually a protectorate established by Great Britain exer-

* J. Holland Rose's "*The Development of the European Nations.*" P. 164.

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alone the supreme authority in the administration of the country.

What These Examples Show

These examples show that the relations between the subject and sovereign States are no longer considered as the domestic affair of any State but are matters for concern of the civilized world. So long strong individual States took upon themselves the responsibilities in interfering where interference seemed to them necessary but now the League of Nations has undertaken to do it. No doubt in the case cited the States in violation of all legal principles exploited their trust and appropriated all the profits of the countries and the trusteeship served only as preliminary steps to ownership. But this could happen only because of the unscrupulousness of the trusted powers and the absence of stronger forces to check them. The move though made in the right direction could not be rightly executed and that in the absence of a definite international public opinion.

Art XXII of the Covenants of the League of Nations

The principle of trusteeship however with regard to backward races has been finally accepted in international law by Art. XXII of the Covenants of the League of Nations, which in the opinion of some "creates a new Magna Charta for the weak, backward undeveloped peoples of the world." It runs as follows: "To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States formerly governing them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous condition of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such people form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.

The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such people should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience of their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League. . . ." The concluding paragraph of Art. XXII is to the effect that "a permanent Commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the Mandatories and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates." It is also provided that "the majority of the Commission shall be nationals of non-mandatory Powers."

This system, which is a kind of compromise between the proposition advanced by the advocates of annexation and the proposition put forward by those who wished to entrust the colonial territories to an international administration * aims at a better system of administration of backward people than prevailing at present in colonies, dependencies, protectorates or spheres of influence "in the sense that it would more effectively secure the liberty, material welfare and opportunity for development of the native inhabitants, and that it would more effectively secure the opportunity of all States of the world to equal participation in the trade resources of these areas." †

Three classes of mandates have been created *viz.*, (i) the class A; territories formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire are of this class. The Covenant says that those communities that formerly belonged to the Turkish Empire "have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone." (ii) the class B; these are established over peoples such as in Central Africa, whom the mandatory must govern "under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, the prohibition of abuses, such as, the slave trade, the arms traffic, and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defence of territory, and will also secure against opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League". (iii) The class C; these are over peoples such as in South-Western Africa and the "South Pacific Islands" which, because of the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centres of civilization, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the mandatory are to be administered under the laws of the mandatory as integral portion of the territory of the mandatories. It is expected, as that seems to be the only logical conclusion, that the 'C' class mandates will, in the course of time, pass to the 'B' class and next to 'A' class and ultimately to the status of independent territories, when the education and other requisites of their inhabitants have developed sufficiently to justify their inclusions to the society of higher nations.

The question naturally crops up here as what is the status of mandated States and their inhabitants and in whom legally lies the sovereignty of these territories. Unfortunately, the answer to that is not free from difficulty. There are three opinions on the matter. According to Lee "The allied Powers, by creating the mandatory system have placed the sovereignty of all mandated areas in suspense during the operation of respective mandates."§ Mr. Quincy Wright is however

* *Vide* League of Nations, Permanent Commission's Minutes 1st Session, 1921, p. 6.

† Quincy Wright's *Sovereignty of Mandates* in American Journal of International Law, 1924, p. 691.

§ Lee's *The Mandates for Mesopotamia and the Principle of Trusteeship in English Law*, p. 19.

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of opinion that it will be a close approach to truth in ascribing sovereignty of mandated territories to the mandatory acting with the consent of the Council of League.* There are, however, some † who regard the mandatory as the real sovereign of the mandated States, the system of mandates being to them nothing but annexation with a promise of future liberation. That the mandated territories are not considered to be under the sovereignty of the mandatories nor are the inhabitants of these territories taken to be nationals of the mandatories are established by the decision in *Christian V. Rex* by the Supreme Court of South Africa, where it was laid down that "the Government of South Africa is not possessed of *Majestas* in the full sense of that term; in other words, it is not a sovereign and independent State ..... The signatories must have intended that such possessions should be dealt with as provided by Part I (The League of Nations Covenant) of the Treaty and they were placed at the disposal of the principal Powers merely that the latter might take all necessary steps for their administration on a mandatory basis..... The intention of the signatories seems to have been to place certain overseas possessions relinquished by Germany upon a basis new to international law and regulated primarily by Article 22 of the Treaty. In the same judgment the League of Nations has been referred to as "an association of states which, while retaining their own sovereignty and status, have agreed with one another to pursue a certain line of conduct in international affairs as laid down in the Covenant and to co-operate in certain matters of general concern. It functions through an Assembly, a Council and a permanent Secretariat, but none of these have any compulsory power over the individual states..... It is not a State, it owns no territory, governs no subjects and is not endowed with the attributes of sovereignty". The elaborate report submitted by M. Van Rees of the Parmanent Mandates Commission on the system of State lands in 'B' and 'C' mandated territories also shows that mandated territories are not considered to be under the sovereignty of the mandatories. He says that "under the mandate system the mandatory State is merely the governor of the territory which does not belong to it". § The conclusion is further irresistible from the disclosure made by representatives of some mandatories that States with which they had commercial treaties refused to give the benefit of these territories to goods from mandated territory, which is obviously considered as outside the Empire of the mandatories. Great Britain was unable to obtain favoured treatment as provided in their commercial treaties for goods from Tanganyika and South Africa being also similarly unable to obtain such treatment for goods from South West Africa *

It is seen that the inhabitants of the mandated territories whether native or of European origin do not automatically become nationals of the mandatory. "Persons under 'B' and 'C' mandates cannot be drafted for military service outside the mandated territory except for necessary defence; they are entitled to freedom of conscience and religion and to protection from slave, arms and liquor trade, they have a right to petition the League of Nations for redress of grievances and that they can enjoy the diplomatic protection of the mandatory while abroad". The Permanent Mandates Commission after considering the reports of the Sub-committee that was appointed to examine the question of the national status of these inhabitants presented some resolutions that were passed in the following terms:

"The Council of the League of Nations having considered the report of the Permanent Mandates Commission on the national status of the inhabitants of territories under 'B' and 'C' mandates:

In accordance with the principles laid down in article 22 of Covenant:

Resolved as follows:

(i) That the status of the native inhabitants of a mandated territory is distinct from that of the nationals of the Mandatory Power and cannot be identified therewith by any process having general application.

(ii) That the native inhabitants of a mandated territory are not invested with the nationality of the Mandatory Power by reason of the protection extended to them.

(iii) That it is not inconsistent with (i) and (ii) above that individual inhabitants of the mandated territory should voluntarily obtain naturalization from the Mandatory Power in accordance with the arrangements which it is open to such Power to make with the object under its own law.

(iv) That it is desirable that native inhabitants who receive the protection of the Mandatory Power should in each case be designated by some form of descriptive title which will specify their status under the mandate."

Only in case of South Africa authority was conferred on the mandatory to confer British nationality on the Germans of South-West Africa provided however that every such inhabitant might decline and those who did so might remain and would not be disturbed or molested in any way. No decision, however, with regard to the status of inhabitants in class 'A' mandates has ever been made but in view of the fact that these territories are provisionally recognized as

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* Quincy Wright's *Opcit*, p. 698.

† Cf. M. F. Lindley's *The Acquisition and Government of Backward Territory in International Law*, p. 263. According to Dr. Lindley, except in Iraq, the sovereignty rests in the mandatories.

§ *Vide* Permanent Mandates Commission Minutes 3rd Session, 1922, annexure 2. The report is contained in pp. 216—239.

* *Vide* Permanent Commission, Minutes 3rd Session, 1923, p. 27 and p. 110.

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independent, that their inhabitants it is evident cannot be assimilated to the nationals of the mandatory.

The question remains for us to consider as to how the mandates are to terminate finaly, and the limit of the power of the mandatories in regard to these territories. The 8th paragraph of Art. 22 says, "The degree of authority, control or administration to be exercised by the mandatory shall, if not previously agreed upon by the members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the Council". Further in case of amendment of mandates the consent of the Council of the League is necessary. Neither the Council nor the League nor the mandatory can amend the mandates though the two together may do so. In the modification of the Palestine Mandate excluding the provisions relating to a Jewish National Home from the trans-Jordan region, modifications were actually proposed by the mandatory and became effective on approval by the Council. The amendment must however be in conformity with the letter and spirit of Art. 22, the powers of the Council and the Mandatory being defined within the bounds set by the article, they, too, cannot go beyond it.

It is contemplated in Art. 22 that communities under 'A' mandates as also under 'B' mandates will gradually evolve into complete independence while the 'C' class will pass as 'B' class and then in its usual course evolve into independence. According to Article 1 of the Covenant two-thirds of the Assembly may admit new members to the League and by inclusion of the madatory as a member of the League, the mandate may be *ipso facto* terminated. The mandatory may also renounce the mandate or legally terminate it with the consent of the Council, subject however, to the same limitations as in cases of amendments.

The League again seems to have retained no power to transfer a mandate to another state so long as the mandatory meets the terms of the mandates. Neither can the mandatory effect the transfer as is seen from the discussion in the Permanent Mandate Commission and the Council of the League over the assumed transfer of the mandate of Naum from the British Empire to Australia.

There are administrative recommendations and judicial decisions that provide for the observance of the conditions of mandate by the mandatory. In case the mandatory persists in violating the mandate, it would possibly justify the League to choose a new mandatory by replacing the present one, who has forfeited the trust reposed in her by the League. Prof. Henry Gondy says, "Undoubtedly on legal principles failure by the mandatory State to carry out its instructions will warrant revocation.....Nor is it clear what remedy the mandate will have, if the mandatory State neglects its duty under the contract, though probably withdrawal of the mandate would follow". *

Sir A. B. Keith on the other hand remarks that "the commission, of course, has no authority over the mandatory and the Council and the Assembly alike have not means of enforcing their views on the mandatories other than through the general procedure of the League of Nations which normally implies unanimity of opinion". † Generally however the League in terminating the mandate will have to follow the procedure as suggested by Prof. Keith and before taking any action a decision by the Permanent Court of International Justice will have to be obtained. In case the Court decides that the mandatory has violated the mandate, the final paragraph of Art. XIII of the Covenant, which runs as follows, will be applicable. The final paragraph as referred to is to the effect that "The members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered and that they will not resort to war against a member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such award, the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto".

The Essence

From the above it is quite evident that the administration of the mandante remains not the domestic concern of the mandatory but becomes an international concern, "the sacred trust of civilization", and the entire civilized world, those who are members of the League, (it practically now includes every civilized State save America and Russia) takes upon itself the responsibility to see that the trust is executed and the mandatory discharges its duties for the well-being and development of the inhabitants of the mandated territories.

Other Results Logically to Follow

Logically other results also seem to follow. The members of the League that are Imperial Powers, cannot possibly after this consistently refuse to follow the lead given by the League in the direction. Their policy, therefore, towards their own colonies and dependencies are bound to be shaped by the general principles of the League. International law has not yet gone far enough to hold that the relation between ruling States and their colonies and dependencies are matters for regulation by international bodies. So far the principle is confined only to mandated territories, but the extention of this principle to other subject territories is logically only a question of time.

The League, again, has appointed Great Britain, France, Belgium and Japan as the mandatories and these (over and above America) are the imperial States that count. These States cannot possibly follow one policy with regard to mandated States placed in their hands and another with

* *Journal of Comparative Legislation* 3rd. Sec. Vol. I, pp. 180, 181.

† *Journal of Comparative Legislation* 3rd Sec. Vol. IV, p. 80.

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regard to States that came in their charge long ago.

Again, some subject States, *e.g.*, India and Egypt, have been taken as original members of the League and provided with representations in the Assembly and if their suzerain States flagrantly violate the principle of trusteeship in administering their territories while at the same breath advocating it in the case of mandated territories, the representatives of these subject States can at least invoke the moral pressure of the civilized world against the violation and in exceptional circumstances bring about the active intervention of the League. In the equal membership of India in the League of Nations, the seed has been sown which must, sooner or later, lead to the extension of the principle of Article 22 to subject territories other than mandated ones.

The next step, therefore, in the evolution of thought regarding acquired territories will be the recognition of the fact that the theory of trusteeship is not applicable only in cases where the mandatories and mandated States are concerned, but holds good everywhere, where the relations between suzerain and subject States are involved, and that all imperial states have the obligation to the civilized world at large for the administration of all colonies and dependencies to which full self-government has not been conceded. The admission of India and Egypt as original members of the League is a further instalment of the recognition of this principle and the consequent obligation of the suzerain States. The progress of this idea is naturally very tardy and interested attempts are doubtless being made and will continue to be made for a long time to prevent the logical development of the idea by eye-washes and camouflage, but if the progress is sustained, that end is bound to come, or the League of Nations will stultify itself. The history of the world, wherever there has been a struggle between a great idea and established facts, has always shown the triumph of idealism over convention and it is to be hoped that here too there will be no exception to the rule.

A NEW ORIENTATION OF WESTERN SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY

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In recent years there has appeared a protest against the accepted values in social and political systems of the West. Eminent thinkers have begun to apply a pragmatic test to these values which have been found wanting in the context of the life in the 'Great Society.'* To this pragmatic inadequacy has been traced much of the evil in the Society and the State. Effectual remedies have, therefore, been suggested by offering a new synthesis of social life. This has resulted in an orientation of the social philosophy of the West, which in its broad principles, bears a close resemblance to the social philosophy of Ancient India.

The protest starts with a clear note of warning against the functional validity of the State and Society. When Earnest Barker speaks of the "Discredited State,"† on which Prof. Laski pours his poignant sarcasm; when Profs. Krabbe* and Duguit† assign new values to law in its political setting; when Dean Pound‡ preaches a new philosophy of law—its new social and ethical content; or when Prof. Tawney analyses the diseases of a society, that is all for "acquisition" and not for fulfilment, there is the surest indication of an attitude of mind that refuses to acquiesce in the existing order of things.

Prof. Tawney thinks that the Western Society has come to one of its turning points in history when "it should consider whether what it has done hitherto is wise, and if not wise to alter it."§ The turning point consists in the gradual disappearance of social equilibrium due to a lack of proportion between social rights and social functions, or what we may simply say between rights

* *The Great Society*, by Graham Wallas.
† *Political Quarterly*, February, 1915.

* *The Modern Idea of the State*
† *Les Transformations du Droit public*
‡ His two books under reference are:
(a) *Law and morals*
(b) *An introduction to the Philosophy of Law*
§ *Acquisitive Society*, p. 2.

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and duties. Rights, he contends, are not properly related to functions, a phenomenon which in its social back-ground creates anomalies, and a temper that finds expression in the attitude of the Socialists, Syndicalists, etc. That these anomalies react on the political structure is also true. For, like the chasm between rights and duties of the individual there is a chasm between the rights and duties of the State. In the words of Prof. Laski, who is never tired of emphasizing the latter point, the modern state possesses rights which "do not involve, save as an act of grace upon its own part, an assumption of proportionate legal responsibility."* It is owing to this twofold—social and political—significance of this single phenomenon that Prof. Tawney's views are worth examining.

The rise of rights he traces to the gradual liquidation of the ethical competence of the State and the universal purpose of religion. Paradoxical as it may appear, it is a grim truth. For, when religion receded to the background, and thus made way for the supremacy of the State, individual rights replaced the synthesizing purpose of religion. This fact could be best explained in the words of Prof. Tawney himself. "During a great part of history men had found the significance of their social order in its relation to the universal purposes of religion... When the Reformation made the Church a department of the secular state, it undermined the already enfeebled spiritual forces which had created that sublime, if too much, elaborated synthesis." Clothed itself with many of the attributes of the Church arose the State. But in the eighteenth century "both the State and the Church had abdicated that part of their sphere, which had consisted in the maintenance of a common body of social ethics." That is to say, "opinion ceased to regard social institutions and economic activity, as amenable, like personal conduct to moral criteria." The result was the disappearance of "the idea of purpose," which consisted in "the conception of men united to each other and of all mankind as united to God, by mutual obligations." When mutual obligations, the purpose of social structure, ceased to influence the minds of men, what remained "was private rights and private interests, the materials of a society rather than a society itself." People "found in the beneficence of natural instincts" all the elements of the divine and did not hesitate to identify their instinct with God. "The result of such ideas in the world of practice was a society which was ruled by law, not by the caprice of governments but which recognised no moral limitations on the pursuit by individuals of their economic self-interest. In the world of thought it was a political philosophy, *which made rights, the foundation of the social order*, and which considered the discharge of obligations, when it considered it at all, as emerging by an inevitable process from their free exercise."*

Thus arose the theory of natural rights of man, which received its consecration from the French Revolution. In the meanwhile sovereignty of the people had been accepted as the basis of political practice in England, and the American and the French Revolutions imparted to it a comprehensive content and sacred character.† Sovereign national state, maintaining the rights of the individual came into existence. At this juncture opened an era of great industrial expansion. This expansion has been fully accomplished in the last century and a half, during which period the operation of the right of the individual, unrelated to adequate social service, has landed the nations of Europe in the unhappy predicament in which they find themselves today. They are today, according to Professor Tawney, in the throes of an Acquisitive Society, of which the tendency is *not* to "secure the fulfilment of tasks undertaken for the public service but to increase the opportunities open to individuals of attaining the objects which they conceive to be advantageous to themselves."§ Indeed as he says the interest of such a society is "to promote the acquisition of wealth." And since wealth controls the vital tissues of a society, and since the modes of its acquisition as well as the fields of its operation bind together the hinterland of states, the ramifications of this

* Laski—*Law in the Modern State* : Intro. p. xv.

* *Acquisitive Society*, pp. 12-15.

† Pound—*Philosophy of Law*, pp. 64-65 ; *Duguit-Les Transformations du Droit Public*. Ch. I.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

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society are therefore not only of national but of international importance. It is not necessary to discuss in this connection how the currents and cross-currents of capital, the extra-territorial interests of nations bear closely upon the problems of peace and security in the world today. In one of his latest essays Prof. Laski very correctly depicts how parties with vested interests seize upon that strong sentiment of the people, called nationalism, to wage wars, that are always to their own benefit.* This is only another way of saying that wars are waged by nation-states and that with their sovereignty they get a fillip from the operation of an acquisitive society. Therefore, the magnitude of competence for good and for evil of such a society could not be judged except in the context of sovereign state.

The State is the guardian of public order and of the rights of the people at home and abroad. For the successful fulfilment of these functions it has been invested in popular thought and traditional theory with sovereignty. The connotation of sovereignty is "the right to act without being called to answer for such policy as it (State) might consider essential to its aims.... In England for example the Crown cannot be sued save by permission of the Attorney-General. All sorts of limitations surround the effort to sue the American State ; ....."† Here lies the similarity between the claims of the Sovereign State and acquisitive society—claims to possess rights unrelated to adequate responsibilities. Indeed each supplements the other in its activities within as well as without national frontiers. Hence there is a good deal of truth in the saying, as Wells§ and many others have said, that claims of Sovereign States are incompatible with the needs of world peace.

To sum up then, in the social sphere the failure to relate adequately rights and duties creates fissures that manifest in the class-struggle, while in the political sphere it creates antagonism between nations that threatens to undermine the world-peace.

The structure of such a body-politic therefore needs, in the opinion of Prof. Tawney, radical overhauling. The new structure, he suggests, should be the Functional Society, instead of the Acquisitive Society Europe has today. Built upon the idea of purpose, it adopts the technique of creative functions. The social emphasis is to be laid on the performance of service rather than the enjoyment of rights, rights disproportionate to duties, rights based upon individual instincts. To use his own words: "A society which aimed at making the acquisition of wealth contingent upon the discharge of social obligations which sought to proportion remuneration to service and denied it to those by whom no service was performed, which inquired first not what men possess, but what they can make or create or achieve might be called a Functional Society."*

This view of social reconstruction, though it smacks of Socialism, is very different from Socialism. Tawney stresses creative functions of the individual which should determine his social status and rights. He does not, like the Socialist, stress merely the equalizition of the incidence of wealth in Society. That, indeed, makes a world of difference in his view point. For, if creative work is made the basis of rights, social esteem may be considered as an adequate supplement to, if not the absolute substitute for, equal distribution of wealth in return for the individual's function in Society. Each supplementing the other would create a more appropriate standard of social values than otherwise. That is to say, a right might be conceived in terms, other than merely equal distribution of wealth. Not that equalizing the incidence of wealth as far as possible is of doubtful effect ; but that, that alone does not make for an adequate standard of social values. If creative work is made the basis of the new Society then it is not hard to imagine how many creative functions could not be adequately valued in terms of wealth only. In a Socialist Society, for example, it will be difficult to determine the claims and values of a Newton, a Lincoln, a Cavour or a Tagore in terms of wealth. Hence while the inadequacy of the Socialist doctrine of equalizing

* "Economic Foundations of Peace" in the "*Intelligent Man's Way to prevent War.*" Edited by Leonard Wolf.

† Laski—*Law in the Modern State.* Int., p. xv.

§ *After Democracy*, by H. G. Wells,

* *Acquisitive Society*, pp. 31-32.

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the incidence of wealth as the only means of social reconstruction is apparent, the principle of adopting creative work for the same purpose is far more satisfactory. And again this has the advantage of harmonizing natural or providential inequalities in man with the standard of values in Society.

At any rate, whether with the principle that Prof. Tawney suggests, the reconstruction of European society is or is not feasible, it is beyond doubt that the structure of ancient Indian Society the ruins and ashes of which remain today, had been built upon the very same principle. It was in India that "the main subject of social emphasis" was "the performance of functions." Dharma or social obligations formed the foundation of society. Of course, religious obligations came in that category of social obligations, for religion like many others, is a social institution, and Indian Dharma was extremely comprehensive in connotation. It exactly expresses what Prof. Tawney would have for the foundation of his Functional Society. But it has also its inherent weaknesses, which result from crystallizing functions in groups. Further if it does not relate itself to the peculiar environment in each age, it is likely to degenerate into a system of castes as in India.

But on the whole a Functional Society does not possess, Prof. Tawney himself says, that drive and force which is the hall-mark of an Acquisitive Society. In a telling passage, he analyses the facts and foibles of an Acquisitive Society, and unwittingly offers an explanation of the fall of ancient Hindus.

"The secret of its triumph," he says, "is obvious. It is an invitation to men to use the powers with which they have been endowed by nature or Society, by skill or energy or relentless egotism or mere good fortune, without enquiring whether there is any principle by which their exercise should be limited,... By fixing men's minds not upon the discharge of social obligations, which restricts their energy, because it defines the goal to which it should be directed, but upon the exercise of the right to pursue their own self-interest, it offers unlimited scope for the acquisition of riches, and therefore gives free play to one of the most powerful of human instincts. It assures men that there are no ends other than their ends, no law other than their desires, no limit other than that which they think advisable. Thus it makes the individual the centre of his own universe, and dissolves moral principles into a choice of expediencies. .. Under the impulse of such ideas men do not become religious or wise or artistic: for religion and wisdom and art imply the acceptance of limitations. But they become powerful and rich. They inherit the earth and change the face of nature, if they do not possess their own souls."*

Prof. Tawney goes on in this strain to condemn the Acquisitive Society. He says people in such a society lose their own souls; but nevertheless "they inherit the earth." We have only to look back to our Pre-Muhammedan days, to become convinced of the grim truth, that India could not inherit the earth because she possessed her own soul. Prof. Tawney's ideas have the stamp of the Orient—the soul, religion and God ;† but how far Europe is capable of realizing them in her life is difficult even to conjecture.

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* *Acquisitive Society*, pp. 32-34.

† Is it because he was born in Calcutta ?

There must be a firm assertion of principle and of decorum. Personal considerations must not affect the truthful and uncompromising discharge of public duty by members of the House, even if private friendships have to suffer thereby.

—Mr. Winston Churchill

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TRUSTWORTHY INDIAN HISTORY

(A Review)*

By JABEZ T. SUNDERLAND

IT is very encouraging that of late we are getting reliable, and in a large measure adequate, histories of India under British rule. written from India's side, which let us know the real nature of that rule as the Indian people have felt it, and answering the question, whether they have regarded it as a benefit or an injury. We have numberless histories, long and short, in the form of books and of encyclopaedia articles, written by the British describing the rule from their side. Naturally, these almost without exception have represented it as a great blessing to the Indian people,—something which has been slowly lifting them up from semi-barbarism toward real civilization, and giving them for the first time a true religion and a wise, just and benevolent government. Great Britain has had the ear of the world, and as a consequence these histories have gone everywhere, creating the almost universal impression that their picture was true. That it was not true the Indian people have always affirmed, but they possessed no adequate histories of their own to tell the real facts as they saw and experienced them.

As has been said, of late a change is coming. They are getting histories written by their own scholars, which, sooner or later, will let the world know (if in spite of British censorship and almost universal prejudice they can reach the world) that the British domination of India has been exactly the same kind of thing that forcible rule of one nation by another has been, everywhere in the world, and has produced exactly the same kind of effects. That is to say : materially and economically it has exploited the people of India, and spiritually it has been a tremendous force operating all the while to create in them a slave mind.

Of the histories of British rule written by Indian scholars, I may name, as probably the best up to the immediate present, the monumental volumes of Ramesh Dutt and Major Basu. Now, however, we are given another work, fresh from the press, which seems likely to be assigned a place beside these, namely, *Landmarks in Indian Constitutional and National Development (1600-1919)*," by Gurmukh Nihal Sing, Professor of Political Science in the Hindu University of Benares. Professor Singh's book is large (710 pages), well printed, attractive in make-up, and thoroughly documented. Its first 50 pages are devoted to *The Company Rule* in India, from the formation of the London Company in 1600, and the landing of the first traders in India, down to the Mutiny. The rest the great body of the work, gives us *India Under the Crown*, down to and including the terrible tragedy of Amritsar in 1919.

The author traces clearly, in much detail, and with a notable fairness of spirit to all parties (British as well as Indian), the beginnings and tantalizingly slow progress of what are called "Representative Institutions," and "Reform Schemes," particularly the famous "Morley-Minto Reforms" and the "Montford Reforms." What is very important, in connection with this, he gives us a fairly full history (perhaps the best we have) of the "Indian Nationalist Movement" and its organized heart, the "Indian National Congress," unraveling with a skilful hand the various undertakings of the Government to meet the demands of the Indian people for self-rule, by granting them something having the appearance of self-government but in reality only a mockery, or by offering to them something really good with one hand and taking it back with the other. The British have made great claims that they were introducing "Constitutional Government" into India, as a great boon. Professor Singh shows how little the great word "constitutional" can be made to mean, and how "Constitutional Government" may be so shaped as to be as autocratic as any other-form of government.

It is difficult to select out any part or parts of this important book before us, as more interesting or more valuable than the rest. But whatever else is missed by readers, they should not miss the last chapter on "The Amritsar Tragedy."

* *Landmarks of Indian Constitutional and National Development (1600-1919) Gurmukh Nihal Singh. Benares, India, 1934.*

A leader must not try to please. He who tries to please is weak in the eyes of the man upon whose pleasure he depends. He who wishes to lead the way must himself represent the standard of what is pleasing.

—STAMMLER.

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GEORGE BERNARD SHAW'S MEMORIES OF RODIN AND OTHER GREAT ARTISTS

A VISIT TO THE SUMMER-HOME OF THE WORLD'S MOST FAMOUS WRITER

By MICHAEL LORANT

A room at the Malvern Hotel, in Malvern, some time ago.

George Bernard Shaw is sitting crosslegged in a chair and talking "nineteen to the dozen."

Professor Strobl, the famous Hungarian sculptor, is modelling the great jester's head in clay, visibly aflame with inspiration. I, the humble scribe, am the only inactive member of the party. I just listen.

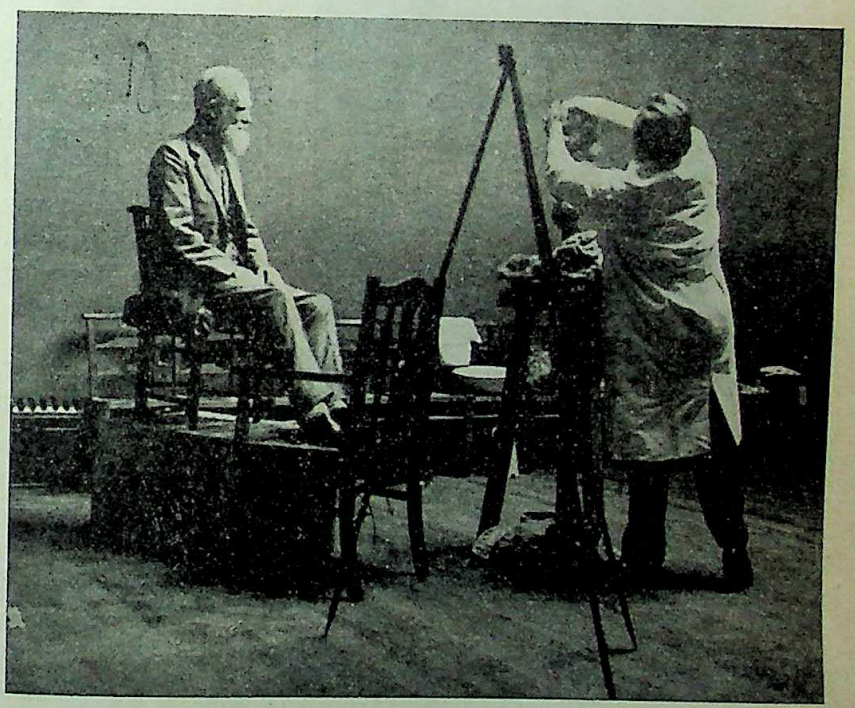
I could not put a word in edgeways even if I wanted to, which I do not. G. B. S.'s talk is highly entertaining, and the matter of his talk is made doubly fascinating by his manner of delivery. It clearly shows that he is out to entertain George Bernard Shaw rather than the sculptor and the scribe.

He talks easily, with a youthful zest that is amazing in a man of his years. Sometimes he ends a sentence with a loud chuckle, one bushy eyebrow darting up out of alignment with the other. But all the time he gives the impression of a bundle of electricity, vital and sparkling, and restless even in repose.

How he acquired his present cast of countenance is one story which he obviously enjoys telling.

Ordinary mortals are content to wear whatever features Nature has given them, and the majority of us are probably thankful that Nature has not been even less kind to us. Not so G. B. S. It appears that he has deliberately moulded his face to a definite pattern.

"When I was a boy," he says, "Gounod's 'Faust' was much in vogue. My mother was an opera singer and I often went to see and hear her in this play. I was particularly struck by the appearance of Mephistopheles—the conventional mask, you know. I thought the Devil had a most interesting face, shrewd, intelligent, with nothing commonplace in it, and I decided to develop just such a face. This ambition never left me, and although I had a round face then, through sheer force of concentration on the wish that it should be so, my face gradually became longer and longer, until it assumed the Mephistophelean expression it bears today. The process is still going on, and if I lived to be a hundred my



George Bernard Shaw sits for a Hungarian artist. Prof. Sigmund Strobl, head of the Budapest Academy of Fine Arts, making a bust of G. B. S. at Malvern
Photo : Michael Lorant, London

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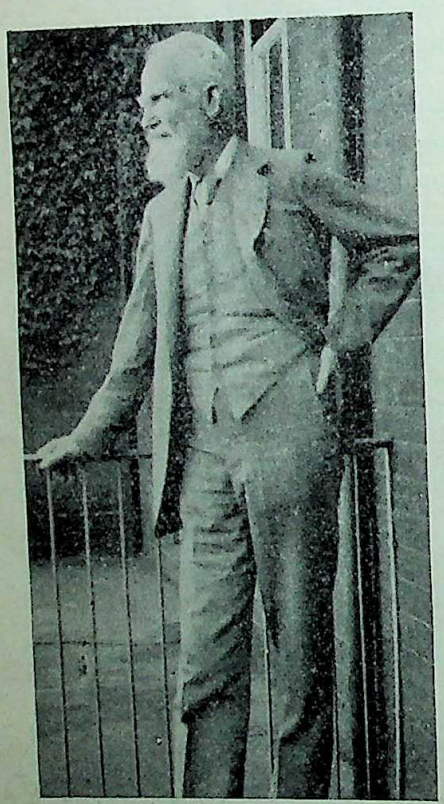
face would be as long as this"—and he extends his arms wide to indicate length.

The occasion reminds him of sittings he gave to some other sculptors, Rodin and Prince Troubetzkoy amongst them.

Of Rodin he says :

"Rodin had no interests outside his art. He was the most painstaking sculptor I have ever met. I gave something like thirty sittings, in as many consecutive days, at his studio in Meneon.

"Rodin took a large number of profiles, adjusting my face by a fraction of an inch



George Bernard Shaw
Photo : Michael Lorant, London

for each—spinning my head round by degrees. He took an immense number of measurements and made so many pencil marks on the clay that he used up three pencils before the sittings were over.

"To keep the clay moist he used to take water into his mouth and spit it on the model. But so deeply absorbed was he in his work that at the end of each sitting I was soaking wet, as if I had been out in the rain without an umbrella.

"Somewhere near the thirtieth day I asked him when the bust would be finished.... 'Finished ?' he said in surprise ; 'why, I have hardly begun !'

G. B. S. as seen by Lorant

"From the clay model he made two casts, one in marble and one in bronze. The bronze one is in my possession, while the marble one is in Dublin. For some unfathomable reason my friends and admirers have covered this marble bust with their pencilled signatures.

"Rodin was a passionate collector of pebbles. He would go out to the beach, or into the street, and pick up any pebble presenting in his imagination a resemblance to human features. He also collected large pieces of rock, and for the same reason. At first he accommodated these treasures in glass cases in his own house, then, when the collection grew too big for that, he rented a separate building for them.

"It was a sign of the highest favour on the part of Rodin to present someone with one such pebble or piece of rock.

"To judge by his bust of me, Rodin saw me as a French *petit bourgeois*. Of course, all the other sculptors who have made busts of me have endowed me with some of their own national characteristics.

"For instance, Prince Troubetzkoy, the Russian sculptor, saw me as a Russian intellectual.

"Prince Troubetzkoy's method of work was the exact opposite to that of Rodin's

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Troubetzkoy worked very fast. He took hardly any measurements, relying almost entirely on his vision and inspiration.

"Davidson, the American sculptor, apparently saw me as a profound philosopher."

From sculptors G. B. S. turns to Shakespeare, and as Professor Strobl is an Hungarian he comments on Shakespeare's popularity in Hungary.

"It is only natural that Shakespeare should be more popular in Hungary than in England. Shakespeare wrote three hundred years ago, in the language of three hundred years ago, which the average Englishman does not fully understand. On the other hand, the first Hungarian translation of Shakespeare was made only eighty years ago, in language that Hungarian theatre-goers understand. So Shakespeare must be more effective in Hungarian than in English."

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE INDIAN STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION, DRESDEN, GERMANY

DURING the year 1932-33 the Indian Students' Association gave farewell to two of its members, Miss Zora Mumtaz, former president of the Association, and Dr. Y. G. Lele, former secretary. Miss Mumtaz had a brilliant career in the famous Mary Wigman Dancing School and took her diploma with considerable distinction. She has now returned to India and is a teacher in a dancing school in the province of Bombay. Dr. Lele took his doctorate in Mineralogy. His thesis has been highly praised by the professors. He has also returned to India.

In the second week of November 1933, a meeting of the Indian students' Association was convened by Mr. S. C. Roy to elect the office-bearers of the winter-term of 1933-34. Mr. S. A. Ali was elected as Secretary and Mr. S. C. Roy as Indian Representative to the Foreign Students' Union of the Dresden Polytechnic University. Mr. N. S. Bhagawan, who presided over the meeting, welcomed the new members Mr. K. P. Jha and Swami Jnanananda Giri on behalf of the Association. Mr. Jha, who has been recently elected as a Member of the Association of German Engineers by submitting an original thesis, is taking practical training in different engineering concerns. Mr. Giri is engaged in working on Indo-German Philosophy and writing books thereon.

A Ball is arranged every year by the Foreign Students Union in Dresden to help poor Foreign and German Students, studying in the Dresden Polytechnic University. This year, for the second time, the Indian Students' Association took part in the Ball.

Professor Reuther, formerly Rector of the Polytechnic University, and his wife, and Professor Meister and his wife and daughter were kind enough to help the Indians in making the Indian Section a success. Prof. Reuther, who had been in India several times and had the opportunity of studying Indian Architecture, built the Indian Section after the Indian style to represent true Indian character. Our National Flag, which was also placed there, added to the beauty and grandeur of our section. Twenty-six nations had their different sections, but our section was conspicuous and highly appreciated. The success

Indian Dinner Party with Mr. Subhas Bose

Left to Right:
Mr. J. Giri, Mr. B. S. Sarma, Mr. K. P. Jha, Mr. S. C. Bose, Mr. S. C. Roy, Mr. N. C. Chatterjee and Mr. S. A. Ali.

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of our section was mainly due to the experience and hard labour of Prof. Reuther, to whom we owe our gratitude. We are also thankful to Mrs. Reuther, Prof. Meister, his wife and daughter. Some of the Indians were present in their characteristic national dress. We sold there chiefly eatables prepared in Indian fashion. Two of us got some pecuniary help out of the profit of the sale proceeds of the Indian section.

By the first week of April a meeting was convened by Mr. N. C. Chatterjee to elect the office-bearers for the summer-term. Mr. S. A. Ali presided. Mr. Chatterjee was elected Secretary of the Association and Mr. Roy, as previously, Indian Representative to the Foreign Students' Union of Dresden Polytechnic University. A resolution was passed in the meeting, that a memorandum should be drafted by Mr. Chatterjee to submit to the German Authorities for representing the grievances of Indians residing in Germany, on the lines adopted by the Indian Associations of Berlin and Munich.

Our Association had the pleasure to have the company of Sreejut Subhas Chandra Bose for a couple of days. Sj. Bose arrived in Dresden from Berlin on the evening of the 11th of April, 1934. We Indians, several Press representatives and some German friends attended the station to welcome him. Sj. Bose who was a bit tired, requested the Press representatives to meet him next morning. We arranged his stay in Hotel Europahof, one of the best hotels in Dresden. Next morning, after giving an interview to the Press representatives, Sj. Bose went, accompanied by some of us, to see the beautiful surroundings of Dresden. In the evening, Sj. Bose and some of the Indians visited the famous opera of Dresden. On the 13th an interview was arranged with the Mayor of Dresden, who sent Mr. Kipping, the City-councillor, to visit Sj. Bose and to accompany him in seeing some of the municipal works. Mr. Zorner, Mayor of Dresden, received Sj. Bose in the Town Hall and showed him round. Sj. Bose had a high appreciation of the Town Hall, which is known to be the best in Germany. Afterwards he visited the world-renowned Hygienic Museum.

Indian Ball in Dresden, 1934

Sj. Bose gave a lunch party to the Indians and a photograph was taken. In the afternoon he gave an interview to Prof. Reuther of the Dresden Polytechnic University to discuss about the situation of the Indian students here. In the evening he left Dresden for Prague. All the Indians accompained him to the station and gave him a hearty send-off.

NARAYAN CHANDRA CHATTERJEE
Secretary

Lindenaustrasse 32
DRESDEN, GERMANY.
May 11, 1934

KEY TO THE FRONTISPIECE

The Palace Doll

The artist has depicted the petrifying effects of the stone-walls, and the still more rigid walls of conventions of the palace on human emotions.

This stately lady—a royal plaything—has all the outward display of beauty and grace of feminine form, enhanced by the craft of the weaver and the artisan. But the glow of youth and life is no more there, than in a waxen doll—such is the soul-destroying effect of unnatural bonds of royal life. Like the "Lady of the Shallot" her life is but a shadow and reality means death.

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PROTECTION OF AFRICANS AGAINST INDIANS BY EUROPEANS

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

On the 5th of June last Reuter sent the following message from Pretoria :—

> An important step for appeasing British and Dutch racial prejudice has been taken by the amalgamation of the Nationalist Party, led by the Prime Minister, Mr. Hertzog, and the South African Party, led by General Smuts, embodied in an agreement wherein the leading principle will be Government of the country in the spirit of South African national independence.
>
> The maintenance of the existing relationship between members of the British Commonwealth is affirmed ; also co-operation with the other members of the British Commonwealth.
>
> The agreement sets forth, *inter alia*, that the Party stands for the protection of the European, the coloured and native populations against Asiatic immigration or competition but maintaining the existing rights of Asiatics now legally domiciled in the Union.

By 'Asiatics' are meant for the most part 'Indians'.

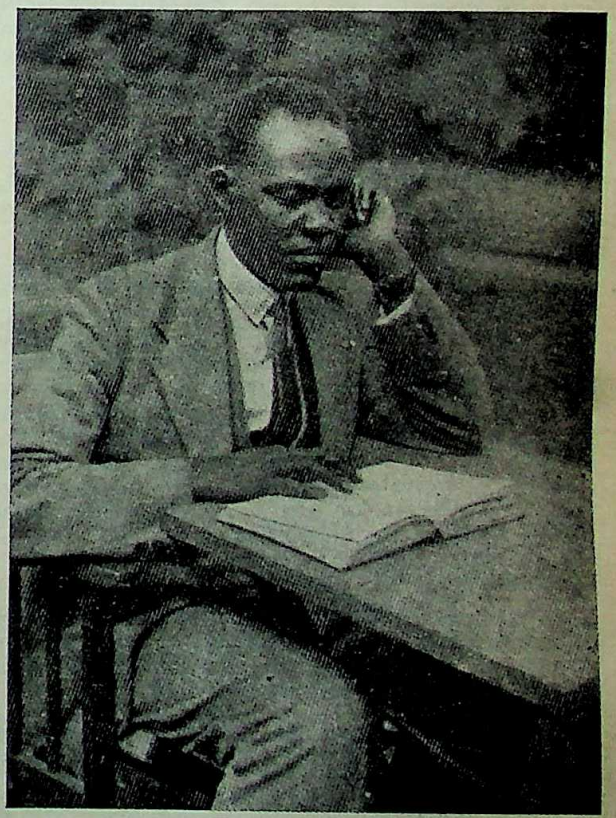
The last paragraph of the message produces the impression that in Africa it is the Asiatics, *i. e.*, Indians for the most part, who have enslaved, oppressed and exploited or intened to enslave, oppress and exploit "the European, the coloured and native populations", and so the three aggrieved parties require protection.

It is not my intention to say anything in this article in defence or elucidation of the position of Indians in any part of Africa. I want only to give the reader some facts to enable him to judge whether the white population of Africa are protectors of the native Africans. The facts will be taken from a book named *An African Speaks For His People*, by Parmenas Githendu Mockerie, with a foreword by professor Julian Huxley, published this year by Leonard and Virginia Woolf at the Hogarth Press, London.

Professor Julian Huxley says in his foreword that this volume is most definitely the personal production of the author, who is a Negro of the Kikuyu tribe. What he writes in this book is not, of course, applicable in every detail to the treatment of Africans by Europeans in all parts of Africa where Europeans are the rulers. But what Europeans have done and intend to do in Kenya is typical of their actions elsewhere in Africa.

Europeans have told the world public that they have introduced improved systems of administration. But professor Julian Huxley says :—

> "It is a surprise to most people to learn that many East African tribes were democratic in constitution, [which "provided full liberty for every citizen to express his opinion,"] and that the new system of rule by native chiefs, imposed by Government, is to them a step backward, while they regarded the native Government of Uganda, often held up as a model of indirect rule, as savouring of tyranny."



Parmenas Githendu Mockerie

But let me proceed to the book itself, which consists of six chapters on a Visit to Europe, Life in Kenya, Kikuyu Tribal Institu-

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tions, Kenya under British Rule, Education, and a Social Survey in Kikuyu, with an appendix containing the Memorandum of the Kikuyu Land Board Association. There is no trace of emotion in what the author has written. It is a calm, clear and judicious statement of facts, leading the reader to believe that Mr. Mockerie is a truthful writer.

He, with another Kikuyu delegate, went to England "to represent the Kikuyu people before the Parliamentary Joint Select Committee on Closer Union in East Africa, which was sitting in London." The two delegates left Nairobi by train to take a steamer for England. At the Nairobi station,

> Among the crowd were a few Indians and a white detective. One of the Indians discouraged me while I was shaking hands with people on the platform by saying to me, "How can these poor people succeed in their struggle; don't they realize that only money talks?" This made me think that the Indian was an enemy of our cause but I realized later when I arrived in England that he was trying to give me a hint. I replied to him that although money talks, the committee, which we were going to see, treat the representatives of the poor in the same manner as those of the rich. He may have had some experience of British politics in the past of which I had no knowledge.

This knowledge, which disillusioned him, the author acquired after reaching England, as narrated by him in the passages quoted below:

> After a few days' stay in London we learnt that the Joint Select Committee would not see any more witnesses on East African problems. The hint that I was given by an Indian at Nairobi Station that only money talks began to revive in my mind. To my surprise we received an intimation from the secretary of the Committee that the hearing of witnesses had been closed. Nevertheless we submitted the K. C. A's memorandum in which were embodied the wrongs from which Kenya Africans were suffering.

The author adds:—

> It is curious that when the memoranda which were submitted to the Committee from different individuals were published in the official Blue Book our memorandum was not included.

The future historian, depending on the infallibility of parliamentary Blue Books, will write that, though these Africans were asked to choose and send their own witnesses to the Joint Select Committee, they sent none—they did not even submit a written memorandum; whereas the fact is the witnesses were not allowed to appear before the Committee and the memorandum submitted by them was not printed in the Blue Book! Thus is history made by imperialists! This memorandum is reproduced in the appendix at the end of the book. The extracts which I shall make from it will show why it was not thought prudent to include it in the Blue Book.

Some of the author's experiences in the journey show how even educated Negroes are treated in Africa and elsewhere by Europeans.

> On our way in the train we ordered supper and asked for a table to be provided in the dining-car for both of us. The steward told us that as we were Africans (we were travelling second class) we were not entitled to use the dining-car, which was reserved for Europeans. He said that the meal could be brought to our carriage and we could eat it there. I said to him that we would not mind being served in the carriage, as the important thing was not the dining-car, but to see that our stomachs were not empty. I asked the steward how much we would pay, and he answered that our supper would cost us four shillings each, the same amount as that paid by the Europeans. He added that we would be served after them. It was very late when he brought the supper, and when I tested the soup it made me feel sick, as it was very cold, being what was left after the Europeans had been served; and afterwards I could not fall asleep because I felt hungry, for although I had paid for the supper I did not eat it.

At Magadoxo, an Italian Somaliland seaport,

> We went on the shore and tried to get a taxi to take us about the town. We could only find one, which we tried to get into, but the driver told us that it was reserved for European passengers, so we walked on and came to a street which was guarded by policemen who prevented us going through it, because the only people who could go through were Europeans.

But he is fair to the Italians. He adds:

> I was pleasantly surprised at the relations between Europeans and Africans at Massawa, an Italian Colony on the Red Sea, where I found Africans mixed with Italians in Italian hotels; this was the first time I had seen Europeans catering for Africans in their hotels.

Sometimes European Christian missionaries are more unbearable than other Europeans, because to racial arrogance a European missionary may add his "spiritual" and "theological" contempt for the heathen. The author unluckily met such a missionary in his voyage. Says he:

> On the boat we were well treated by the European passengers except by a missionary who had been in Kikuyu for sixteen years and was going to Italy for furlough. We had a little quarrel with him when he told us to stand up when a European was strolling on the deck beside us. We told him we were not acquainted with

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some of the passengers, and if we stood up whenever a European was passing we should get tired before we got to our destination. At this reply he became very angry and began to rail against African societies, how they collect funds and organise themselves and become independent of the missionaries. Next morning, when I found he refrained from speaking to me, I reminded him of the Biblical phrase "Let not the sun go down upon your anger." From this time onwards we were friendly until we left the boat.

In August 1931, when Dr. Drummond Shiels, then Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, gave a lecture at Farnham in Surrey, it was pointed out during question and discussion time that, in Kenya,

> African societies were not free to hold meetings on political and economic matters unless the organisers had a written permit endorsed by a European officer, on which the nature, place and duration of the meetings was specified ; * * *

According to recent estimates the population of Kenya consists of 3,000,000 Africans, 45,000 Indians, 12,000 Arabs, and 17,000 Europeans. To the Kenya Legislature Europeans return 11 members by election, Indians 5, and Arabs two.

> The African community has no direct representation on this official body, although its direct taxation to the Central Government is greater than that contributed by the non-Africans.

In order not to exceed the space at my disposal I have to pass over much relevant and telling matter. I shall conclude with some extracts from the memorandum which the African delegates submitted to the Joint Select Committee but which has not been printed in the Blue Book.

The Kikuyu Land Board Association which sent Mr. Mockerie and Mr. Kenyatta to England to give evidence before the Joint Select Committee, is described in its Memorandum in the following words :

> Our Association is not only gagged but crippled and tied by hands and feet, for we are not only denied the freedom of speech and press, but we are also forbidden from holding meetings and even collecting funds to enable us to make our voice reach the ears of the civilised world.
>
> Our honest efforts for making the truth known to the outside world and especially to the British people is construed as seditious and revolutionary while in reality we are rendering a real service to the British people by acquainting them with the real feelings of the people whose destinies they have taken upon themselves to rule and control. It is nothing short of treachery and trickery to make misleading and untrue statements in a flattering manner with a view to please the authorities in a manner which will win their favours.

"The Land We Lived In" is described in the Memorandum thus :

> In the days when, what is known as "Kenya Colony" was to the civilised world "Terra Incognita,".....we the Kikuyu people lived in this Country as nature meant all mankind to live.
>
> The land with ravines, the rivers, the forests, the game and all the gifts that nature has bestowed on mankind was ours and above all we had the FREEDOM.
>
> It is true our safety was endangered by the occasional inter-tribal warfare, raids by slave traders, pestilence and famine, but we often wonder if we are safe from such misfortunes today. We were nevertheless a free people in the truest sense of the word.

Then follows a description of "The Land We Live In", from which we reproduce a few passages below.

> Our land was never won by conquest, by the force of arms, nor even by peaceful penetration. There was a period when all the three nations, the French, the German and the British, sought to enter into friendly treaties with us. Some of the old Chiefs preferred the British and entered into friendly treaties, the copies of which we did not keep as we never doubted the word of the White Man, but all these treaties were forwarded to and approved by the Foreign Office. It was represented to us that the Union Jack was the symbol of Peace, Justice, Light and Liberty, and indeed these symbols can still be traced on the coins which were introduced by the Imperial British East Africa Company in the commencement.....We were told there would, as the result of the new friendship, be no more inter-tribal wars, no raids by slave-traders and that we will enjoy a perfect freedom and peace in our country.

But these simple-minded Africans have been disillusioned.

> It is true that the scourge of the inter-tribal warfare and slave-raiders' invasions have ceased in the sense we knew them before the British advent, but while the number of men who have been killed in the Great War, in which we were not in the least interested or involved, has probably exceeded the number who were killed in the local warfare for a preceding century and while we have enjoyed immunity against slave-raiders, we are expressing the true and innermost feelings of our people (which probably no chief will be frank enough to tell you, fearing that if they dare tell the truth it might result in their rank or position being reduced) when we say that it is felt that the whole nation has been enslaved in their own country without being removed along with any slave gangs, the only difference being that while the slave-traders provided the slaves with a home and were responsible for their food and upkeep, we have been robbed of our homes in our own homes and such endless restrictions have been woven round us by means of a series of foreign laws the multiplicity of which baffle even the intelligence of professional lawyers. We feel we are treated like wild animals brought into captivity for whom even the ordinary consideration of space for free movement according to the captured animals is no longer available.

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As regards deaths from disease, the Memorandum observes:

While the Medical Department has done a lot to save us from disease and pestilence the number of our people who succumbed to the ravages of the Influenza of 1919, a by-product of the Great War, has probably exceeded the number of all the victims of local disease and pestilence for a whole generation.

The Word "Reserve" is next explained:

The term "Reserve" in reality does not mean a location which has been reserved for us but in practice means an unfenced detention camp out of which we dare not move with any degree of of freedom.

As for game and fuel, etc.

We cannot dream of touching the plentiful game which was once under our domain. If we dare touch a stick of fuel in the forests which were at one time ours, we have to pay the penalty, we have to pay heavy rents and taxes for remaining in a state of captivity on a fraction of what was at one time our own land, we have lost all the cultivation land which had been dearly bought by our ancestors from the Wandorobo.

Real slavery has been introduced in a disguised form.

We are forced by various circumventing influences to submit to a form of slavery in the shape of labour which is designed to be excluded from the sophisticated definition of slavery or forced labour, but which in effect means nothing but real slavery and forced labour.

All these and various other statements in the Memorandum are supported by extracts from statements made by British administrators and missionaries.

The fact that the native Africans have been deprived of their land "has been described by the British administrators themselves as 'Robbery of Land'." This is proved by extracts from the report on Native Land Tenure in Kikuyu Province.

The Africans have no hope of undoing this "Robbery of Land".

What could our helpless people do to challenge this glaring "Robbery of Land". They were at that stage hopelessly incapable, owing to their ignorance, of making any representation to the Imperial Government to counteract the activities and hunger of the European settlers for obtaining other peoples' land, they (the Kikuyu) were certainly neither then nor are they now in a position to regain their land by the force of arms.

The reason is obvious.

Had our land been thus robbed by any other native tribes armed with similar weapons as ourselves, the Kikuyu would certainly have given their lives for their property, but confronted by the people with the latest and most formidable weapons of precision and destruction such an idea was and is unthinkable.

The result has been complete distrust of the British Government.

But forcible misappropriation of land completely shattered to pieces the confidence of the Natives for the word of the Sirkari who had promised that they had come to our land as our friends and protectors.

No wonder then that the Memorandum says:

What was originally meant and promised to be a friendly State to the British people was proclaimed a protectorate and subsequently annexed as a "Colony" in 1921! Without any consultation with or information to the aborigines.

Regarding a War Time Pledge it is stated:

When the Great War broke out and the Government was in dire necessity of men, our people were asked to supply men. We were naturally not very enthusiastic in helping a Government who had deprived us of our homes and land in the past, and it was at this juncture that a definite pledge was given to the Wakikuyu by His Excellency Sir Henry Conway Belfield, on August 20th, 1914 (S. 211) *that there will be no more interference with our land in future.*

After this promise the Africans supplied men to the Carrier Corps. How was the promise kept?

As a final reward for the war services rendered by the Kikuyu community, the Land Settlement Commission, notwithstanding the definite assurance given by the Governor on August 20th, 1914 (S. 211), recommended that 83,000 acres of the Kikuyu Reserve Land and 20,000 acres of the Forest Reserve land between Kikuyu and Kijabe should be given to the European Soldiers who had served in the same War...

Not only this, but while these [native African] men were on War service the hut and poll-tax was collected with great severity from their mothers and fathers ..

Some paragraphs are devoted in the Memorandum to the subject of "Extermination of Natives", from which I gather that in May 1917 the population of the Kikuyu Reserve was 968,703. In November 1929, the population had been reduced to 708,394, showing a decrease of 260,309.

"Out of this decrease 27,096 are traced as having gone on European firms as squatters."

These figures clearly show that...the number of Wakikuyu who have either perished or are leading a life of exile, being scattered all over Africa, is no less than 233,213. This staggering figure, showing the victims of the European invasion of our country, is enough to disintegrate any virile community, and serves as an indication of the complete annihilation of our people in the course of a short period if the process of driving us out of our homes continues by the diverse ways and means which have been at work heretofore.

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LITHUANIA, THE MYSTIC LAND OF SONGS

By A. POSKA

Editor's Note—The following telegrams appeared in the dailies last month:

Riga, June 7.

The garrison at the Lithuanian capital, Kovno, attempted a *coup d'etat* to establish dictatorship under ex-Premier Voldemaras who was exiled from the capital in February last. Censorship prevents the ascertainment of details but a semi-official report says that some firing occurred at the night time but no harm was done.

Riga, June 8.

The insurrection has failed. Voldemaras has been arrested. It is likely that the Government will be reorganized and include some of Voldemaras' adherents, perhaps Voldemaras himself.

A later telegram relating to Lithuania's ex-premier runs as follows:

Kovno, *June*, 18

The ex-Premier of Lithuania, Voldemaras, was court-martialled for high treason and sentenced to 12 years' hard labour for participation in the recent attempted military *coup d'etat*.

So little is known of Lithuania in India that the article printed below from the pen of a Lithuanian scholar now in our midst will, it is hoped, prove interesting and instructive.]

WHERE the Baltic in its bend on eastern shores washes out amber, there lies the mystical country of ever-sounding songs, Lithuania. In the past the country was entirely cut off from the rest of the world by impenetrable marshes and lakes from South-West, by thick endless forests and lakes from the East and North and by the Baltic Sea from the West.

Modern Lithuania lies between Russia, Germany, Poland and Latvia.

The *topography* is marked by low plains with some small hills covered by thick forests, marshes and turf-fields. The country is watered by the Nemunas and its tributaries.

The *climate* is semi-continental: with long rather cold and windy springs, short temperate summers, long dark, foggy and rainy autumns and chilly but bright winters. The length of day and night varies from 5 to 17 hours. Sunny days vary from 80 to 120 per year. Very dry or extremely rainy years are rare.

About three-fifths of the ground are cultivated—the rest are forests, marshes or lakes. The chief products of the country are rye, wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, vegetables and, especially, flax and linseed. Amongst the trees oak, birch, fir and pine are prominent in the forests, while pear, apple, cherry and plum trees in the gardens yield most delicious fruits. Of minerals alabaster, amber and salt are found, and there are, in some parts, very effective springs of healing, sulfuric iodized and other mineral water.

A new generation of young Lithuanian in national dress

The *inhabitants* are mesocephalic, of middle stature, strong built, with greyish blue-green eyes and light brown hairs: more phlegmatic

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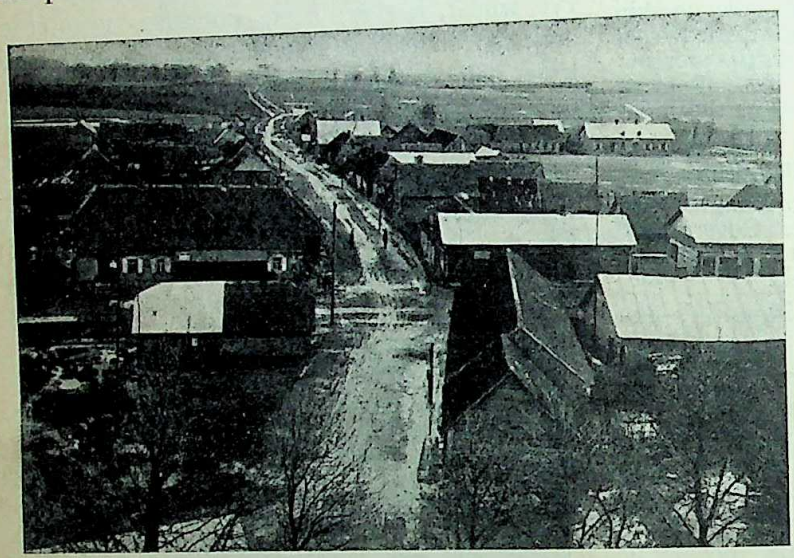
than sanguine in temper, inclined to individualism and endless optimism. Cultivation is the only occupation in Lithuania.

The *Language* is one of great antiquity, as many scholars have pointed out, extremely rich in expressions and affectionate and diminutive forms and most akin to old Indian and Persian languages still surviving in Europe.



Author's Village Home

The *Folklore* is very rich and peculiar for its mysticism-animism. The riddles and proverbs are marked by a philosophical outlook and show a keen appreciation of life and its problems. The songs are of extreme importance in Lithuanian life, and possibly Lithuania is the richest land in songs in the world.

As regards *art* wood carvings, wood architecture, linen weaving, knitting and embroidery are highly admired. In recent times, there has developed a style of painting which is fully Lithuanian in character. Lithuanians are great lovers of fine art: *everything bears ornaments and shows a very keen taste for pure art.*

The *Society* is entirely democratic: Lithuanians never recognized any distinction between themselves. No imported ideas of nobility and class has survived on Lithuanian soil.

The *Government* is a democratic Republic modelled on the Swiss and U. S. A. constitutions. The economic conditions, in spite of present depression are fair and the State budgets balanced with a surplus.

The *history of the country* on archaeological evidences tells us of the presence of man even in the last inter-glacial period. Some excavations of pit dwellings in early paleolithic age are not earlier than 6000—12000 B. C. It seems that Lithuania in this time was an island, only accessible by water from South-East, where abundance of big warship (petrified) relics are found in present-day marshes of Pinsk, Minsk and Mozurians.

The *history of the Lithuanian people* presents one of the confusing problems not yet grasped in true line of authentic speculations. Before the Lithuanians came into present-day Lithuania, there lived Northern Mongolian people, the Finns, in this land. Before the pressure of civilized Lithuanians, knowing uses of metal arts, Finns retired to northern Taiga, taking with them many improvements in stone-instrument making, stories and words. The retirement was very slow and peaceful—and even now in Finland there is very great respect for Lithuanians and deep sympathy. Songs and legends are common amongst both nations. According to Dr. J. Basanius Lithuanians came from Asia Minor *via* Balkans. The traditional mention of the Danube, mountains, vast steppes etc., also support this theory. The character of the nation is a bridge linking oriental mysticism with northern persistence and steadiness. Authentic written documents directly mentioning Lithuanians are of very late date, that is, from 10-11 century A. D. There are some allusions to the Lithuanians as Scythian cultivators in Herodotus and as the country of amber, in Homer but these have no historical value.

So the early history of the people is obscure from want of any documentary proof. But the great abundance of folklore and peculiar customs still persisting and not yet scientifically analysed, presents us with some idea of early life. Lithuanians must be

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regarded as having lived in steppes, because the old Lithuanian was an extremely good horseman. According to rather late accounts of foreigners, a Lithuanian just a year and a half old could gallop on horseback. The horse and a young Lithuanian—so to say,—almost are one and indivisible unit, as evidenced by the songs and stories. The

The Resurrection of spring. The Ice of the Nemuna river drives with them houses from distant villages

only occupation considered honourable is cultivation of land and even now a Lithuanian is ready to go to the end of the world to get some land of his own, when he loses it at home. The Lithuanian is very fond of learning, and thousands of them travelled to distant kingdoms for acquiring knowledge, rejecting material business (which is even today hated by real Lithuanians), as Lithuanian lore reminds us.

Abundance of religious songs and myths give us some idea of the early stage of Lithuanian creed, which appears to have been entirely animistic. To the old Lithuanians everything is alive, even the stone on the path suffers from the marching foot, and he associated on friendly terms with everything.

The Lithuanian mind in the past was not able to conceive the idea of the Devil—enemy of every thing good. To him every one can be hostile, if offended. Consequently, nearly every concrete noun is accompanied by its attribute or sacred name. There is no place of fear in Lithuanian psychology, as long as he is kind to every one.

Amongst later development of religion we find more concrete idea of one God in the expression of association with Nature. *Ugnis* (fire) takes offers to *Perkunas* (thunderbolt), who claims several hundreds of men, animals and houses (even now, in spite of mechanical precautions) and who is invoked in hymns as *Dievaitis* (son of God). There are half a hundred "gods" but those mythological personalities are of very doubtful existence and have no basis in Lithuanian folklore and are probably imaginative creations of early Christian missionaries. Their notice of spring and river worship, however, is based upon a foundation of facts

One of thousands of Kurgans where lie buried bones of forefathers, and where sacred fire burned in olden days

confirmed partially by modern practice in today's Lithuania.

The respect of the burial mounds, or Kurgans where the forefathers of the people found their last resting place, where in olden days eternal fire was kept burning, persists to this day. As evident from stories Lithuanians used three methods of disposing of the dead: common burning on pyre, in

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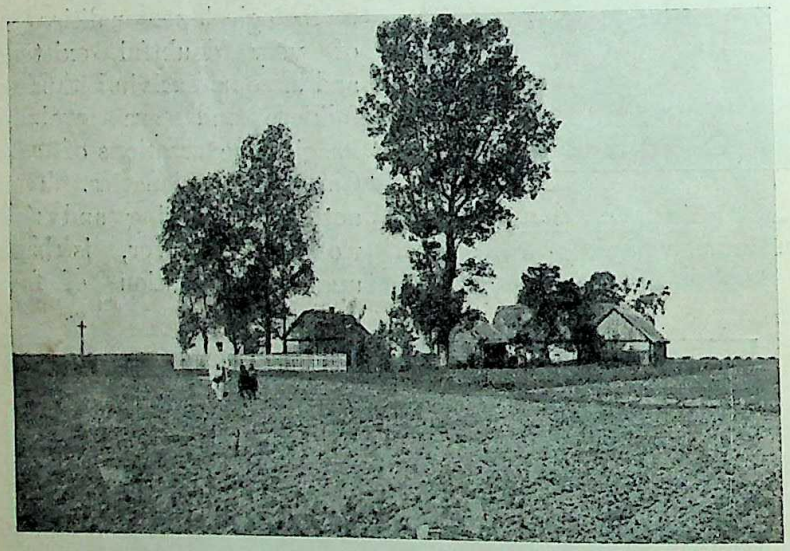
some cases hanging in the trees and burial. In connection with these funeral rituals are left, although recently Christianized, millions of wayside or cemetery crosses of very peculiar designs—from the point of view of architectural and carving art—the only adjuncts of this forgotten funeral ritual.

Even the unparalleled and eloquent legends concerning the life after death do not explain the enigma of their origin. Peculiarly oriental in character, with their very original ornaments and form of architecture, these homes for the souls of deceased ancestors, present the great problem of migration of symbols and diffusion of architectural modes. The oldest iron tops link them in design with



Typical farm in Lithuania with the cross in front of it expressing the religious feeling of the population

Buddhistic monuments of Taxila and modern iron tops of Hindu temples in Bengal and Orissa (as far as I can gather from pictures).

When the peaceful life in the thick forests, cultivated only in patches, was disturbed by invaders the Lithuanians sought refuge for their women and children, and deposited their wealth, in artificially made islands in the turf marshes and the lakes, approached by paths of stone or timber work hidden under water. the confluenee of two rivers *Dviupa* was held to be a holy place where they built an artificial mound by joining at some distance the rivers by canal and the excavated earth was used for increasing the height of the mound. These mounds, or Kurgans, are commonly of triangular in form and some yards higher than the surrounding land, and eternal fire was kept burning and other religious rites were performed there. Formerly the eternal fire was kept under thousand-year old oak trees in sacred-groves. In later days when invasions became frequent the mounds were fortified by huge oak palissades, stone and burned clay works. A bloody drama of invasion from the West was enacted nearly every year. In times of war Lithuanian women heroically defended the homes, while the men fought in distant parts of the country.

In the early stages of Lithuanian society the "elder" was priest and offered incantations, dances and flowers to *Dievas* (Deity), asking for help, or in thanksgivings. In a much later period we find regular class of "vaidilas" (actors) with a chief *Krivis* (priest) and consequently "Krivi-Krivis" (priest of priests). Later we learn of the presence of priests and vaidilas in battle-fields with the *kankli*, a musical instrument, just like the Indian *Svara-mandala*." From the earlier period we hear of the Sun as daughter of God, and the "Perkunas" (Thunderbolt) as a son of God and serpents as messengers of God, etc.,

Slowly with the non-concentration of the life in mounds, authority of Krivis became predominant and pilgrimages to such centres of fire worship *viz.*, Parusne, Satrija, Rambynas Palanga, took place, increasing the popularity of Krivis.

Lithuanians in olden days lived in farms quite apart from one another but never so far that the bark of a dog could not be heard from one home to the other. In the districts people elected the "Seniunas" (elder ones) who judged in cases of dispute.

In war time the people of the country gathered in one of the mounds of holy fire and elected 'Karalius" (king, but literal meaning, chief warrior) who as soon as war was over retired with one-third of war spoil while in peace time the chief priest or

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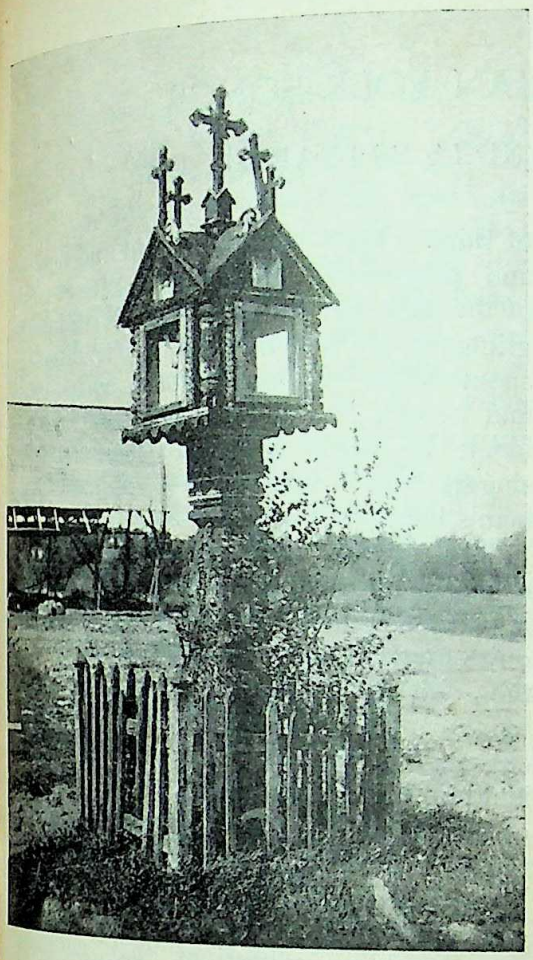

Wayside cross—chapel containing inside Christian icons originated from old Lithuanian hero cult

Place for collecting human bones washed away by rain in cemeteries

"kunigas" (priest) was a king. (Scandinavian *King*, German *koenig*, English *king*).

When continuous attacks on all sides started to subdue Lithuania, some of the *kunigaikstis* (son of priest, prince, duke) became more powerful and started to exercise their power continuously over the "Seniunas." In early 11th century A.D. Lithuania showed tendencies of becoming united, and soon the first Lithuanian life-long king Mindaugas (lit. who trampled on many) came into power and from his time expansion of the rule of Lithuanians began. Mindaugas accepted Christianity and baptized his court along with the greatest part of Lithuania. But the European crusaders, Orders of Teutons and Livonians, started to attack Lithuania again seeking to subjugate Lithuanians. When the real intentions become clear of the goal of Christian Cavaliers, Mindaugas denounced Christianity and began a 500 years' struggle against its invasion by force.

Dare to begin everything that must be done! Therein lies the greatness and the characteristic of leadership. Any one can dare to do afterwards.

—STAMMLER

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GLIMPSES OF INDIAN FOLK-SONGS

By Professor DEVENDRA SATYARTHI

INDIAN Folk-songs are a great national asset of India. Much of the kernel of the cultural heritage of India lies in them. They are the Elysian shrines of Music and Poetry with their doors open to the millions of India. Spontaneous self-expressions of the people as they are, in them we feel the joys and sorrows of the open-air life of Rural India. They help us to become more intimately acquainted with the people who work hard to obtain the necessaries of daily life.

In ancient India the life-currents of the masses always flowed in the interior, in the villages, where life still dances like a song, far away from the busy haunts of materialism. "Villages are like women," says the Poet Rabindranath Tagore.

> "In their keeping is the cradle of the race. They are nearer to Nature than towns, and are, therefore, in closer touch with the fountain of life. They have the atmosphere which possesses a natural power of healing. It is the function of the villages, like that of women, to provide people with their elemental needs, with food and joy, with the simple poetry of life, and with those ceremonies of beauty which the village spontaneously produces and in which she finds delight."

Indian saints and philosophers always preferred village-atmosphere for their universities and ashramas. For most of the poets and singers, too, villages were the only centres of life. Court-poets and singers who led town-life were very few. While the court-poets and singers enriched the classical literature of India, the country-poets and singers did a sweet and sound service to Indian Folk-Literature by composing and transmitting innumerable life-lit lyrics and melodies which are still echoing in the village-atmosphere of India. The masses have treasured them up in their minds and give them out in the shape of what we call folk-songs.

Even today country-poets and singers are not rare in Indian villages. For each event of life they compose new songs, which become popular and traditional in the course of time. They sing both old and new songs and please the masses with sweet messages of the past and the present. With interesting glimpses of mytho-heroic traditions, the spontaneous rhythms of the collective weal and woe of the nation and with the various ideals of social life, the country-poets and singers enrich the folk-heart and 'when a man's heart overflows, he sings'.

As regards the external and internal form of most of the Indian folk-songs, their language is simple and easy, similes and metaphors quite homely, metres natural and rhyming, and the objects described or referred to quite familiar. Each song has its own beauty and charm. If one is a flow of tears, the other is a cup brimful of smiles; if one is a dream of the past, the other is a spring-melody of the near future; if one is a romance of love, beauty and youth, the other is a wail of ripe old age, awaiting death. Each song has its own rambling vibrations that entertain the children of the peasantry with a novelty of method.

Dancing, too, goes hand in hand with many of the Indian folk-songs and makes them more pleasant and sweet. With the millions of simple, innocent and child-like sons and daughters of Mother India, singing and dancing is a passion, radiant with Love and Beauty. There occur refrains in many of the Indian folk-songs. They make the poetic light and shade all the more full, free and lively. It is only in these refrains that we find the truest expression of the Indian folk-songs and dances.

Indian folk-songs are India's precious 'gems of purest ray serene'. "The pathos, the fine poetry and the commonsense which are embodied in these songs of the people," says Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, "deserve to be preserved and popularized. I have no doubt that if a proper selection is made of them they will be regarded as a necessary part of the study of poetry at our universities

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Different languages are spoken in different parts of India. Each language is full of many varieties of folk-songs. There flows the Ganges of folk-songs in all parts of India and quenches the thirst of the thirsty with its sweet waters of Music and Poetry.

It is very difficult, no doubt, to reproduce in translations the original touches of rhythm, melody and local colour, which are the eminent characteristics of the folk-songs. The translations of Indian folk-songs from various Indian languages, given below, are neither very close nor too free. The writer of these lines has tried his best to reproduce the original matter and spirit of the songs.

A boatman returns home after many years and wants to please his sweet-heart with ordinary village-products—betel-leaves and nuts. Hear how she refuses to receive these love-tokens and sings :

Thy betel-nuts I will not take, O love!
Nor will I take thy betel-leaves.
Always a way-farer thou art, my love!
What love from a way-farer can I expect ?
Like an earthen pitcher is a way-farer's love
If once it breaks, O who can repair it, my love ?
Thy betel-nuts I will not take, O love !
Nor will I take thy betel-leaves,
(A Bengali Folk-song)

In the following song a maiden asks her father to choose a bridegroom for her and says what sort of bridegroom she would not like and what would she like to have :

Marry me not, O marry me not, O father !
O marry me not, to an aged man, O father !
No time shall I find to comb my hair—
Before widowhood comes to me, O father !
Marry me not, O marry me not, O father !
O marry me not, to a man in service, O father !
Orders of his master, O the orders of his master—
Will send him abroad, O father !
Marry me not, O marry me not, O father
Marry me not, O father, to a man of distant land
Offer my hand, O offer my hand, O father
Offer my hand, O father, to a shepherd of my sweet Motherland.
(A Goddi Folk-song from Kangra hills)

Here is a song, which well illustrates the heart of a love-lorn bride :

Feast upon my body, O crow !
And satisfy thy hunger :
Eat not—O eat not my eyes, crow !
For still I long to have a glimse of my love.
(A Hindi Folk-song from U. P.)

A village-swain is expressing his love for his sweet-heart :

Some sing street-songs and the others adore—
The river-bank-pebbles in their lore ;
There is a *Kacha* road in 'Utman Jaiee'
Really a life-giving thing to me,
A short path, a dirty way, no goal it has.
But the way of Paradise, the happy abode of my sweet-heart—
Springs out of this tiny path.
(A Pashto Folk-song.)

Here is a young bride putting her pathetic feelings into tune :

O none should tease me,
And none should trouble me :
I am but a friendless sparrow,
And far from here is my parental nest.
Far off are the mounds of my mother's village,
And far its pretty hills :
Far off are the transparent waters of my mother's village,
And far are its green lands.
O none should tease me,
And none should trouble me :
I am but a friendless sparrow,
And far from here is my parental nest.
(A Gujrati Folk-song.)

The bride seems to be sick of her mother-in-law's ill-treatment and her song touches pathos on the one hand, and motherly love on the other.

Here is a boatman's song :

O thou, my gem-studded boat !
At top-speed thou art going in the Airavadi :
Onward thou art going like a dancing girl,
And dancing waves of the Airavadi are following thee.
(A Burmese Folk-song.)

A village-swain is inviting his love for dancing :

Come, my love, O come, my bee !
Hand in hand shall we dance :
Believe me, my love, O believe me, my bee !
Hand in hand shall we dance.
(A Sawara Folk-song.)

Here is a shepherd's song :

On the top of that far-off hill
There stands a Jaru plant, my love !
Only two flowers—blossomed flowers there are on it,
One for thee and the other for me, my love.
(A Khondh Folk-song)

The following is a spring song :

Withered are the flowers—
Jessamine, Champa, Motia and Bela :
Nothing but dry blades of grass they are
As compared with the fresh flower of love.
(A Nepali Folk-song.)

Here are some cradle-songs :

Sleep, sleep, my child, sleep
Even the leaves—O even the leaves are asleep.
The bazar is asleep, O the road is asleep.
Sleep, sleep, my child sleep.
(A Bengaii Cradle-song.)

Weep not, my child, weep not
Smile and sing and go to sleep.

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Sleep, sleep, my child, sleep
O my honey-sweet child, sleep.
(A Marathi Cradle-song.)

Here is thy swinging cradle,
And it is hung with silken ropes :
A Nurse from Kabul hath come
To rock, my baby, thy sweet cradle.
Sleep, sleep, my baby, sleep.
In thy swinging cradle, my baby, sleep.
(A Punjabi Cradle-song.)

What is my baby made of ?
O what is my baby made of ?
Whether of gold or of silver :
O what is my baby made of ?
To thy mother thou art as dear, my baby !
As the clove, she wears on her nose.
To thy grandfather and mother thou art as dear, my baby !

As the collyrium of their eyes.
To the strangers thou art as dear, my baby !
As a little gentleman, O as a little gentleman.
Come, my baby, beating and slashing—
(Anyone who disturbs thee in thy way.)
Come after touring throughout Bihar.
(And bring for us beautiful presents)
Bring for thy mother a mokhana cloth
And for thy dear sister, a pretty sari.
Come after touring throughout Bihar
And bring for thy paternal aunt a sari made at Jagali.
(A Bihari Cradle-song.)

The Bihari mother compares her baby with some of the objects dearest to her heart and in this way shows her love for her child. Again she mentions some of the articles of finery, which are very much affected by the women of Rural Bihar.

O thou art a sweet present of my gods, my baby !
O thou art a cherished boon of my prayers, my baby !
Live long, O live long, my baby !
When once to thy mother's lap hast thou come, my baby !
To offer flowers I ran to the temple of Siva,
The Lord was pleased and I got thee, my baby !
O thou art my ready cash, my baby !
O thou art my fragrant rose, my baby !
Live long, O live long, my baby !
When once to thy mother's lap, hast thou come, my baby.
(A Gujrati Cradle-song.)

A time lamp lightens the whole house,
The moon lightens the whole sky,
A tiny lamp lightens the whole palace
My tiny child lightens the pupil of my eye.
(A Telugu Cradle-song.)

It is sad that educated Indians know very little of their folk-songs. Living in towns they have totally forgotten the weal and woe of the masses. In their own motherland, India, they are living like non-Indians. Glimpses of Indian Folk-songs will give them snap-shots of Rural India and her open-air life.

A Study in Rural Bengal (woodcut)
Artist—Mr. Narendra Kesari Roy

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WORLD FELLOWSHIP OF FAITHS

By IDA M. GURWELL

I. Brotherhood Assembled

THE World Fellowship of Faiths held in Chicago in 1933, was probably the greatest Conference ever held in the United States of America. Especially is this true from the standpoint of spiritual significance; its ramifications; and its sincere effort toward solving the problems that throughout the world confront mankind.

This great spiritual force organized in England in 1910 as the "Union of East and West," (for cultural unity); in the United States in 1920 as the "League of Neighbors," (for racial unity); and in 1924 as the "Fellowship of Faiths," (for spiritual unity); proves the World Fellowship idea has long demonstrated the power to cross Chasms of Prejudice through Understanding.

From a Parliament of Religions held during Chicago's First World's Fair, forty years ago, through successive stages has been propagated a new force, keeping pace at all times with progress. The present organization is an entity, sharing responsibility with practical religious groups as well as economic, but with a truly spiritual background. The purpose of the World Fellowship of Faiths is to unite the Inspiration of all Faiths throwing the light of religious consciousness upon present problems thereby hoping to help mankind develop a new Spiritual Dynamic competent to master and reform the world.

The opening meeting was indeed picturesque. As colourful as Grand Opera with tones and personalities as varied. Leaders from almost every known religion were here assembled. Representatives from Buddhist, Confucian, Hindu, Jain, Jewish, Mohammedan, Shinto, Sikh, Tao, Zoroastrian, and Christian. Many less known religions found a place here too, each hoping to help the world through its contribution.

The theme of the opening meeting was "Peace."

At this meeting, in the presence of men from all lands, was presented a bronze plaque in commemoration of the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact. In presenting the medal to the former Secretary, Mr. Kellogg, Prof. Charles S. Braden said,

> The Fellowship of Faiths link together the spiritual forces of the world which in their highest and best expression, have, almost without exception, condemned war and promoted peace. It is natural that in this the first World Fellowship meeting, on this day internationally known as the anniversary of the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact, we should wish to express in some public and tangible way our interest in the ideal of peace by presenting a medal to Mr. Kellogg, who in securing the signing of this pact has performed one of the most significant acts in the whole peace drama of the centuries.

There were fifty or more foreign delegates on the platform who seconded the resolution to make the 27th of August the anniversary of the signing of the Peace Pact, a day to be internationally observed as World Peace Day. An audience of twenty-five hundred people, enthusiastically and unanimously adopted the resolution. Greetings came from many eminent men who could not be present: Mahatma Gandhi, Sir Oliver Lodge of England, Romain Rolland of France, Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson of England, and others. Some of the messages were read. It is impossible to do more than give a part of these messages.

Mahatma Gandhi said.

> Fellowship of Faiths attainable only by mutual respect in action for Faiths.

Sir Oliver Lodge cabled:

> What Nations have to realize is the guiding and helpful power of the Spiritual World.

The message received from Romain Rolland of France is vibrant. His words blaze; his sentences flow with the force of spring floods. He says,

> There is no thought, real, living, complete, without action. He who acts his thought must in his action as in his thought, reach always toward the universal, toward the Truth and the Life, not of one alone, but of all beings. One is the more alive the more one embraces life—the more one's own well-being enlarges to become the well-being of others, and the duty of those most

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alive, is to nourish with their substance those less alive. The sublime cry of Vivekananda—'My God! the suffering people'—is a fitting appeal to our energies. He who loves God let him defend Him among the millions of those who are oppressed by injustice and social inequality.

Rt. Honourable Arthur Henderson of England, President of World Disarmament Conference, Geneva, in his message gives definite thought to freedom, justice and progress, which are essential conditions of a truly civilized society. He says,

> I pray that the gathering of the representatives of all faiths this year will mark the turning of the tide and bring about a revival and regeneratoin of the spiritual powers and agencies by which the civilization of all mankind will be promoted.

Then came the following greeting, in part, from Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahamad, Khalifa-Tul-Masih II, Head of the Ahmadiyya Movement in Islam, Qudian, India :

> I am deeply interested in the aims and objects of the World Fellowship of Faiths, for in these I see a fulfilment of the declaration made by the Holy Quarn 1350 years ago, namely, that there is no nation in the world to which a prophet of God has not been sent, and that unmixed evil can never find a lasting foothold in the earth..One who seeks the triumph of his own faith by finding fault with others, is woefully misguided.
>
> Those, therefore, who strive to keep people acquainted with the truth, that every faith possesses some beauty in one form or another, render a meritorious service in keeping the standard of Truth erect. It is for this reason that I think the World Fellowship of Faiths is rendering a great service to the world, and it is necessary that the efforts of this movement shall be extended and helped in all parts of the world.

General Executive Kedarnath Das Gupta, of India, England, and America, opened the first meeting with an ancient Sanskrit invocation. Mr. Charles Frederick Weller, another General Executive, presided.

One of the outstanding individuals of this meeting, and a man who contributed his inspiration throughout the entire Conference was Raja Jai Prithvi Bahadur Singh, a Prince of Nepal. His opinion of the World Fellowship of Faiths is quoted from his brief talk :

> This first World Fellowship of Faiths will be recognized as the most outstanding event of the century. What the Economic Conference in London has recently undertaken in the field of practical politics and International Industry, this organization is undertaking in the basic field of human consciousness and conviction—those inner spiritual forces which determine the outward practical activities of individuals, races and nations.

The hour grew late. There was not time to hear even the brief greetings from all the delegates present on this the opening night, so these talks were postponed until later meetings, when all were given a chance to be heard.

What an assemblage! As the sessions continued throughout the weeks, two and three daily, jaded religionists were whipped into thoughtful and unselfish action through the rousing words of the speakers, and every mind and heart attuned to the significance of the Conference. No one could doubt that here were meetings of great importance in shaping the social and religious life of the future, and that the outcome could not be other than International in scope ; and Universal in purpose.

II. Chaos and Cosmos

In introducing His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, India, who had come to America expressly to deliver the opening address of the World Fellowship of Faiths, Mr. Charles Frederick Weller, General Executive and Chairman for the evening, said :

> The world has long known and honoured His Highness as one of the most progressive of the Princes, ruling a great ancient Kingdom of more than 8,000 square miles, with a population of more than 2,000,000 people. He is reported to be one of the world's richest men. We are especially interested in the fact that he introduced compulsory education into his kingdom twenty-five years ago; that he has developed a special cabinet minister to promote moral education and training among his people; that he is a great philanthropist and social reformer; that while staunch and true to his own Faith as a Hindu, he built a mosque in his State for the Moslems and supports the orthodox Hindus by his fellowship with the untouchables; that he thinks and feels deeply upon religion and holds, with the World Fellowship of Faiths, that a new Spiritual Dynamic must be developed competent to master and transform the world.

Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda arose amid colourful surroundings. The East and West joined in the Hindu Salute, repeating the words :

> With my heart and my head,
> I salute the soul in you.

On the huge platform were seated representatives from nearly every Faith, Race and Country in the World. In the vast audience of twenty-five hundred people, were many

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men, citizens of the World. Dark-skinned brothers from other lands; devotees of the arts and students of higher civilizations; scholars registering from America, but hoping to gain as much worthwhile, worldwide knowledge as possible; sophisticated economic leaders (for the Prince is rated a very rich man); religionists broad and fine with an occasional one steeped in orthodoxy almost as solidified as the so-called traditions of the East. This vari-coloured assembly to a man, had come to receive the message of the East, and it must be admitted, the more curious, to know what a prince, a wealthy one, could possibly have to say about Religion in a Changing World, or for that matter Religion in any world.

After the salute, His Highness, opened the Convention with an address, "Religion in a Changing World." In this talk he proved his knowledge of the Chaos throughout the world, but that he too recognized the Cosmos emerging:

I am deeply sensible of the honour you have done me in calling me to open this great Conference. It is, I think, a tribute to my ancient Mother India, truly a Grandmother of Religions: and I am a Grandfather many times, perhaps I may address you in words which come out of a long life's experience.

This is a great time to be alive.

"Once more Mankind has struck its tents: Humanity is on the march," said General Smuts two years ago; and every passing month makes the words more significant. But does mankind know whither it is going?

We are in an age of ferment and chaos--but age of transition and awakening. As Lord Irwin said to us in India, "We need a change of soul." This is true not only in India. Science has united the world, but it is divided socially, economically and politically. Can religion accomplish what is spiritual, and therefore its cultural, unification? Or, to put this in a catchword, "Man has become smarter, can he become more decent?" Can he change the furniture of his mind to suit the new world in which he finds himself? Can he rise to a new scale of values? Can he analyse the farthest planet—can he organize the one he lives on?

He needs religion to inspire and to instruct him—but if religion is not to be a hindrance it must put its own house in order.

May we not say that it needs first "decoding" that the modern man may understand it, and then "debunking" that the modern man may respect it.

Every great religious movement starts by this transvaluation and translation into the vernacular. Buddha transformed Brahminism by emphasizing the human values, and by talking as the people talked. Today we need to re-define much. India has its superb definition of the Godhead—Sat Chit Anand—Reality, Mind, Bliss. But these words are used in so transcendental a sense that all human values become relative. We need to insist that the Absolute expresses Himself in Time and Space, that the world we live in is real, that the mind that knows it is of the same essence as the mind that planned it—the mind of a mathematician and a poet; and still more that our bliss is His bliss, our sorrow His sorrow. God is Reality then, and Mind and Joy; and the world is His garment—His thought, His means of expressing His joy in creation. We blaspheme Him if we call it Maya, Illusion: and I assure you we are not all Shankaras and mystics in India. We have our Materialists even, and many many Realists. If we have no Woolworth Towers and Chicago Fairs, we have Gwallior Forts and Delhi Mosques. If we do not worship the dollar, we talk much of pice. The real practical Indian mind has been perverted by over-subtlety, but our great laymen, Sakyamuni, Krishna, Gandhi, and our humble saints, Kabir, Tukaram, Tulsidas have given us what I believe you call horse-sense, and called us back to reality and to the human values. These are the practical idealists of India.

Our Indian Ethic, great in its recognition of the four stages in life, and of a duty for each class in the community, has been stultified by the emphasis on Maya, by the selfishness of Brahmins, by the hardening of class into caste, and by the dominance of the priestly and the world-denying groups. Today Ethics are asking religion: "What can be more real than Goodness—more saintly than Service?"

The real mind of India is re-asserting itself, and "Shudra" is today becoming not a term of reproach but an honourable title and "Mahatma" implies friend of the poor: "our Great Soul" must be also "Great Heart".

Man must work for mankind *in* the world, not out of it: He must take his place gladly and frankly "at the festival of life", as our poet says.

To do a man's work in an unselfish spirit is to find God, says the Gita.

It is men of such spirit that have built up "This brave New World"; but through self-will—Trishna or Tanha—we are wrecking it, as Gita and Buddha insist.

The men of science, the doctors, the engineers, the social reformers, the religious seers, these are making all things new—fellow-workers with God; but selfishness, race-hatred, narrow nationalism and greed have thrown all into chaos.

Yet a new Cosmos is emerging: God is at work. He is a democratic King, and asks our help. He recognizes no hierarchy but that of

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service. "He that is greatest, let him be the servant of all." He *is* greatest who serves most.

Democracy means also the emergence of the common man, and his rights, the demand of the backward peoples for a place in the Sun. And alike in East and West, tyranny and humbug are challenged, for they deny these rights.

We in Asia see that race-prejudice may yet destroy the Commonwealth, that caste has been so perverted that it has brought India low. Once a matter of economic division of function, it is now a network of taboos, and varying degrees of untouchability are the outcome. All Indian patriots—Brahmins and Kshatriyas leading—must roll away this reproach.

For today the emphasis is on personality, and caste which denies the right to every man to rise to his full stature, began with a ringing affirmation that from the Great-Being's own Person all the castes arose—for mutual service. This Purusha-Sukta is recited daily at every Vaishnavite altar; but poetry has stiffened into prose, and a divine sanction is found for irreligious and immoral taboos. Where the hymn says that Brahmins were the mouthpiece it has been interpreted to mean that they are the brain.

The hymn insists that Society is an organism —and as in the body, one organ is as important as another. Our present rigid caste-system (which has grown up partly as a natural growth but largely as an unnatural one) denies this, and it must go; we too desire that any boy or girl may rise to the highest rank. "Shall the foot say to the hand, or the brain to the heart, I have no need of thee?" There is no higher or lower—all are servants. All over the world religion is being challenged by the developing ethical ideals of mankind; religion that is un-ethical is a curse, not a boon. Yet religion is needed and will survive—for man is incurably religious. If there were no God, he would invent One. He is incurably inquisitive. If there were no First Cause, he would find One.

Religion is more than such quests. It is a cry for life, a yearning for reality, a demand for loyalty. Man needs a simple, strong, sincere and serene faith. He needs a rousing call to forget self, and to triumph over sense.

Christianity calls men to crucify the lower self. But it is paralysed by the snobbery and colour-bar of Christians. It can do much if it recovers its true fundamentals—Love of a loving God, and love of men who are brothers.

We in India affirm that all creatures are one; but we have lost our sense of proportion. We spare malarial mosquitoes, and plague-bearing rats, but we bear heavily on the human family, and do harm to millions of our fellow men. We must pray to be led back from the unreal to the real, from darkness to light, from exaggeration to balance. There is no God higher than the Truth, no Beauty without harmony.

What can true religion do? It is the pursuit of absolute values; and so it can insist that in an age of transition and chaos, certain values such as faith, hope, love, certain great principles such as partnership and self-sacrifice abide. Religion is also the quest for reality and life. It must get rid of shams, and the dead hand of tradition and taboo, if it is to live and to be real. Again it must express itself simply and clearly, so that the wayfaring man and the needy masses see it as bread and not a stone; it must remember the poor and ignorant.

Perhaps the greatest problems of our time are peace and employment. Can religion cut at the roots of war, greed, exploitation, and at the roots of poverty and unemployment? Can scientific and religious men organize this planet as a unity? Can he ration the raw materials of the world in the interests of our common humanity? If so, and only if so, can he achieve peace and set the hungry millions to work?

Our economic and political problems are ethical and spiritual problems. For man is spirit and cannot live by bread alone. What shall he give in exchange for his soul?

I quote these great sayings of Jesus, whom all religions honour: We can all unite in "The Lord's Prayer", in the Beatitudes, and in the parable of the Lost Son. And each religion knows that it too has a word in season, and a contribution to the well-being of personality and of humanity at large. We, in India, remember our ancient and ever-renewed quest for reality and light even when we remind ourselves that we must find it not in some vague Absolute, but in life here and now.

We remember our insistence on Ahimsa—not injury, even as we re-define it, and realize that exploitation and frustration are themselves injury, and that the innocent is one who does good, not merely one who refrains from doing evil.

China, too, with her strong sense of human values, begins to remember the poor man, and to enlarge her idea of brotherhood: not only "all within the four seas," but all men everywhere are brothers. Mandarins and Brahmins no less than capitalists and imperialists have forgotten this human brotherhood. In it lies the solution of most of our problems. We have a common fatherhood. Nature or God has made of one blood all nations, and the religions believe. He is making the world a neighbourhood; we must realize who is our neighbour. Jesus said that he who acts like one is a real neighbour. Buddha said that he who acts nobly is a nobleman. Confucius said that the true gentleman is at home in any society. Today we may learn from all. God is ploughing deep furrows, that the seed may make an effective growth. He is making all things new, that righteousness may flourish and war cease, and the world become one.

You are wise and far-sighted in organizing this Federation of Faiths: let each put its own house in order, and let each bring out of its

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treasury things new and old for the healing of the nations. What better expresses the spirit we need than the saying of the Chinese Mystic twenty-five centuries ago: Activity without Assertiveness: Production without Possessiveness: Direction without Domination? This is very Christian, and we in India claim that we are by nature akin to the Christian ideal; we also acknowledge that Christ has challenged us to make our religion simpler and better.

You who call yourselves by the name of Christ may also learn from many who do not, not only from the august company of the great Teachers but from present-day Leaders of the Asiatic Renaissance. Let us humbly and in the spirit of partnership combine against the common enemies, Ignorance, Selfishness and Materialism. Religions may differ but Religion is one.

If we are servants of God's creation we are His friends and fellow-workers. In bearing one another's burdens we become partners in His Bliss.

To Him be the Honour and Glory.

III. By What Name?

One of the General Executives of the World Fellowship of Faiths is Kedarnath Das Gupta of India, England, and America. He held an important place in this Conference. His scholarly attitude, as well as the earnestness of his efforts to make the World Fellowship of Faiths a memorable success, was greatly appreciated by everyone present. His vision, his hopes, his plans were so unselfish in their aims and purpose, that we wish to feature Mr. Das Gupta's work in this article.

This man from the East has a wide knowledge of Religions. Through this knowledge, he compiled for use during the Conference, prayers from the eleven leading religions of the World, in addition to an Invocation and a Benediction. This could not help but foster religious study, and one can think of no work done by any member of the Committee that did more to bring about a better understanding of all religions.

We have been told that it is not prayer but the attitude of prayer that is important. One in comparing the prayers compiled from the great Religions of the world—those religions that have stood the spiritual test of centuries—from the view-point of the true religionist, and a believer in equal good to all peoples, might do well to observe the *distinctive resemblance*, rather than the *individual points of difference*. There appears to be little divergence in the greater, underlying principles of Religions. True the Christian religion divides honours with Christ, but God still remains the Father, which to Christianity means the head of the family. I think it was one of India's Great leaders, who in a tribute to Jesus of Nazareth said, "We can all unite in The Lord's Prayer, in the Beatitudes, and the Parable of the Lost Son." Emerson said, "Let a man believe in God and not in names, places and persons." Probably the truly religious can repeat the prayers of all Faiths as if they were his own.

In compiling these prayers, probably Mr. Das Gupta did more than he knew. He brought into unity the souls of those present, and created a theme for each meeting that, regardless of discussion of worldly and material subjects, kept those who participated spiritually attuned.

Many great leaders have said, "*Religions* may differ but *Religion* is one." There can be no monopoly on great truths. They come to us through various channels. That God exists for you in one form, impressing Himself upon your consciousness as a different picture than mine, is not so important. It would seem the important truth is: *That God exists.* I can think of no meetings I have ever attended that brought me so soulfully into the possession of this knowledge, which, it would seem, forms the basic truth of *all* Religions.

The prayers so devoutly repeated at many of the meetings of the Conference, did much to unite the inspiration of *all* Faiths.

We do not attempt to explain the meaning of the prayers. They are simple and direct. Each person probably reads into them the meaning that falls within his own religious experience. One does note similarity.

Invocation

Teach us, O Lord, to see Thy life in all men and in all the peoples of Thine earth.

Buddhist

All praise be to the Lord, the Holy One,
Perfect in Wisdom.
I go to The Enlightened One for refuse,
I go to the Law for refuge.
I go to the Brotherhood for refuge.

Christian

Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be
Thy name,

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Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth,
as it is in heaven.

CONFUCIAN

Oh revere! Oh revere! God is glorious.
Help me to bear this burden on my shoulders.
And show me the glorious virtue and conduct.

HINDU

Let us meditate upon the adorable light
of the Divine Vivifier.
May He direct our minds.

JAIN

Adorable to the Lord, the Destroyer of foes, the Supreme Ruler, the King of those who have attained Victory.

JEWISH

Hear, O Israel, the Lord is our God, the Lord
is One.
Blessed be His Name Whose glorious Kingdom
is for ever and ever.

MUHAMMADAN

There is no Deity but God.
All praise be to God, the Lord of all the worlds.
The Merciful, the Compassionate,
The Master of the Day of Judgment.

SHINTO

All ye men who dwell under heaven!
Regard all beings as your brothers and sisters.
You will then enjoy this divine country,
Free from hate and sorrow.

SIKH

The One Supreme Being whose name is Eternal
Truth,
The Creator, the Spirit, devoid of fear and enmity,
Immortal, Unborn, Self-Existent, the Enlightener,
the Bestower of Grace.
Glory be to Him.

TAO

To know the Eternal is enlightenment.
The Divine Way is the asylum of all things.
The good man's treasure, the bad man's last
resort.

ZOROASTRIAN

Blessed was the Thought, and blessed was the Word, and blessed was the Deed of the Holy One.
Purity is the best gift. Happiness is to him who is pure for the sake of purity.

BENEDICTION

From Unreality lead us to Truth. From Darkness lead us to Light. From Death lead us to Immortality.

Winged thoughts grew out of the strength of these prayers, and were like carrier pigeons flying to the furthermost corners of the earth. They were un-named as to Religion, Race, or Country. They came through the medium of thinking humanity to be hopefully used for the benefit of mankind.

[*Note*—In the next article on World Fellowship of Faiths, written by Ida M. Gurwell for *The Modern Review*, she will write about the un-orthodox groups entering the Parliament of Religions, and tell of their importance, and equalizing influence. "Exit Orthodoxy" will be the title of the next article, "Hostess Chicago" and "To all Intent" being the concluding articles.]

SOVEREIGN BALM

BY VERRIER ELWIN

One night as in my little hut I lay,
With fever burning, lonely and afraid,
There fluttered down a tiny bird of day
Into my hands and on my heart was laid.

Its nest some snake marauding did invade;
And seeking safety, through the dark it came
To the warm light, and lonely and afraid
Put its cold heart to seek my comforts flame.

And when I felt its quivering body near,
So great a peace enveloped me that I
Seemed distantly a loving Voice to hear;
'My child, what meaneth this anxiety?

Lo! not one tiny bird to earth can fall,
Not e'en a hair of all that I have made,
Without My knowledge who regardeth all,
And on My heart thou too art ever laid.'

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RURAL RESEARCH IN TAGORE'S SRINIKETAN

By HASHIM AMIR ALI, PH.D.

Introduction

SRINIKETAN or the Institute of Rural Reconstruction established as a branch of the Visva-Bharati—the International University founded by Rabindranath Tagore—has played an important part in the field of rural research in India since the time when the need of such work was hardly recognized in other parts of this country.

The moment one takes a practical step in rural reconstruction, one realizes the paucity of data pertaining to the rural problem and the general ignorance prevailing with regard to our villages. And Sriniketan being one of the earliest experiments in that line it is easy to see how the need of rural research came to be appreciated by its workers long before it had gained the general acceptance which it now enjoys all over India. In fact Dr. Nagen Ganguli who, by his writings and speeches in London, persuaded the British Government to institute the Royal Commission on Agriculture began his career at Sriniketan as early as 1915 and long before Sriniketan had become a public institution. Later, when, by the help of finances from sympathetic English and American friends, Sriniketan became the Institute of Rural Reconstruction, others who took up the work felt the urgency of rural research to an equal degree and did their best towards collecting and publishing data of rural interest. This work has been carried on more or less according to the facilities available at different times throughout the chequered history of the Institution.

The earliest attempts at scientific analysis were those of a young Englishman, Arthur Geddes, who, in 1923, collected a considerable amount of data pertaining to rural sociology and presented it as a thesis called *Aus Pays de Tagore*, to the Montpellier University in the south of France. Unfortunately this work, being in French, has not come to be known to many persons in India. Another worker Mr. Advani, who was at Sriniketan at about the same time, was able to make a similar analysis of some villages in Sindh and he also obtained a doctor's degree from the same university. A little later came Dr. R. K. Das who is now employed in the League of Nations. He too was able to write up a book called *Production in India* from the data he collected while at Sriniketan. And after he was called away to his present more important position at Geneva, Sjt. Kalimohan Ghose, the Superintendent of village work, aside from his other duties, was able to collect and publish data pertaining to two villages, Ballabhpur and Raipur in the neighbourhood of Sriniketan.

In 1931 the need of a more scientific outlook in the analysis of village problems was again felt by those responsible for Sriniketan and two research fellowships were established by Mr. Elmhirst—one for economic research and the other for educational research. That same year came Dr. Harry Timbres, lent to the Institute by the Friends' Society of England, for research in rural health, so that during the last three years a considerable amount of data has been collected, some which has already been published while a great deal is ready for the Press. While much of it consists of detailed facts and figures there are many findings of general interest as well and it is the presentation of such findings by the economic research section that is the aim of the present paper.

The Scope of Rural Economic Research

Now rural economic research is of three kinds. The first kind consists of research in *agricultural production*. Since India at present is predominantly an agricultural country and her villages have come to depend almost entirely upon agriculture, this field of ecomomic research becomes very important. Second is that branch known as the *Rural Survey*. It is considered by some, with considerable justification, that an analysis of production alone does not indicate the standard of living in the villages. And since this should be the most important aim of rural economic research, we should lay more emphasis on a more comprehensive analysis of the economic condition of *village families* and thereby get certain indices to help us in understanding the fundamental economic problem of village life. The third kind of rural economic research is difficult to label with a name. It is contended by some, that mere facts and figures pertaining to village economic life are not sufficient; they present merely the skeletal basis of rural society and are devoid of the human touch: what is needed is the analysis of village psychology, for after all it is not only economic conditions but the human conditions that we want to understand and for any rural work to be successful, it is that understanding which is essential. According to this theory a book like the Late Rev. Lal Behari Dey's *Bengal Peasant Life* throws more light on the rural problem of a hundred years ago than all

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the rural surveys of the twentieth century are able to do on our present day rural problems.

It is difficult to say which of these three kinds of rural research is more important, for one can easily see that all three are necessary. The best thing to do therefore is to try and analyse village life in all these three ways and devote as much attention to each kind according to the facilities available for carrying it on. We shall now try to see what each of these three lines of research have led to at Sriniketan.

Research in Agricultural Production and Marketing

Since the most important agricultural crop for Bengal is rice, considerable attention was given to the economic analysis of that crop and the first three of the Visva-Bharati Rural Studies deal with rice alone. Then comes a study on subsidiary crops of the region followed by one dealing with the post-War fluctuations in agricultural prices.

Rice Yields and Malaria

The first study on rice is perhaps the most interesting. The analysis of rice yields recorded by Sjt. Jagabandhu Pal, a local zamindar, for the past 40 years have brought to light some valuable data and also indicated certain very unexpected tendencies. After working with several thousand figures for nearly six months, the maximum, minimum and average yields obtained for the crop have been established and it is found that even the annual average yield for a village varied from only 3.1 mds. of paddy per acre in 1915 to as much as 29.7 mds per acre in 1898. But while such fluctuations were noted between one year and another the general trend was neither upward nor downward. Subjecting these figures to statistical methods, the fertility of the soil seemed to be constant throughout the 40 years giving an average paddy yield of 16.2 mds. per acre,* and it was evidently the effect of some variable factors that caused annual fluctuations.

But which of the many factors were most potent in determining the yield of rice? Naturally we expected the figures for rainfall, available for an almost equally long period to give us a correlation. But no; neither the figures for the annual rainfall nor the figures for the rainfall of different months of the monsoon taken separately, none of them gave a significant correlation. Either the figures were not accurate or perhaps the amount of rainfall in Bolpur, two miles away, had little effect upon the yield of rice in Bahadurpur, the yields of which our study dealt with. Or, perhaps the yield of rice depends upon the rainfall of particular weeks of the monsoon only. Whatever the causes we could not establish a significant statistical correlation between rainfall and yield of rice in Bahadurpur village.

Then we tried to correlate the health figures for the past 30 years with the yield figures for that period, but with hardly any better results. The number of excess births over deaths, or the number of deaths in the region did not show any correlation with the yield of rice. But finally, the figures that did show a correlation with the yield of rice were those pertaining to the number of *Fever Deaths* in Bolpur Thana. In other words, it is not how many people die, but rather how many *people die of fever that seems to matter* in connection with local agriculture. And this is plausible too, for, death in itself, unless it is extremely widespread, is not likely to affect agriculture. An epidemic of cholera or small pox carries away a large number of people in a few weeks, but that cannot generally be expected to affect the general yield of land. What would affect the general yield, however, would be prolonged illness of a large proportion of the population continuously throughout the cultivation season, for this would tell upon the intensity of care and cultivation bestowed upon the crop. And this is exactly what the number of deaths from fever stands for. When many have died of fever in a particular year, we know that many more must have suffered over a long period, and agriculture must have suffered also.

Some people have before now tried to establish the correlation between malaria and agriculture. Dr. Bentley, the erstwhile Director of the Public Health Department of Bengal, was the foremost worker in this line. In his book *Malaria and Agriculture in Bengal* (1925) he has given many instances where a relation between the increase of malaria and the deterioration of agriculture is quite evident. For example he has shown the connection between the increase of population and the decrease of fallow land in the Dacca Division where there is no fever, and along with it he has shown how in Burdwan Division where there is excessive malaria the fallow land has increased and so on. But this study pointing out the influence of malaria on the *Yield of rice per bigha* over a period of nearly 40 years provides a more conclusive proof and a clearer indication of the deterioration of agriculture due to malaria in this Province. As far as economic research goes nothing more could be expected and it is left for statesmen and governments interested in economic development to realize how their efforts are handicapped by non-economic phenomena and to do their best in overcoming them.

Yields of Different Varieties grown in a Single Village

The second piece of research in agricultural production carried out by Sriniketan during the last two years consisted of finding out the yields

* The details of this piece of research work are given in *Sankhya*, the Indian Journal of Statistics, Vol. 1. No. 2., and also published as Visva-Bharati Rural Study No. 1.

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and other qualities of the different varieties of rice grown during a single year in a near-by village. The importance of such a study cannot easily be appreciated. The villagers generally think that they know all about the yields of rice and those to whom Government Forecasts and Reports are at hand cannot see of what use such a survey can be. And yet this study, based upon the measurements of yields from 109 plots, and dealing with 24 varieties adds a great deal of information to what was already known and even contradicts some of the data that were, so far, all that we could go by. For example, it shows for each variety the relative importance in a single village, the husking quality, the points to be considered in its evaluation, the market prices and finally the variations in yield. The average yield for the year in which the study was carried on, was found to be 12.39 maunds per acre, and considering that the average for nearly 40 years was 16.2 mds. per acre and further that large fluctuations from year to year are a common phenomenon, we surmise that this year's crop was, to use the village terminology, a twelve-anna crop.

But, taking even the average of 16.2 mds. per acre as the yield obtained in the region we find that it is far below that of several other places as shown in the following figures obtained from different year-books for 1931-33.

	Yields	
Spain	63.9 mds.	Rough Rice
Japan	36.3	
U. S. A.	21.2	
British India	16.2	Paddy
Coorg	21.5	
Bombay	18.2	
Bengal	15.2	
Chittagong	17.2	
Birbhum	13.8	

In other words while the figures obtained in these two studies more or less corroborate the figures for India as given by Government Crop Reports, they seem to be far below those of some other countries like Spain and Japan for which the figures given pertain to rough rice. Nor can we say that these high yields in those countries are likely to be due to particular varieties and other special facilities such as those of irrigation, manuring, etc., that are not available here; for even under our ordinary conditions of cultivation, in fact in this very year when the general crop was considered below the average, one of the plots yielded as much as 26.25 mds. of paddy per acre, and in the former study we had found that during 3 years 1906, 1922 and 1927 certain plots had yielded even as much as 24 mds. per acre. It is clear, therefore, that while there are enormous possibilities in the way of obtaining higher yields in our country, the average yield of our land is hopelessly low.

Here again the duties of the research worker in agricultural economics end. It is for economic botanists, officials of the Agricultural Departments and rural reconstructionists to see how yield could be increased. But one suggestion might be hazarded. If we could somehow give recognition to those who get large yields of rice—for example, by offering prizes and having annual lists of those cultivators who obtain the maximum yields in each district, etc.,—there is likely to be a greater desire to practise more intensive agriculture than merely the money value of a higher yield is likely to offer.

The Rice Industry

The third piece of research on rice deals with marketing, milling and export. One of the post-graduate students at Sriniketan has studied these phases of the rice industry as seen in the neighbouring town of Bolpur and by bringing together historical data, by determining the sphere of influence which a single industrial centre comes to have, by compiling figures for local consumption, trade and export of rice and finally by giving some details regarding the profits obtaind by rice mills in the area, he has not only been able to present in concise form a fairly thorough analysis of the situation but has also been able to evolve a method which could profitably be followed in similar analyses elsewhere. This study closes with an account of the influence of the rice mills on local economy and also brings to light certain social problems that are arising with the advent of machinery. It has too much of general information to be condensed here, but this too is published as the third in the series of Visva-Bharati Rural Studies.

Yields of Subsidiary Crops

Although rice occupies 95 per cent of the cultivated area in the region of the Visva-Bharati, the money value of the crop amounts to only about 84 per cent of the agricultural produce. The remaining 16 per cent of agricultural wealth is obtained from sugarcane, potatoes, wheat, pulses and some vegetables. Now, with the decline in the market value of rice, the problem of increasing the area under subsidiary crops and introducing new crops becomes all the more important. After having studied the various economic phases of rice cultivation, therefore, a preliminary survey was made for the subsidiary crops and their respective yields were obtained from Bahadurpur village. Aside from giving a general idea of the situation the study showed the great differences between the yields of different varieties of sugarcane. The Coimbatore and Java varieties used by some villagers yielded about 60 mds. of *gur* per acre and the local varieties yielded only half that amount. And yet year after year a large number of people cultivated, or perhaps had to cultivate, the local varieties and deny themselves an income twice as much as they get. This study too has

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shown a distinct approach to the economic problem of village life.

Post-War Fluctuations in Agicultural Prices

The problem of post-War fluctuations in agricultural prices as applying to India as a whole and to the Indian provinces separately, has already been studied by others. But what seldom interests economists is the existence and characteristics of the same phenomenon as seen in smaller towns and rural areas. To study this side of the problem, therefore, monthly fluctuations in the prices of various agricultural commodities were obtained from several merchants in the town of Bolpur. But by themselves these figures would mean little. They have to be compared with similar fluctuations in the wholesale or retail markets in larger trade centres before they can become significant. Such a comparative study is being carried out in the Statistical Laboratory under the supervision of Prof. P.C. Mahalanabis and will be published in *Sankhya*, the Indian Journal of Statistics as soon as it is prepared. Sriniketan, however, has done its share in the initiation of the study whatever conclusions it might bring out.

RURAL SURVEYS

The second phase of rural economic research, we said, was covered by what is known as the rural surveys. Two such village surveys for Ballabhpur and Raipur had already been carried out before 1931, by Sjt. Kalimohan Ghosh, the Superintendent of the Village Work Department. Seven other village surveys have been completed since but the villages dealt with in these were selected to represent different types. Further since a rural survey, embracing all phases of rural life, would have been too ambitious a project and likely to end in nothing definite, it was considered more advisable to limit the scope chiefly to the analysis of economic data collected from each of the families in the selected villages, and try to ascertain if certain valid generalizations could be obtained regarding the economics of village life in the region.

For this purpose, two of the advanced students who had been given some training in research work were stationed in the selected villages and were asked to fill in the printed questionnaires only after they had themselves become more or less familiar with the people of the village.

Thus we obtained information pertaining to some 447 families distributed in five different villages and three small Santal *bastis*. Of the five villages, the first, Goalpara, is predominantly a Brahmin village; the second, Bahadurpur, is a village in which a fairly well-to-do zamindar resides; the third, though named Islampur, has not a single Mussalman and is in fact a predominantly Sadgop village; the fourth, Benuria, presents a decadent Kulu village; the fifth, Lohagar, is a Mussalman village and the sixth village economic survey deals with three groups of Santals inhabiting the same region. After all these were completed a seventh and last study was made by making a comparative analysis of the data obtained from all those preceding it.

These village surveys, aside from giving some fairly reliable information regarding economic matters such as assets, liabilities, incomes and expenditures of village families, have dealt with certain sociological data as well. The questionnaire was framed so as to get information regarding the number of people per family, the proportion of the sexes, the prevalence of child-marriages, the proportion of widows, the types of famlies, the relation between main and subsidiary occupations, the percentage of literacy among different age groups and other similar details.

When all this mass of data was taken up for analysis and the population classified into economic groups it was found that such groupings on a purely economic basis corresponded remarkably closely with the social groupings according to caste and religion. As soon as we saw what caste a particular family belonged to and noted whether that caste was among the high, middle or low castes of Hindu society or whether he is a Mussalman or a Santal, we could with a fair degree of certainty, indicate in what economic station his family was likely to fall. Considering this close correspondence, there was no way but to analyse village society not as a homogenous whole but as consisting of five heterogenous economic groups. The economic level of the high castes was higher than that of the middle castes. Third in order followed the Mussalmans also with a distinct economic level, but following closely the Nabashaks while the low castes such as Hadis, Domes, Muchies were far below with only Santals occupying a still lower economic position.

SUMMARY TABLE FOR VILLAGE ECONOMIC SURVEYS

General Information	High castes	Nabashaks	Mussalmans	Harijans	Santals	Total
No. of families	55	107	83	166	36	447
No. of people	228	399	373	713	143	1856
No. per family	4.1	3.7	4.5	4.3	4.0	4.2
Per cent of total population	12	20	20	40	8	100
Sex Ratio	111	108	110	101	107	106
Model size of famlilies	2	2	4	4	3	4
Percentage of children	31	33	41	35	34	35
„ of child-wives	22	29	10	34	4	20
„ of widows	41	43	20	20	8	26

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	High Castes	Nabashaks	Mussalmans	Harijans	Santals	Total
Average No. of gainfully employed persons per family	1.0	1.1	1.4	1.6	2.0	1.4
Percentage of literacy	50	33	18	4	3	19
Percentage of literacy in school-age population	62	42	32	6.5	15	27
School age pop. (actual)	50	84	89	141	28	398
" " in schools	29	35	28	9	4	107
Economic Data						
Average assets (Rs.)	2823	1528	1083	73	76	970
Landless families (percentage)	18	13	25	87	92	49
Average value of land (Rs.)	2220	1340	1098	38	39	825
" " of livestock	97	59	38	15	28	41
" " movables	506	129	37	9	9	104
Average Annual Income	436	236	172	84	76	175
" " Expenditure	479	268	203	90	83	199
" " Deficits	43	32	31	6	7	24
Average Indebtedness	184	183	189	16	5	108
Percentages of indebted families	55	66	76	57	28	60

Now this is not a very remarkable discovery. Caste being in reality the outcome of occupational groupings, it is easy to see how certain occupations pay more than others. In any society, the trades and occupations and professions could be so classified as to give distinctly different levels of income. The difference only lies in this: In our villages we do not have to ask a man's occupation; we have only to know his caste or his religion and we know his economic position.

The extent to which the statement is true will be seen from the figures given in table form. No matter what item you take the figures differ for each of the five social classes according to caste and religion. But these are only a few of the figures. The mass of other tables contained in the seven surveys show that even the cattle of the five classes have different evaluations; the high castes have the highest priced cows, the Santals' cattle are barely animals that manage to stand on their legs. There is difference even in the average price of chickens and ducks kept by one class and another.

While this discovery is not very remarkable the reduction of caste distinctions to a mathetmatical basis has certainly many and widespread implications. The scientific validity of these class distributions are being analysed by purely statistical methods, and if they are found to be mathematically invulnerable, it will mean that we shall henceforth have to think of five classes of village society instead of speaking about the village people in a generic sense.

And this is most important. For, no matter which of the practical phases of rural reconstruction you deal with you find difficulties arising out of this heterogeneity; help rendered to the village does not mean help rendered to all the five classes. In fact what is good for one class is bad for another. If you help the upper classes you make them stronger still against the lower classes: If you help the latter you undermine the power of the upper classes. You try to improve agriculture, but—comparatively speaking—of how much good is that to the Harijans and Santals, when nearly 90 per cent of them have no land? You introduce co-operative credit societies, but how much can the lower classes benefit by them when they have no security to offer? You succeed in establishing co-operative dispensaries—a very necessary and creditable piece of work—but how many from among the Harijans and the Santals can afford to become its members on an equal standing with the others? It is these and other similar questions which people dealing in rural reconstruction should at least keep in mind even if no answers are available for them in our present order of society.

Then there is another problem of sociological interest. The Mussalmans of these villages are converts from among the local inhabitants. From what class of Hindu society have they come? If from the high caste and Nabashak groups, then their conversion has evidently caused a little deterioration in their economic position. But if they were really the low caste Hindus who accepted Islam as a means of raising their social status they have certainly succeeded in a more concrete and lasting sense; for now their economic level is far above those of their former caste brethren. Finally, whether the trend has been one way or the other where is it going to lead? Or has the trend come to a halt long ago? These are interesting questions and restricting our remarks strictly to the villages analysed we might mention that Lohagarh, the Mussalman village, is the only one of the five villages studied that shows any vitality and potential growth. Some of the others present a stationary aspect while Benuria, the village which a century ago thrived on its oil-pressing industry, will probably cease to exist before the present century has come to a close.

These then are a few of the findings from the Village Economic Surveys carried out by Sriniketan. They will be published in the form of Visva-Bharati Village Studies

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Nos. 6-12 as soon as the purely statistical analysis is completed by Prof. Mahalanobis and, we hope, add something to the very meagre data that we have at present, regarding economic aspect of village life.

Studying the village mind

But as has been pointed out studies of agricultural production and rural surveys of the kind dealt with do not exhaust the methods of rural analysis. We are beginning to realize that psychological factors affect economic conditions perhaps just as much as economic conditions affect the psychology of the people. In order to see all the economic bearings of the village problem, therefore, we should also try to analyse the village mind.

The only possible method of getting at a picture of this abstract phenomenon is to portray the thoughts of the people as conveyed in their conversations and revealed in their gestures. That is why Lal Behari De's book *Bengal Peasant Life* and several other Bengali novels whose scenes are laid in the villages really shed more light on village problems than barely statistical analyses. For these stories deal with human beings as such instead of with skeletal abstractions such as those of the economic man, etc.

Still, our present problem being rural *economic* research, such stories do not serve our purpose all in all. What we need, and have in fact tried to do, is to modify the same method to our purposes. All through tne last three years, the students coming in contact with the research section have been asked to write about their villages trying to portray not only the economic but the psychological aspects as well. They had to write either about some villages or about some village personalities. Besides this, the advanced students who went to collect data in the villages were asked to keep diaries, noting in them whatever conversations or incidents there might be of interest. And finally, the village of which Lal Behari De wrote in such detail seventy years ago and gave such a beautiful picture was traced and visited more than once. Tara Krishna Basu, who has played an important part in all of the research work, herein mentioned spent nearly a month in this village and brought back notes that were not only of human interest but showed a picture of village life which is in some aspect more vivid than what is generally found even in good fiction.

All these notes together have been presented in three volumes entitled *Glimpses of Village Life and Problems*, and are awaiting arrangements for publication. It is in these that an attempt has been made to portray the village psychology.

Miscellaneous Studies

Among the few remaining studies, only one needs to be mentioned. As has been said in the beginning there is a great lack of data pertaining to the rural problem. Nor has any method of rural reconstruction been developed sufficiently to obtain general acceptance. That being so, and being closely in touch with an institution whose object was to carry out rural reconstruction, the research section did its best in collecting all possible data pertaining to the region of the Visva-Bharati as a whole with a view to formulating a method and programme of rural reconstruction that could be followed in most other places where rural reconstruction is being attempted. With this aim in view a study of some four hundred type-written pages with many charts, diagrams, tables and maps has been prepared and presented under the title of *The Analysis of a Rural Problem.* This book analyses the rural problem of the region from geographical, historical, economic and cultural standpoints. It embodies considerable information pertaining to education, local self-government, co-operative societies and health work sponsored by the Government, and finally outlines a programme of rural reconstruction, through the Union Boards, which according to the author, Sriniketan should adopt in order that its effects might be real and lasting. And throughout the study its usefulness as an example for similar analyses elsewhere is continuously kept in view.

Conclusions

This then is a very brief account of the rural research engaged in at Sriniketan. In other spheres of activity—where precedents exist and one has merely to follow the trodden path to keep himself from straying on to dangerous or barren grounds—one can go very far. But it is the pioneers in every field whose lot it is to work the hardest, achieve the least and bear the severest of criticism. It is through their mental pain and anguish that ideas take shape. When the work of Sriniketan, either in its research aspect or its reconstruction aspect, is reviewed and when the contribution of Rabindranath Tagore to this phase of Indian life is measured it has to be remembered that both Tagore and his institutions are pioneers in the field of rural reconstrnction in India.

The faith which is to be effective will syawla be a difficult faith, and a difficult faith will always make great and heavy sacrifices necesssry.

—P. M. Oliver

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PROBLEM OF ADULT EDUCATION IN INDIA

By MANUBHAI PRANJIBAN VAIDYA, M. A., B. T.

THE Adult Educational Movement is inextricably interwoven with the whole of the organized life of the community. Whilst on the one hand, it originates in a desire amongst individuals for adequate opportunities for self-expression, and the cultivation of their personal powers and interests, it is, on the other hand, rooted in the social aspirations of the democratic movements of the country. In other words, it rests upon the twin principles of personal development and social service. It aims at satisfying the needs of the individual and the attainment of new standards of citizenship and a better social order. To teachers interested in the all-round education and resultant progress of the country, the problem of adult education is not a new one; it is not a fad. But the layman will perhaps gape with wonder at adult education,—education for mature, experienced men and women. He is wedded to the belief that education or schooling is meant only for young, tender kids. But in the nineteenth century, a powerful democratic wave spread over Europe, and it was realized that equal opportunities should be given to all for self-expression. The disability due to accident of birth or rank was waived aside; education did not finish when a young boy or girl left the portals of the school or college. It was felt necessary to continue education even in adolescent or adult period in order that general level of culture might rise. Bertrand Russell, referring to the different ideals of education in his book *Education and the Social Order*, says:

"The first ideal considers that the sole purpose of education is to provide opportunities of growth, and remove hampering influences. The second holds that the purpose of education is to give culture to the individual, and to develop his capacities to the utmost. The third holds that education is to be considered rather in relation to the community than in relation to the individual, and that its business is to train useful citizens. Of these theories, the first is the newest, while the third is the oldest."

To remove the hampering influences of old, outworn customs and prejudices, to develop the individual's capacities to the utmost by presenting opportunities, and to train useful citizens by teaching useful subjects to as many of the population as possible, it will be evident that some scheme for adult-education is imperative. If there is any country in the world which stands badly in need of adult-education, it is our motherland India. India stands first in the column of illiteracy. The latest figures for literacy in India are given below, and it will be shockingly clear what tremendous block of illiteracy stands in our way to progress and Swaraj.

Literacy is defined as ability to write a letter and to read the answer to it. The total number of literates in India are:

	1921	1931
India	22623651	28131315
Provinces	18654541	22727571
States	3969110	5403744

Now let us compare the population of India at three censuses, and view the progress or otherwise of literacy in light of population.

	1931	1921	1911
Males :	181828923	163995504	161338693
Females :	171008855	154946926	153817461
Total :	352837778	318942430	315156154

Indian States like Cochin, Travancore, Baroda, and Mysore, are more advanced in literacy than British India. Even in Travancore State, the population has increased by 27 per cent. and the proportion of literacy has fallen from 24.2 per cent. in 1921 to 23.9 per cent. in 1931, though in India it has risen from 7 per cent. to 8 per cent. It seems that of the 35 crores in India, only 8 per cent. is literate. Here we are not discussing the strength of the rural population against the urban one, as well as the problem of female literacy; we reserve for a later stage. Below is given the number of literates per mille (=thousand) for persons aged five and over:

	per mille (1931)
Travancore	289
Cochin	337
Burma	368
Baroda	209
Bombay	108

From the above figures, we can see that illiteracy in India is so huge that it requires immediate and strenuous efforts to combat ignorance. If democracy means the government of the people, for the people, by the people, the people must have correct perspective and right political consciousness. G. B. Shaw, in his famous drama *The Apple-cart* writes that while one day he was passing by the Trafalgar Square in London, he saw hordes of people running in a particular direction. Nobody knew the the cause of that hurry and popular excitement. Shaw feared, some terrible mishap must have occurred. But he found to his great surprise that one cow was scared and that people were madly running after one another without

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knowing the cause. The elector must know his interests. We are all clamouring for Swaraj, but we need not forget that it is right education which can lead us to the power of self-determination. And it is not education of the young alone but education of the adults also which can stop wastage and carry the country forward.

Thus we see why education for adults is demanded; we have also to know the benefit and scope of Adult-Education before we discuss its methods. We are all teachers. We are keenly interested in the unfolding and expansion of the child's innate powers. This is Child's Era. Attempts are being made on all sides to foster the spirit of freedom in education. We want to respect the individuality of the child. Our efforts in this direction can bear fruit when the home co-operates with the school. May I ask all of you about the nature of co-operation lent by parents to us in our noble task? I fear the answer will not be an encouraging one; the Indian parent has neither the will nor the leisure to look after his child. There are many many exceptions; but the fact remains there. We proclaim at the top of our voices that fear should have no place in child-rearing, and in spite of it, a good many homes still cling to the old custom of the rod or harsh, bullying words. The home undoes what the school does. And here arises the need of adult education.

Let us now take the question of 'wastage' in education. The Educational Report of India helps us a great deal. We know that the number of literates in India was 281,31,315 in the year 1931, and in the same year the number of primary schools in India was 204,384 and the number of pupils was 9,362,748. Thus 74 p. c. of pupils are in primary schools. Generally we mean by literacy the completion of the Primary Class IV. The number of class IV pupils, in British India in 1931 was 998,097; of these 20 per cent will surely leave school and forget what they might have learnt. Here comes wastage. The trouble taken on this vast number is lost; a great deal of man-power is wasted for nothing. There should be continuation-schools and classes to stop the above wastage. Similar is the fate with education of girls, and it is due to early age of marriage, obstinate prejudices and apathy of the people for female education. Report on Education in India says the total wastage involved is about 90 per cent. in case of girls. This is simply unbearable. Let the public be educated; how can ordinary schools stop this rot? It requires intensive propaganda.

Here some one may argue that we should let the seniors severely alone, and concertrate our energy on the budding, rising generation of India. That is partially true. We cannot ignore the present parents and citizens; we have to convert them to our view.

It will be interesting to have some idea about methods and orginazation of adult education movement in other countries.

The World Association for Adult-Education was started in London in 1919, with the purpose of dispelling the melancholy belief that grown men and women have nothing left to learn, and to diffuse throughout all countries, and in every section of societies, the sense of wonder and curiosity, and gift of mutual sympathy and companionship which add so much to the meaning of life. The following figures will give us the idea of expansion of the movement in England.

(1) *Workers' Educational Association.* There are special institutions for workers. There is no rule that coolies should be deprived of education. There is nothing like "Once a coolie always a coolie". Opportunities are given to all to assert themselvs. 2367 is the number of branches of this Association. Nine lacs of people are its members; 38730 pupils had availed themselves of its classes.

(2,3). *Young Men's Christian Association* and *Young Women's Christian Association.* 27000 boys and 69000 adults are the members of Y. M. C. A. 33500 females are the members of Y. W. C. A. Lectures, vacation-courses, radio-programme were arranged. Y. W. C. A. had opened 271 classes for teaching 3 R's only; one—forty classes for (practical) education *i. e.*, domestic science, book-keeping, sewing.

(4). *Women's Association*—It has 4250 branches in villages. Regular classes are held for teaching sewing, cooking, hygiene, poetry, history and music. Members number two lacs and a half. This Association takes a very leading part in village-reconstruction.

(5) *Co-operative Societies*—Social and economic subjects are discussed in meetings; neither the school-buildings nor teachers remain "idle" during vacation; lectures, object-lesson gatherings, religious activities, industrial exhibitions, lantern lectures, baby-weeks, and other items are displaced.

(6, 7). *The British Broadcasting and Dramatic Associations*—A good dramatic performance can reflect as well as mould life; the radio contains, every day, something for the people. In 1930, there were about 185 well-managed radio centres. B. B. C. (British Broadcasting Corporation) is called the *People's University.*

Now, to turn to India. The Educational Report of India says very little about adult education in India. The report devotes some fifteen to twenty lines to it. In 1931, the Adult Education Class at the Teachers' College, Saidapet, continued. There were classes in the Government Arts College, Coimbatore. The report says, non-official agencies in the field were more active than before and their activities included the imparting of instructions in three R's, reading of vernacular papers and library books, lectures delivered on

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health, sanitation, etc. The report alludes to Seva Sadans. In Bengal a comprehensive scheme for the improvement of Adult Education was sent up to the Government, and it was proposed to enlist the services of central co-operative and rural banks.

Any scheme of Adult Education in India should provide for villages. India is a land of villages. The total urban population of India comes to 33,985,427, *i. e.*, 11 per cent. of the total population. The number of places in Rural Areas in 696,831, and the total rural population of India comes to 313,852,351. Figures will surely show that efforts made to educate city-dwellers touch an infinitesimal minority of the total population in India. Real work lies in villages. "Go to villages and uplift them"—must be the message for graduates in India. The latest Census Report says that two-third of the villages in India have no schools at all, and that 500,000 villages in British India have 200,000 recognized schools. This is the plight of elementary primary education in India. Let the Adult Education Movement in India take stock of the situation and embody two broad lines, one with an agricultural bias for villages, and the other with an industrial bias for cities.

The Village Uplift Scheme of the Government of Bombay and Rural Reconstruction Scheme of Visva-Bharati are worth consideration. In Bombay Mr. Frederick Sykes has inaugurated the vigorous campaign of village improvement. In the Panjab, a rural reconstruction department has been recently organized. The writer in *The Times of India* of December 2, 1933, has drawn particular attention to the importance of education and the Co-operative movement as instruments of rural progress in his able article on "Rural Reconstruction." The inability of the average cultivator to make the best of his opportunities is due mainly to the lack of moral discipline induced by abject fatalism of his outlook on life. The only hope of a radical change in his outlook lies in a more rapid educational advance. Every section of the public should work in harmonious co-operation to raise the level of rural moral and material welfare. There should be improvement of agriculture through research and experiment. The agricultural schools and colleges have a special function in training men for the work of improving agriculture. Let the conservatism of the agriculturists be overcome first; improvements should not be expensive. But what is wanted is propaganda. The campaign has to be designed and carried out by a specialist who understands the psychology of the villagers and knows the ways of appealing to their self-interest. By means of pamphlets, articles in vernacular newspapers, posters, cinemas, lectures and dramas, the message of enlightenment and progress should be given to the villagers.

To remove the huge block of illiteracy a programme as shown below is necessary. (1) Women's Associations, (2) Servants of India Societies, (3) Purity Leagues, (4) Night Schools, (5) Seva Sadans, (6) Co-operative Societies, (7) Dramas, (8) Cinemas, (9) Radio Programmes (10) Fairs, (11) Red Cross Societies, (12) Workers' Educational Associations, (13) Trade Unions (14) Libraries, (15) Travelling Libraries, (16) Child Welfare and Baby Weeks, (17) Educational Conferences, (18) Agricultural and Industrial Exhibitions, (19) Seva-Mandals for Bhils and untouchables, (20) University Extension Lectures, (21) Vacation Courses, (22) Special Literature for Parents and Children. These twenty-two ways of approach to adult education have just figured on the Indian horizon; on their expansion depends the future of adult education, nay, the future of India. Women's Associations such as Hindu Stri-Mandal of Bombay, should be scattered in all towns and cities of the country. It is up to educated ladies of the place to organize and to attract their illiterate sisters. The courses should cover knowledge of three R's, cooking, domestic economy, first aid, home nursing, and subjects for general culture.

The Servants of India Society is also doing useful work; it can open still more centres for the education of backward classes. To turn to Purity League, it should be carefully noted that sexual immorality cannot be dealt with solely by prophylactic measures. Social hygiene is not entirely a matter for the doctors. The League should plan lectures on eugenics, alcoholism, venereal diseases and the hygiene of food and work. The importance of night schools is recognized everywhere, the more the number the better it is for India. Vocational subjects as well as literary ones should be included in the course. Seva-Sadans are meant for homeless widows who can learn some useful arts there. Dramas, cinemas, and the radio appeal nowadays, very powerfully to the public mind; and an educationist should not let go this powerful agency of influencing the public. Let there be better films and plays.

It is up to the Red Cross Society to educate public opinion in matters of hygiene and sanitation. Baby Weeks be celebrated at intervals in different districts. Here, one is reminded of the remark made by the Census Commissioner Mr. Hutton, regarding the importance of birth-control. The problem of birth-control is still a controversial topic; but it is necessary for clinics and Red Cross Societies to impart instructions to those desiring it. We have very few Workers' Educational Associations; it is for public-spirited rich merchants and mill-owners to start schools and hospitals for children of the labourers and for the labourers themselves. Libraries must be up-to-date, there should be separate sections for males, females and children; a nice catalogue-system be introduced. The Baroda State has achieved satisfactory progress in this field.

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Neither the buildings of university, the college or the school, nor their staff be allowed to remain idle. Classes for the continuation school may be held there; professors and teachers can give lectures on varied subjects to the public. Last but not the least, publicity bureau is required. It should issue bulletins on adult education, enroll members and prepare the necessary literature both for adolescents and adults.

I have chalked the general outlines of the scheme of adult education and it is for the teachers and the Government of the country to rise to the occasion, and fill in details. Teachers are builders of nations. What is wanted is spirit of service and sacrifice. Let us all imbibe that spirit and contribute our humble mite to dispel darkness of ignorance from our dear, old India.*

* A paper for the All-India Teachers' Federation at Karachi Dec. 1933.

NAZI FOREIGN POLICY

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IT is not easy to define and explain the aims and objects of the Nazis. One declared object does not always seem to be consistent with the other. Hitler and his followers claim to be nationalists as well as socialists. The word 'Nazi' itself is an abbreviated form of 'National-Socialist'. But it is extremely controversial whether it is at all possible to combine successfully in one system these two different ideologies, these two different attitudes towards life. To the Nazi intellect, however, the two doctrines do not seem to be at all inconsistent with each other. In fact, the theorists of the 'totalitarian state' take pride in the combination of these two apparently antagonistic political and economic creeds. But if the theory of Hitlerism contains in it, according to some at any rate, certain inconsistencies, it is and has been quite difinite on two questions. The aim of the domestic policy of Hitler seems to be the establishment of a racial state and that of his foreign policy the revision of the Treaty of Versailles. The two objects are by no means independent of each other, for, as we shall presently see, the German recial state cannot be established without the revision of the Treaty of Versailles.

So far as internal politics is concerned, the Nazis are very particular about the establishment of an all-powerful racial state. Curiously enough, however, their German or Aryan race includes in it every German-speaking person, if he or she does not happen to be a Jew. The Nazis talk of the Aryan race but they know that they cannot always afford to follow the principle very strictly, as their own not very tall, black-haired and brown-eyed "Fuehrer", according to their own conception of the 'Aryan' type is any thing but an "Aryan". What they mean is to unify all the German-speaking peoples, including those belonging to the neighbouring States and to bring them under one strong, highly centralized, dictatorial government.

The aim of Nazi foreign policy is the revision or, to be accurate, the total annulment of the Treaty of Versailles. In fact, all Germans are of one opinion on this question. They call it a "dictated peace". And dictated it certainly was.

The main penalties imposed on Germany by the Treaty of Versailles were of three kinds:

Firstly, Germany had to admit that the whole blame for the World War lay on her shoulders, and therefore she had to pay heavy reparations to the Victors.

Secondly, in order that she might never be in a position to repeat the 'crime against Civilization', Germany was disarmed.

The third penalty, for which the excuse was either the alleged mismanagement by Germany of her Colonial Empire or the

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adherence to the principle of self-determination was that Germany had to hand over not only her colonies and overseas possessions to the Victors but a considerable portion of her European territory, principally to France, Belgium, Denmark and Poland.

As regards the responsibility for the war Art. 231 of the Treaty of Versailles says :

> The Allied and Associated governments affirm and Germany accepts, the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and danger to which the Allied and Associated governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the War imposed on them by the aggression of Germany and her allies.

The Germans resent this article perhaps more than any other of this Treaty. They call it in their own fashion "Kriegsschuldsluege" or the war-guilt lie. And any demagogue can kindle the popular passion by a simple reference, however irrelevant it might be, to this 'lie'.

As regards the responsibility for the war it is now generally believed that Germany cannot alone be held responsible for it. Historically speaking, many of the states, if not all, which took part in the struggle share the blame. But the Germans are convinced that in 1914 they were not aggressors in any sense of the term and that they were fighting in self-defence. The mobilization of Russia and France which came before their own is regarded by them as a clear proof of the innocence of their Government. They think that the mobilization of these two countries forced their Government into the declaration of war.

Now if the Germans were not responsible for it, why should they be forced to pay the costs of the war to the Victors ? The Germans naturally resented huge sums of money going abroad every year until 1932. They regarded this payment as wholly unjust and tyrannical, as not only the generation that took part in hostilities had to pay the penalty but two successive generations had to suffer. The Reparations have played an important part in arousing German discontent and therefore in strengthening political extremism. People outside Germany differ about the part which they have played in bringing about the economic crisis from which the world is suffering today, but the German Nationalists have no doubts on this point. From the very beginning they have not only pointed out the injustice done to the German people, they have also emphasized the disastrous effect of such payments on world-economy. Dr. Schacht in his remarkable book, *Das Ende der Reparation*, published in 1929, developed this thesis, and today when as a result of the advent of the Nazis to power he has returned to the Reichsbank as its president, he holds the same view. Dr. Schacht said in that book that Germany would never be in a position to pay huge sums of money prescribed by the Young Plan and if she did, it would mean the ruination of the whole economic order. The Nazis with Dr. Schacht hold that the present economic crisis is primarily due to the payment of huge sums of money as "war-tribute". Happily, however, Reparations today seem to be a thing of the past. They are, let all friends of peace and economic recovery pray, gone never to return. The Reparations disappeared but only after they had done their part in creating great misunderstanding between Germany and the Victors, especially France.

Another penalty imposed on Germany was the reduction of her armaments. The German army was reduced to 100,000 men, her navy was practically gone, and she was forbidden to possess an air fleet for war purposes. But the declared aim of the authors of the Treaty was the reduction and limitation of armaments of all countries and German disarmament was intended to serve as an initial measure for general disarmament. Now Hitler, who represents the views of all Germans on this question, says that it was only on a promise of subsequent disarmament that Germany undertook to disarm. Germany regards it as legally binding on other nations. She takes it as a contract between parties. Germany completed its disarmament in the years immediately following the Great War. After having fulfilled the conditions of the Treaty she now demands of other parties to keep their pledge, and to translate their declared object into practice. But in fairness to the Allies it must be pointed out that German disarmament cannot be regarded as one part of the

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contract, the other part of which is disarmament of other Powers. Germany, however, gives quite another interpretation to the whole thing and demands general disarmament. But as there seems to be no response she insists on the principle of equality of armaments. Either reduce your own armaments or allow Germany to re-arm : this is the attitude taken up by the Nazis. Germany is not prepared to watch the strength of her neighbours growing every day while she is bound by the Treaty. The German people perhaps resent the disarmament of their country more than they did the payment of Reparations. Reparations meant a big material loss to the country ; but disarmament means much more. For through disarmament the very existence of the Fatherland is considered to be at stake. Disarmament means that the country of a very proud people is at the mercy of its highly-armed neighbours. The Germans can never appreciate the French point of view on the question of disarmament. The insistence of France on "Security before Disarmament" is regarded as a clear proof of French insincerity. The two possible rivals of France according to the French themselves are Germany and Italy. But France is superior to Germany and Italy. Even the combined strength of these two countries is much inferior to that of France. Apart from her own strength she has got a number of powerful and devoted allies—mostly neighbours of Germany. The fact that none of the probable opponents of France, not even a combination of these opponents, is her equal is a sufficient guarantee of her security. To the German it seems that the insistence of France on security before disarmament has absolutely nothing to do with security. If it is security, it is not the security of their State but the security of their domination.

And now we come to the territorial losses of Germany as a result of the Treaty of Versailles. Firstly, Germany was deprived of her colonies and overseas possessions. This was done because Germany was alleged to have mismanaged her colonial empire. Secondly, she had to hand over the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine to France, Posen, West Prussia, and Upper Silesia to Poland, Sleswick to Denmark and another district to Belgium. This meant more than 60,000 sq. miles. Then the left bank of the Rhine came under the occupation of the Allied Forces for a period of 15 years, but thanks to British efforts the occupation came to an end five years earlier. Again the government of the Saar was entrusted to the League of Nations for a period of fifteen years, after which period the future of the country was to be decided by plebiscite, the people having three alternatives before them—either a return to Germany or incorporation with France or the continuation of the government of the League. Another treaty, the Treaty of St. Germain, prohibited a union between Germany and Austria.

All these provisions are naturally very distasteful to Germans. But the Nazis do not seem to be very sorry for certain territorial losses. It is true that the Nazis are demanding the return of their pre-War colonies, but at the same time it should be remembered that Herr Hitler, like Bismarck, is not at all enthusiastic about colonial expansion. In the racial state of his conception there is no place for colonies. And if he and his lieutenants are asking for a return of the colonies it is not because they are very keen on their return but because German public opinion demands it. At any rate there can be no doubt that Hitler and his chief lieutenants are much more particular about their Eastern territories than about their colonies.

Just as the Nazis are not very particular about the return of the colonies so they are not very keen on the return of Alsace and Lorraine. Somehow they seem to have reconciled themselves with the loss of these provinces. But they are very definite with regard to a change in their Eastern frontiers, which means the return of all those districts which they consider to be German to the Fatherland, and a union with Austria. They are also very particular about the restoration of the Saar. This question will, however, be settled next year by means of a plebiscite and no one need have any doubts about the result. Although the population of this province is predominantly Catholic and it also happens to be a centre of Socialism and Communism—creeds which are being persecuted in Germany—yet it is unthinkable that a

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majority of these people will decide in favour of a union with France or even in favour of a continuance of the *status quo*. It is a good news in this connection that France and Germany have after all agreed on the procedure and arrrangements of next year's plebiscite.

But decidedly the most difficult of all the problems is the revision of the Eastern frontiers in favour of Germany and at the expense of Poland and other States. An incidental but for Germany very important result of the resurrection of the Polish State was the separation of Eastern Prussia from the main land. This was due to the creation of the Polish Corridor in order to provide Poland with a sea port. The Germans bitterly complain against this gross injustice. They cannot allow their Fatherland to be torn into pieces like that. Again, Germans are a growing nation and therefore expansion is necessary. If, however, colonial expansion is considered to be undesirable (because the Nazis are afraid of a deterioration of German "Kultur" and want to establish a compact racial state) then the only other direction in which Germany may expand is towards the East. The Nazi Eastern policy is responsible for the strained relations between Germany and her neighbours, including Russia.

The other thorny problem is that of Austro-German Union. The consolidation of the German Nation cannot be regarded as complete without this union. The Nazis seem to be determined to accomplish it, whatever the cost.

About two years ago almost every German and every Austrian regarded such a union as very desirable. Austria's position as a result of the Great War was rendered impossible. She lost 7/8ths of her teritory and more than 87 per cent of her population. What is perhaps worse is that of her present population of 6,400,000 over two million people live in the capital. Austria with her present meagre resources—she has no outlet to the sea—is not in a position to support such a huge capital, which although decaying is still one of the most important towns on the Continent and is, perhaps, from cultural point of view, only next to Paris. The one solution of the problem which appealed to both the German-speaking peoples was an Austro-German Union. Both the peoples form one linguistic and cultural unit and may be regarded as one nation. The people of both these countries were strongly in favour of such a union before Herr Hitler came to power. And if the schemes of union (including that of Economic Union of 1931) did not materialize, it was because other Powers, especially France, would not permit it.

But since the establishment of the Nazi regime in Germany things have changed. Now Austria, under the strong government of Dolfuss, rejects the idea of union. Every important political party of Austria, Nazis excepted, is now opposed to it. The Catholics and the Socialists are naturally afraid of a Nazi regime. Then there are Austrian Nationalists who want to preserve the independence of their country, for otherwise they apprehend, it would become a dependency of Protestant Prussia. But they know that they cannot avoid a union with Nazi Germany without the support of some powerful State. They have actually found such an ally in Italy. France does not want to see the influence of Italy grow in Central and Eastern Europe—she has her own schemes—but as a lesser evil she would rather tolerate an understanding between Italy and Austria than see Austro-German Union accomplished.

Hitler is aware that the ideal of his 'racial state' which means Austro-German Union and expansion of the Fatherland towards the East is unattainable without the help of some of the more important Powers. He knows that inside Germany he is at liberty to do what he likes—he can persecute the Jews, he can suspend the republican constitution, he can dissolve all political parties and even religious sections, he can suppress freedom of speech and freedom of the Press—but in foreign policy he would be helpless without powerful allies. The countries whose help Hitler seeks most are Italy and Great Britain. The Nazis consider France as their natural enemy with which there can be no permanent understanding. A conflict with Poland, Russia, Czechoslovakia and even Austria also seems to be unvoidable because of the Eastern Policy of the Nazis. In order to combat such a formidable combination Germany must have some allies. To Hitler Great Britain and Italy seem to be such allies. Italy is a "natural" ally of Nazi Germany not only

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because of the common belief in one political philosophy (!) but also because France happens to be their common enemy. Hitler in spite of the declared policy of national consolidation gave up the cause of the German-speaking people of Tyrol for the sake of this friendship.

The Nazis consider Great Britain as another natural ally of theirs, firstly because of the racial affinity, which they forgot during the Great War, and secondly because they think that England in order to secure a balance of power in Europe would welcome the recovery of Germany. The Nazis argue that Great Britain has always been the enemy of the strongest power on the Continent. Before the Great War it was Germany, now it is France. And in order to crush the power of France Great Britain would naturally welcome an alliance with Germany. Again, Germany is one of the best markets for British goods and therefore her recovery would be economically beneficial to Great Britain.

For the sake of British friendship Hitler must also denounce Indian political aspirations. The position of Hitler as regards India is somewhat this : Germany may sympathize with Indian political ambitions either on humanitarian grounds or for political reasons. In the first case if India were really oppressed by a foreign nation Germany would have been justified in sympathizing with her. But she does not seem to be oppressed. If Indians were really an oppressed people they would have stood up against British authority during the Great War. Oppressed peoples do not help their masters when these are in great danger. So it seems Indians are not an oppressed people, and on grounds of justice Germany need not sympathize with their political ambitions. But sometimes people have to make and keep friendships for political reasons. India as a political ally, however, is of no good. England, more than any other country, is in a position to help the Fatherland. Many a problem of German foreign policy can be solved if there is co-operation between these two "Aryan" peoples. So, as a matter of policy Germany in order to please Great Britain should denounce Indian political aspirations even if they happen to be the declared aim of British policy in India !

Hitler's aim is friendship with Great Britain and Italy. And he was absolutely sure of such friendship before he seized power. But things do not always happen according to calculations. Italy would never allow an Austro-German union which in future is bound to become a source of danger to her frontiers. The attitude of England is still ambiguous. Before the Nazi regime was established there was a widespread sympathy for the German cause in England. But the persecution of the Jews and the militaristic ambitions of the Nazis have brought about a change in the attitude of the English people. There is another thing which cannot be ignored in this connection. It is true that France has come out of the Great War as the strongest power on the Continent and therefore it may be that Great Britain is jealous of her power, but it is equally true that France with her colonies forms an almost self-sufficient economic unit. She is not a very serious competitor of England in the markets of the world. Germany, on the other hand, although today a second rate power, is such a competitor. In 1930, for instance, the exports of Germany exceeded those of England, In these circumstances Hitler's calculations about Italian and British friendship seem to be rather optimistic.

The Nazis have not yet been able to secure the friendship of these two countries. On the other hand, their rise to power has caused certain unexpected changes in the foreign relations of many European countries, which may prove dangerous for Germany. Russia's relations with France, Poland and the Little Entente are now far better than they used to be. Now there is a regular understanding between France and Russia similar to that of the pre-War *Entente Cordiale*. France has forgotten and forgiven Russian desertion of 1917, and the repudiation of debts.

Similarly between Poland and Russia there exist much better relations today, because Hitlerism is their common enemy. Even the rivals in the Mediterranean, Italy and France, have come nearer each other. It is in the common interest of both the countries to

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prevent Austro-German union. Italy does not mind if the Eastern frontiers of Germany undergo a change in favour of the latter. An Austro-German union, however, she would not allow under any circumstances. But France is very particular about the Eastern frontiers of Germany. Poland cannot be allowed to be weakened and Czechoslovakia must remain as it is in order to check any territorial ambitions of Germany. Again, as we have already noticed, Hitler's coming to power is responsible for the strained relations between the two German-speaking peoples, who had been allies for more than half a century. It is no exaggeration to say that about three years back no one could foresee such an estrangement between these two States.

Hitler certainly knows, which perhaps his followers do not, that today Germany stands isolated in the world. She is more isolated than she was in 1914. For in that year she had at least one faithful ally, *viz.*, Austria. Today even Austria has deserted her. Whether or not in 1914 Germany was really "encircled" by enemies, today she is. The Nazis had counted on British and Italian support, as against France. The opposition on the part of France was of course always expected. A German can never foresee a future in which these two countries might live in peace. Every peace with France means but a truce. It is the firm conviction of almost every German that France will never be prepared to see the Reich prosper. Comparing the attitudes of Great Britain and France towards Germany Hitler says in his "*Mein Kampf*":

> England does not want Germany as a world power; France does not want Germany to be a power at all.

With the French there can be no permanent understanding. In every hostile or unfriendly act of every Power German eyes see French influence working. The enmity of France is one of the most fundamental political beliefs of every German,—man, woman and child. The writer of this article, while talking of bad weather—a familiar topic of conversation in Europe—was really surprised to hear from a young boy of fifteen that the nasty wind was coming from France and "what else can we expect from that quarter".

Hitler, as we have seen, had counted on the support of England and Italy as against France. But that support does not seem to be forthcoming. War, however, according to him, is inevitable. Germany will have to fight one day so that justice may be done to her. But Germany is not prepared to go to war just now. A war at present without the support of England and Italy will certainly mean the destruction of the newly made Third Reich. In order to avoid an immediate danger of war Hitler is now trying to conclude treaties with her neighbours. There is already a treaty in existence between Germany and Poland. Too much importance, however, need not be attached to it, as there are fundamental differences between the two countries. Von Papen's visits to Italy have turned out fruitless. Now another agent of Germany, General Goering, this time, is trying to make friends with Jugoslavia and Bulgaria. Both these countries have some ideological affinities with Hitlerism, being now governed dictatorially. Both the countries, however, are too much in need of French support and there is no doubt that they would prefer it to that of Germany.

The only natural ally of Germany at the present day seems to be a far-off island, and that is Japan. This alliance, however, may prove to be of some value only in case of a Far Eastern conflict; otherwise Japan's help cannot be expected.

If there is one conclusion that can safely be drawn from the foregoing pages it is this: The widespread sympathy with the German cause that was to be found in many a country before the establishment of the Nazi regime has disappeared and has given place to suspicion, if not to actual hostility. Today Germany is almost without any friends abroad.

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BOOK REVIEWS

BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

THE SCIENCE OF SOCIAL ORGANISATION: Vol. I (Second Edition) *By Bhagavan Das, D. L. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. 1932.*

As early as 1909, a series of four lectures on the laws of Manu was delivered by Dr. Bhagavan Das before the 34th annual convention of the Theosophical Society, and published in book-form next year by the Theosophical Publishing Society. A new edition was called for by 1918, but in the years since India had been so full of noise and movement, that Dr. Das was forced to put off *Manu* again and again and at last consented to publish the bulk of the portion that had been already printed off, in a new form and with many additions, though regretting very much that numerous other notes that had been prepared meanwhile could not be utilized in this volume.

Dr. Das first of all explains the basic principle of Manu's code of Life. The Spirit's Entrance into matter and Retirement out of it have a rhythmic swing which are recognised in all systems of thought and religion and are known here by their ancient names, Pravritti and Nivritti, caused by the interplay of the Self and the Not-Self. The three ends of the first half of life are Dharma, Artha, Kama, interpreted in modern terms they are (i) duty, character and active function; (ii) wealth and possessions; (iii) pleasures and sense-enjoyments. These ends are interdependent. The second half of life has its corresponding ends,—bhakti, yoga-aishvarya, and moksha. Dr. Das explains caste as the four vocational classes. The primary debts of life and their repayments, the special appetites or ambitions and the corresponding prizes, the three special ways of livelihood and stages of life, arise out of the three aspects of consciousness and the three qualities of matter.

All these are, however, based on the two primal factors of the world-process, the Self and the Not-Self, each with three attributes and their Interplay. But the problems of life have also to be understood with reference to the World-Evolution; it is the want of this adaptability which is the source of all India's later degeneration. Dr. Das passes in review the different root-races and declares that Manu's laws are for the third and later races, the first two races which have no sex-development being exempted from the operation of any laws in the modern sense of the word. The excellence of Manu's Code is that it provides a basis for all subsequent system of Social Organization and though future civilization may profess to supersede it, the main outlines hold good for all times to come. As a matter of fact if we consider modern problems we shall find that the same old ideas are recurring in new forms, even in the "progressive" West. A spiritual communism rather than an artificial socialism is the aim and purpose of Manu's laws,

Dr. Das then discusses the problems of education in detail. Manu gave it the first place in his scheme of life, and the attitude is significant. Education in the different lines, in the four primary items,—hygiene and sanitation, good manners and morals, tending the fires (culinary and sacrificial) and religion,—is of supreme importance, and Manu may be studied even today for practical guidance. There is a crying need for changing the details but the reader will surely gain if he consults the code for theoretical guidance, and in respect of permanent principles.

The treatment of the questions is throughout full and the author's abundance of illustrations and analogies carries the reader with him; the elucidation of the time-honoured principles is done with enthusiasm which is catching, and the book will provoke thought in those who seriously set about to study the science of social organization. The next volume is expected with eager interest, because the reader feels sure Dr. Das will apply his profound studies, wide experience and enthusiastic outlook to the solution of many-tangled problems that defy solution now.

Theosophi-

GOETHES FAUST: *C. Jinarajadasa, cal Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. 1932.*

Written in the centenary year of Goethe's death, the book dwells on what it understands to be the central point in the best known of his writings, a point generally ignored or misrepresented. The writer thinks that like most great men Goethe himself was unconscious of the message of his book, which embodies one of the greatest principles of occult life.

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The glittering concourse of events in the second part of Goethe's Faust can be reasonably explained only on the assumption of the gospel of reincarnations to be true, and that leads us to the belief that redemption comes only through service suffused by the glow of Knowledge, Love, Life and Beauty.

A CHEERFUL ASCETIC AND OTHER ESSAYS: *James J. Daly, S. J., Professor of English, University of Detroit. The Bruce Publishing Company, New York, 1931.*

Father James J. Daly, S. J., is a distinguished writer and critic on the other side the Atlantic, and the general reader had been so long left in ignorance of the quality of his writings. In the present volume, published as a number of the Science and Culture Series under the general editorship of Father Joseph Husslein, we find Father Daly's different essays brought together from different magazines where they had been first published, and the attempt deserves appreciation. The reader is treated to the Catholic point of view which one is so apt to miss in the study of English literature. But in *the intolerent Emerson* one cannot help feeling that the writer has gone a little too far (though undoubtedly Emerson deserves snubbing) and that the tone of this essay is not in keeping with that of the rest of the book. Barring such particular limitations, Prof. Daly's writings abound in delicate shades of thought and expression, rich in humour and understanding. The volume will be thoroughly enjoyed in the reading.

THE RED-RIPE OF THE HEART: *T. B. Krishnaswami, M. A., B. L. Illustrated by Friedrich H. Raccleder. B. M. Press. Mangalore, S. K., British India.*

A number of prose poems unified in mood and sentiment, breathing intense love, ecstatic, "youthful, unthinking, romantic"! The illustrations, thoroughly Indian in design and expression, have an interest of their own, and the language combines gracefulness and an impassioned ring. The book may be expected to be popular with a section of the reading public, delighting in fantasies and rhapsodies.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

NAZARETH OR SOCIAL CHAOS: *Vincent McNabb, O. P., pp. 98, pub. Burns Oates and Washbourne Ltd. Price 1s. 6d.*

Many and various are the cures advocated for remedying the present depression, and the social ills from which society is obviously suffering. In Great Britain, where the majority of the population are living in towns, and where the hand of Time has softened the harsher realities of the past, it is naturally for people to start a "back-to-the-land" campaign. The ideal of the yeoman farmer, cultivating his own land, independent in thought, because he was also economically independent without being burdened by too great riches has always been an attractive picture. Father McNabb is a strong, and skilful exponent of this idea. Unfortunately, whilst it may be true that men are often greedy, and selfish, it is doubtful whether greed and selfishness are the root causes of the present depression. Whilst this book may be useful to some people in Great Britain, it is not likely to be of much help to people in India where the conditions are utterly different.

CONVERSIONS TO THE CATHOLIC CHURCH —*edited by Maurice Leahy. pp. 127, pub. Burns Oates and Washbourne Ltd. Price 3s. 6d.*

Most people who are born in any particular religious organization remain in that organization for the whole of their lives, but a minority change. In this book a dozen fairly well-known people in Great Britain try to state what it was that led them to join the Roman Catholic Church. None of them have anything startling to say and one has the feeling that their advance towards Roman Catholicism was both gradual, and natural. Unless one happened to be personally interested in any of the writers, or especially attracted to the Roman Catholic Church there is little of interest in the book which lacks the inspiration which has made Newman's *Apologin Pro Vita Sua* and St. Augustine's *Confessions* books of universal appeal.

CHRISTOPHER ACKROYD

ORISSA UNDER BHAUMA KINGS: *By Binayak Misra. Published by the author. Viswamitra Press, Calcutta. Pp. 98. Price Rs. 3.*

Many Oriya gentlemen have now directed their attention to historical and archaeological research, the most notable of these is Mr. Binayak Misra. By his contributions published in the various research journals, he has already established himself as an able and impartial scholar. In his present publication Mr. Misra has not only been able to live up to his old reputation, but has also demonstrated what a painstaking worker he is. His book deals with one Orissan dynasty—the Kara-Kesaris, or the Bhauma kings, who ruled over certain portions of modern Orissa in the 8th century A. D. The printing and binding is good, but unfortunately some printing mistakes have been overlooked. The book is also provided with an index and is illustrated. The plan of the work is simple. It is divided into two parts. The first part deals with stone inscriptions and land grants so far discovered. Altogether fourteen epigraphs have been dealt with in this section. Most of these have already been published, but Mr. Misra is to be congratulated on having successfully cleared the mire of Rajguru and others. Four new records, three from Talcher and one from Angul have also been dealt with. The most noticeable feature of this section is the revised readings of the dates suggested by the author. The second part consists of notes on Chronology, extent of the Kara kingdom, Revenue and Administrative systems etc. A mass of miscellaneous evidence has been gathered in these notes and historians, archaeologists, and economists will derive considerable benefit from them. In these notes the author has made an attempt to present as faithful a picture of the times as is possible to do under the circumstances. It is of course impossible to expect everyone to agree with all the views expressed by the author, but these differences of opinion in no way lessens the intrinsic merit of the book. On the whole Mr. Misra is to be congratulated on bringing out successfully such an important treatise.

A. C. Banerji

SIN AND SUCH: *By Jack Woodford. Palais-Royal Press. Rue de Beaujolais Paris. 1.*

The book is one of the series of 'unconventional' books which the Palais-Royal Press has made it its business to publish. We do not know the aims and objects which have prompted the publishers to under-

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take such publications neither are we convinced that any useful purpose is served at all by such books. The author of the volume under review was determined to be tremendously realistic with the result that he has been led sometimes to describe scenes which are revolting to all sense of shame and decency.

There is hardly any plot worth the name in the story. It is only a series of 'affairs with women' each one of which serves as a peg to hang the author's pompous arguments against all conventional standards of moral ideas and customs, specially against the Institution of Marriage and what is generally regarded as Sin. The book reveals an attempt of the author to be highly pedantic and his intense desire to show off his familiarity with the modern currents of psychological thinking; it is full of the free use of such words as Undermind, Unconscious, Sublimation, etc. and almost all the characters of the book seem to be 'psychasthenic' individuals.

One is tempted to agree with what Aunt Nelia said in a discussion of Arts and apply her statement to the present volume, *viz.* that this 'art' of the author is merely an excuse for sinning.

CHARACTER AND PERSONALITY: *Vol. 2. No. 3. March 1934. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. London.*

This is one of the issues of an International quarterly journal devoted to Psychodiagnostics and allied studies. We have elsewhere (Indian Journal of Psychology) discussed the extreme usefulness of such journals for furthering the studies of the various problems of life from the purely psychological point of view. The contributors to the present number (Pavlov, Saudek and others) are all world-renowned scientists and each of them has something new to say in the present issue about the problems with which they have dealt. The studies of Childrens' Music by Platt and of their Pictorial aptitude by Seeman are very valuable, while the study of Moods by Fisher and of Handwriting by Saudek will interest a larger number of persons than the technical psychologists. The biological study of the personality of Charles Dickens by Fantham is altogether a new venture and we hope that the writer will in the near future take up the study of other well-known personalities by this method.

SURHIT CHANDRA MITRA

SCIENCE IN THE CHANGING WORLD *Edited by Mary Adams, London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Museum Street. Pp. 286. Price 6s. Net.*

This little book is a collection of popular broadcast talks on the scientific problems of the day by such eminent men as Thomas Holland, H. Levy, Julian Huxley, John R. Baker, Bertrand Russell, Aldous Huxley, Hugh I'A. Fausset, Hilaire Belloc, J. B. S. Haldane, and Oliver Lodge. The editor states in the preface that this is the first time that an attempt has been made to maintain a continuity in broadcast talks spread over a pretty long period of time. We might call the book a broadcast symposium in a popular style. The book gives in a concise form the latest information on such topics as the aim of science, our place in nature, the economical, scientific and humanistic trends of our civilization, eugenics and biology. In the chapter on "What is Science Prof. Levy has given incidentally certain very interesting descriptions of an aero-dynamics laboratory and has shown the complicated nature of the organization necessary for any scientific research. Prof. Levy has given a very suitable rejoinder to Jeans, Eddington, and others who have misread the philosophical implications of the principle of indeterminacy which looms so large in modern physics. Prof. Levy's views on indeterminacy is perhaps the sanest that I have come across. Superstitions and prejudices of scientific men have been very ably exposed by Prof. Levy. The discussions on the missing link and the evolution of mind will no doubt be appreciated by the lay reader. Aldous Huxley refers to Tolstoy and Gandhi and discredits the slogan "return to nature." The problem of civilization has been examined both from without and from within. Some of the lecturers have stressed the importance of the external factors in moulding our civilization while others have indicated the importance of inner psychological factors. The book can confidently be recommended to the lay reader as a very useful and instructive one.

A THEORY OF LAUGHTER: *By V. K. Krishna Menon, M.A., George Allen and Unwin Ltd. Museum Street, London. Price Rs. 5. Pp. 187.*

The author has critically examined the different theories of laughter proposed by Hobbes, Bain, Baillie, Bergson and McDougall. He has exposed the inconsistencies of the current theories and has pointed out the core of truth that is to be found in each. The author has proposed a theory of his own basing his views on McDougall's conception of the nature of instincts. According to the author laughter is the process of demobilization of surplus instinctive forces after the goal has been realized. The author points out that persons do not really laugh *at* a situation but people feel impelled to laugh only *in* certain circumstances. He has discussed the nature of humour and wit and has given us an analysis of the pleasure we feel in witnessing a tragic drama. Some of the Shakesperian characters, such as Falstaff, Hamlet, Othello, and others have been studied by the author from the standpoint of his own theory. There is no doubt that Mr. Menon has hit upon one aspect of the mechanism of laughter and humour. But the author would not have rushed into print, had he studied Freud's *Wit and its Relation to the Unconscious* along with the books he mentions as he would have found himself forestalled by Freud long before.

THE NEW HEALING: *Wilfrid A. Streeter— Methuen & Co. Ltd., London. Price 7s. 6d. net. Pp. 257.*

Mr. Streeter has given us a very interesting account of the art and science of osteopathy which is popularly known as bone-setting. Bone-setting as a profession has found many advocates in different parts of the world although the regular medical men with their hide-bound conservatism have been slow to recognize the merit of this art. There has been, however, no lack of popular support for the bone setter. The famous controversy regarding Barker, the bone-setter, whom the medical profession persisted in calling a quack and on whom the Kinghthood was conferred by the King as a recognition of his services has been recalled in this book. The main tennets of osteopathy have been clearly indicated by the author in the latter part of his book. The book is well-worth a perusal by medical men as well as the laity.

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MEN AND MEDICINE: *By Dr. Henry E. Sigerist. George Allen & Unwin Ltd. Museum Street, London. Price 12s. 6d. net. Pp. 340.*

It is a well-known fact that the great majority of medical men know nothing of the historical and cultural background of the healing art. The work under review is meant to give the medical student "a much-needed survey of the course he is to follow and of the goal to be attained." The book is an excellent one and treats of the structure of man, the function of different organs, the relation between mind and body, the general nature of disease, its theory and causation, mortality, prophylaxis, the personality of the physician, and other problems from the historical standpoint. It is to be regretted that the author who seems to be so well-posted in the history of medicine knows nothing of the antiquity and achievements of the Ayurveda. Many of the discoveries which the author attributes to the Occident are to be found in the ancient Indian system of medicine. It is time European scholars dealing with the history of the different arts and sciences paid more attention to Indian records.

THE SEXUAL SIDE OF MARRIAGE: *By M. J. Exner, M. D., George Allen & Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London. Pp. 252.*

The author has sought to give an insight into the factors that make for successful marriage and he has laid particular emphasis on the question of sex. In the words of the author "the purpose of the book is to provide as clear as possible a sailing chart to enable those who are contemplating marriage to avoid the shoals and to help those who find themselves already among them to discover a way out." The book although meant for the lay reader will also no doubt be appreciated by the medical profession. The chapter on sexual mal-adjustment is specially good. By a careful analysis of the data obtained by numerous workers from married couples the author has been able to make out a strong case in favour of marriage. The author is against the too wide spacing of children.

LIFE IN NATURE: *James Hinton—George Allen & Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London. Price 10s. 6d. net. Pp. 291.*

James Hinton who was born in 1822 and who had a chequered career qualified himself as a medical man wrote many books on philosophical, religious, social, medical and surgical topics. Hinton died in 1875. The book under review is one of Hinton's best works. Although Hinton had his training as a scientist he had the vision of a poet. The book deals with the problem of evolution of life, the morphology of living beings, the vital forces, the law of form and many other problems. There is a learned introduction by Havelock Ellis. Throughout the discussion there is to be discerned a spiritual outlook so rare among the scientists of the present day. The book may be read with profit by those who are interested in the general problems of Biology.

A TREATISE ON BIRTH-CONTROL: *By An Oriental Doctor. Published by Mrs. A. Mathews, Conception Inquiry Office, Kuthi Athode Travancore. Pp. 172.*

We wonder why the author of this book felt shy to announce his name on the title page although the book has been professed to be written by an 'Eminent Doctor.' The internal evidence shows that he is neither eminent nor a medical man. The usual sex topics are to be found in this book discussed in a popular style. I am sorry I have no word of praise for this little volume.

G. BOSE

GERMAN

DAS BRITISCHE ERZIEHUNGSWESEN IN INDIEN: *By Dr. Gerta Hertz. Published by Weidmannsche Buchhandlung. Berlin, 1932.*

The book under review is one of the most thorough and comprehensive treatises on the history of education in India. Though the special subject of the book is the British system of education only the authoress has efficiently and elaborately dealt in the first part of her book with the old Indian systems, Hindu as well as Mahomedan, in all their various aspects. The second part of the book is devoted to the Education system under the East India Company. The conflict between the methods and ideas of the Christian Missionaries on the one hand and the outlook of the British Conservative politicians regarding the object of the education of the natives on the other, has been very ably depicted. The authoress next shows how the liberal view-point, gradually came to stay in spite of Macaulay and others of his way of thinking. How the efforts of the Indian educationists and politicians of wide ideas influenced and modified the occidental view-point has been demonstrated with a thoroughness, characteristic of all German scholars. In the last part of the book the organization of the various types of modern schools and their financial basis have been delineated. How the Universities in the different provinces were founded, and how the number of high schools and elementary schools, technical and industrial schools, special schools for girls and for depressed classes, etc. gradually increased, have all been described, bringing the history up to the year 1929.

In conclusion, the authoress maintains that the British education system in India has been more powerfully influenced by political rather than by purely pedagogical considerations, and this is responsible for the creation of a small class of educated Indians who are for the most part neglectful of their own culture and traditions and are even inclined to look at these with disdain. She calls them the "Babus" or the "Brown Englishmen". She, however, notes with great satisfaction that the purely Indian ideals which were neglected and suppressed so long by the foreign system of education are beginning to reassert themselves. This movement has been greatly furthered by the new orientation of the Indian National Congress.

It is impossible to do full justice to the book in a short review. One cannot but admire the industry and patience of the authoress who has ransacked all possible sources of information, in order to give a thorough and systematic presentation of the British educational system in India. The most remarkable feature of the book is the clear demonstration of how personalities and political situations have throughout dominated the evolution of the British ideas of Indian education.

SUHRIT CHANDRA MITRA

DEUTSCHE LITERATUR: *Reihe Klassik, Vol. 2, Philipp Reclam Jun. Verlag, Leipzig.*

"Deutsche Literatur" is a monumental collection

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of German Literature, published by Philipp Reclam Jun. in Leipzig (Germany.) We possess already excellent editions of the works of German writers, poets and philosophers with interesting introductions in which the editors try to visualize the personality. The present collection follows quite a new plan. It is concerned with the historical development and cultural progress in the ceaseless flow of the German mind. The entire collection will consist of 250 volumes. The plan is, however, not a rigid and inflexible one. It is amenable to changes when these must needs be made.

The present volume (second volume of the Classical Period) is a breviary of the humanistic outlook on life during the German Classical Age. You find herein some of the most important works of German Idealism which trace and explain its growth out of the ideas of the Reformation Period. The doctrine of toleration is symbolized in Lessing's "Nathan". His famous essay "On the Education of Mankind" is the clearest manifesto ever written in favour of the principles of a free theology, and of course against dogmas of every kind.

The creative genius Lessing is followed in this volume by the receptive genius Herder who influenced the development of the mind of the young Goethe, the greatest genius of Germany, in Strassburg so considerably. Herder's speech "On the Death of Lessing" is a dithyrambic hymn, an Adonais in prose, celebrating the great qualities of Lessing as a philosophic thinker and critic. Herder's Dialogues on "God" and his lecture on "The Immortality of Man" enlarge on the great importance of Spinoza regarding classical Humanism and unveils the human aspect in the conception of "The Immortality of Man".

Prof. Ermatinger's introduction sets forth the chief points in this volume in a way that reflects great credit upon the learned Editor. His notes at the end made for a better understanding of the book.

DIE DIONTUNG STEFAN GEORGES: *By Ernst Morwitz. Berlin (George Bondi Verlag), 1934.*

The book of Ernst Morwitz on Stefan George is a very valuable short commentary on the poems of the great German lyric poet, who was gathered to his fathers in Italy only a few months ago. When I asked German Propaganda Minister Dr. Goebbels in July 1933, as to who was the greatest poet of modern Germany, he replied at once, "Stefan George !"

Stefan George was a poet in the best sense of the word. He was the high priest of poetry. His poems are instinct with a wonderful rhythm. He is a master of architectural style in poetry. It is no exaggeration when I say that his fancy "peoples with golden dreams the stagnant air."

Morwitz paves the way to a better understanding of Stefan George, especially for the younger generation of today. He gives us a very interesting analysis of Stefan George's works and explains his poems from the viewpoint of a critic of art, initiating us into the depths of George's poetic genius.

Other useful books for the study of Stefan George's poetical works are "Die Ersten Buecher Stefan Georges" by Eduard Lachmann, "Stefan George und die Blaetter fuer die Kunst" by Friedrich Wolthers and "Stefan George" by Friedrich Gundolf (Georg Bondi Press, Berlin).

P. TARACHAND ROY

DIE GOLDBEWEGUNGEN NACH FRANKREICH IN DEN LETZTEN JAHREN—*Sudhir Sen, pp. 152, Bonn 1933,*

The more one reads certain well-known economists the more one is driven to the conclusion that though they may be very great economists, they are very poor writers of English. It is a pleasure therefore to read an economic study which is soundly reasoned, and clearly written. The book deals with the monetary problems of Germany, and their relation with the gold question. It is not a book for the general public, but is invaluable for anyone who wishes to understand the practical workings of the monetary system in a big country. Dr. Sen has shown himself to be an exceptionally able writer, and a vigourous and clear thinker, and it is to be hoped that his future studies will be of the same high standard.

CHRISTOPHER ACKROYD

SANSKRIT—HINDI—ENGLISH

RIGVEDA SAMHITA *with the Bhashyas: By Sayanacharya and the Marmanusarini Byakhya with notes and annotations by Pandit Durgadas Lahiry. Edited by Vedaratna Pramathanath Sanyal Sarma.*

The book under review is intended to be the first volume of the Hindi version of the Rigveda, edited by Pandit Durgadas Lahiry in Bengali.

The Hindi portion of the book including the general preface is mere translation of the corresponding portion in Pandit Lahiry's own edition.

The arrangement of the portion in Sanskrit is faulty. While the texts given, comprise the first 19 Suktas, there are Sayana's commentaries on 9 of them only. The commentaries, too, instead of being printed separately along with the Riks concerned, have all been printed together, much to the inconvenience of the reader.

The Marmanusarini Byakhya, which constitutes the most important feature of the book, is Pandit Lahiry's own exposition of the Suktas in simple Sanskrit and aims at bringing out the spiritual significance of the Riks. The exposition is interesting but not convincing, being not backed by authoritative texts.

As for example, we are not told how अग्नि could be made to mean ज्ञानदेव in defiance of all tradition.

The get-up of the book is excellent; the printing is on the whole satisfactory, but instances of orthographical errors are not rare.

ISAN CHANDRA ROY

SANSKRIT

SABDARATNASAMANVAYAKOSA OF KING SAHAJI OF TANJORE (*Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. LIX*), *Critically edited with an introduction and index by Vitthalram Lalluram Shastri, Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya, Baroda. With a Foreword by the General Editor, Dr. B. Bhattacharya, M. A., Ph. D. Price Rs. 11-0-0.*

Lexicographical works of which there is a fairly good number in Sanskrit belonging to different periods are not only of immense linguistic interest but a

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thorough analysis and study of them is expected to throw much welcome light on the cultural history of India and her provinces. But such a study of them may be possible only when the texts of them are critically edited and published in a useful form together with necessary indexes. And hence the authorities of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series deserve the hearty congratulations of the world of scholars on bringing out, in rapid succession, two old lexicographical works—the *Kesavakalpadrukosa* and the work under review. There is some doubt with regard to the authorship of the present work as only a prose version of it and none of the two MSS. on the basis of which it has been edited refers to the name of the author. But this does not in any way make the work the less interesting.

Proper care has been taken to make the work useful and handsome in every respect. The text is given in neat bold types and there is an exhaustive index of words—both of those the meanings of which are given as also of those that are used to indicate these meanings. There are only a few omissions of entries in it: under the word देवताभेद (*devatabheda*) reference should be given to p. 347, line 17 as to other pages. A cursory glance through the pages of the book brought to notice several interesting facts. Of local and comparatively later deities of the Hindu Pantheon the dictionary mentions Marici, Vatu, Cāmundā, Bherunda, Śāsta, Śītalā, Sunsiti, Śarabha, Asuri, Sundari, Prishātaka, Viśālāksī and Jambhala. Tārā is referred to as a Buddhist deity (p. 255, l. 6). The word Goraksa occurs but it is not mentioned as the name of the Yogin—well-known among the followers of Nathaism. A number of geographical places, specially places of pilgrimage, and a number of standard literary works are given here. A closer scrutiny is expected to bring to light many other important facts much useful to scholars.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

KAVYA-PARIKRAMA—*By the late Ajit Kumar Chakravarti. Visva-Bharati Book Depot, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. 2nd Edition, 1933. Pp. 179. Price* Re. 1-8.

It is a misfortune for Bengali literature that the writings of so illustrious a writer as Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore have not attracted the attention of worthy critics. Most of the so-called critical works in the market are full of eulogistic effusions but their authors do not give any evidence of critical acumen or intimate insight into the artistic workings of the Poet's mind. Under the circumstances, the present work by a close follower of Tagore holds the field. We welcome this second edition of the book in an enlarged form which was long overdue. We are only glad to add that this exquisitely written book of criticism has been accepted by the lovers of Bengali literature and the Poet. No student of Tagore literature can afford to miss this really helpful work which unfortunately does not cover the whole field. In this edition there are two prefaces by Prof. Khagendra Nath Mitra and Dr. Kalidas Nag.

RAMES BASU

FRENCH TRANSLATION OF BENGALI

LA POUPEE DE FROMAGE: (*Khirer Poutoul) of Abanindranath Tagore adapted from the original Bengali into French; by Andree Karpeles and Amiya Chakravarty; published by C. A. Hogman, 150 Boulevard St. Germain, Paris.*

Madame Andree Karpeles is a renowned French artist who spent her early days in Bengal and who visited Santiniketan later in life, drawing spontaneously inspiration not only from the master-artists of Bengal but also from the simple sublimity and grace of our village-folk. She had already published a remarkable volume, *India and her Soul* an anthology of contemporary Indian thought, much appreciated in Europe. She has published also a translation of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's *Fire Flies* and of Abanindranath Tagore's *Essays on Art and Anatomy*. And now *Khirer Poutoul*, so well-known and popular in Bengal, has found its beautiful French incarnation, thanks to the devotion and enthusiasm of Madame Karpeles. She is a born-decorator and in every book that she publishes we feel the impress of her genius in illumining the text with flashes of decorative design that fascinate us. No wonder then that she hypnotized, by means of this magic doll of the Bengal village, one of the greatest story-tellers of our age, Selma Lagerlof of the Swedish Academy, who has written a charming preface to the volume. Selma Lagerlof has explored, more than anybody else, the world of super-naturalism hidden behind the folk-tales of her land and she has paid a great compliment to our Indian storry-tellers when she has said that they allow the super-natural element to disturb the simple progression of events only in case of extreme necessity, and even then Hindu super-naturalism might work through any beast or bird or even a long-tailed monkey and not necessarily through the all-powerful and irresistible *fairy*, more or less abstract and super-human. Through this story Selma Lagerlof could feel the exquisite grace and refine expressions of the royal court of India. Above all, she admires Indian wisdom because "it places goodness and fidelity high above youth and beauty."

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GUJARATI

MANJARI: *Published by Ramu Thakkar, and printed at the Swadhin Printing Press, Ranpur. Cloth Cover, pp. 214. Price Re. 1-4. (1933).*

This is a collection of fifteen short stories, bearing on various domestic and social subjects published at different times in the weekly, *Phul Chhab*. They are very interesting to read, and many of them are told in a very affecting way. We specially commend the story, sarcastically called, "The Happy Prostitute," narrating the life-history of a Hindu girl, widowed at the age of fourteen, and her trials and her fall, till ultimately when she became a convert to Islam and a concubine of Musalman traders, all this because of the rigour of society which would not allow re-marriage, the result being her being driven on the streets. It is a scathing commentary on our ways.

K. M. J.

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THE WATERS OF DESTINY

By SITA DEVI

VII

SUBARNA woke up early in the morning. She was accustomed to early rising. Besides, the noise of the awakening of the great city, began much before the morning and woke up people who were new to the metropolis. Some such sound woke up Subarna, and she sat up straight in her bed. On first opening her eyes, she did not recognize her surroundings. Everything seemed strange and new to her. The next moment memory returned and she knew where she was. Slowly she came out of her room, on the open terrace and stood looking down on the streets beneath. It was already full of people, and vehicles and cars of different types. Subarna had never seen such things. She had never dreamed that there were so many kinds of people in the world. She had not much leisure in her old life to pass in dreaming and imagining. Oppression and fear crushed her, and her heart had dried up. She toiled like a beast of burden, and suffered silently like one. Her life held nothing but toil and suffering.

Suddenly, within a few days the walls of her prison house had broken down. Subarna did not know what to do with such perfect freedom. She felt herself lost and at her wits' end. Her mind too had become crippled through slavery and she could not even think clearly and coherently. She was a girl of fourteen, but she was ignorant of the world like an infant. On the other hand, she felt herself to be an old woman. She had no joy in life, she was afraid even to hope for better things. She was like a bird which had been set free from its cage after years of captivity and did not know how to use its freedom.

For about half an hour, she stood thus looking down at the streams of people beneath her. Then she returned to her room. She rolled up her bed. She was not accustomed to sitting idle in the morning but here she had no work. She peeped into her father's bedroom, he was still sleeping soundly. Subarna had a small bath-room, attached to her room. Usually there was no water to be had there. But there was an electric pump below, with the aid of which water could be pumped up to the second floor. The servants had seen to it today, knowing that the people above would need water. Seeing drops of water dribbling from the tap, Subarna went in and washed her hands and face at it. Then she gathered all the clothing she had used in the train and took them to the bath-room. She began to wash them, much more at ease now, because she had found something to do.

She was wholly engrossed in her work, but her father's voice made her look up with a start. "What are you about ?" asked her father. "Why are you getting wet so early ?"

"I am washing all the soiled clothing, used in the train, father," said the girl.

"Oh there will be lots more of clothing used in travelling, after this," said Pratul. "How much will you be able to wash ? I shall send them to the laundry. Come away from that damp place."

Subarna could never leave her work half done. She wrung out the clothes she had washed and came out with them. "Where shall I hang them up to dry, father ?" she asked.

A servant had come up with a large tea tray. "Give them to him," said Pratul. "Surya, take them and hang them up somewhere."

The servant put the tray down on Pratul's table. Then taking the bundle of washing he went away to hang them up. Pratul called Subarna to him and asked, "Have you washed your face ? Come and have your tea then."

Subarna looked at him, rather astonished. "But I have never taken tea, father," she said.

"Very well, take something else then," said her father. "Don't stand there like that. Come on."

Subarna had to come and stand by her father, though she had long since lost the habit of taking breakfast in the morning. She had to serve food to every one in her husband's house, before she could touch anything herself. It was generally in the afternoon that she took her first meal. Her mother-in-law did not believe in letting young wives have too easy a time. She hated these modern new-fangled ideas. Her own childhood and early youth had been passed under the tutelage of a very strict mother-in-law, and she was taking it out of poor Subarna, as a sort of reprisal. She believed that this sort of training bore good fruit in the long run. Women could lead easy lives when they grew old, but certainly not in their youth. What was the use of having mothers-in-law else ?

Pratul drew up a chair for Subarna and said, "Sit down. Now, what are you going to take ? Here are bread, butter and eggs. Can you eat these ?"

Subarna turned up her small nose in disgust and asked, "Is the bread made by a Muhammadan, father ?"

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Her father became grave and said, "That is possible; but you must give up these prejudices now. I won't force you to take them on the first day, but try to change your notions. But tell me now what you want to eat. There are some sweetmeats and fruits. You can have them. Shall I order more sweats for you ?"

The fruits and sweetmeats were on the same tray with the eggs and bread. Subarna had objections to taking these too. But she felt that her father was angry. So she drew the plate of sweets slowly towards herself and began to eat them, though tears were starting to her eyes.

When she had finished, her father asked, "Shall I order some milk for you ? You did not take tea."

Subarna smiled. Did her father think she was a baby or an invalid ? "No, no, father", she said. "I do not want anything else. I have taken quite enough." She began to put back the dishes on the tea-tray.

"Let them be, let them be", said Pratul. "The servant will see to these. I am going out now and may be late. What are you going to do all this time ? It is difficult to remain alone in this lodging-house. Will you come with me ?"

"Yes, father", said Subarna, "I shall feel very much afraid, if you leave me alone. The servants will come up and go down all the time. If there had been a maid servant, it would have been otherwise."

"You have reminded me of a good thing," said her father. "I shall try to engage a maid-servant. I won't have to take you along everywhere with me, then." As the servant came up for the tea-tray, Pratul turned to him and asked, "Can you get a maidservant today ? She will remain with my daughter the whole day, and do whatever work there is to do. She may go home at night."

Surya began loading the tray with the plates and cups and answered, "I can do that, Sir. I have a person in mind, I shall see whether I can find her in the market. How much are you going to pay her ?"

"First bring her, then we shall see about the payment", said Pratulchandra. "Get me a paper. Can you read, Subarna ?"

"I can read Bengali, father," said his daughter, rather shyly.

"Bring a Bengali paper too," said Pratul, handing him some money.

The servant went down. "I could have swept the rooms, if I had a broom," said Subarna.

"The servant will do that," said her father. "We must go out very soon. I think I shall have to buy new dresses, shoes, stockings and everything of the sort for you. I wish I had somebody, whom I could consult. I don't know anything about these things, neither do you. I really don't know what to do."

"Then don't buy anything now, father," said Subarna. "First consult someone. Don't spend money needlessly. Don't buy *saris* for me, I have got lots and lots. Mother never wore any of her good *saris*, and they are all quite new."

"All right, we won't buy *saris* then", said her father. "Let me see to the other things. I will have to go about quite a lot these first few days."

The servant brought up two papers, one English, the other Bengali. Pratul pushed the last one towards his daughters, saying, "Read this. You will know all about foreign countries".

Subarna began to read the paper, but she understood very little. She had never heard of these countries, and she did not know what the events mentioned meant. Still she went on as she was ashamed to show her ignorance. After a while she asked, "Have you got any story-book father ?"

Pratul was glad to know that his daughter had a love of learning. "I have not got any," he said. "But the gentlemen downstairs must have got some. Let me see," with these words he went down.

Pratul had the largest collection of books amongst the lodgers, but there were few Bengali books in it. Even those few were not fiction. The other gentlemen did not have much to do with books. They read only the sporting columns of the papers and the cinema notes. Two or three were fond of English novels, but they lent these books to their friends, and as is the custom. they were never returned. So none had any books in their possession. Pratul came back after a long search with some old Bengali magazines and a work of Rameshchandra Dutt. "Turn these over for the present," he said, "when we go out we shall get some more books."

"Oh, these will do splendidly, father," said Subarna. "What's the use of more books ?"

Pratul was rather taken aback at this lack of ambition on Subarna's part. "These few can never do," he said, "you must study regularly now. You are quite a big girl. Did not you read any more after you left your mother ? She taught you only the rudiments."

"I did not, father, I had no time," said Subarna. "I never dared to touch a book there, for fear of my mother-in-law. She would abuse me so. She said it was inauspicious and a woman had no business to get learned. She used to say, "We have no learning, but are we not human beings ?"

"I cannot say that she belonged to a high order of humanity," said her father. "But let that pass now. Bolt the door from inside and read these, while I go out. Don't be afraid, I shall come back within an hour."

Subarna was really feeling afraid but she did not dare to object. As her father went out, she bolted the door from within and sat down with the books. But she did not like reading for long. She put them by, and opening her mother's trunk, began arranging the things

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within. Tears rushed into her eyes at the sight of the dresses, hallowed by her mother's memory. She put her head down on the trunk and began to weep.

Suddenly there was a knock at the door. Subarna sat up in consternation. Who could it be? She was very much afraid of the servants. She had heard fearsome tales about these Calcutta servants in her village home. She believed them to be capable of every kind of crime. She peeped out through a hole in the door. She saw the servant standing with a woman. The sight of a woman restored her courage. She opened the door and said, "Father has gone out a little while ago".

"I saw Raju's mother in the market, so I brought her along at once. You sit down here, and wait for the gentleman, while I go and finish my marketing. Else the cook will kick up a row."

The servant went down. The woman named Raju's mother came inside. Seeing that Subarna was going to bolt the door again, she stopped her, saying, "Don't do that young miss, I shall sit with you and you won't need any bolts or bars. Is this the first time you have come to Calcutta?"

Subarna sat down on the bed and said, "Yes, this is the first time. Did you use to work here before?"

"Yes, I did for a time", answered the woman, "but it is difficult for a woman to work in a gentleman's boarding house."

"Why?" asked Subarna, rather alarmed. "are not they good people?"

"Oh, I did not mean to suggest that," said the woman, biting her tongue in protest. "They are quite all right, but they wanted a man to fetch and carry for them. So I brought Surya here. He is also from my village."

"In which village do you live?" asked Subarna. "Is it far from our village? My father's house is in the village of Jamral."

"No, my dear," said the woman, "we don't live in that part. Our village is very far from here. We have no railway even, and have to walk. Our legs feel like coming off. The rich people, of course, use horse carriages or palanquins."

Subarna was getting to like Raju's mother. She also was from a village and felt a certain affinity with the woman. The city people were strange, even her own father. Subarna did not dare to speak to them. She did not know what to say. She knew they were not interested in the same things. Subarna, too, did not like their talks. She knew only the simple life of the village, which she had left for ever. Perhaps she, too, would become like these city people in time. The thought gave rise to mixed feelings in her heart. Would she, too, scorn her simple childhood then? It held much sorrow and suffering, still she felt pain at the thought of parting from it. This life was hallowed by her mother's memory. She could never scorn it. There could be no love anywhere to match a mother's love. But she felt a bit of pleasure, too, at the thought of the new life going to begin for her. She would be a real human being and not a slave. She would not have to submit to oppression all the time. She had begun to understand that her life of slavery had deprived her of many rights and privileges, which a human being should enjoy.

Pratul came back after a while. Seeing Raju's mother, he asked, "So it is you? Did not you work here before?"

"Yes, Sir," said the woman, "for what work do you want me?"

"There is not much work to do," said Pratul; "but you must remain here with my daughter all the time and do whatever work there may be. I have to be out pretty often, and there must be somebody with her."

"Certainly, Sir," Said the women, you can have her safely with me. I am working as a servant because I am poor, but I come of a very respectable family. How much shall I get?"

"I shall not keep you very long," said Pratul. "But, for the few days we are here, you will get eight annas a day."

The woman had not expected so much. So she remained quiet. As Pratul sat down to write some important letters she took Subarna to the other room and began to talk to her. The servants had done all the work of the morning, so there was nothing to do just then.

Pratul had no intention of keeping Subarna in Calcutta for long. He did not want her there, because Calcutta was too near and her husband's people might start trouble again. They had sent her away in anger but they were sure to want her back after a while. Pratul was a fairly rich man, and Subarna was his only child. He knew very well that Shribilas would want his wife back pretty soon. But Pratul had taken a vow never to send his daughter to that house of butchers again.

VIII

Subarna had been in Calcutta nearly a week. She had gathered quite a lot of experience. She did not gape at the sight of trams and buses any longer, and she had got accustomed to the sight of strange people, strangely clad. Though Raju's mother was nothing but a maidservant, yet she knew the manner in which the girls of the city dressed and did their hair, as she had worked in many cultured families. Subarna was learning these things from her, though as yet her knowledge was far from perfect.

It was evening. Pratul was shaving in his room, and in the other room Subarna was getting her hair dressed by Raju's mother. She was to accompany her father to the house of a friend of his. Pratul wanted to consult his friend's wife about Subarna.

Raju's mother finished her work and said,

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"I have done my best, but it is not very pretty. The girls of the Bose family do their hair very nicely. They don't tie them in braids either."

"But does not their hair come down ?" asked Subarna.

"Not at all, why should it ?" said Raju's mother. "They use such a large number of hair-pins. Those pins too are of many kinds, some are made of celluloid, some of tortoise shell. I did not pay much attention then ; else I would have learnt it all perfectly."

"Have you finished ?" asked Pratul from the next room.

Subarna got up in a hurry and said, "Yes, father, I have nearly finished." She ran into the bath-room to wash her face.

She came out soon, but did not know which *sari* to wear, and how to wear it. Pratul had bought her many new things, but she did not know how to use them. Raju's mother solved her problems for her. "You dress as best you know, my sister. Nobody puts on these English shoes now, they all wear those up-country *nagras*. You also do likewise. Then try to learn from the girls of the family you are going to visit."

So Subarna dressed up simply and started with her father. As she was going down the stairs, her father said, "Speak, when you are spoken to and don't remain silent, as you did the other day. The rules of your mother-in-law do not apply here. Everybody speaks here."

Subarna was really afraid of speaking. She had been taught that a young wife must not speak, even if she is struck seven times, she could never talk freely before people. She had suffered much for not knowing where to speak and where not to speak. If she answered her mother-in-law or her sister-in-law, they used to strike her and if she did not answer any of Shribila's questions, he also gave her a slap or two. Between these two parties, poor Subarna had nearly forgotten how to speak.

They started in a hackney carriage. Subarna looked at the large buildings on both sides of the road and the big shops. What a number of beautiful things ! She wished she could carry them all away. She had got some pretty things for her own now, and she was beginning to understand the joy of possession for the first time.

The carriage entered a narrow lane from the main road. Pratul called out to the man to stop on the right. The carraige stopped before a small two-storied house.

The front door was closed. Pratul knocked and a small boy in Khaki shorts opened it. As he saw Pratul he said "Father has just gone out."

"But aren't others at home ?" asked Pratul.

"Where is your mother ?

"Oh, mother is in the kitchen," said the boy. "Please come in."

Pratul told the coachman to wait and climbed up the stairs with Subarna.

There were only three rooms on the first floor, but these three appeared to be quite crowded. Every room was used as a bedroom, as well as a dining-room. But the flat was neat and clean on the whole.

The boy conducted them to a small room and asked them to sit down. There were two or three chairs and large wooden bedstead, covered with a printed counterpane. Pratul took one of the chairs while Subarna went and sat on the bed.

The mistress of the house came up in a hurry to welcome the guests. "Please make yourself at home," she said to Pratul, "my servant has run away, so I am trying to do everything singlehanded."

"We have come at the wrong moment," said Pratul. "we must be frightfully in the way."

"What a thing to say," cried the lady in protest. "Is not anyone to come to my house, because the servant has run away ? I have just put the rice on to boil, and my little son will look after it. He is a very bright boy and helps me a lot.

"This is my daughter Subarna," said Pratul. "I want to talk to you about her."

"Oh, is this Subarna ?" asked the lady. "You said she was about fourteen but she looks like a child of eleven. Our Amitâ is of the same age but she looks quite grown up."

Subarna got up at a sign from her father, and bowed down to the lady. She patted her on the head lovingly and made her sit down again. "Sit down, my dear," she said, "there is not a single girl in the house for you to talk to. I have got boys only, and they make me so wretched."

Pratul Chandra smiled at her words and said, "You have said something strange for our country. Everyone here wants sons, nobody likes to have daughters."

"That is entirely due to circumstances," said their hostess. They don't want them, because they have to suffer quite a lot on their account. Otherwise a daughter would be most welcome, at least to the mother. I have got four sons, but the house is like a barrack and not like a home. They are out the whole day, and the place remains empty and I feel like flying away somewhere else. If I feel a bit unwell, there is no one who can bring me a glass of water or sit by me for a while. My youngest boy has not yet taken after his brothers, otherwise things would have become impossible long ago."

"You should give lectures on the subject at public meetings," said Pratul. "It might make our countrymen change their views."

"Where is the time for me ?" asked his hostess with a smile. "I am too much occupied with my housework. And every day either the servant or the maid runs away. If I had a grown-up daughter, I would have had some leisure, and my home would have looked

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beautiful, too. I feel rather envious of you. If I could, I would take away your beautiful daughter."

Subarna was listening to her with wonder. She had never heard such words spoken. She never dreamt that anybody could really desire daughters. From her infancy upwards, she had heard that girls were useless, they came only to torment the parents. It was glad news to her that even daughters were desired, that there were persons who missed them. Subarna felt her heart bursting with reverence for this lady. Why had not God given her a daughter? She remembered her own mother. She had loved Subarna tenderly and had made much of her, yet she, too, had never a good word to say about daughters in general. She too had said that a girl was born only as a punishment to her parents. She loved Subarna, because she was her own child, but she, like others, thought that a daughter was useless. Subarna's aunt, too, had sung to the same tune as long as she had stayed with them. Subarna regarded this lady with amazement mingled with awe. She could never have thought before that there could be such a woman, who actually desired female children.

"If I could, I would at once give her to you," said Pratul. "It would be a great relief to me. I am nothing but a stupid bookworm and know nothing about children and how to bring them up. I want to give her the best of educations. So that she could be perfectly independent, might never have to look to others to support her. But I don't know where to keep her and how to arrange for her education. I am at my wit's end."

"It is really a matter for thought," said his hostess. "Your daughter is too big now to be put to school with small children. She must make rapid progress. I think you had better engage a private tutor for her. After she has made some progress you can put her to school."

"Very true," said Pratul. "She cannot afford to waste any more time. I can get a private tutor for her at once, but where am I to keep her? I don't want her to be in Calcutta for various reasons. I want to keep her in a place, where she can forget everything that has befallen her. I must stay in Calcutta as my work lies here, but I must keep Subarna out of Calcutta. This is a problem which admits of no solution."

Shashadhar Babu, the master of the house, returned at this juncture. "I know some guests have honoured us, when I saw Khoka in charge of the kitchen," he said as he entered. "Is this your daughter?"

This time Subarna got up herself, and bowed down to the gentleman. "Sit down, my dear, sit down," he said. "What is your name?"

"Srimati Subarnaprabha Guha," replied she, with her head bent.

"You are a very modern person," said Shashadhar Babu, "why has your daughter got such an antiquated name?"

"I did not give her that name," said Pratul.

"As you want to change every thing, belonging to her old life, why not change her name too? If you did so, her husband's people would not know her, even if they heard her name."

"That's a good idea," said Pratul. "I had already decided to omit the Guha, and call her Mitra again. I might as well call her something else in place of Subarna. What name would you like, child?"

Subarna felt inclined to laugh. How funny her father was. Can a name be changed for another like dresses? Still if he wanted to change her name, she had no objection. She had no great love for her name. "Give me whatever name you please," she said.

"Then I may give the child a name," said their hostess. "I like the name Suparnâ very much. I had decided to call my daughter Suparnâ if ever I get one. Since I did not, I make a present of the name to your daughter."

"It is a good name," said Pratul. "Nobody will be able to identify Miss Suparnâ Mitra, as Mrs. Subarnaprabha Guha. That is settled then. Now for a place, where she could be safely kept."

"I have a place in mind," said Shashadhar Babu's wife. "You know the people, too, quite well. But it is rather far off."

"I don't object to that," said Pratul, "rather I like it to be far off. What place are you referring to?"

"I was thinking of Delhi," said his hostess. "You can keep your daughter in my cousin's house. There is Amitâ, she will be a good companion for your child. It is convenient in every way."

"Yes, yes, it would be a very suitable arrangement," said her husband. "As you want your daughter to be self-reliant and independent, Delhi would suit you very well. It is a place where the rougher virtues will be more easily developed than in Bengal. Here girls are bound to get rather namby-pamby. I think it is due to the atmosphere. Our Amitâ has already become quite an Amazon. She knows fencing and she can use the stick too. She can drive a car as well. She is a very intrepid young person."

"I want my daughter to be just like that," said Pratul. "If your cousin Taran Babu consents to take my daughter in, I shall be very much obliged. But as he is a widower, and already burdened with the care of a daughter, I doubt whether he will agree to the proposal."

"He will agree for that very reason," said Shashadhar Babu's wife. "He will be glad to get a companion for his child. Amitâ is left too much by herself, and her father is grieved about it. If ever he has to leave Delhi, he does not know what arrangement to make. It is difficult to leave a grown-up girl absolutely alone. If Suparnâ goes there, they would be quite

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comfortable like two sisters. The house is fairly large, and they have got servants enough, so there is no chance of inconvenience. And there is facility for every kind of education there. Later on, she can go in for any career she chooses."

"I have thought of that," said Pratul, "I think the medical line would suit her best. Women can earn more in that profession. If she can pass her I. Sc., I will put her in the Lady Hardinge Medical College."

"You must write to Taran Babu today," said Shashadhar, "I shall also write to him. I think he will agree. Then, all you have to do is to pack up and start for Delhi. Suparnâ will see a lot of new places on the way."

The name Suparnâ seemed yet strange to the possessor of the name. Still she submitted to this change with a good grace. It was not a worse name than Subarna, rather it sounded sweeter in her ears. If she was to become a new person in every way, she might as well have a new name.

After some more conversation, Pratul got up to go. But his hostess would not let him off without treating him to some light refreshments. "The child has come to my house for the first time," she said, "she must not go away without taking something."

The youngest boy was sent out to get some sweetmeats. Tea was made at home, and everyone did full justice to the good things. Then the guests took their leave. Suparnâ bowed down to Shashadhar Babu's wife of herself. She had taken a great liking to the lady. She had heard that educated women were very wicked. They sat in chairs all day long, dressed as Memsahibs, they ate pork and beef, and such other things. Now she believed these to be wicked lies.

Coming back, she gave Raju's mother a detailed account of her visit. "It is a good arrangement, sister," said the woman. "You will receive education and become a doctor. We have got a lady doctor living in our quarter, she earns heaps of money. She does not care a straw for any man. On the other hand, many men play the sycophant to her for her money."

(To be continued)

THE POINT OF VIEW

(A Review)

By SAROJ KUMAR DAS, M.A., Ph.D.

The Editor is to be congratulated upon the successful compilation of a delightful anthology from the writings of the late Dr. Paul Carus. It is easy to prepare an anthology from the works of a prolific writer of the eminence of Paul Carus; but it is not so easy to compile an anthology designed to elucidate the *point of view* of the writer in question. The title of this volume* is thus a very happy selection and is the most fitting memorial to the versatile genius of so distinguished a thinker.

In tracing the genealogy of this volume the Editor refers incidentally to Dr. Paul Carus who was of the opinion that, "before attempting any full exposition of principles, a man should define his terms" (*Preface*, xiii). That this is an essential pre-requisite of clear thinking and resolute acting, none can gainsay; but it is a prescript more honoured in the breach than in the observance. Accordingly, this injunction gives us a foretaste of "the point of view" of Dr. Paul Carus. As a matter of fact, in assessing a man's contribution it is "the point of view" or "the vision," as William James would say, of the man that counts in the long run. The thoughts of a man that are hailed as genuine novelties in one age are destined to become commonplace utterances in the very next. But along with the absorption of thoughts in the flight of ages, what we do not witness is a corresponding dissipation or disintegration of view-points that have well-marked individualities of their own. These are the legacies that posterity will not willingly let die. That is just the reason why the Platonic point of view has come to stay as a classical inheritance of mankind, while his teachings about 'fixed stars' or 'future retribution' have become matters of antiquarian research. Dr. Carus is thus assured of an immortality devoutly to be wished for by a thinker; for he himself believed that 'a man lives in his ideas,' and consequeutly, "by having an aim that is rooted in eternity, we need not mind the transiency of life." (*Preface*, xi).

We are further informed by the Editor that 'Dr. Carus did not call himself a philosopher. He preferred to be considered a theologian; and although he was often accused of being an atheist, he insisted, that he was an atheist who loved God.' (*Ibid.* viii). This self-criticism or description is as accurate as it is informative, and forms the key-note of the inspired utterances and aphorisms which have been strung together in this volume.

It is in the fitness of things that the main key is struck in the very first section—'God! Man's Highest Ideal' wherein is announced his basic faith—"The God-conception which I deem true might be called nomotheism [which 'recognizes God in the uniformities of nature'] or cosmotheism or also monotheism, but I would prefer to call this conception henotheism (*henos i.e.*, one) but I object to deism, pantheism and atheism." (P. 9). But he hastens to

* *The Point of View.* An Anthology of Religion and Philosophy selected from the works of Paul Carus. Edited by Catherine Cook. The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, U. S. A. 1927. Pp. xi+211.

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add that 'a personal God-conception is untenable. God cannot be an individual being as we are... That man is made in his image does not justify the pagan habit of making God after man's image' (p. 13). This leads to the kindred topic of 'Soul and Man' (Sec. II). Defining the soul 'as the form of the organism,' he tries to solve the intricate problem of the relation of the soul and the body in an epigrammatic style: "While body is the soul as it appears, soul is the essence of the body as it is in itself." (P. 23). But, then, 'our soul is not our own but mankind's' and modern psychology has been steadily abandoning 'the ego-centric standpoint' (p. 25). In strict keeping with this modern outlook, he scouts the fallacy of imagining 'that there is a certain "I," an ego who does the thinking... There is no ego that produces thoughts, but thinking takes place, and in the process of thinking, thoughts are shaped.' (P. 35). In this context 'happiness' is 'compared to a fraction, the denominator of which consists of our wants and desires, the numerator of their satisfaction' (*Ibid.*) Accordingly, 'by a man's personality we mean a man whose character is clearly determined and well defined.' (Sec. III—'Unity and Personality'.) In Section 'IV Metaphysics,' Dr. Carus in the manner of the positivist warns us against the 'fatal error of metaphysics' which proceeds from 'the reification or hypostatization and substantiation of names' (p. 41). Thus 'metaphysical philosophy conceives the world as a duality; it assumes the existence, first of substance then of predicates with which substance is endowed' (p. 43). With a Lockean emphasis Dr. Carus holds that the 'source of knowledge is inner as well as outer experience; observation as well as introspection' (p. 47); and, further, 'a sensation cannot properly be called true. It is simply a fact,' (p. 48). 'Mind and Morals' form the subject-matter of Section VI. With his characteristic simplicity he believes mind to be 'an appearance of truth'—'an incarnation of God' (p. 51). And 'morality is nothing but the rigidity of the formal laws applied to practical life especially to the relations between man and his fellows.' (p. 55). So viewed "the 'must' of science and the 'ought' of morals condition and explain each other" (p. 54). Hence 'the mystery of being is revealed only to the man who actually *lives* a moral life' (p. 55). Section VII which deals with 'Religion, Theology and Ethics' bristles with so many pointed assertions. Premising that 'Religion refers to the entire man,' Dr. Carus holds that 'every religion is or should be a conviction that regulates man's conduct, affords comfort in affliction and consecrates all the purposes of life' (p. 60). Now, he thinks that 'the dogmatic religions of today are still under the spell of paganism'; for, paganism 'is nothing but a literal acceptance of a symbol or a myth where we ought to seek for the truth that is conveyed to us in the form of a parable' (pp. 66-67). In his opinion "even Christianity, the highest, the noblest, and the most human of all religions, is not yet free from idolatry. Sacrifices have been abandoned, but prayer, adoration and other institutions still indicate the pagan notion that God is like a human being, that he takes delight in receiving honors, and that upon special considerations, he will change his decrees and reverse the order of nature for the sake of those whom he loves." (*Ibid.*) Regarding ethics his idea is that it 'must be based on facts and must be applied to facts,' and consequently 'is always the expression of a world-conception' (p. 71). 'Christ, Christianity and Creeds' form the topic of Sec. VIII. According to him, 'creeds are symbols of faith, not absolute truth'; and Dr. Carus defines his own creed as follows:

"Whereas, divine revelation is the unfoldment of truth;

Whereas, God speaks to mankind at sundry time and in divers manners;

Whereas, Jesus Christ spoke to us in parables, and the Christian confessions of faith are, as their names imply, symbolical books;

Whereas, religion is a living power and life means growth;

Whereas, that is the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world; and finally

Whereas, centuries of unparalleled growth have added much to our better comprehension of religious truth;

Therefore, be it resolved that we, the duly elected representatives of this church, declare:

"That we regard all former Confessions of Faith and other formulations of belief in ages past contained in the symbolical books as venerable historical documents which were from time to time, on certain occasions, and for specific purposes, composed by the legitimate and legally appointed representatives of our church,

"That we justify the spirit in which they were written, but deny that they were ever intended to bar out from us the light that a higher spiritual development and the general advance of civilization and science would bring,

"That we bear in mind that the symbolical books are symbols, and that we have learned that a freer scope for their interpretation in the light of the maturest science of our age will do no harm to the essential doctrines of our faith."

This is, indeed, the *Magna Carta* of religious liberalism destined to redeem us from the tyranny of credal and dogmatic religions of today; and we feel ourselves drawn by an elective affinity to this prophet of the Church Invisible.

The remaining six sections of the book deal with such topics of unflagging interest as 'Immortality and the Continuity of Life,' 'Ideas and the Ideal,' 'The Devil and the Idea of Evil,' 'Science and Nature,' 'Monism' 'Form and the Formal Sciences,' 'Philosophy', 'Truth and Love.' It is a pity that we cannot afford to quote *ad libitum* from these sections those characteristic flashes of insight with which the book abounds. As typical examples we select the following gems: 'Your idea of the Devil is your best interpretation of your idea of God' (p. 112); 'Monism is not merely a denial of dualism; on the contrary it is a recognition of dualities and their reconciliation in higher unities' (p. 134). 'The philosophy of a nation is important for it foreshadows a nation's fate' (p. 153). and 'we learn from India's fate how important are our basic-religio-philosophical convictions. The once greatest nation, foremost among all peoples on the earth in learning, literature, science, wealth, war-like power and religious enthusiasm now lies in the most wretched state of helpless dependence. Their one-sided monism led to a dualism and taught asceticism as the highest virtue.' There is at least a refreshing candour about this ætiological analysis of India's 'fate'!

To conclude with his prophetic insight: 'the philosophy of the future will be a philosophy of facts, it will be positivism; and in so far as unitary systematization of facts is the aim and ideal of all science, it will be monism.'

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LONDON LETTER

From Major D. GRAHAM POLE

My American Visit

I have just returned from the United States of America and was interested to find there that the recovery from the recent severe Depression is definitely under way. President Roosevelt I regard as one of the greatest living statesmen. He is not afraid to make bold experiments and he is big enough to admit that some of his experiments are not a success and to begin afresh on other lines. There is no doubt he has the whole country behind him. This does not mean that all the big financial people in New York, and especially in Wall Street, entirely approve of him. These millionaires are constantly in a state of fear that some policy that the President may inaugurate may hit them personally, however good it may be for the country as a whole. Wall Street and New York, however, do not really represent the United States; and when Wall Street squeals at some line of policy ordered by the President the plain man further West is inclined to say immediately that the President must be right merely because Wall Street disapproves of his action. It is of course an enormous country with no internal tariff barriers, so that its natural recovery is as certain as anything can be on this planet.

I have stood on the top of the highest sky-scraper in New York, over a hundred floors up, and I have visited Washington and have seen the Supreme Court, the Senate and the House of Representatives in session. After Paris I think Washington is one of the most beautifully planned cities that I ever have seen. You see no sky-scrapers there, but nothing could be more exquisite than some of the buildings, like, for instance, the Shakespeare Memorial building. The parks and gardens, too, were a joy to see. I have no words to express my appreciation of the great hospitality that was showered on me on every hand during my stay in the United States.

I went out in the White Star liner *Majestic*, the largest liner in the world, and came back in the Cunard liner *Berengaria*, only slightly smaller. These ships are great floating palaces with swimming baths, daily cinemas, concerts and dancing on board. They are both ships of well over 50,000 tons and even while it is blowing pretty hard it is difficult to realize that one is at sea.

England Exports Arms And Fighting Men

On coming back to England I find that Disarmament is occupying the attention not only of our own but of world statesmen. How much real wish there is to disarm it is difficult to realize. We in this country continue to export arms and ammunition to anyone who is willing to buy them. Our armament-makers even advertize tanks for sale in German newspapers, although by the Treaty of Versailles these are forbidden to Germany. But, worse still, as was brought out by questions in the House of Commons only ten days ago, we not only sell arms but we even supply men. One hundred ex-officers and ratings of the British Navy sailed about a fortnight ago for South America to man two destroyers recently bought by the Columbian Government. They have signed on for two years and, although none of them are actually on the active list, the First Lord of the Admiralty admitted that some of them are Reservists of the British Navy. They have been sent out to the Columbian Government, with the consent of the British Admiralty, because otherwise, as the First Lord of the Admiralty explained: "I should have been depriving a lot of men of work." (*Hansard*. Vol. 289. No. 96. Col. 1945. 17th May, 1934). There is of course a chance that at any time war may break out again between Columbia and Peru and we seem to be back at the time when Great Britain is prepared to supply mercenary fighters to any part of the world which is prepared to pay for them—whatever the merits of the fight in which they may be engaged. We not only export arms now, but we are prepared to export experts to use these arms.

The Fascist View

We are not of course by any means the only nation supporting preparations for war. Signor Mussolini, in the Italian Chamber of Deputies last Saturday, intimated that £33, 000,000 would be spent during the next six years on strengthening the Italian Air Force and Navy. How far the world has strayed from the idealism of President Wilson that led to the formation of the League of Nations for the purpose of preventing another world war can be realized from the words of Signor Mussolini's speech:

> "War is for man what maternity is for woman. I do not believe in perpetual peace. It is detrimental and negative to the fundamental virtues of man, which only by means of bloodstained struggles are revealed to the full light of the sun."

That speech was made only two days before the representatives of the various nations were to meet at Geneva to discuss Disarmament. Comment would be superfluous.

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India's New Constitution.

Another question hardly less important is the future constitution of India. The Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament has now been sitting for a year and it is understood that the Chairman is to submit his proposed draft report to them today. The discussions on that draft are likely to continue until July. Mr. Baldwin has promised to submit the Report to the Conservative party before it comes before Parliament.

When Parliament is opened again by the King about the end of October the chief business that will occupy it for the remainder of the year, and probably for the first half of next year, will be the new Government of India Bill. It is not unlikely that this Bill will not go so far even as the Government White Paper. The White Paper itself has been rejected all over India as outlining an inadequate constitution with safe-guards on every page.

India's Chancellor of the Exchequer will have to find all the taxes necessary to provide for the working of the Constitution, but he will not have control of the spending of more than about 20 percent of the revenue. Foreign Affairs and Defence are entirely in the hands of the Governor-General without any Indian control. If the die-hard element in the Joint Committee has any success in whittling down the meagre provisions of the White Paper, no one can foretell what the results in India may be. Sir John Thompson, who has only recently retired from the Government of india, and who has spent forty years in the Indian Civil Service, and has held some of the highest positions in that country, said in a recent speech as reported in the *Manchester Guardian* :

> "There is a tremendous difference between giving less than they ask for and less than they think they have been offered. The one will produce disappointment ; the other fury. Everyone who knows India knows that there has been little peace in the country for the past twenty years, but if less than the White Paper is given to India I am convinced that we shall have to face something more vehement than we have ever known before. Trade will again have a setback. Great mass movements will revive and we shall be plunged back again into a furnace of turmoil seven times hotter than we have known."

Those of us who know something of India know how true these words are.

Sir John Thompson refers to Mr. Winston Churchill, Lord Lloyd, and other die-hard Conservatives as allies of the Indian National Congress. He would like to see the Government's White Paper proposals go through in the form of an Act of Parliament because, as was clearly pointed out by Labour speakers in the House of Commons when the White Paper was under discussion, Labour does not regard the proposed White Paper constitution as adequate for India. Sir John is perfectly right when he says :

> "And consider another set of probable consequences, another morass in which we may find ourselves landed if the Die-hards have their way and the bill that is to be produced is rejected. It is quite on the cards that that would mean that the next India bill would be a Labour bill, and the Labour party, if they find this India question still unsettled, are bound by their declarations to go a good deal beyond the White Paper. What are you going to do about it ? Astute Indian politicians are beginning to build on the prospect and to pray for the success of the Die-hards, simply because they believe, and believe with reason, that with the White Paper out of the way they stand to get better terms from the Labour Party in a few years' time. That is what I mean when I say that the Die-hards are the allies of the Congress."

At least the Labour Party would try to make the Indian Constitution such that Indians could co-operate and work it without sacrificing their self-respect.

Swallowing Principles

During the last General Election Mr. Ramsay MacDonald assured his constituents that the formation of a National Government would not mean the surrender of important principles. If there was to be any partisan manoeuvring, he would not be their man. So he said.

The Prime Minister apparently does not consider the wholesale clapping on of tariffs to be partisan manoeuvring—although it means his swallowing at a gulp the whole of the Free Trade principles which he had advocated all his life.

The latest partisan pill for him to swallow is the repeal of Mr. Snowden's Land Values Tax—although this had the unanimous approval both of the Labour and of the Liberal Parties. The Tory Party of course has always been opposed to a Land Values Tax—and even in the recent years of the Depression, Land speculators have reaped a golden harvest. Land within a comparatively few miles of the House of Commons has risen in value from about £300 to over £3000 an acre.

The Prime Minister, in reply to protests, says that the Land Values Clauses have been in suspense for years "largely owing to amendments which Mr. Snowden had unwillingly to accept from both Liberals and Conservatives. . . ." It sounds therefore as if Mr Ramsay MacDonald had agreed to the repeal of this tax not in response to the crack of the Tory whip, but because the tax did not go nearly far enough ! . . . Um !

Mr Ramsay MacDonald is never tired of telling us how united every section of the country is behind the National Government. How absurd this claim is has been shown by the tremendous fall in the Government vote in every by-election. But a much more striking comment on their own awareness of their lack of support in the country is before us at present. There is a by-election in Merthyr Tydfil owing to the death of Mr. Wallhead.

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The Government recently sent a Commissioner to Wales who was supposed to be able to convince the people how good for them a National Government is. Amongst other places he visited Merthyr Tydfil. Now that the by-election is on, not only is a Labour Party candidate standing, but there is also a Liberal, a Communist, and an I. L. P. candidate. The only Party that does not dare to put a candidate in the field is the one represented by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's so-called National Government ! And the interesting thing is that, although all four candidates differ among themselves, they are all united in their opposition to the National Government which has no candidate to state its case.

Can it be that they are beginning to realize that the country is not really behind them ? Rumour has it that they have realized it for a considerable time and are only too well aware that the day of reckoning they dread is near.

May 29, 1934.

FINANCE AND INSURANCE

Sir George Schuster's Farewell Speech

The Farewell speech of Sir George Schuster at Bombay on May 5, is important from several points of view. In it, Sir George has sought to defend his own financial policy which has been widely criticized as following the 'old-fashioned traditions of sound finance'. Sir George believes that "despite experiment being tried in many countries, the final results would show that old-fashioned methods are the best." We would not enter into controversy whether it is so or not. In the next place, he reviewed at some length the decisions arrived at by the Provincial Economic Conference which met under his Chairmanship in April. In the last portion of his speech, Sir George referred to the "Economic revolution" the world is at present undergoing, and its possible reactions on India. The enormous improvements in the methods of production have led to the inevitable result that consumption has lagged far behind production. The difficulty of marketing is one of the important factors which has led to the tendency towards Economic Nationalism. This latter is not an unmixed evil according to Sir George, who explains that it might be both necessary and beneficial "if used in this phase of increasing production in order that each country might plan for itself a new order in which purchasing power would be better distributed, so that instead of having the great masses of population unemployed, those that were employed might have more lesisure." This puts in a nutshell the case for Economic Nationalism. Whether the great claims made on behalf of this new ideal are justified, it is yet too early to see. So far it has led merely to higher tariff-walls and increasing ill-will among nations. It might be we are passing through a difficult transition period to a new order which will be more stable than the present one. The case of India is in this matter happier than other advanced countries, since overproduction is no problem at all so long as we have such a low standard of living. What Sir George means is perhaps—"Raise your standard of living, and everything will be all right." The difficulty is how to do that.

Many of our economists will no doubt agree with Sir George when he says, "the course of world development does indicate the need for a policy for India which must be something different from past policy in its being more consciously planned and in its general orientation. We have to take account not only of increasing restriction but also of the increasing uncertainty of external markets." With this in view, Sir George says that there ought to be four cardinal features in the Indian policy.

1. Development of the internal market and improvement of the standard of living in India.
2. Utilization of every possible advantage offered by those external markets in which India's position is secure. Sir George here refers to the Empire markets and recommends an extension of the Ottawa agreements.
3. Improvement of India's competitive power in all markets by increasing efficiency of production and grade and quality of produce.
4. Special Trade agreements to secure maximum security in the markets of other countries.

Some of these were dealt with by the Provincial Economic Conference, a bare summary of the decisions arrived at being given below. Planned Economy is a novelty in India and the success of the scheme outlined would possibly lead to greater and more comprehensive "planning" in future.

The Decisions of the Provincial Economic Conference

The immediate steps which have been proposed are as follows :

(i) Development of marketing. Central and

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Provincial marketing officers will be appointed who will also conduct marketing surveys, including surveys of animal husbandry products. Special "Commodity Committees" will be appointed on the lines of the Indian Central Cotton Committee, in the first instance with regard to tobacco and oilseeds. The work of Grade Standards will be given special attention. A Dairy Industry Institute will be appointed and provincial dairying committees have been proposed. The Central Marketing Officer has already been appointed.

(*ii*) Co-ordination of Agricultural Production throughout India. A Conference of Directors of Agriculture and Land Revenue Officers will discuss the details of the Crop-planning programme before the next cold weather. Special attention will be given to the problem of overproduction of wheat and rice. To develop overseas markets, Trade Commissioners will be appointed in addition to those who are already appointed *e. g.*, at London, Hamburg and Milan.

(*iii*) Appointment of an expert officer to report on the functions of the Agricultural Credit Department of the Reserve Bank. For measures relating to agricultural debt relief by legislation or otherwise and for the policy of establishing Land-Mortgage Banks, Provincial Governments would be responsible. The expert officer has already been appointed. He is Mr. Darling, I. C. S., who has already achieved fame as a Co-operative expert.

(*iv*) Productive schemes of capital Expenditure. The Provincial governments have been asked to supply concrete schemes which might be expected to be productive. Particular attention was directed to Road Development. The possibilities of Irrigation, reclamation of water-logged areas and of electric power schemes were also discussed.

(*v*) Establishment of a Central Bureau of Industrial Research. It would be attached to the Indian Stores Department. The Government has decided to give a grant for sericultural research and another for the encouragement of the handloom industry. The main functions of the Bureau would be to collect and disseminate industrial intelligence, conduct industrial research, assist industrialists with advice, provide for industrial standardization and to organize industrial exhibitions and conferences.

The Crop "Planning" Conference

It is remarkable that none of our costly Government Conferences produce anything of real constructive value. The delegates go to these conferences to confer, that is, to talk and not to decide. This is inevitable when the "experts" themselves do not know what exactly they are going to do. Like its parent, the Provincial Economic Conference, the Crop-planning Conference has also ended without the evolution of any concrete "plan." The costly palaver of experts has once more produced nothing constructive.

In course of the deliberations, it was discovered that there is no overproduction of rice. It is recommended that before contemplating schemes for the expansion of wheat production the Provincial Government should consider the world situation with regard to the crop. The conference has also come to the conclusion that there is considerable scope for the increase of production of linseed and groundnut. The other important matters considered are the possibility of increasing the growth of Cambodian cotton in Sind and of the expansion of dairy farms and dairy products. As regards the latter, it has been decided to refer the matter to the Tariff Board since it involves complicated issues.

Such are the important conclusions reached, but as regards "planning" itself probably further Conferences will have to be called. It has not been decided by what proportion the production of either linseed or groundnut is to be increased, nor again in what basis the contemplated increase is to be allocated to the various sources of supply. It may be that what the Government understands by "planning" is entirely different from what others understand by the term. This would explain why the demand side of our rural economy has not been considered at all. The problem of marketing including the problems of transportation is at least as important as the problem of controlling the supply. The problem of marketing has however received very scanty attention while the problems of transportation have been severely left alone. It was expected that the problem of Jute would receive some attention but as a matter of fact this has not even been touched upon.

The 3½ p. c. Conversion Loan

The new 3½ p. c. 1947-50 Conversion Loan was announced on May 31 and the list was opened for subscription on June 5. It will be closed when Rs. 32 crores have been subscribed or in any case on June 20. It is issued at Rs. 98-8 per cent, to be repayable at par, and subscriptions may be paid either in cash, Treasury Bills, by 4½ p. c. Bonds 1934 due for repayment on September 15 or by 4 p. c. 1934-37 Loan notified for repayment on August 16. Interest will be paid on the Bond and the loan till the end of July.

When the budget was framed, it was anticipated that the 4½ p. c. Bonds (of which Rs. 15 crores are outstanding) could be paid off without recourse to a loan. But after that it was decided to redeem the 4 p. c. 1934-37 loan for which Rs. 19 crores would be required. It seems therefore that the proceeds of the new loan would be utilized to redeem both of these.

It is also important to note that some way

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must be found to make up the remittance made to the Secretary of State in excess of the programme. In addition no less than 17 crores of rupees becomes due in June on account of Treasury Bills. It is possible that these will be met from the already slender and cash resources of the Government, but an issue of Treasury Bills on a large scale in near future seems to be inevitable.

Up to June 9, only Rs. 22.19 crores were subscribed and it seems that the total would not exceed Rs. 26 crores unless for some last moment decisions.* This would be unfortunate since the preparation in this case was most elaborate.

All attempts were made to strengthen the gilt-edge market but the psychology of the market did not respond. Probably the market remembers the 1933 episode and is afraid that after the new loan is fully subscribed the Government will do nothing to sustain the price of the gilt-edge. The Intermediates have been suspended since April 26, and the sale of Treasury Bills from June 9. The former means a decrease by about a crore every week. The discount on the treasury Bills has gone down from Rs. 2-5-10 p. c. on April 26 gradually to only 0-15-6 p. c. on May 26. In spite of all these the price of the gilt-edge did not advance beyond 89-4 and that too only temporarily. By June 13, it again weakened to Rs. 88. During the week ending on May 2 there was an addition to the currency to the extent of no less than Rs. 3 crores, yet the gilt-edge showed but poor response rising temporarily to 89 but weakening immediately afterwards. At the same time, the Imperial Bank of India has announced that it is prepared to make advances repayable by instalments spread over a period of fifteen months to any approved applicant who wishes to subscribe for the new Loan. We do not know how far this will attract investors, but let us hope for the best. This is the first financial operation of the new Finance Member and if his expectations are not fully realized it must be, at least to him, a great disappointment.

The Silver Act in the U. S. A.

The Silver Bill has been passed by the Congress. It recalls the Silver Agreement reached on July 20, 1933 at the London Conference by the representatives of sixty-six countries. U. S. A. has been the first country to ratify the agreement. On December 21, President Roosevelt issued a proclamation that the newly-mined silver in U. S. A. would be coined and that the monetary reserve in silver would be substantially increased. This proclamation is of great economic importance since this is the first time after a long period that silver is receiving some attention from the currency authorities outside India and China.

On February 1, an amendment to the Gold Bill to provide for free coinage of silver was defeated in the senate by only two votes. Silver thus came within an inch of being reinstated to its former position as a monetary metal. The price of silver suddenly moved upwards as a natural consequence but gradually receded to its former level.

This defeat by such a narrow margin lent great hopes to the Silver Groups of the Congress. The favourable views of the President towards Bimetallism are well-known and the Silver Group seemed to hope that the President would readily agree to any proposals it might put forward. This, however, was not to be as the latter events showed for the President refused to play into the hands of the silver protagonists. On February 17, the Scrughan Bill was submitted which proposed that the treasury should purchase at least 25 million ounces of silver each month for six months and thereafter 10 million ounces monthly until either the ratio 16 : 1 or a total of 1000 million ounces was reached. An alternative proposal was that the treasury should purchase 4 million ounces monthly until the price-level of January 1926 was reached. In either case the treasury was required to issue silver certificates in exchange of the silver purchased. The Bill was considered by a committee of the House of Representatives under the Chairmanship of Filsinger which recommended that 50 million ounces of silver should be purchased every month by the Treasury in exchange for certificates deemable in gold until the total of 1000 million ounces was reached. In the middle of March, however, the Coinage Committee lent its approval to two other bills of which one authorized the Treasury to pay 25 per cent. above the market price for payment in silver against agricultural imports,—while the other recommended the purchase of 150 million ounces of silver at the market price within four months after the passage of the bill and a further 250 million ounces within a year or until the price level reached the 1926 average. The Administration however refused to support the Bill as it was afraid that stocks from the hoards of the speculators and from foreign centres would flood the market. Mr. Morgenthau however promised the Senate when the two bills came before it (April last week) that he would forward a list of one thousand names of hoarders of silver.

In the first week of May, the President made an important declaration in course of which he said that his objective was to secure world action regarding silver and that he was willing to increase the proportion of silver in the reserve to 30 per cent. of the total metallic reserve, as also to nationalize the silver stocks on the lines of the Gold Act.

After this declaration, the silver Group led a deputation to the Whitehall and as a consequence

* The total amounted to Rs. 25.1 crores on June 30.

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the present permissive bill was introduced. This bill makes important concessions to the Silver Group no doubt but being of a permissive character has no mandatory effect so that the Administration has full discretion when to act under the legislation. The President has thus virtually kept all the powers to himself in reserve.

The Bill authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to take over the nation's monetary stock of silver at the discretion of the Administration, to purchase any amount of silver at price up to 50c. per ounce on stocks held on May 1. He is also empowered to sell silver either if the market price is higher than the monetary value (50c.) or if the monetary stock exceeds 25 per cent. of the total. The Secretary of Treasury is authorized further to investigate, regulate and prohibit the acquisition, import, export or transfer of sliver and to make necessary regulations the transgression of which would be attended with heavy penalties. The newly-mined silver in U. S. A. would be purchased at 64 cents, per ounce, that is, at a much higher price than the market rate.

The Secretary of Treasury is to decide when the Act would come in force and also the purchasing price of silver. There is no obligation imposed on him. The Secretary may issue silver certificates against the silver purchased but even here there is no compulsion. It thus seems that so far as silver prices are concerned, a period of uncertainty lies ahead. So far, there has been no reaction on the silver market, the price at New York remaining steady at 45c. per ounce.

The Treasury has now about 7.75 billion dollars worth of gold, so that the maximum silver reserve would amount to 2.58 billion dollars in value. The value of silver already in the reserve is about 690 million dollars, so that a maximum of 1890 million dollars of silver may be purchased under the bill. At 45 cents per ounce, this is equivalent to 4.200 million ounces.* 4,200 million ounces is twenty-one times the annual world production of silver which is 160 million ounces, and one hundred and seventy-one times the annual production in the U. S. A.

As the total volume of currency in circulation in the U. S. A. is about 3,600 million dollars (Gold and Silver certificates, F. R. and F. R. Bank notes), the Act if followed to its logical end would enable the authorities to encrease the currency by 6,700 million dollars by issuing gold and silver certificates alone and more by issuing notes. But it is most unlikely that inflation would be resorted to in near future. It is also doubtful whether silver certificates by themselves would have any inflationary effect at all since the demand for currency under any particular set of conditions is fixed.

By accepting payment in silver, it might be possible for America to enable her debtor countries to make debt payments with the least disturbance to their monetary structure. But as it is, the Act is one of "domestic subsidization" and most of the silver purchases, if made at all, must be effected in the home market. Thus, the effects of the Act on other countries like China and India are likely to be negligible. On the other hand, if silver is allowed to be imported from other countries, the price of silver is bound to rise leading to serious dislocation of the Chinese currency, for with the rise in the price of silver her exports will fall and imports increase. She may even be forced to go off the silver standard, which is the last thing desired by the silver group. The effect on Indian finances could be too indirect to be of importance. Besides, the higher price would lead to increase of supply without a permanent increase of demand. This means that when the artificial increase of demand ceases, catastrophy would follow on the wake. It would therefore be unwise for the administration to allow the silver price to increase except very gradually.*

SAILENDRANATH SEN GUPTA

DISABILITY BENEFIT—THE LATEST DEVELOPMENT

Insurance aims at achieving the greatest good of the largest number at minimum cost. This explains why brains are unceasingly at work devising schemes calculated to widen the scope of protection that may be afforded by life insurance methods. The Disability Benefit is one of such schemes and an outstanding development of this century. The Canadian Companies introduced a disability clause in 1911 and it was soon adopted in U. S. A. But competition in both the countries led to a too large liberalization of the benefits offered which inevitably resulted in considerable losses. A movement then started for the modification of the Clause and in 1932 majority of the life offices accepted the recommendations of the Canadian Life Insurance Offices Association by (i) withdrawal of income form, (ii) extending the waiting period to six months with respect to the waiver of the premium benefit, (iii) and restricting the interpretation of the word disability.

In the U. S. A. also the general experience has been none too happy and the attitude of the American Life offices towards the disability benefit has undergone a considerable change owing to the increase in fraudulent claims, too liberal an interpretation of the agreement by law courts and recent adverse effects of the depression. In 1930 certain limitations, usually referred to as Standard

* We see no point in assuming a price of 1.29 dollars per ounce only because it is one-sixteenth of the pre-Gold-Act value of gold. Sooner or later the Silver stock will have to be re-valued at the market rate.

* The Bill has recieved the signature of President Roosevelt on June 20, 1934.

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Disability Provisions, have been introduced according to which (i) the waiting period should not be more than four months, (ii) the income payments must not exceed one per cent of the face value of the policy, (iii) the income benefits commencing with one per cent and increasing with the duration of the disability should be discontinued, and (iv) disability benefits should not increase if disability occurred after age 60 except in a few special forms of policies. But even the "Standard Benefits" could not prevent the losses from going up and in 1932 further radical changes were introduced. Since then the income form of benefit, which proved so embarrassing to the life offices, has suffered a heavy decline and so far the existing system is working well.

In Italy the waiver of the payment of premiums is most widely in vogue. In some cases temporary disability pension is assured in addition to the waiver of the premiums. Much less in use is the form which provides for the accelerated payment of the sum assured in case of continuous total disability.

The British Actuaries do not encourage the mixing up of disability benefits with life insurance. Thus the disability benefit has a chequered career in different countries, and it was a subject of interesting discussion in the recent International Congress of Actuaries at Rome.

British Life Insurance in 1932

1932 had not been after all a bad year for the British Life Offices. That is the impression one is likely to gather after a perusal of the "Assurance Companies Returns, 1933", just issued by the Board of Trade. The British Companies write foreign business as well but the 'home' business is much larger in volume and in 1932 it was more than eleven times as large as the foreign business. Of the companies established outside Great Britain but doing business in the United Kingdom the Sun Life of Canada headed the list in point of new sums assured. In 1932 the total of the new sums assured was £151,117,345 and the figure below will illustrate the development since 1913 which has been taken as the "base year". The "peak" was reached in 1930 and the decline in figures since then is explained by the exceptional business conditions. The average sum assured per policy is also on the increase and in 1932 it rose nearly to £347.

The growth of the premium income has also been remarkable since 1913. The "peak" here was reached in 1929; it was coming down since then but gave a "look-up" in 1932 when it amounted to £67,866,408. The premiums received are less than 30s. per annum per head of the population,—much more than double of what it was in 1913. It is interesting to note that for Ordinary Branch Life Insurance alone the British people pay premiums amounting to considerably over £1 million per week.

The Life Assurance Fund at the end of 1932 stood at £792,651,130—an increase of £422,465,746 since 1913. About £51 millions were paid in claims during the year. The surrenders which reached the largest proportions in 1930 has dropped by a third, but is still twice as large as in 1929. It is again interesting to note that all payments to policyholders added up, averaged at the rate of over £1 million per week.

Insurance In Germany

"Conditions in Germany were very much better in 1933 than in the past few years," reports the correspondent of a British Insurance Weekly. Life business, recorded by the Association of Insurance Companies in Germany, amounted to 10,810 million Reichmarks in the Ordinary Branch and 2900 million Reichmarks in the Industrial Branch bringing the grand total to 13,710 million Reichmarks as compared with 13,880 million Reichmarks in the previous year. This represents, therefore, a decrease of 170 million Reichmarks in the face value of total assurance. But, the number of policies increased, which showed that a larger number of persons had taken up insurance and the decrease in the aggregate of new business was but indicative of the hard times.

Fire business showed a healthy look-up, and the claims for the year amounted to 71,580,588

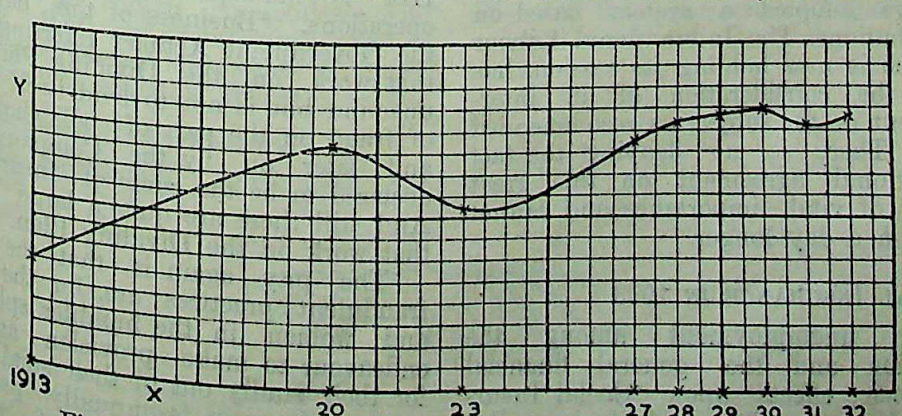

Figure Showing The Progress Of New Sums Assured Since 1913

(2 Units represent one-year on the x-axis
1 Unit represents £ 12 millions on the y-ordinate.)

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Reichmarks against 84,677,000 Reichmarks in 1932. Accident, Motor and Third party business could not do very well, but the recent drive of the Government for building up the industry and raising it to the British standard may give a fillip to the Accident, and Motor business in the years to come. Marine and Transport business is not pulling on well owing to dullness in the export trade. Rei-nsurance business was brisk throughout the year.

The Government have come to recognize Insurance as a basic national industry, and the Minister of Economy, who happens to be an Insurance man himself, has recently announced that the policy of the Nazi Government was "to regard insurance as a service for the community and subordinate the companies to the interests of policyholders." Attempts are also being made by the Insurance Associations to impress upon the public the close connection between insurance and every-day life, and to make every individual feel that protection against the destructive accidents of every kind is closely and inseparably connected with his duty to the community. Such a propaganda with Governmentt encouragement cannot fail to achieve the desired results.

Unemployment Insurance

The alarming rapidity with which unemployment figures are growing all over the world, has made the unemployment insurance a burning problem of the day. To the International Labour Organization goes the credit of focussing the attention of the Governments, as early as in 1919, upon the importance of adopting adequate schemes of unemployment insurance. The scheme has been extremely popular owing to its obvious usefulness and the number of workers (insured against unemployment) which was only 5 millions after the War rose up to 42 millions within ten years. In 1919, when the I. L. O. held its first session in Washington, only Great Britain had a compulsory unemployment insurance scheme, but now as many as nine countries have it, while eight others have adopted a system based on voluntary contributions. The International Labour Conference, which is now holding its session, has on its agenda the consideration of an international agreement on the subject as recommended by the I. L. O. There is no denying the fact that an international agreement on this great social problem is of vital importance and cannot be postponed even a day longer.

Social Insurance in 1933

The growing unemployment among the insured population and the general financial tightness had their effects upon "Social Insurance" for which 1932 was rather a bad year. But things were not as bad in 1933. According to the Director of the I. L. O. the picture is somewhat reassuring and distinct signs of improvement are to be noted in various directions. In some countries, registers exhibited increased membership and larger revenue—a feature that was more or less unknown since 1929. But in not a few cases, the benefits have been curtailed. "In spite, however, of any difficulties of the moment," says the Director, "there is no weakening in the belief in social insurance as the most effective method of raising the general standard of health and civilization in a community. Nor is there any reason to suppose that as better times return the systems which have been weakened owing to the financial exigencies of the crisis will not be restored to their former efficiency. Indeed, it may reasonably be hoped that during the coming years the period of restrictions and compressions will have been brought to an end and a new phase of consolidation and extension will take place."

Provident Insurance Societies

In the month of May eight provident societies, each with a flamboyant name, were registered in Bengal alone; and scarcely a month perhaps passes which does not see the birth of half-a-dozen such new companies. These "mushroom societies" are growing with alarming rapidity all over India, and no greater abuse of the Company Law, as it is, could be conceivable. The incalculable harm that these "Benevolent Societies" are capable of inflicting upon life insurance business can easily be imagined. The comparative ease with which these companies can be registered and the scope for running them on unsound and dishonest lines and still keeping well within the law, have been an inducement to not a few unscrupulous persons to start these pseudo-insurance institutions with the dishonest motive of becoming rich overnight by deceiving the ignorant and credulous public under the cloak of benevolent insurance. Many of these societies have no hope of fulfilling their contractual obligations to the policyholders, their capital is scarcely subscribed and the present Company Law is inadequate to curb their mischievous operations. "Business of this nature," remarked the Government Actuary referring to the Societies that work on the Dividing Plan, "is not only unsound but is apt to lend itself to the practice of fraud on the part of policyholders and agents and later on by the Company. It has been declared to be the curse of Insurance in India." And still there are quite a large number societies that work on the Dividing Plan.

The pity again is that the victims of these fraudulent practices are, for the most part, men and women in the humbler spheres of life who endeavour to make provision against old age or for their family out of their small income. About a crore of rupees is annually paid by the public to such societies, many of which by their malpractices serve only to bring the fair name

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of insurance generally into disrepute. A leading commercial weekly has offered a few very useful and practical suggestions to cope with the situation. They are that (i) the word "Provident" should be incorporated in the name of the Society, (ii) at the time of registration, Rs. 10,000 should be deposited and it should be treated as special asset to the policyholders in case of liquidation, (iii) before registration an actuarial certificate as to the soundness of the business is to be submitted, (iv) the Registrar should be authorized to examine and audit the accounts and to refuse to register new companies if he has reason to believe that the promoters have been responsible for the failure or mismanagement of such concerns previously.

Need it be added that it is high time that the Government Actuary should immediately devise measures to save the hapless ignorant public from exploitation by designing persons ?

Non-Life Business and Indian Companies

In insurance business other than life insurance the Indian Companies are slowly but steadily forging ahead. Conditions for business in recent years have been none too happy or favourable, and as will be noticed from the Table the total available business had steadily come down in all branches. But the share of our Indian companies, on the contrary, has continually been on the increase, and in the Fire Business, for instance, the percentage of the total business that was obtained by the indigenous companies, had risen from 14·8 p. c. to 21·9 p. c. during three years ending 1931. In Marine insurance there has been an appreciable drop in the total business, chiefly due to the dullness in trade and commerce, and the share of our Indian companies has dropped from 19·6 per cent in 1930 to 16·3 per cent. in 1931. But in the "Miscellaneous Insurance" business, which includes Motor Insurance, Personal Accident Insurance, Burglary Insurance, Fidelity Guarantee etc, the proportion of the whole written by Indian companies has risen from 23·7 per cent. to 31·1 per cent. Excepting "Motor insurance" no other form of insurance included under this head has reached any appreciable stage of development. It can reasonably be hoped that with improvement in business conditions, the Miscellaneous, particularly the Motor Insurance business, will have a prosperous time.

Table Showing the Progress of Indian Companies in Non-Life Business
(Premium to Nearest lacs of Rupees)

YEAR	FIRE				MARINE				MISCELLANEOUS			
	Non-Indian Cos.	Indian Cos.	Total	Percentage of Indian Cos. to Total	Non-Ind. Cos.	Indian Cos.	Total	Percentage of Ind. Cos. to Total	Non-Ind Cos.	Indian Cos.	Total	Percentage of Ind. Cos. to Total
1929	132	23	155	14·8	57	11	68	16·2	58	18	76	23·7
1930	121	25	146	17·1	41	10	51	19·6	61	26	87	29·9
1931	100	28	128	21·9	36	7	43	16·3	53	24	77	31·1

It is to be particularly noticed that non-life business has developed in India without any assistance from the Government which is not infrequently given in many other countries. The progress of our Indian Companies in this direction owes not a little to the appeal of "Buy Indian" which has induced people to effect insurance more and more with Indian companies. And useless to say that our companies yield to none in soundness, efficiency and, what is more, in prompt settlement of equitable claims.

Hindusthan's New Business

During the year ended 30th April, 1934, the Hindusthan Co-operative Insurance Society Ltd. of Calcutta has written a business of well over Rs. 2 crores and 50 lakhs as compared to Rs. 2 crores in the previous year. This advance of Rs. 50 lakhs in New Business in a year of stress and strain is, indeed, a good record and speaks well of the management responsible for the success. We wish this progressive Indian Company still more success and prosperity in the years to come.

M. G

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MILITARY AND FASCIST MADNESS OR THE PERIL OF THE ONE-WAY MIND

By WILFRED WELLOCK

GOVERNMENTS are blundering towards another war, and Fascism threatens to engulf the greater part of the world. The former would appear to be the victims of forces they are unable to control.

No one imagines that responsible statesmen want another war, but their mentality is so antiquated that they are unable to resist the influences which are making for war.

Behind the statesmen are certain groups of very powerful people, most of whom, unfortunately, possess one-way minds, It is they who are doing the damage. Among them are the military castes, and the profiteers or Big Business interests.

The former see things professionally, and are so out of touch with the wider aspects of civilization, so ignorant of its needs and possibilities, that they are the very last people who ought to advise Governments. Yet they exercise an enormous influence on most Governments, our own included.

The primary concern of the business people is to have their works running full speed and to be making handsome profits. They think of armaments apart from war, and try to convince themselves that money spent on armaments is a sound investment and a guarantee of national security. The desire for profits blinds them to the real facts, and thus causes them to be as great a danger to the community as the professional military men.

This group, also, exercises an enormous influence upon statesmen, while both groups have great influence with the Press, and are able to secure an alarming degree of publicity, for few politicians are strong enough to combat the combined influence of professional military men, Big Business, and the Press.

The danger arising from this condition—and it is world-wide—can scarcely be overestimated, for even now, by reason of it, most nations—Britain included,—are rushing towards their doom.

In other words, we are confronted with the peril of the one-way mind—the mind that is so carried away by self and class interest that it overlooks the wider national and international consequences of its conduct. The one-way mind is a disease, a species of madness, and ought to be treated as such. But, like most mad men, our modern militarists are not aware of their diseased condition. Although economic, military and psychological conditions have entirely changed within recent years, that fact has no significance for them. Their minds appear to have reached a dead end, and in some cases to have slipped back several centuries. Material abundance, for instance, which makes war ridiculous, does not affect their outlook; neither does the fact that another war would shake civilization to its foundations.

A peculiarity of madness is that its victims become the slaves of a single idea. Our modern militarists, of both varieties, see in every international event a reason for a bigger air force or a larger navy. They will refuse an extra loaf of bread to the industrial outcast, but provide a million bombs with the greatest pleasure. They will scheme like misers to cut down payments to the unemployed, and gloat like demons at the prospect of adding £10,000,000 to the expenditure upon armaments. They are never so happy as when making things to kill people, or getting their countrymen to think about possible enemies and how to destroy them.

Mad men always take themselves seriously, and if by chance they can make others believe in them they become highly dangerous. Now it so happens that these one-way mind groups are highly placed socially, and, as already explained, exercise a considerable influence on affairs. Thus they are able to work up

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scares and to frighten the public into panic. They are past masters at publicity stage management, and know all the tricks of the trade. Their like play the same role in other countries. Consequently between them they are able to get the peoples of the world intensely afraid of one another, and in the atmosphere thus created to persuade their respective Governments to embark on new armaments programmes. At the end of these mad races all the nations are in the same position relatively as at the beginning, but have the grim satisfaction of knowing that if war occurred they would kill and be killed at double the former rate. In other words, the bigger the armaments' profits, the bigger the casualty lists, or, more per cents more deaths. Moreover this process of expanding armaments takes place in all countries at the expense of the unemployed, of education, working-class housing, etc.

Out of this highly barbaric procedure the unemployed get their mead of excitement, of course, while those responsible for it get their mead of limelight and profit. It is wrong to say that the workers need circuses: what they now need, apparently, is the excitement of witnessing the preparation for their extermination at the rate of, say, a million a minute.

It did seem at one time, however, that certain events would be too much for the one-way mind battalions. But their madness saw them through. They were bold. And, of course, it takes a mad man to be really consistent. The fact of abundance has upset most people, but not the militarists, nor the Fascists. A sufficiency of goods and foodstuffs to satisfy the needs of the entire human race obviously reveals the folly of war. Once the people learned the art of distributing abundance, it would be all up with war, and also with profiteering—and, incidentally, with class domination. The one-way mind people saw that clearly, so something had to be done. That millions were in want, in this and most other countries did not affect them. They also knew that the workers were accustomed to want. Thus they said: "If there is more food than can be sold at a profit, destroy it and produce less, and if there are too many manufactured goods than people can afford to buy, close down the factories." To them the thing was perfectly simple. True there was a minority of the public who rebelled. But the pure breed specimens of the the one-way mind replied: "Don't we own the engines of publicity? What we say, goes, and what we do is accepted as coming from the gods. Don't dilly-dally. Dogs like strong masters, and ignorant people leaders who know."

So they had their way, and strange as it may seem, it was accepted by the people as the way of salvation.

Still there remained a hard core of opposition which persisted in saying that abundance ought to mean freedom from poverty and war. They declared that no such madness as destroying food which people needed, and closing down factories when the needs of the masses remained unsatisfied, would be tolerated in Russia. The reply of the one-way mind to this criticism was that the Soviet leaders were materialists and infidels. To which was hurled the Scriptural saying: "He that feedeth one of these my little ones . . ."

Indeed the unbelievers (in war and poverty) refused to keep quiet. A number of London dockers persisted in saying that the fish which they constantly saw being taken out of Billingsgate and dumped into the sea in order to keep up the price, would allay the hunger pains of their underfed children, just as the half-frozen men in the food queues of New York insisted that they knew of better uses for the surplus coffee and sugar that was causing so much trouble to the City, than burning it.

In due course the body of these unbelievers grew out of all knowledge, and in all lands. This fact was accepted as a challenge by the one-way mind, which furiously objected to any tampering with the "foundations of society". "Civilisation", it said, "was founded on *War*, *Poverty* and *Profit*, and any attempt to change that basis would have to be met with the treatment it deserved, since it was an attack upon religion and all that was sacred. Without poverty there could be no charity, and without Imperialism how could Christianity triumph over heathenism? That the Irish and the Indians hated Britian for her oppression merely exposed the depth of their ignorance. The fact that Britain was wholly impartial in her dealings with other peoples was proved by the fact that she was willing to sell

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her excellent armaments to every Government in the world, a fact which insured that no matter what enemy Britain might have, British soldiers could reasonably rely on the armaments which ended their lives being of good British manufacture." Indeed the one-way mind never despairs, since it is fortified by the belief that it can never be wrong.

It is quite true that the one-way mind got a little restless when the Disarmament Conference refused to come to an end, as it could not understand why the Imperialist Powers did not tell the world quite plainly that it was impossible for big Empires to be maintained without vast armaments, and thus that disarmament was wholly out of the question. They were rather disquieted at the thought that it has taken the Conference over two years to pluck up courage to tell the pacifists that there can be no disarmament, and indeed that increased armaments are inevitable.

In another direction the one-way mind is perfectly happy. It is consoled to know that those wretched people, who believe in the posibility of abolishing poverty are everywhere being put in their place by strong leaders like Mussolini, Hitler, Dollfuss, Pilsudski, etc. Also it imagines it sees further victories in prospect. It is hoping for victories everywhere—except, perhaps in Russia. Russia is the one fly in the ointment, and it is a very tiresome and threatening fly. It stands for an *idea*, an *idea* that persists in spite of defeat and unspeakable persecution. "But," say the hierarchs of the one-way mind, "wait a little, watch that ring of Fascist Dictatorships around Russia close in and unite, then see !"

The *Idea* has got to be crushed. That is the aim. Immediately after the War it seemed that the *Idea* was going to carry all before it, but it eventually succumbed before the forces in the control of the one-way mind. In the meantime, however, it has gradually spread, and is today stronger than ever, notwithstanding its defeat in many countries. It must spread if civilization is to be saved from the peril of the one-way mind.

The triumph of Fascism signifies the setting up of something quite new in the world—one-way mind States : States with one political Party, one religion, one philosophy, one newspaper, and a one-way mind Dictator at the head of them.

Even God is told to occupy a back seat, since there can be only one Dictator in a State, one person who is infallible.

Freedom, variety, individuality, colour, art, etc., are out of date in the Fascist State ; they contradict the demands of the one-way mind, and so much be crushed out, even if by terror. One thing only does Fascism guarantee : the privileges of the rich, even at the expense of the poor, whose poverty Fascism increases.

When the structure of the Fascist or one-way mind State is complete, we shall have in being the imbecile State : a nation of mad men, every member of which is condemnd to be a Ditto. The intellectual economies which such a State can effect are apparent. Since there is only one political theory, one political Party, one economic policy, etc., there is no need for a multiplicity of books, pamphlets and newspapers. Accordingly in Fascist Germany, Italy and Austria thousands of newspapers have ceased publication, while tens of thousands of books and pamphlets have been burned. There is no need to answer arguments in a Fascist State. That simplifies things enormously, and enables the totalitarian State to shine in all its glory. It used to be said of this country that every child born was either a little Liberal or a little Conservative. Since then Socialists and Communists have been added. But in the Fascist State every child born is a little Ditto.

In the Fascist or imbecile State the cardinal sin is to wink at the *Idea*. The seven deadly sins are the seven degrees of intimacy with the *Idea*.

Anyone proved guilty of originating a non-Fascist idea is declared insane and automatically put into a lunatic asylum.

Where this imbecile State does not already exist preparations are being made for its advent. These preparations are being made within police forces, military forces, and in the Press. The Press is concentrating on the production of the one-way mind by carrying the public from stunt to stunt and so destroying its power of thinking. It converts men and women into racing fans, football fans, cinema fans or what it will. The British public is being led into the one-way mind by means of

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horse-racing, professional sport and startling divorce suits; the French public by means of sporting events, parliamentary crises and financial scandals; the American public by means of bank frauds, banditry and other forms of sensational outlawry.

The process of making an imbecile State being well under way in many countries, the question now is whether it is possible to make an imbecile world. Imbecility has at last become the condition of the continuation of of Capitalism and the maintenance of the privileges for which Capitalism stands. Let the fact be made crystal clear that to defend Capitalism now is to lend a hand, consciously or unconciously, in establishing the greatest monstrosity in the history of civilization—a Fascist State—and eventually an imbecile world.

EXAMINATIONS IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Some time ago the correspondent of *Krasnaya Gazeta* (Red Paper), kamarade Kolcovf described examinations in Academy of Transport, Leningrad, whose students are directors of transport, high railway authorities, directors of factories etc.

—Whose colony is India? was the question.
—Japan—replied the kamarade.
—India? Japanese colony? Kamarade, where is India in your opinion?
—Where? surely on the continent?
—All right, but on which continent?
—Surely in America!
—Does Japan possess any colonies?
—Yes, Kamchatka···!

The lecturer Kamarade changed the subject.
—Where do you think, it is cold now?
—In the North Pole.
—Not exact. Why not at the South Pole?
—South Pole! There no one can bear the heat!
—Where is moderate climate to be found?
—On the other Poles!
—What! How many Poles the Earth has then?
—Eight, kamarade!
—How does the Earth revolve?
—From the South to the North!
—Where is the highest mountain in the world?
—In Italy.
—O Lord! What is the name of this mountain?
—Kazbec!
—The most important city in Greece?
—Lep···no, no, that is Budapest.

When questions in Soviet geography started, no one of the high transport officials was able to point out on the map Donetz basin. One pointed to Norway and Denmark when he was asked to show one of the eight wonders of the world—the canal between Baltic and White Seas. The correspondent discovered the source of the mystery why so often trains directed to the South go to Siberia, and vice-versa.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Bernard Shaw on Sterilization

Germany's move towards the sterilization of the unfit has provoked a world-wide flood of comment. "The stormy petrel" of the theatre expresses his views in an interview, which are reproduced below from *the Modern Thinker*:

It is probable that sterilization of the unfit will be ultimately beneficial to the human race. But nobody is capable of the decisions and judgment involved in the practice. The worst people, physically and morally, quite commonly have healthy and respectable brothers and sisters. To weed out the failures is one thing; to prevent a child from being procreated lest it should prove a failure is another. Only the unfit think it an easy matter.

The real question is whether sterilization is to be a legal operation or not. Is it to be made a felony, like abortion?

Or may potential fathers and mothers have themselves disabled because they wish to enjoy the pleasures of sex without their onerous consequences?

If yes, is the right to be absolute or conditional on the parties having brought into the world a certain number of children?

These are interesting and practical questions. Chatter about "the unfit" and the benefit of the human race is for fools; we know nothing about it.

The Attitude of the Church.

I do not know what the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church is towards sterilization. The Church is full of surprises for people who make what I may call Belfast guesses at its tenets. However there are some actions of the Church that are open to question.

When the music in the Pope's chapel was supposed to require the voices of eunuchs, the Church got round that somehow.

Self-sterilization has been held to be a pious renunciation of original sin by the Church Fathers.

A vow of chastity is an act of sterilization. All priests take it.

As to whether I agree with sterilization as it is practiced in Germany at the present time, I can only answer why Germany? America began the practice. Furthermore, I do not "agree with" any parctice of criminal law at present.

Selective Breeding.

I think the human race is approaching the period when selective breeding will be practiced. However, I hope it will be practiced more intelligently than it is among breeders of horses and cattle. I should hardly let our stock-breeders set the standard. Have you any idea of the proportion of "screws" to Derby winners produced by our horse-breeders? Do you know what rotten milkers our prize cattle are?

However, before we consider the question of whether the race will improve physically and mentally with the adoption of intelligent breeding, I say get rid of slums and poverty, and teach children how to feed themselves as carefully as you teach them to brush their teeth and wash their ears; and then it will be time enough to consider about playing God Almighty with human destiny.

—

Modern Chinese Painters.

Dagny Carter, though a Norwegian by birth is yet a Cosmopolitan and have keenly studied the arts and paintings of many countries. Her latest discourse on Chinese Painting has appeared in the columns of the *Asia*. Connoisseurs will greatly enjoy the following extracts from the same periodical, which has, as its themes, the age-old traditions of Asiatic culture and learning:

In the field of painting, China has a magnificent heritage from past ages. But for centuries now the dead hand of academic formalism, the tyranny of men who spoke with authority because of their scholarship rather than from any artistic superiority, has had its strangle-hold on China's pictorial art. Occasionally during these five hundred years of China's artistic decadence there have come to the fore men like Tai Chin and Tang Yin, of the Ming Dynasty, who in a swift impressionistic style have broken away from the conventional formalism of their day. Tai Chin's "Breaking Waves and Autumn Winds," in the Freer Gallery, in Washington, is a superb example of this art, so closely related to calligraphy and yet so full of life and meaning. In the mass of mediocre paintings preserved from the Manchu Dynasty one finds also, once in a while, a painting exhibiting this fine sense of life. China's best pictorial art for the past three hundred years has been underrated because of the survival of thousands of paintings sent as gifts to men and women of importance and valued not so much according to their artistic merit as according to the social position of the painter and the recipient. If many of these paintings had been allowed to disappear as nature surely intended that they should, there would have remained a pictorial art showing clearly its noble heritage.

Today what is needed in Chinese art more than anything else, is sound critical discrimination between the work of the amateur and that of the true artist and a courageous independence which will refuse to replace the ancient Chinese standards by methods from the West just in order to be like the rest of the world. The West has something to give to modern Chinese art, but western methods should not be allowed to replace the truly great and enduring in China's own art traditions.

The thousands of men and women painting in China today can, roughly speaking, be said to belong to one or another of four groups. The largest group consists of the old-fashioned painters who in calligraphic and decorative scrolls exhibit more than anything else the dexterous skill of the brush. Such a painter depends on memory and imagination for his inspiration or he contents himself with copying the work of others. Sometimes

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this is a commercialized art, but more often it is only an occupation of the gentlemen and ladies of leisure.

—

Shankar's proposal to America for a dance-lover's tour in India

On the eve of his departure from America Uday Shankar proposed to Mr. William Allen for a dance-lover's tour in India, which has been retold by the latter and has appeared in *The Cunarder*. It contains a brief exposition together with the places of origin and performances of the Hindu art of dancing :

"In northern India, you go to the very humble to find the ancient dance unadulterated by Mohammedan and other foreign influences," Shankar explained. "In the South you find the dance held in greater esteem by the educated and still close to the great old tradition which is the heart of all Oriental dancing.

"Dancing has been to India what the cathedral sculptures and stained glass windows were to medieval Europe—the most fundamental of educations. Together with the story-tellers, the dance groups (accompanied by music and singing) have taught merchant and peasant the lives of the gods and heroes of antiquity. I believe the more important dances were once seen throughout all of India. But now they have found refuge in far-flung spots, waiting like seeds in storage to be set out once again to grow. Much of this dancing depicts struggles between forces of good and evil. And like the stories and dramas America most enjoys, our Indian dances show the triumph of the righteous, approximating a 'happy ending.' Still other dances of India are less directly linked with religious and ethical thought. They are closer to the folk dancing of Europe's simple farmers, gay ring-around-the-rosy festivals in which the whole village joins. But even these are in a sense religious, having undercurrents of gratitude for the coming of the rains, or for harvest time."

No sight in northern India is so beautiful in a way we can all thrill to as the dancing of the *Garba* in the villages north of Bombay. The simple villagers choose moonlit nights which give that sense of dreamland so necessary to plunge spectators into the spirit of a dance. Round and round, with long broad-bottomed skirts, the women dance, singing all the while. Sometimes they balance polished brass turns on their heads. Or keep time by striking sticks, each dancer striking hers against that of the next in the circle. In some localities men and women join in the dance, in others some of the girls dress up as men. There is usually a baby lying in the centre of the circle, to symbolize little Krishna to whom these dances are dedicated.

These dances of Gujerat, the native region of Gandhi, are based on legends of the god Krishna's boyhood on earth. The story goes (recalling uncannily that of Christ) that the king of a long-vanished kingdom, fearing fulfilment of a prophecy, ordered the baby killed. But somehow the child was smuggled away and substituted for the new-born child of a cowherd. So the boyhood of the god Krishna was spent gaily with peasant girls and boys watching the cows graze, or playing a flute while the girls danced round him. These gay shepherd dance-games called *Rash Lila*, are part of the celebration of spring. They are seen in villages in Katiawar, and near Ahmedabad, Baroda and Surat on the way north from Bombay. You will find them too in varied forms at Brindaban near Agra, at Benares and in many other parts of India.

But before going further north to Shankar's native Rajputana, lovers of the dance wisely strike out westward from Surat to visit the world-famed painted caves of Ajanta and sculptured temples of Ellora. Shankar took great pains to search out poses of the ancient dance art in these vast frescoes and chiselled surfaces. Dancing was so intimately a part of old India's religious and everyday life that mural paintings like these not only suggest the rhythms of dances but actually show dance scenes. To visit great collections and monuments of Indian plastic arts without keeping in mind the atmosphere of music and dance in which they were created is to lack the key to their enjoyment. The whole surface of a temple wall, painted or carved, is likely to seem excessively adorned and chaotic to the static onlooker. But evoke to your static tourist an Indian dance, fusion of grace and austerity, of jewelling and simplicity, and he will grasp the swing of the thing he is looking at. The same laws of rhythm and beauty are obeyed by Indian arts; the laws are most easily understood by way of the dance.

As the most warlike of Hindus, the Rajputs naturally love dances in which sword play enters. One of Shankar's most popular numbers here in America was based on that warlike tradition. Simkie, his woman partner in the dance, appeared in classic Rajput costume and the only music was furnished by those extraordinary subtle drums of Rajputana.

The most "important" perhaps, of dances still seen in Udaypur and Jaipur is of the type depicting the life of Rama, a reincarnation of the god Vishnu who came to earth to reform the morals of the people and preach the way through his own example as a king without reproach. It is given in the Ram Lila festivals in the fall. The Ramayana, one of the ancient India's two greatest epics, tells the story that the dancers of Rajputna interpret so vividly. These dances have some local political meaning since it is usually the local Big Man, the rajah, or perhaps the richest of the local Four Hundred, who takes the role of the perfect king Rama. And you are likely to find the most socially prominent woman dancing under the halo of Sita, the most beautiful and devoted wife of Indian mythology.

In these cities, and in the fabulously beautiful vale of Kashmir yet further to the north, it is easier than elsewhere to see dancing. Yet, owing to this cheap modern demand and the loss of Hindu symbolism due to preponderance of Mohammedan influence in the past four centuries, this most accessible dancing is also the least worthy. These dances by Nautch girls are usually on the same plane as our own cabaret midnight shows. The rolling of eyes has its place in making a traveler's life enjoyable, and there is plenty of attractiveness in hip action. But to Shankar and the real searcher for India's ancient tradition the Nautch girls are as poor art as they are good amusement. One fine thing they do reveal however—remarkable movements of the feet and of the bell-encircled ankles.

There is Manipur, a very lovely valley up toward the Himalayas and toward Burma in the greatest tea-raising region of India. Its dancing is acclaimed as the finest in all northern India—not much softness—much discipline, powerful movements, masculinity—close adherence to the austere non-sensual laws of the past when dancing was considered given man by the gods, for divine purposes.

Since Manipur takes time to reach, it is comforting to know that the Nobel Prize winning Indian poet, Tagore, employs Manipur people in his school some four hours by train from Calcutta. There they teach the students, making no concession to modern youth in their thorough slow disciplining of muscles and minds.

In Puri, pilgrimage centre on the coast south of

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Calcutta, you find faint echoes of the Hindu religious dances of antiquity. During the festival in June when the god Juggernaut and his sister and brother are drawn slowly along in huge chariots, a temple follower dances in front of each image, in the prow of each tremendous cart. As he moves mechanically, vaguely repeating gestures that meant great things to his ancestors, he sings songs that make the crowds of pilgrims laugh. Bananas and Jack-fruit and custard apples are tossed by the devotees up on the chariot as offerings to the god. The dancer eats them. He makes you impatient to go south past Madras to Tanjore and the Malabar coast where Shankar promises you the very finest dancing to be found in India today.

Tanjore to many an American is nothing but the home of cashew nuts. Or the most beautiful of southern Indian temples—with possible exception of nearby Madura. To Shankar and all dance-lovers it is one of the few places where the ancient art of the religious and dramatic dance is preserved unadulterated. Not to whoever wishes and not for money, but to those only who pass rigid tests of Brahmin blood and of knowledge of the old texts the ancient art is passed on. The very stubborn orthodoxy of these southern Brahmins has saved many cultural treasures, including the dance.

In Tanjore there still exists the institution of the *deva dasi*, the girls dedicated to service to the temple god through dancing. Efforts are being made to stop this for moral reasons but Shankar discovered their dances to be among the loveliest and purest sights in the world.

But the finest of all classic dancing is found in Malabar, that wierdest and least traveled region of all India, perhaps the Egyptians' Land of Ophis, perhaps even the land from which came the Queen of Sheba. In spite of being the region to which Romans and Alexandrian Greeks brought gold to exchange for spices, in spite of having given asylum to Jews and Syrian Christians for fifteen or more centuries, and having been the part of India first visited by contemporaries of Columbus in search of cloves and cinnamon. Malabar remains the most orthodox, intransigently Hindu part of India.

"You may not find the comforts and good motor roads of the rest of India here in Malabar," Uday Shankar tells us, "but you will be fully consoled by their dancing of the *Tandava Nrittya* in March or April."

"When I saw the Shiva or *Tandava Nrittya* dance in Malabar," Shankar explained, "there were no curtains, no stage effects, no artificial lighting. A huge bonfire in the centre of the tent made up for all of that. For a long time before the performance, music played, putting spectators and players in the mood of the great dramatic dance. Specially trained men took hours in painting the faces of the dancers as carefully as they would vases. When actual dancing began, the dancers were already in a trance, immersed completely in their roles. The dance lasted from six in the evening till six in the morning, always intense, each dancer and musician playing his role so that you felt you were taking part in a vast struggle between the gods of Nature's forces. That was a sight worth going round the world to see."

Romain Rolland on Lenin.

Lenin, more than any other individual, symbolized the proletarian revolution. There was no escape in illusion for him. He carried this sense of the real into his theories of art. He knew the treachery of the bourgeois artist. In the hour of decision the lackey of the existing social order would always be on the side of the killers. Lenin, the man of action, correlated the laws of society and its rhythm and saw the inevitable onward march of humanity. These are the opinions of Romain Rolland regarding 'Lenin, the artist and man of action.' The following extracts from *The Modern Thinker* will throw further light on the subject:—

Lenin and Tolstoi.

Lenin commented on Leon Tolstoi as follows:

"It may seem at the first glance strange and artificial," said Lenin, "to link the name of Tolstoi with that of the Revolution, from which he very evidently turned away. But our Revolution (of 1905) was an extremely complicated phenomemon; in the rank and fine of its participants and leaders there were many social elements which did not understand what was happening and averted themselves from the real historical tasks posed by the development of events. In this sense, the divergent ideas of Tolstoi are a veritable mirror of the contradictory situation in which the historic activity of the peasantry of our revolution found itself. The originality of Tolstoi and his ideas in general express justly the varied phases of our revolution in as much as they reflect the revolution of the peasant bourgeoise and the revolt of the critics of capitalist exploitation, the denunciation of the violences of the state and the comedy of the courts, the glaring contrast between the increase of riches which go hand in hand with the conquests of civilization and the increase of misery and barbarism which grow with the tortures of the working masses. And surmounting this we have the preaching of the "Saint-Tolstoi Idiot" for non-resistance to evil by violence.....reflected the hate born from sufferances, the ripened desire for a better future, the desire to liberate himself from the past, the immaturity of dreams, the lack of political education, and the weakness of the revolutionary desire. These historic economic conditions show the preparation necessary for the struggles of the revolutionary masses and their lack of preparation for such a struggle. The Tolstoian doctrine of non-resistance to evil was the most serious of the causes which led to the defeat of the revolutionary campaign."

This judgment of Lenin which applies to a great artist of a definite epoch can be verified with other masters of other epochs especially the pre-revolutionary epoch of our 18th century France. It is exactly that which happened, as professor Daniel Mornet, at Sorbonne, in his researches of thirty years in the intellectual origin of the French revolution shows. Not more than Tolstoi, did Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, and the Encyclopedists understand what was going to happen and of which they were nevertheless the heralds. They have done nothing more than to translate (not without errors) in a striking form, thanks to the force of reason and eloquence which they owed to the mastery of their profession, the people of their time, and follow with them, confusedly, the slope over which all of the 18th century was dragged. But they were far from suspecting where this slope was to lead them and if they perceived it is probable that they all (with the exception of the adventurous Diderot) would have dropped to the rear. The 19th century Frenchmen did not clearly see the next stage, where the entire development of history would change its course and set out fatally, as Lenin perceived it.

For the historian of literature, the interest should be to precisely discern that which the Rousseaus, the Diderots, and the Voltaires were aware of without

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thoroughly understanding. It is the sketch which Lenin with his brusque and comradely frankness drew of a writer whom he loved which exposed how Leon Tolstoi genially denounced the lies and the offenses of the social state, but how in the face of revolutionary action, which was the inequitable consequence, protested with fear and anger, shouting 'No," taking refuge in mysticism which wished to stop the progress of the sun by denying it.

NORMAL ORDER OF HISTORY IS REVOLUTION.

This phenomenon is found in a smaller degree and with less passion in the large majority of artists who see the pit, the abyss which it is necessary to jump, but who from this perspective grow dizzy and sever their allegiance. To re-establish their fragile, shaken equilibrium, they bend backward out of the wave which sweeps the epoch, into the " moral " order, the established bourgeois order which reassures them against that which they have seen and which they did not wish to see,—into the conventional and ordered life.

It is here that the intelligence of a master of action like Lenin, by its exceptional logic, which makes of his thought and action not a petrified block, but a fluid stream, identifies itself with the life of the current epoch and with its elementary laws.

No one better than Stalin in his *Sketches of Lenin*, has brought to light the singular trait by which Lenin distinguished himself, his perpetual contact with the elementary forces which manifest themselves in the masses. He never ceased to keep in constant contact with these forces and nothing was able to make him lose his strong confidence in their creative powers. Stalin quotes this striking remark made by Lenin during a conversation in which a comrade, who was afraid of "the chaos of the Revolution," declared that " after the Revolution, the normal order ought to be established." Lenin sarcastically retorted: " It is unfortunate when people who pretend to be revolutionaries forget that the most normal order of history is the order of Revolution."

And Stalin adds: " This profound faith in the elemental forces, which was characteristic of Lenin, gave him the power to control these forces and direct their flow into the channels of the great Proletarian Revolution."

The greatest gift of the man of action, which is also the objective of the man of science, is to penetrate to its essence the elemental, uncover its hidden forces, laws and currents, that he may harness and direct them for the benefit of mankind. To Lenin this was likewise the supreme rule in art. If the majority of artists have been too weak to accept it, the great ones have always unconsciously practised it. Leonardo da Vinci, one of the greatest geniuses of all times, adopted as his guiding principle that one must " Assimilate oneself with the forces of nature, transmute them in one's mind."

Thus the great artists, the Leonardos and the Tolstois espoused the living forms of nature. And the masters of action, the Lenins, correlated the laws of society and its rhythm, the vital clan which directs and supports the everlastingly onward march of humanity.

—

The Sedition Bill.

The following address on the introduction of the Sedition Bill to be an Act of Parliament by the Rev. Ethel Kay which has been reproduced in *The Inquirer* may be of great interest to us, who are also undergoing hardships in the name of such laws :—

WHAT type of literature might be considered seditious? Would the writings of Tolstoy, Shaw, H. G. Wells, or Gandhi, and other utterances of great souls in the cause of peace, be considered seditious literature? Would they have to be carefully removed from our bookshelves if the Bill became an Act of Parliament? Then there is a book, possessed by everyone, that is the Bible, which certainly contains some dangerous passages, such as " Do violence to no man." Surely that was seditious instruction to give to soldiers. There is also the Sermon on the Mount, which was often found inconvenient during the Great War, and was carefully avoided by many Church leaders in consequence. Would it once again have to be carefully deleted from our Bibles in case the whole should be considered seditious literature? These are important questions which face us and cry out for our consideration and decision, even now, while we are as yet in possession of liberty to discuss such subjects.

If the Bill were to become an Act of Parliament, probably a large number of people would immediately awake to the fact of the loss of their liberty; but now is the time for vigilance, if we are to preserve our cherished freedom. It seems to me that all lovers of liberty, and all workers in the cause of peace, should regard it a solemn duty to do whatever is in their power to prevent this measure from becoming law; for it would interfere with work for disarmament, peace meetings, League of Nations Union work, and all efforts on the part of those educational bodies which are working for the abolition of war as a means of setting international disputes.

—

The British in India.

Mr. R. Page Arnot in a leading article in *Indian Forum*, a periodical published in London, the first issue of which has reached us, has dwelt upon the following aspect of the British rule in India :—

As the cotton industry of Lancashire, the classic industry of capitalism, grew and developed, it destroyed with its machine-made goods the cotton industry of India, shattered the old Indian village system and created problems for which capitalism has found no solution. Trade followed the flag and the flag followed trade. The expansion of the market developed into the systematic exploitation of India, and eighteenth century adventurers gave way to the modern scientific plunders of India. The armed forces of British capitalism secured the market as a dependency and now the rule of the British in India rests upon the disarmament of the mass of the population. By this means, and by this only, in the last analysis, is it possible for the " Sahibs " to hold down with their relatively small armies the 350 millions of India?

The apologists for British rule will declare that this has been a happy century and a-half of progress; that the British have brought untold blessings to the masses of India. Each year there is published a report on the material and moral progress of India, in which this imperialist propaganda is annually repeated. It is this imperialist propaganda which is taught in the schools, both in English schools to the children of the English working class, itself exploited by the imperialists, just as it is taught in the schools of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. In Britain it is like an axiom of geometry or a tenet of religion to declare that India has greatly benefited by the beneficent effcts of British rule. There are even those in India who sycophantically proclaim the blessings of British rule and there are even those in

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Britain, in the working-class movement, who swell the sound of the brass trumpets of imperialism. Already thirty years ago, at the International Socialist Congress, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald pointed to the future of the colonies under the beneficent rule of capitalism; but in reality he was pointing to his own destiny as Prime Minister of the Labour Government that threw 60,000 political prisoners into the British gaols in India. Indeed, the Labour Party, which in 1904 was in favour of "the civilising mission of capitalism," was able to show, when a score of years had passed, that its leaders were the agents of imperialism both within the Labour movement and for the purpose of oppressing the masses of India.

Actually the whole propaganda of imperialism is false through and through. The rule of the British for 150 years has brought disaster to India. The whole of their extravagant show of alleged facts and figures about beneficent British rule in India is completely overthrown by one significant fact, that in the forty years between 1881 and 1921 the expectation of life of the average Indian had fallen from round about 30 to a little over 23. The increasing misery and poverty that has been the lot of the working class in the European countries in the last fifty years has proceeded at a still more rapid pace in the degradation and pauperisation of the masses of India under British rule.

For actually, so far from having a civilising mission, British capitalism in India has been anything but progressive in its results. It has allied itself with the ruling strata, with the feudal lords, the trading and the money-lending bourgeoisie, and thus perpetuates all the pre-capitalist forms of exploitation.

The rule of the British has been carried through by force and fraud, and this double method is particularly to be seen in the history of the last fifteen years from the declaration of self-government as the "goal" in 1917 up to the Round Table farce of the last year. The great mass movements of revolt called for the intensive use of both methods; thus the movement of 1919 to 1922 was met on the one hand by the carrying through of the Montague Chelmsford reforms, and on the other hand by the massacre of Chilian-Wallah Bagh. Again, the movement of 1928 onwards to the present time was met both by the promise of Dominion status and the Round Table Conferences as well as by tanks, machine-guns and bombing aeroplanes, the imprisonment of scores of thousands, the knout and the gallows.

—

Dance as a Spiritual Expression

We are day by day degenerating the youthful upspringing impulse of truth and beauty and we shall not be happy as a great nation, until we regard all arts as manifestation of Divinity—mourns Ruth St. Denis in the *Message of the East*. While paying a tribute to the religious fervour of Oriental dancing, this 'itinerant minister of the Gospel of Beauty' pleads :

> Dancing is the divine impulse of spirit to move rhythmically, proportionately and perpetually, but in order that the dance may attain its rightful place among the arts, and may serve humanity as it should, dancers must change their emphasis from the material to the spiritual. Havelock Ellis says: "If we are indifferent to the art of dancing, we have failed to understand not merely the supreme manifestation of physical life but also the supreme symbol of spiritual life."
>
> The dance compositions of the future will be built on divine themes instead of on the human longings and egotism that have given birth to much of the so-called art of the world. But as yet the dance has not yet come to its own high place among the arts.
>
> Have we not all of us a deep-seated ideal of art that somehow it should be related to Divinity? Do we not feel that there is inner relationship between the priest and the artist? We do realize that the artist serves at the Alter of Beauty, while the priest serves at the Altar of Truth, but between these two is a great gulf fixed. In a word, we think of Truth *and* Beauty, of Religion *and* Art when we should behold the blending of these two in the Beauty of Holiness.
>
> The world is shrinking day by day. It is time that we became aware of its fuller truth and beauty, and that our hearts, as well as our minds, be made to respond to the timeless wisdom of the eastern half of this planet.
>
> The Oriental dance has survived because it was the expression of a great religious consciousness. As the most highly perfected expression of religion in dance form, it reserves conscientious study by the spiritual dancers of today. Because they are a historical fact and an ancient inspiration, I feel every young person of today would be wiser and happier for having learned the dances of the Orient. I find nothing gives the student the feeling of dedication, humility and meditation more quickly than to take part in some of these Eastern dance classics. So powerful is the religious motivation in the Orient that even love-dances have a dignity, a reticence and formalized beauty that is uplifting.
>
> The present love of Oriental color and design is, I think, traceable to the influence of the higher forms of Oriental dancing. And all these fashions and interests, seeming externals are symbols of a great spiritual reality, a changed attitude toward life, a new freedom, a higher harmony, the prelude to a better understanding of the Self, of our own people, of foreign peoples, and of the imminent Divine in all.
>
> World Peace needs all the rhythm and pageantry of the dance on its side to triumph over the tinseled pomp of war; we need courage, patience, charity and infinite self-sacrifice to right the wrongs of economic maladjustment. The world is left ill and hungry from its banquet of materialism and crying for spiritual food.

—

Where Stands the U. S. A.

While all the great powers are discussing how peace and order can be maintained and war be averted, U. S. A. shows great war preparedness in the plea of her national defence. The following from *World Events* will throw light on the ways of her preparations for the Armament race:—

Military spokesmen frequently complain because of American unpreparedness and the relative lag in our national defenses as compared with those of other countries. The following figures may be worth considering:

In 1930, the world spent 63 per cent more on armaments than in 1913; in 1930 the armament budget of the United States was 197 per cent greater than in 1913 and recent appropriations will raise this percentage higher. In 1920 the National Guard included 1,939 officers and 47,019 enlisted men; in 1930, the War Department appropriations carried provisions for 190,000 national guardsmen including 14,371 officers. The organized reserves have grown from 68,283 in 1920 to 118,175 in 1929. At present over 140,000 young men of school and college age are enrolled in military training units and rifle clubs in nearly 400 schools and colleges each year. The War Department has assigned about 1,650 pro-

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fessional military instructors to handle these students. In 156, or more than a third, of these units 82,410 cadets, or over half of the total, are enrolled upon a compulsory basis. (Statistics from the Committee on Militarism in Education.)

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Co-operative Movement in Africa

In a meeting held recently under the auspices of the Royal Society of Arts, Mr. Strickland, late of the Indian Civil Service, has dwelt upon the history of the Co-operative movement in Africa, which has appeared in the *Society's Journal*. At the outset he traces the origin and development of the movement as follows :

The organization of co-operative societies was first undertaken a century ago in England and in Germany. The English movement was slightly the older, and assumed, as was natural in an industrial and urban country, the form of consumers' shops through which the less wealthy classes of the towns sought to obtain for themselves the benefits of good quality and moderate prices. Development in Germany was principally among the peasantry, who endeavoured by group-action to secure on better terms the requirements of their agricultural business and to sell their produce at a better price. One of the most urgent requirements of the farmer was, and habitually is, credit; hence the credit society or village bank.

These two types of Co-operation were multiplied throughout Europe, and soon extended to Asia. The credit society was there highly popular, the peasant farmer of Eastern Europe and of Asia being in the hands of usurious moneylenders, whether in consequence of undeserved misfortune (failure of crops, live stock epidemics, etc.) or of his own folly and extravagance. Other kinds of Co-operation were not forgotten, but in Asia at least, credit societies predominate. European influences of every description, good and bad, now permeate Africa; and just as the troubles of the European small farmer were aggravated, and those of the Asiatic peasant largely created, by industrial changes and by the revolution in thought and practice to which these changes have given rise, so the African native farmer finds his agricultural stability upset, his village crafts destroyed, and the outlook of his children, if not his own, completely transformed by the opening of new markets, the invasion of mill-made goods, and the subtle reactions of Western education and Western example. He stands puzzled and distressed, seeing his old landmarks swept away in a flood of new luxuries and new beliefs, clinging with one hand to the doorpost of his shaken village home, reaching out with the other towards the perilous delights into which he is tempted to plunge. My task is to consider how far the co-operative method, which has proved so valuable to those Europeans and Asiatics who follow it might, may help the African too to readjust himself in an altered world, and what shape the co-operative society should take to suit his peculiar circumstances.

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The Howard League for a Charter for Prisoners.

The Howard League for Penal Reform demands an International Convention to establish a minimum of humanity and decency in the treatment of accused and the convicted persons. This will try to minimise inhuman cruelty to prisoners, both political and criminal, which many amongst us had the hard lot to experience. The following editorial of *The Howard Journal* will be much appreciated by all philanthropists :

The need for an International Convention to establish a minimum of humanity and decency in the treatment of accused and convicted persons grows more acute and more urgent. Rarely does a week pass without our reading reports, which we cannot dismiss lightly, of brutal cruelty to prisoners, both political and criminal. We all tend to exaggerate them or minimise them according to our nationality or political views.

Meanwhile we write in no spirit of self-righteousness. Only too recently have we been touched on the raw by the courteous surprise and pity expressed on the face of a Swedish gentleman when in reply to his question we said, "Yes, we *do* hang people in England. Yes, we *had* hanged a boy of 18 in England last year." Thus might a South Sea Islander, who has learnt better, admit to a visitor from a less barbarous country that his tribe was still given to cannibalism.

So it is not open to English people, after the miserable exhibition of delayed trial and savage sentences at Meerut, to be superior towards other States which keep untried prisoners in custody for long periods. The only redeeming feature about Meerut is the drastic revision of convictions and sentences by the High Court on appeal, and the strong criticism by the Chief Justice of the conduct of the prosecution and trial.

We are not blind to the truth that the state of the courts and prisons in any country depends mainly on public opinion in the country itself. But an agreed international standard would be a pillar of strength to enlightened people in all states and would help to raise the standards everywhere. It should require that every accused person be given public trial with bona-fide legal representation within six months; that torture and "third degree" he abolished together with brutal punishments such as the death penalty, flogging and solitary confinement in dark cells; that prison conditions include proper diet, light, heat, ventilation, occupation, letters and visits from relatives. It is impossible to elaborte the subject here, and it is unnecessary. An excellent basis for such a convention is contained in the Standard Minimum Rules of the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission. These Rules have been revised to cover more fully the case of the unconvicted prisoner, and as we write they are being submitted to the League of Nations. We hope that the League of Nations will seize the opportunity thus offered and that the Standard Rules may be circulated to all States Members with the blessing of the Assembly, and that a real effort may be made to secure their acceptance in theory and practice.

If any Government dare not act justly and humanely to its lawbreakers, whether criminal or political, it confesses to a weakness which will spell disaster. Brute force may induce sullen submission, but it makes neither honest men nor good citizens. A man may, for fear of pain, bow down in the house of Rimmon—he will not worship save from that inner compulsion which never comes from fear.

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First Pan-Asiatic Labour Conference in Ceylon

Unionism is a development of the post-War period. All the weaker countries of the world have formed such federations to defend their rights from mighty agressors. This policy is even pursued in Asia and endeavours have been made in quite recent years to establish such

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organizations throughout the country for a united solidarity. The first Pan-Asiatic Labour Conference held its session last month in Ceylon. In an editorial the 'Young Ceylon' comments :

The first Pan-Asiatic Labour Conference held a successful session this month in Ceylon. It was attended by Delegates from Japan and India and thus the first step has been taken to acquaint Ceylon with the progress of Labour ideals in other lands. We trust that the inspiration of this session will give a fresh impetus to Ceylon Labour movement to be more zealous to its ideals and its aims. With the steadying influence of the Pan-Asiatic Congress the movement in this country ought to develop in securing to the worker in Ceylon benefits which his fellow enjoys in other lands. Labour conditions in Asia generally and in Ceylon particularly have not received the attention of both the experts and the special Committees of the International Labour Office. If the movement in Ceylon is to prosper and benefit from the conventions set up at the International Labour Office it is essential that Ceylon should seek representation at the International Labour Conference. For, despite our Labour movement, Labour as such has made very little progress and the lot of the average worker is both insecure and unpromising. Introduction of schemes of social insurance has not yet been urged even by the Labour Leaders. Associations with outside agencies are of little value unless such association brings with it an urge to improve local conditions. While we welcome the association of Local Labour with other kindred movements in different parts of Asia as also with the International Labour Office it is imperative that the movement locally should resurrect itself from a creepy feeling of respectable complacence. If the May Day celebrations which Mr. A. E. Goonesinghe organised is an index of his Labour outlook it is a sorry reflex of what a great movement should be. The mamoth procession and the all-night carnival may be permitted, both have their uses. But these two items cannot bring any attention to the movement or any recognition to the manifold claims of Labour. In this country, Labour is unorganised, undisciplined and unharnessed to a great struggle for the realisation of its undoubted rights. The May-Day celebrations afford an opportunity for Labour to discipline themselves into different Trade Unions, develop leadership within its own ranks, evolve schemes of mutual benefit and self-aid and put forward concrete proposals for better wages profit-sharing and nationalisation of industrial enterprises. In such endeavours labour must organise itself, receive inspiration from within, plan campaigns of action. It is in these directions that Labour in Ceylon must be organised if it is to become,—instead of what it is now a vastly disintegrating force,—a powerful harbinger of human contentment.

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Belgium's Fight Against Peace Work

Belgium is raising a heavy loan in order to construct fortifications along her eastern frontiers, so that she may prevent invasion and the return of the sorrowful hours of 1914 and thus render impossible any armed incursion of her territory. In the face of the Disarmament Conference, which is doomed to failure, she pleads that she has done nothing but has simply followed the footsteps of her mighty neighbour, France. M. E. Van Diest gives an account of the same in the *Unity*:

After a press campaign carried on for weeks, the Belgian government recently began the raising of a loan of 1,500,000,000 francs, of which 700 to 800 millions are expected to be used in the construction of fortifications along the Belgian-German frontier. In 48 hours' time the loan was covered by the large banks of the country and a Technical Council of Fortifications was at once created. This Council, presided over by the Minister of National Defense himself, has settled in final form the apportionment and use of the funds devoted to insuring the defense of the frontier.

That is what the important papers have sensationally announced to us, adding that we are menaced by war, that German armaments have actively increased, and that if we wish to escape danger we must adopt solely and absolutely France's line of action: to fortify by concrete fortifications, armed with the most approved guns, our eastern boundary from Limbourg in Holland to the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, in order to join the line of defense that France has constructed all along Alsace and Lorraine as far as the Swiss line.

A considerable portion of the Belgian press, thus, is paid off by the munitions and armament magnates, just as were Roumanian journals for the scandalous Skoda arms works affair.

It is a curious coincidence that simultaneously with this campaign, another crusade assuming an altogether different character openly appears: the introduction by the Minister of War of a bill aimed effectively to prevent all anti-militaristic work or propanganda. Everything of pacifist tendencies will be repressed without mercy. It would require positive courage to express pacifist convictions, all the more since war resisters are to be cruelly punished by several years' imprisonment and loss of civic rights. It is even said that relatives and friends of conscientious objectors will themselves be subjected to repressive attention.

The defection of Einstein has seriously increased defeatism in the ranks of the peace organizations. Official right-wing Socialism, which is powerful in Belgium, is chauvinistic, while the left wing which devotedly directs the members of parliament, Spaak and Marteaux, is handicapped. A White dictatorship to all intents and purposes has ruled Belgium for several months, and the situation is certain to become difficult for those sturdily opposed to war. The fight against war that many have carried on for years, while not lost, has been set back and daily runs the danger of disintegration. The struggler for peace still echoes the cry of his friend, Andreas Latzko, the Austrian author: "I know that a day will come when all will think as I do . . .!"

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Flouting of Indian Public Opinion By The Capitation Tribunal

Dewan Bahadur A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar, M. L. A., in a valuable article in *The Indian Review*, criticizes the decisions of the Capitation Tribunal, constituted in London to consider army questions between Great Britain and India, as follows :

The Tribunal did not accept the decision of the Government of India, and have calculated that a nine months' training would be fair to both the parties. It is curious that this period of nine months has not been suggested by either of the contending parties, and there are no reasons assigned by the Tribunal why such a period should be accepted.

Sir Shadi Lal and Sir Shah Muhammad Sulaiman, the two Indian Judges, of the tribunal have both dissented from this recommendation of the majority of the Tribunal. They point out that this very issue has been considered by no fewer than five Committees or Commissions, and that the verdict has been, either expressly or impliedly, in favour of the shorter period. In 1861, the Tulloch Committee, which considered the question of capitation rate, adopted, for purposes of calculation, a period of 4½ months only for the infantry. In 1872, the Seccombe Committee held that India was liable to pay charges for six months' training. The same conclusion was confirmed in 1875 by the Bouverie Committee. The question was again examined by Lord Northbrooke Commission in 1892, and, after elaborate calculations, that Commission also adopted the period of six months as a legitimate period of training. The Welby Commission in 1900 again fixed the charges on the basis of six months' training, in spite of the War Office's claim for a longer period. I have already referred to the fact that the dissenting minority of that Commission did not accept this view, and that the Marquess of Salisbury was compelled to suggest the appointment of a Tribunal to decide the issue. This period of training for six months was accepted by the War Office for many years, and as the Indian Judges point out, several high military authorities, including Lord Kitchener, Sir Beauchamp Duff, Lord Rawlinson and Sir Philip Chetwode, held that a period of six months' training is adequate in the case of men required for India. The Government of India have repeatedly declared, in their representations to the War Office, that even if it takes longer than six months to complete the training of a soldier, they are prepared, and indeed would prefer, to take recruits with only six months' training and complete their training in India in accordance with Indian requirements.

In 1926, the British Government compelled the Government of India to pay a consolidated amount as capitation charges on their own basis, and the result of the nine months' training, which the majority of the Capitation Tribunal have held to be necessary, is that, in substance, the amount fixed by the British Government in 1926 must continue to be paid. In effect, it means that the Award of the Tribunal on the capitation charges has been, practically, entirely against the case of the Government of India. It is necessary to realize that a claim put forward by the Government of India, in the first instance, for a total exemption, and, alternatively, for a great reduction in the charges —a claim which has been pressed for over sixty years by military authorities and by Viceroys and in a series of dispatches from the Government of India—has been found to be completely baseless by the majority of the Tribunal. The entire claim of India, so far as the capitation charges are concerned, has been dismissed by the three Judges. And this is the decision over which the Indian Legislature has been asked to enthuse itself.

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Christian Missions and the White Paper

The White Paper proposals have given rise to misapprehensions in the minds of some Christians in India. The editor of *The National Christian Council Review* rightly observes :

It would appear, from statements that have found their way into the public press, that there is uneasiness in certain Christian circles lest, in the event of the White Paper proposals coming into effect, the safety of the Ark of the Covenant in India may be endangered. That is a fear we do not share, and for these reasons. We cannot believe that under *swaraj* India will depart from her traditional religious hospitality, a tradition that has done much to establish her good name with the outside world. Political changes are not necessarily religious revulsions. Christianity can no longer be regarded as an alien Faith, for the Church of Jesus Christ has been long domiciled within the Indian realm, and all good citizens are mindful of the services she has rendered. None now will gainsay her right to remain, and few will question her claim to practise the faith she holds. The fortunes of Christian Missions are the fortunes of the Christian Church in India. By common resolve the great principle of religious liberty is to be upheld in the future State, and we who bear the Christian name have no reason to doubt the sincerity of that resolve. There is the further consideration, that Christianity is not the only self-propagating religion in India that claims a fair field and no favour for its ministry: Islam, Sikhism and Hinduism, in some of its aggressive forms, make the same claim. It is, therefore, to the interest of all to stand by the doctrine of religious equality, and this in itself is a safeguard against discrimination. Then it is well to remember that Christianity has achieved some of its greatest triumphs in Native States, where the powers that be have been either Hindu or Muslim. These are all re-assuring things: but beyond them lies the genius of Christianity itself. It has the grace of perseverance. It depends neither on the frowns nor the favours of governments, although it is sensitive to both; it stands for the indefeasible right of the human spirit to worship God as conscience dictates, and, while it fully recognizes the right of the State to lay down and administer laws for the good of the common weal, which it gladly obeys, it reserves to itself the right of private judgment when religious and moral issues arise; it will always respect the cardinal rights of others;

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it recognizes that it cannot always have its own way, but when difficulties arise and defeat threatens it will not abandon the field. The best safe-guard for Christian Missions is Christianity itself, humbly and loyally lived.

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How to Save European Civilization

M. Julien Benda, a leading French critic, asks in a paper in *The Aryan Path*: How are we to save the European Civilization? He himself answers:

By restoring, notably amongst the younger generation, amongst the students, the feeling of this universalism of intellectual function and of cosmopolitanism of mind. For that, it is especially necessary, as I have pointed out in my *Discours a la Nation Europeenne*, to raise the product of the intellect above that of the feelings, the works of science and philosophy above those of pure literature; because the intellect is universalistic while the feelings are much less so; because the value of a scientific work exists, or for the most part tends to exist, independently of individual genius and of the *language* in which it is written, whereas the work of the man of letters is, so to speak, indissolubly linked to this vehicle; because the work of the intellect is translatable whereas that of the man of letters is not, or is at any rate very far from being so to the same extent. We must restore to credit such phrases as Renan's: "All those things which make up literary taste, charm, poetry, amusement, may be clothed in local form; *but science, like the mind, is uniaue.*" This return to the honouring of the mind in so far as it is universal, overlooking any particularities which it may offer, will be difficult, if I am to judge by the fact that the best brains, those apparently most eager to rebuild European civilization, appear to be refractory, even unconsciously refractory, so deeply have they absorbed the doctrine of the nationalization of mind. A little while ago, I was reading some pages of a French savant, whom I had believed completely exempt from this influence, the lamented Charles Pfister, Dean of the Faculty of Strasbourg. This professor, having just indicated the excellent works which the German savants had recently produced on the history of Alsace, considered it his duty to express the hope that France would not allow her neighbours "to monopolise" the study of this subject, and declared it to be "the duty" of the French University of Strasbourg and of the learned societies of the city "to mount guard on the Rhine." But what, I ask, is this idea of "monopolising" doing here? And the "guard on the Rhine"? The learned societies, whether French or German, have the duty of *mounting guard on the mind* and, from the moment that good works are composed on the history of Alsace, a true priest of science need not worry whether they be the work of Frenchmen or Germans. In the same way, while on a lecture tour in Scotland a year ago, I heard a professor of the University of Edinburgh, during a banquet celebrating the memory of the great poet Dunbar, make his compatriots feel ashamed because the best editions of Dunbar are made by Germans. As if the important thing for this minister of the intellect ought not to be that good editions of Dunbar exist, not that they are not the work of his compatriots! Such nationalism of mind must be absolutely removed if we wish to return to a conception of the intellectual universalism which, once again, is for me the primordial condition for the resurrection of European civilization.

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Food and Drink in Ancient India

In a thesis in *Man in India* Prof. Joges Chandra Ray, M. A., writes:

In the time of Kautilya meat and fish formed items of daily diet. Fresh fish was apparently insufficient to meet the demand, and dried fish, perhaps salted and smoked, was consumed. Certain birds such as the peacock, parrot and *maina* were held sacred; and *gone*, waterhen, Brahminy duck were excluded from the table. It is curious to note that Kautilya a shrewd and accurate observer, believed in the existence of 'matsya,' sea-animals, having resemblance with the elephant, horse, ass, and man (II. 26). Such aquatic animals were not killed for food. There were large forests, not very far off the town, where mrigapasu quadrupeds, were hunted after. Amarakosa gives a list of these, which belong to many families. The King had flock of sheep and goats, droves of swine, and herds of cattle and buffaloes. The latter were meant for various purposes, one of which was to supply meat. Oxen were bred and probably fattened for the shambles (II. 29). Susruta describes beef as "pure." Yajnabalkya in his Dharmasastra (200 A. D.?) enjoins the offering of beef to Brahmans learned in the Vedas when they come as guests (I. 100). Visnu Purana (II. 15) tells us that if one feeds Brahmans on the day of Sraddha with beef, the souls of deceased parents remain satisfied for eleven months. Kautilya refers to the custom (IV. 3), and the ceremony of Vrisotsarga, letting loose an ox at Sraddha, had its origin in this old precept. The fixing of a sacrificial post and the offering of four extra calves show what the intention was. Manu (III. 267) enjoins the feeding on the day of Sraddha of Brahmans with meat and offering them some intoxicating drink, and permits the killing of birds and quadrupeds for the performance of sacrifice and the eating of meat if the animal has been offered to a god. Female animals were never permitted, and one would naturally select a sound animal. The goat was usually the pasu, the sacrificial animal, and so was Krisnasara, which is a goat.

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Prison Reform

Mr. Pankajkumar Mukherjee, M. A., B. L. offers, among others, the following suggestions for the reform of prisons in India in *The Calcutta Review*:

For the sake of rehabilitation or socialization, the prisoners ought not to be kept absolutely outside society. People with an intellectual ability and of social habits ought to be allowed to come in the prisons and to talk with their inmates. Because the prisoner ought not to get an opportunity to think that he is an outcast he must be trained to think that society will again welcome him if he only reforms himself. Means ought to be adopted through legislation by which the criminals can avoid that sort of mental degeneracy. Society, on the other hand, is to be moulded so as to guide and sympathize with the criminals like the diseased persons returning from the hospital.

Regarding the aim of the penal treatment Mr. Jose Almaraj, President of the Supreme Council of Social Defence and Prevention in Mexico, says that the aim of penal treatment is not intimidation but cure; regeneration and re-adaptation. The Indian Penal Laws ought to be framed upon the said principles of Jose Almaraj.

The compulsory system of work in prison stands as an obstacle to the realization of the new ideals of penology. The link of compulsion in jail work can be eliminated by two processes. In the first place, the system of remuneration may be introduced, and in the second place, the system of allotment of task by qualified supervisors may be enforced to do away with the idea of compulsory work. Two benefits are derived from the system of payment for work to the prisoner. They would not think

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as a drudgery to serve and so an initiative to work would be given to them by such system. They would get a training to work and to earn in prison-life which they may profitably use when they would come back to society. One of the best means of socialization is the system of payment for work in prisons.

Arguments can also be put forth from the financial point of view. The prisoners might contribute to the penal administration by maintaining themselves. In the penal system of Italy it has been ascertained that the prisoner maintains himself out of the remuneration he receives from service. In England there exists no legal provision for payment to the prisoners. The system of remunerating the prisoners had its origin in the Continent. In Swiss cantons the prison authorities determine the payment of the different prisoners. France has a system of indirect payment, *i.e.*, once a sum is credited in the name of the prisoner, he will receive that for good. The new Italian Penal Code has made it obligatory to pay the prisoners. The Penal Code of U. S. S. R. goes even further than the new Italian Code by giving prisoners the right to sue the state for sums due to them. Now it can be suggested that Indian Penal Law ought to recognize this system of payment in both the financial and psychological aspects. The system of payment is required to be made obligatory instead of dependisg on the whims of the authorities in charge.

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The Military Burden on India

The following occurs in an article by Mr. F. G. Pratt, C. S. I., I. C. S. (Retd.) in *The Hindusthan Review*:

The following figures shew the percentage incidence of defence expenditure upon net revenue in Great Britain and the Dominions:

India	33.7
Great Britain	23.6
Australia	3.7
Canada	3.7
New Zealand	5.2
Union of South Africa	3.1
Irish Free State	6.8

India in spite of her poverty has to bear a burden relatively heavier than that of Great Britain and ten times heavier than that of Australia, which has no land frontiers and is protected by the British Navy. Her expenditure on the Army has risen from £20 millions before the War to £91 millions at the present day. India has been called the Achilles heel of the British Empire.

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Natural Resources of Karnatak

Karnatak is rich in natural resources. We take the following from *The Mysore Economic Journal*:

The Nature has been exceptionally generous and bounteous to the people of Karnatak. Under its surface there are vast stores of mineral wealth which await the special and enterprise of its sons and the persistent tap of the prospector's hammer and pick. It has within its borders such valuable metals as gold, iron, manganese and asbestos. Limestone and clay deposits are common and can supply suitable raw material for cement and ceramic industries. A porcelain factory has just been started in Mysore and Mangalore tiles have already earned a wide reputation for their quality.

Magnificent water power is available in several parts of Karnatak. Converted into electric energy this will do much for industrial progress. Besides several rivers, which are and can be advantageously dammed both for irrigation and the generation of power, we have the highest water-fall in the world at Gersoppa which has yet to be harnessed for the service of the Karnatakas. Large sums of money have already been invested by the enterprising Government of Mysore in the construction of huge reservoirs of water and hydro-electric schemes which will considerably help the industrialization of that part of the country.

Karnatak is exceedingly rich in forest wealth. Its virgin forests are among the largest in extent in India and are a great source of wealth. Not only they are great for constructional and cabinet timbers, bamboos and pulpwoods they contain, they are of immense importance in supplying fuel, in the absence of coal. The trees, that are of greater economic value, are those that give the world the famous sandal and eucalyptus oils. Mysore Rosewood, Ebony, Red Sandal and Cedar and Kanara Teak are famous and have won for themselves places in the timber markets of India.

Karnatak with an ideal climate and rich soil offers to the farmer the widest choice of industry. The whole field of agricultural endeavour is open to him. There is practically no species of commercial crop, not to speak of food grains and oilseeds, that cannot be grown to perfection either under natural conditions or through irrigation. Cotton of good staple is being grown on the black soil of Dharwar, Belgaum and Bijapur Districts. The sandy soil of coast districts produces tobacco. The sugarcane cultivation is rapidly extending particularly in Mysore, where the development of irrigation is a big feature of its agricultural progress. Mysore and Mercara coffee has been famous and is largely exported with Nilgiri tea to foreign countries. The possibilities of extending the cultivation of fruit trees are amply demonstrated by an European planter who owns an extensive orchard near Bangalore and grows a variety of the choicest fruits, including seedless oranges, apples and grape fruits. Cocoanut is extensively grown mainly in the coast districts and the Western Ghats produce such rare spices as arecanuts, cardamoms, pepper and cinnamon for the markets of the world. The insignificant cashewnut of Kanara of which Mangalore has now a profitable export trade with America, has shown to Karnatakas what wealth Karnatak can draw from the more prosperous nations of the world by the export of a part of its surplus produce either raw or manufactured, if only necessary enterprise and capital are forthcoming.

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Rural Welfare Work

Prof. Nripendra Chandra Banerji, M. A., has given us a useful scheme of rural welfare work for Bengal in *The Bengal Co-operative Journal*. He says :

The three great lines of attack should be *Disease*, *Debt*, and *Illiteracy*, the three great scourges that ravage the countryside and take so much toll of the strength and efficiency of the peasantry.

If a Rural Welfare League could be immediately started *under non-official auspices* as a central body in Calcutta with district branches, it could spread its tentacles all over the province, provided the district executive helped the movement with advice, encouragement and gave it the necessary 'good character' certificate. Otherwise in these police-ridden times, every organization would practically be still-born.

This League might utilize the co-operative workers, the colleges and the schools, the district boards and municipalities, and the village union boards; it might very

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well have His Excellency the Governor as Patron and the Rural Development Commissioner and the District Magistrates as Vice-Patrons; but it will have its own offices and its own executive.

Government might at once employ a few hundred University men to popularize the ideas of rural welfare in definite areas: they might easily act as Government supervisors over non-official rural welfare activity.

Thana by thana, to combat the triple evils of Disease, Debt and Illiteracy, should be immediately started—

(a) *Health-Centres*, which would do intensive health propaganda work in villages under their control.

(b) *Debt Conciliation Committees*, which would work incessantly to ease the strain between debtors and creditors, and

(c) *New Type Village Schools*, which would train villagers in the art of self-help and give them ideas about co-operative farming and co-operative marketing to begin with.

All these three organizations should be organically inter-connected and worked by a co-ordinate group of workers.

The work is big enough to arrest the attention and engage the energies of various classes of people—lawyers, doctors, engineers, school-masters, businessmen, farmers and traders.

The *health-centre* workers might requisition the services of honorary physicians and persons of both sexes trained in first-aid and nursing; cultured women who have taken lessons in maternity questions might open maternity welfare centres in this line of activity.

Elementary lessons in sanitation and hygiene, about healthy food and drink might easily be given by the health workers.

Magic lantern lectures with illustrative slides suitable to village needs and interests accompanied with practical demonstrations as to how to keep village homes including the kitchens and bathing ghats clean, how to drain off all surplus accumulation of water, how to deal with garbage and refuse might be a prominent feature of this work.

The treatment of disease would be left to the hospitals and dispensaries; the prevention of disease by the imbibing of cleanly habits would be the objective.

The *Debt-Conciliation Committees* might have a representative personnel comprising landlords and tenants, money-lenders and debtors; the object would be to arrange a sliding scale of debt-payment by easy instalments, to avoid the necessity of protracted and ruinously expensive legal proceedings, to make an end by peaceful negotiation, of fancy rates of interest. This is a matter in which patriotic lawyers might easily be useful and settle matters amicably between parties.

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Women Doctors and Maternity Work in Bombay

Women doctors have played an important part in maternity work in Bombay. Mrs. Dadabhoy, M. D. (Lond.), writes in *The Journal of the Indian Medical Association* :

The credit goes first to a woman doctor, Dr. Elizabeth Frances Hoggan and secondly, to an American business gentleman Mr. Kittredge. In 1882 Dr. Hoggan wrote an article in the *Contemporary Review* that there is a need of a new medical department in India to be managed by women on the same lines as the then existing Civil Medical Service. Inspired by this article Mr. Kittredge thought that the only way of placing female instruction and relief on the right basis would be to bring thoroughly competent experienced women from Europe and America. With this object in view he collected subscriptions from the public with the help of a Parsi gentleman, Mr. Sorabji Shapurji Bengalee. Meantime in 1883 a philanthropic gentleman, Mr. Pestonji Hormasji Cama came forward with an offer to build a hospital for women to be managed by women only. In the same year the authorities of the Grant Medical College and the Bombay University were approached to open their doors to women on the same status as men. In the same year Mr. Kittredge left for England in order to secure the services of a suitable medical woman to inaugurate this scheme. Through the recommendations of Dr. Garnett Anderson he was able to persuade Dr. Pechey to come to India. Miss Pechey arrived in Bombay in 1883. In 1884, a temporary dispensary for women was opened in Church Gate Street and also a small temporary hospital for women in Khetwady. At the same time another woman doctor Miss Charlotte Ellaby was brought from England to act as a junior officer to Miss Pechey. In 1886 the present Jaffer Suleman Dispensary was opened and in the same year the Cama and Albless Hospital buildings were completed and the patients were transferred here from Khetwady.

In the year 1883 the Grant Medical College first started training non-matriculated women and granted certificates after a three years' course of study. The first women to take this certificate were a Parsi lady Miss Malbari and an Anglo-Indian Miss Bradly. Miss Bradly did a large amount of work amongst the poor and had a hospital of her own for women.

The first matriculated woman to take diploma of the university after a five years' course of study was Miss Walker Sharp, who worked later at the Cama Hospital as a second physician. In the second year batch the Freny Cama was the first Indian woman who took the same diploma with honours, and worked under Dr. Pechey at the Cama Hospital for about two years or so. The the number of matriculated women in training increased to ten in the year 1889. Most of these women on passing their examination and obtaining diploma, devoted themselves solely to the practice of Midwifery and soon gained the confidence of their women patients. Some of these are still with us now known to most of us here.

—

Popular Religion in Bihar

About popular religion in Bihar Mr. Sarat Chandra Mitra, M. A., B. L., writes in *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* partially as follows:

In Bihar the *Barham Daitya* or the spirit of a Brahman who has met with a violent death, often becomes the tutelary deity or *dihwar* of the whole village. The worship of this godling is usually carried on under a tree, very often a banyan tree (*Ficus indica*), which he is supposed to reside in. The trunk thereof is besmeared with vermilion and *a mound of earth is erected*, on which are placed clay figurines of horses or elephants, and offerings are presented of flowers, betel-nuts and the like. The worship is performed by a special priest called the *Bhakta*, who is not necessarily a Brahman; and sometimes he is inspired by this deity and utters prophecies which are implicitly believed in by the devotees.

Then, again, the district of Gaya is intimately connected with the rise and spread of Buddhism. Here Buddha, the great founder of Buddhism lived for a long time and promulgated the tenets of his religion. As the result of this, the district of Gaya is rich in Buddhist remains, namely, Buddhist images, *chaityas* or small shrines and other relics. The Hindus of this part of Bihar have appropriated these old images and *chaityas* and

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bedaubing them with vermilion, have conferred on these the names of some deities of animistic origin who are unknown to the orthodox Brahman priesthood. These new-fangled godlings and goddesslings, under new designations, are now worshipped and prayed to by the Hindus, especially of the lower classes.

On this point, Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley says:—

"Images of Buddha and other Buddhistic images and *chaityas* are found in temples of all kinds, under trees and in the open air in all parts of the district (Gaya), and are treated as different deities, *lingas*, etc. Such images have been enshrined in hundreds of temples, in temples of Siva, of Mahadeva, of Visnu, of the Sun, of Sitala, the goddess of disease, and others. Hundreds of *chaityas* have similarly been set up in *Sivalayas* filling the places of *lingas*. But this is simply because these images and *chaityas* have been found lying about and have been utilized by the Hindus as images of their own deities or as the *linga* of Mahadeva. They are worshipped by the ignorant Hindus, not as Buddha or as Buddhistic emblems, but as their own gods and symbols.

Then again, in North Bihar, especially in the district of Champaran, the Hindus have appropriated the famous Edict-pillars erected by Asoka, the great Buddhist Emperor of India, dubbed them with Hindu names and worship them with Hindu rites.

—

Education in India, 1927-32

The following appears in *The Young Builder*:

The tenth quinquennial review of the progress of education in India in 1927-32 has been published by the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India. The report shows that the percentage of literates in the various provinces at the end of the five years, under review, was as follows:

	Male population	*Female population*
Madras	9.5	3.1
Bombay	9.08	2.83
Bengal	8.30	2.32
United Provinces	5.30	0.72
Punjab	8.82	1.85
Burma	6.81	3.01
Bihar and Orissa	5.15	0.67
Central Provinces	5.07	0.85
Assam	6.88	1.5
N. W. F. Province	5.7	1.2

—

League Enquiry Report on the Traffic in Women and Young Girls

Sri-Dharma writes editorially:

The report of the League of Nations Enquiry Committee on the Traffic in Women is interesting reading and is of special importance to all these organisations that are solely employed in rescue work in India. The special points of interest are (1) the need for collaborated efforts between all organisations and private associations as well as official authorities. No one who has any experience of the work would fail to realise that this would lead to a great deal of improvement in the work which is often difficult and delicate and needs the help and co-operation of all concerned. (2) The emphasis that is being rightly put by universal international organisations on the need for employing women officers in every department where the question is to be actively dealt with. The tone of the work would distinctly improve if suitable women, after receiving adequate and proper training, were employed to carry out the delicate work that needs so much real understanding and sympathy to be really effective. (3) The need for International Conventions with regard to this question so that what has been achieved in one country to save their victims may not be made null and void merely by crossing the borders of one country into another. It is obvious that this will offer those who ply this infamous trade an easy and painless opening for merely shifting the scene of their activity. (4) The need for the removal of the licensed brothel which is the cause that keeps this trade in a flourishing condition and makes unnumbered victims of its greed, miserable and degraded, we must all work for a speedy removal of this horrible criminal institution from every self-respecting country till it will be completely wiped off the face of the earth. We are sure that the opportunity that the League offers for international discussion and enquiry into this question will day by day offer new solutions for the removal of this evil.

—

Printing as a Profession

Mr. A. Gilbert, Printing Specialist, writes in *Careers*:

Printing offers a large scope to the young man with small capital to start for himself, he is required to see the needs of various phases of business and to be able to produce printing that is compelling, attractive and useful and yet peculiar to the subjects it is applied to.

This is a study in itself and calls for an appreciation of type faces, paper, inks and colour of cover papers, etc., and these qualities can only be obtained by experience plus a natural ability to get that experience quickly.

The best office to learn in is one that covers most branches of printing and thereby offers more scope to obtain a general knowledge of the business.

It should always be borne in mind that print is a necessity and callings that fall in that category are the first to benefit by increased trade and the last to be influenced by depression.

—

Smelting—a Dying Indigenous Industry

K. C. P. summarzies a valuable paper by Dr. F G. Percival on Smelting, one of our indigenous industries in *The Mayurbhanj Gazette*. Dr. Percival writes:

"At various times within the last ten years, I have seen furnaces in the Feudatory States of Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar and Bonai and also in the Singbhum District, but none of them is in operation within seventy miles of Jamshedpur.

"The Industry is still in full activity in the more remote parts of the Feudatory States of Orissa, and I have recently obtained photographs of smelters at Gonua in Bonai State, and also at Jodapaint in Keonjhar State, near the iron ore proper of Joda, owned, but not yet mined, by the Tata Iron and Steel Co., both places being about 100 miles from Jamshedpur."

Dr. Percival then quotes from the Geological Survey of India a passage regarding the beliefs of smelters in Garhwal (U. P.) who are locally known as *lohars*. They are "regarded as belonging to an upper section of the low caste *doms*. They regard as the founder of their caste one Kaliya *lohar*, who is supposed to have supplied the Pandavas with their fighting weapons, and he is now propitiated with an offer of five pieces of charcoal."

But at Jodapaint in Keonjhar State the smelters are *Kamars* and locally known as *Pentis*. They are said to be of a higher origin than those of *Garhwal*.

"Joda village is inhabited by Bhuiyas, a sturdy hill tribe that has the hereditary right of installing the Raja of Keonjhar on his *gadi* on his accession. Hindus take water from the Bhuiyas and their touch is no defilement."

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INDIANS ABROAD

By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

Indians abroad Directory 1934

We must heartily congratulate Mr. S. A. Waiz, compiler and editor of the *Indians Abroad Directory* for the second edition of this excellent production. In this edition figures and other details concerning Indians overseas have been brought up-to-date and new chapters have been added. As a reference book on the subject it is unique and indispensable for every newspaper office and also for those who are interested in the problems of Indians outside India. Merchants who want to have trade connections with their compatriots abroad will find this book very useful. It is priced at Rupees five and can be had of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, Sohrab House, 235 Hornby Road Fort, Bombay.

Wanted a bigger history of the Satyagraha Movement in South Africa

The importance of the Satyagraha movement that was carried on in South Africa by Mahatma Gandhi and his followers in 1906-1914 has not been realized fully in this country. There are some books on this subject in Gujrati, Hindi and English but they are not quite complete. Of course, the Gujrati book of Mahatma Gandhi

The late S. Nagappen,
who died after release from the Johannesburg Prison Road-Camp as a Passive Resister.

Widow and Sons of Selvan, a free labourer, shot dead during the strike. The eldest son, Antonimuthu, received three bullet wounds.

leader of the movement, is the most important document on this subject but as Mahatmaji has to summarize the whole thing in a small book he had to leave out several details and these ought to be supplied by a new historian. Swami Bhawani Dayal's Hindi book was also a useful publication and it ran into two editions but what we require now is a bigger history written from a different point of view. To make it more interesting and more inspiring we must collect cases of a large number of individuals sacrifices and sufferings. At a farewell speech in Johannesburg in 1914 Mahatma Gandhi said that

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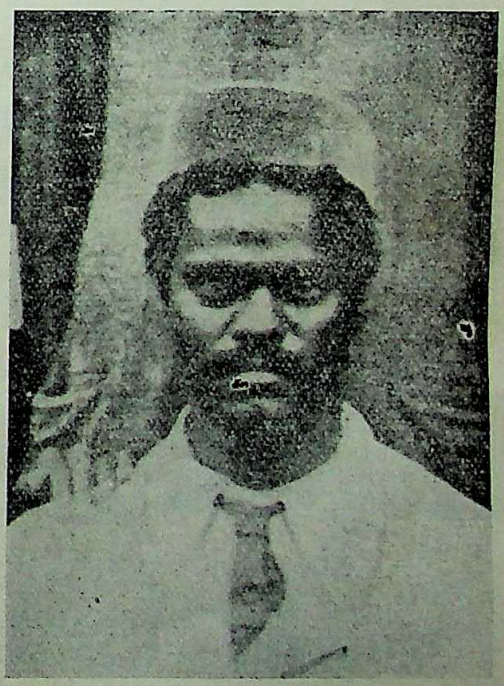
it was Johannesburg that had given Valiamma, that young girl, whose picture rose before him even as he spoke, who had died in the cause of truth. Simple-minded in faith, she had not the knowledge that he had, she did not know what Passive Resistance was, she did not know what it was the community would gain but she was simply taken up with unbounded enthusiasm for her people—went to jail, came out of it a wreck and within a few days died. It was Johannesburg again that produced a Nagappan and Naryanswamy, two lovely youths hardly out of their teens who also died. He and Mrs. Gandhi had worked in the limelight ; those

Widow and Orphan of Pachiappan, an Indian Striker on the Coast, shot dead during the strike.

others had worked behind the scenes, not knowing where they were going, except this, that what they were doing was right and proper and if any praise was due anywhere at all, it was due to those three who died. They had had the name of Harbat Singh given to them. He (the speaker) had had the privilege of serving imprisonment with him. Harbat Singh was 75 years old. He was an ex-indentured Indian and when he (the speaker) asked him why he had come there, that he had gone there to seek his grave, the brave man replied "What does it matter ?

The late Soorzai, with his wife and child. Soorzai was one of the Strike victims.



The late Naryanswamy, who was deported to India as a Passive Resister and who died at Delagoa Bay after being hunted from Port to Port in South Africa by the Union Government.

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I know what you are fighting for. You have not to pay the £3 tax but my fellow ex-indentured Indians have to pay that tax, and what more glorious death could I meet ?" He had met that death in the jail at Durban. No wonder if Passive Resistance had fired and quickened the conscience of South Africa !

What we want now are full details of the sacrifices of individuals like Valiammas, Nagappens, Naryanswamies and Harbatsinghs.

Such a history will serve a necessary background for a more important history of the Satyagraha movement in India. Unfortunately no serious attempt has ever been made to write this history. It was on Sept. 7, 1910 that Tolstoy wrote to Mahatma Gandhi :

"And so your activity in the Transvaal as it seems to us, at this end of the world, is the most essential work, the most important of the work now being done in the world, and in which not only the nations of the Christian but of all the world, will unavoidably take part."

So not only from Indian point of view but from international point of view also the work of compiling a bigger history of the Satyagraha movement in South Africa deserves to be taken up in right earnest by those who are interested in the subject and who are qualified to do justice to it.

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Miss Vishini Jagasia

The 73rd birthday of Poet Tagore was celebrated by Rabindranath Dramatic and Literary Club, Karachi, on 13th May. This annual event is looked forward to as a festival of song, dance, mirth and merriment. The cup for musical competition for girls was won by Miss Vishini Jagasia, who is seen in this picture with her trophy. This little child of 12 years of age has already won for herself the appreciation of film directors and critics by her excellent acting and singing in her maiden picture, *Prem Pariksha*, which is now running. Miss Vishini Jagasia has been gifted with a most melodious voice and has acquired considerable mastery over the technique of Indian classical singing.

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GLEANINGS

A Glimpse of the Japanese Woman

I wonder whether there is in the world any fair sex like the Japanese woman who values the family she marries into more than the one of her birth; so faithful to her husband; so respectful to her parents and so devoted to her children. Not only in the feudal age but even at present there are many weaker sex who calmly commit suicide to save their family honour. They do not do it for their personal fame, but for the honour of their family.

A Japanese woman is trained to keep house. Nevertheless in case her labour out of her family is required, she dares to undertake any difficult task. The fact that peasant women labour from early morning till deep into the night demonstrates this fact. In Japan there are some laborious occupation in which the fair sex work harder than men. Such is the fisher-women who dive deep into the sea to gather shells and sea weeds. This occupation, though very hard and dangerous, is almost confined to women.

Miss M. Shimpo, who was fourth in the javelin throw at the World Olympic Games held in Los Angeles

Physically, therefore, a Japanese woman is nearly equal to man. Let us now turn to their cultural achievements. Contrary to what foreigners would believe, Japanese women showed a great deal of cultural achievements more than

Costume of a well-to-do class lady of the Fujiwara era going to pay homage to a shrine

1,000 years ago. At that time those who undertook secretarial work at the Imperial Court were

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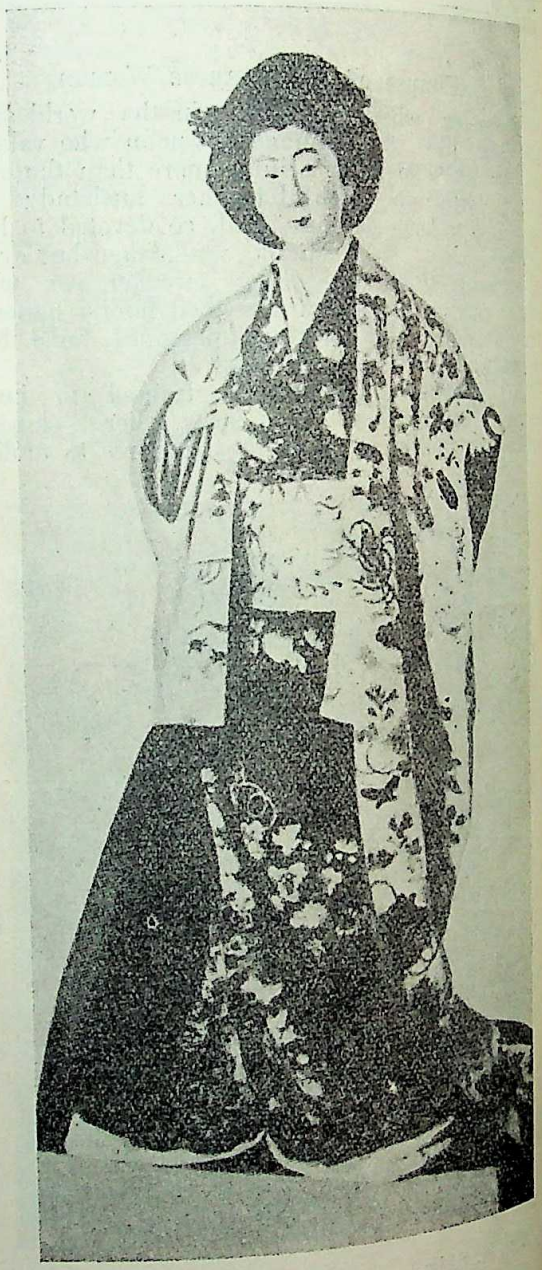
mostly women. They recorded what the Emperors had done or said in privacy, and some of those records are precious heritages of the Japanese nation as "Inner Court Tidings". Furthermore in some period of our history composition of "waka" or a short poem of thirty one syllables was one of the most important accomplishments of the women. Men and women of that age all exchanged their poems, and the women in court were invariably poets. A great deal of the diaries, fictions and jottings written in the course of this period have been transmitted to

Miss H. Machata, who won the second place in the 200 meters breast stroke at the World Olympic Games held in Los Angeles

us, and those which were written by women equal, if not surpass, those composed by men. The most famous of all among them is the "Story of Genji" written by Murasaki Shikibu, and the "Makuranososhi", a collection of jottings by Seishonagon, both of whom were court women. These two works are the best classics in the history of Japan and have been translated into foreign languages. In the time of Murasaki Shikibu there was no female novelist of fame in any other part of the world. I wonder, even in the histories of all other countries, whether there had been any women who had written such valuable classics as the "Story of Genji".

So much for literature. In the dramatic circle there was, in the Ashikaga era more than four hundred years ago, an actress called Izumo-no-Okuni. She appeared on the stage and played the so-called "Okuni Kabuki" which laid the corner-stone of the present "Kabuki" play of Japan. In the same period there was no woman in the world who had appeared on the stage. In art and literature Japanese women demonstrated, from long time past, their talents.



Woman in Her Best.
A doll representing the custom of the Tokugawa era (1603—1867)

At present Japanese women have more or less been set free from their families, and are given opportunities to show their abilities. Let us take only the examples familiar to foreigners. The late Miss Hitomi on the track and field and Miss Maehata in swimming demonstrate what

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Girl tea-leaves pickers and Mt. Fuji

"Fishermen" by Utamaro (1754-1806)
The woodcut is a masterpiece of the artist and represents women fishing ear

Japanese women can do in such sports. Their appearance may seem accidental to the foreign-eye but there were many fair sex in Japan in the past who demonstrated their prowess in fencing and jujitsu. Especially in water, the existence of fisherwomen from time immemorial justifies the appearance of the world's champion in the present day acquatic sports.

From an article by Kenkichi Ichishimah in "Dai Nippon"

Arab and Jew in Palestine

Arabs and Jews were friendly in the pre-War period, and despite the intermittent outbursts of violence they still are so today. If, in the cities, social intercourse between Arab and Jew is very limited, in the rural districts there is much give and take between them. In 1929, when they were called on in the name of their religion to attack the Jews—who had allegedly destroyed the Mosque of Omar—they refused, dissuaded Arabs from more distant villages from joining in the attack, gave themselves up to Jewish neighbours as hostages or helped them in other ways.

In 1921 the Sheikh Abu Kishik had directed a strong attack against Petach Tikvah, one of the largest and oldest Jewish colonies, for which he was later sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment. At the intercession of the Jews, he was set free after swearing that he would thenceforth live at

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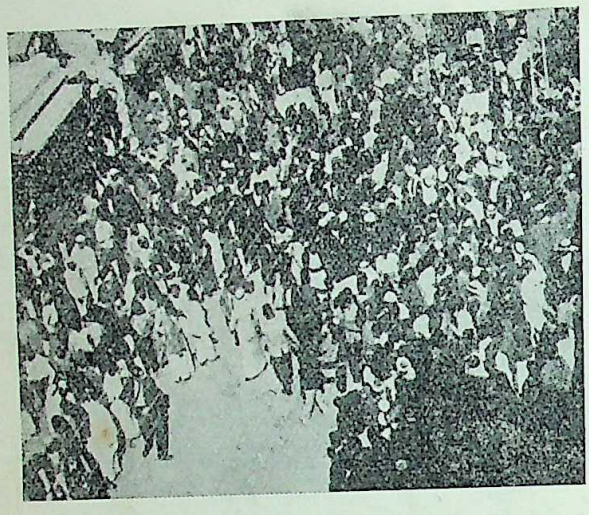
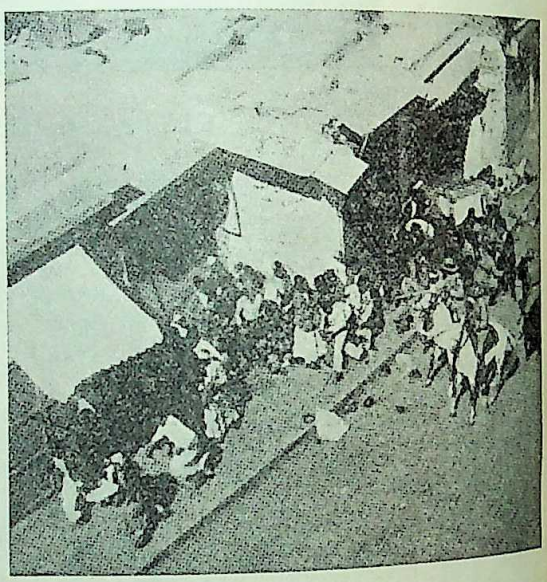


Demonstration.
The Arabs demonstrating against Jewish immigration into Palestine, October 27, 1933.

peace with them. In 1929 he sent word that he and his followers would abide by his oath, despite the fact that the Moslem Supreme Council had sent for him and offered to absolve him from it if he would again attack the Jews. He would do so, he said, only if he saw with his own eyes that the Mosque was destroyed.

A scattered crowd, with hats, fezzes and wreckage.

This single episode indicates the delicacy and complexity of Arab-Jewish relationships. Economic advantage, personal good will, political interest : all come into play. One Arab group may be satisfied ; another is not. The Jewish mode of penetration is entirely peaceful. Immediately after the War attempts were made, in the familiar oriental manner, to buy off Arab opposition, but those who were purchasable kept raising their price and the incorruptibles maintained their position. In the past ten years Jews have been relying on the economic benefits they have brought to the country, reinforced by personal contact, to gain the good will of the Arab population.



Riot.
Arabs being charged by British mounted police.

The mandatory power, England, has tried to play the part of peacemaker. As such, it effectively preserved public order between 1921 and 1929 and cut down the hitherto popular trade of banditry, but it did not prevent the massacres of 1929 and had to have recourse to arms to control the Arab demonstrations of 1933. As peacemaker, England has satisfied neither those Arabs who want a voice in the governmen or who want a tighter restriction on Jewish immigration nor those Jews who expected it to lend more active aid to their colonization. —*Asia*

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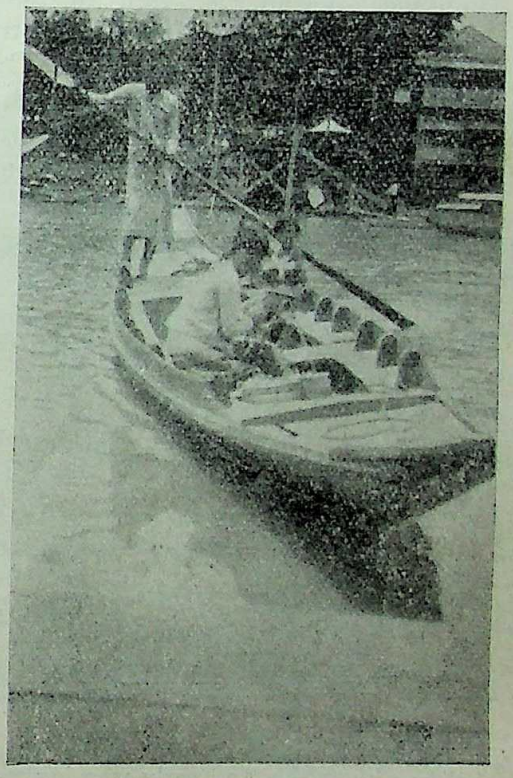
SIAM PAST AND PRESENT

Historical and Descriptive

By LANKA SUNDARAM, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.)

SIAM is the brightest jewel studded in the centre of South East Asia. Rich in natural resources, it extends over an area of more than two lakhs of square miles, one thousand miles in length and four hundred miles in breadth at its widest point, and with a coast line of one thousand three hundred miles of very great maritime importance. According to the latest figures, it has a population of over eleven millions, which draws a comparison with that of the State of Hyderabad. Ninety-eight per cent of the population is Buddhist in religion, Islam claiming about five lakhs and Christianity only fifty thousands. The ethnological basis of the population is very hard to analyse. India's quota to the ethonological amalgam of Siam is clear and understandable. The Mongolian impress is notable from the large number of Chinese resident in the north-eastern portions of the country and, more than that, from the vivid Chinese features of the people, particularly as regards the angularities of the Siamese nose and eyes. It would take the ability of an expert to distinguish between a Burman and a Siamese, but for the differences of a sartorial character which exist between these two neighbouring races.

The Epic period in India is believed to yield fruits in the field of Indo-Siamese synthesis. Place names and ritualistic observances are very similar in these two countries. Rajburi, Prachinburi, Aranya-pradesh and, more important than all these, Ayudhia bring to our mind memories of ancient India. It is even emphasized that the horses selected for the *Asvamedh* sacrifice in which Lava and Kusa, the sons of Rama, figure prominently actually touched Ayudhia in Siam. This is in consonance with the fact that Ayudhia was the capital of Siam till 1767 when an invading Burman army completely razed the city to the ground, and that the *Asvamedh* sacrifice was intended to be at once a festival and a triumphal march through neighbouring capitals. There is no doubt that in the pre-Buddhistic period India's influence upon and quota to Siam in the fields of culture and religion have been remarkable, traces of which are to be found in that beautiful country even at the present day.



The Siamese spouse and family returning home after shopping from one of the numerous villages flanking the Siam river

But it is as the most important seat of Buddhism that Siam holds our interest from the historical standpoint. It is on record that the Buddhist supremacy of Siam was reached not until a tremendous series of battles of religions was successfully concluded in favour of the doctrine of the Buddha during the early centuries of the Christian era. If we accept the evidence supplied by the

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frescoes of Angkor Wat in Cambodia, the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries witnessed great commotion all over South East Asia and in the process succeeded in bringing about a certain amount of religious toleration. I have seen the idols of Rama and Sita in the Buddhist temples of Ayudhia and a complete scenerio of Ramayana and Mahabharata enriching the beauty of the Temple-palace of the Emerald Buddha in Bangkok. No doubt the latter dates to comparatively recent times, but it is hard to determine the age when this "fusion" of Buddhism and Hinduism was wrought as is evidenced from the remains at Ayudhia. In any case, the point is clear that the Buddhist period is rich in historical associations between the Mother Country and Siam. While Buddhism in the Mother Country is reduced to very minor dimensions, it is thriving in the "colony" as the state religion professed by almost the entire population.

The Siamese housewife honouring the Buddhist *bhikku* with food. And early morning scene.

Historical Background

The beginnings of the Christian era witnessed a Mom-Khmer invasion of Siam and it is from this intrusion that Siam was brought out of her seclusion as far as outward contacts were concerned. At that time the eastern Menan basin was a province of the Khmer Empire; the western portion an appanage of the Mons; and the present Malay peninsula under the suzerainty of the Kingdom of Palembang in Sumatra. The Thai race were then in the Yunnan province of China, where they founded the powerful kingdom of Nan Chao. It was during the thirteenth century that the Thai established themselves permanently in Chao Phya and the Mekong Valley of Siam.

The first historical Siamese dynasty was established at Sukhodaya by Rama Khamheng (Phra Ruang) who conquered the whole of the Menam Chao Phya valley and the Malay Peninsula as far as Ligor. By about the fourteenth century the Sukhodaya period gave place to the Ayudhia domination. It is since the establishment of Ayudhia as the capital of Siam that the regular history of the country may be said to begin.

The most noteworthy periods in the history of Siam are as follows: the period when Sukhodaya was capital, 1257-1350; the period when Ayudhia was the capital, 1350-1767; and the present period since the establishment of Bangkok as capital. Three dynasties ruled at Ayudhia and it was during this period that foreign contact with the country was first established. Louis XIV attempted diplomatic conversion of the king and the people of Siam and it was in the latter half of the seventeenth century that a Greek named Constantine Phaulkon, under the title Chao Phya (His Excellency) Vichayen, became a powerful minister of State during the reign of Phra Narai. These two incidents led to the displacement of the ruling dynasty and cost the king his crown. Continued Siamese-Burman rivalry led to the final fall of Ayudhia on the 7th April 1767, the destruction of that illustrious town and the loss of all historical records relating to the fortunes of the Kingdom of Siam prior to that date. Phya Tak meets us as the restorer of the sovereignty of Siam with Bangkok as capital, but he could not found a dynasty.

The present dynasty is called the Chakri dynasty and had six kings in unbroken succession. They are as follows: Phra Buddha Yod Fa Chulalok, 1782-1809; his son, Phra Buddha Loes La Nobhalai, 1809-1824; his brother, son Phra Nang Klao, 1824-1851; his brother, Phra Chom Klao (Mongkut), 1851-1868; his son, Phra Chula Chom Klao (Chulalongkorn), 1869-1910; his son, Phra Mongkut Klao (Vajirayudh), 1910-1925; and his younger brother, Phra Pok Klao, the present reigning

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sovereign King Prajadhipok. The previous occupants of the throne are officially known as Rama I to VI.

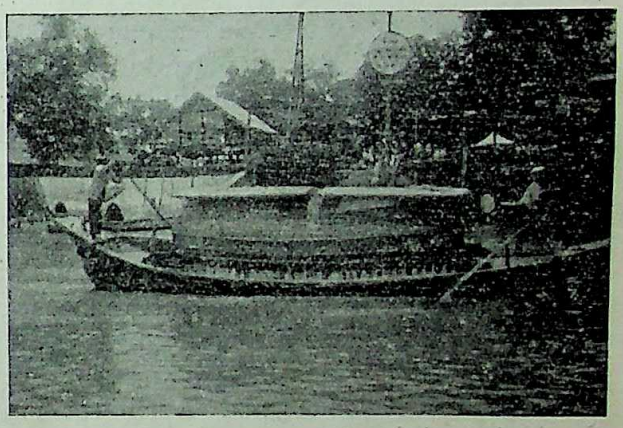
Foreign contacts were first brought into prominence under King Mongkut. In fact, the beginnings of extraterritoriality were first adumbrated during his regime. But it is King Chulalongkron who became the most famous sovereign of the Chakri dynasty. It was in his reign that an all-round progress in the life of the nation and the work of government was first witnessed. Feudalism was gradually done away with; debt slavery was abolished; the judicial system was reformed; education of the people was improved; railway construction was definitely planned; the army and the navy was reorganized on efficient modern lines; opium eating and gambling were brought under control. But it was during his regime also that the last clippings of the territory of Siam were effected by France. The blockade of Bangkok in 1885 was but a prelude to the cession to France of the feudal territory of Cambodia in 1905. Today Cambodia is an appanage of the French colonial system as one of the five units comprising the flourishing Asiatic French colony of Indo-China.

The fifteen years which comprise the reign of the late sovereign are notable for remarkable changes in the polity of Siam as an independent State. The extraterritorial and diplomatic grip of foreign powers upon Siam remained unbroken, but it was towards the end of his reign that attempts were projected for the ultimate abrogation of the extraterritorial system. Siam's entry into the World War in the cause of the Allied and Associated Powers brought about several important results, towards international recognition of the independence of the country and opened up the gates for a stream of intercourse with the rest of the world. The rich virgin resources of the country are now operated by several foreign syndicates, the means of communications modernized and rendered useful. The Menom river was successfully bridged at Bangkok. The foreign expert worked out numerous reforms in the currency of the country, besides systematizing administrative framework and procedure available in the country. In fact, the reigns of the last two sovereigns and the present king are remarkable for the modernization of the life and government of Siam.

The reign of King Projadhipok, the present sovereign, will go down to history as the most outstanding example of oriental absolute monarchy giving place to popular control without any bloodshed. I will deal with it in a further article.

Siamese Life, Art and Architecture

It is in the field of arts and crafts that Siam occupies a unique place in the Orient. The artistic genius of the nation refuses to be suppressed, despite change of dynasties and a long series of alien impacts. Their pastoral life is a guarantee that the artistic genius of the people does not show signs of decay.



Something to remind us of the Venetian *gondola*. A river scene in Siam.

Unsophisticated, more or less law-abiding, under the wholesome influence of the religion of the land; simple in their wants; vastly traditional in their beliefs, the Siamese pride themselves in their native habits and customs.

The principles of Buddhist religion permeate the life and work of the Siamese race. The spiritual genius of a race in any part of the world is reflected in their festivals, and in this direction Siam has unique record. It would be obviously impossible to catalogue all the Siamese festivals, which reveal the daily life of the people, but the following list cannot be ignored:

The *Wishakha Buja* commemorates the birth, inspiration and death of Lord Buddha, all the three of which events occurred on the fifteenth of the waxing of the full moon of the sixth lunar month.

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The *Khao Purim Pansa* and *Ok Pansa* festivals mark the beginning and the end of the Buddhist lent, during the rainy season.

The *Thot Kathin* in which the entire nation, including royalty, takes part during October, when monastic robes are presented to the *Bhikkus* for the ensuing year. The Royal processions by land and water during the festival afford us real glimpses of Old Siam.

The *Phrabad* (is it *prabhat*?) pilgrimage to the sacred footprints in important shrines all over Siam is an equally important festival.

The *Magha* festival in February is the festival of All Saints in Buddhism.

Loi Ching Chah, or Swing Festival, takes place on the 7th and 9th of the waxing of the second Siamese lunar month. It is a Brahmin ceremony and apparantly a harvest festival.

The *Raek Na* which commemorates the ploughing festival, takes place in May and marks the commencement of the ploughing of the fields. This is also a Brahmin rite, and is one of the oldest religious ceremonies existent in the country.

The tonsure and cremation are also conducted largely in accordance with Brahminical rites. The tonsure is in the fourth month and cremations take place in the dry weather.

The *Krut Thai* marks the new year in the Siamese lunar calendar and April 1st is the beginning of the Siamese official year, while *Chakri* day on the 6th April commemorates the accession of the present dynasty.

For one from India these festivals and and others in Siam bring memories of the legion of ceremonies which the home country indulges in year after year. The most amazing thing is the almost punctilious adherence by the Siamese people of model festivities in the land of the Aryans. The nomenclature is almost identical in both the countries; the ritual is more or less parallel; the dominance of Brahmanism is observable, even in this Buddhist country of the Asiatic continent. How indelible is the part played by Bharatavarsha in making Siam what it is today!

The artistic genius of a race is best expressed in its architecture. Siam is an outstanding example of this dictum. Wherever you go in Siam your eye meets with quaint old structures, big and small, beautifully decorated and well laid-out. It is not only the cities of the country which excel in this regard. Even out-of-the-way villages and hamlets abound in examples of rare architectural beauty and artistic and decorative excellence. The village temple, the village communal hall, the headman's cottage —all these and many other structures illustrate the artistic economy of the race. Nothing is drab; nothing unthought out; nothing monotonously uniform. There is variegation in beauty and beauty in variegation.

But it is in Bangkok that one witnesses a plethora of artichecural gems. I have been over a large part of the world, but never was I more dazzled than when I went through the amazing series of edifices comprising the Royal Palace in Bangkok. It is impossible to describe all the buildings in this stately group, but emphasis on the following is needed.

The *Grand Palace* of Bangkok is actually a walled town covering an area of over a square mile. In this group of buildings the following deserve mention: the *Wat Phra Keo*, the Royal Chapel, *Dusit Maha Prasad*, *Amarindr Vinichi* and *Chakri* halls serving as halls of audience. *Dusit Maha Prasad* is a rare gem of modern Siamese architecture and was originally used as a Coronation Hall, but since the death of King Rama I it was not used as a Coronation Hall on account of the fact that the urn containing his late majesty's ashes was exposed in that hall. In *Dusit Maha Prasad* is a stone hewn in 1292 by Rama Khamheng, King of Sukhodaya and used as the coronation stone as well as royal seat. The *Chakri* palace is designed after the plans of a British architect and built in the style of Italian Renaissance and, in my opinion, disturbs the architectural symphony of Siam.

The *Wat Phra Keo*, otherwise known as the Royal Chapel, the Temple of the Emarald Buddha and Sri Ratana Sasdaram Temple, has been singled out for separate mention and discription since it is the most beautiful collection of buildings even in the magnificent series represented by the Grand Palace. Built in 1785 after Bangkok superseded Ayudia as the nations's capital, it has been the pet child of every successive monarch and as such maintained in great trim. But for a close scrutiny I would not have realized that

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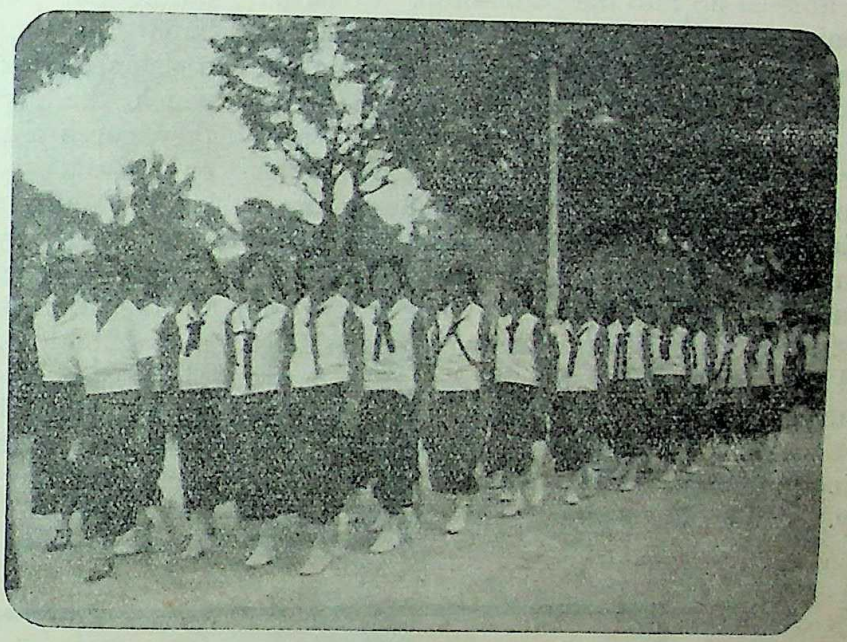
it has a history of a century and a half behind it,—such is its freshness of decoration and freedom from decay.

Royal patronage has been uniform in preserving this beautiful group of buildings. From Rama I to the present King Prajadhipok every sovereign of Siam added to and enriched the buildings and the beauty of *Wat Phra Keo*. The image of the Emerald Buddha itself is a marvel of design and workmanship. My guide, a member of the Royal Household, lent to me by the Home Office, went into raptures in explaining to me the details and history of this image. The Emerald Buddha is the symbol of Buddhism in the land. But what struck me most was the urbanity with which people ushered themselves into the presence of the Emerald Buddha. I was hesitating to enter the chapel with my shoes on and actually began to undo them, when my guide gently called me to proceed without any compunction. I was told that it was found necessary during modern times to allow the diplomatic corps and other dignitaries from foreign lands to walk into the presence of the Emerald Buddha with their shoes on whenever the King has to invite them in for official ceremonial purposes.



Siamese girl guides on Parade. Part of the popular rejoicings in Bangkok after the revolution.

As has been already stated, the walls of the chapel and the surrounding buildings are richly decorated with scenes from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. The precincts of the *Wat Phra Keo* contain numerous other objects of interest such as giants, bronze images of horses, elephants, oxen and monkeys of good modern workmanship. One is constantly reminded of the Hindu pantheon in Indian temples as he goes through these structures in Bangkok, and led wondering whether Buddhism has not undergone a process of evolution. I have been in Ceylon, Cambodia and other Buddhist countries and visited Buddhist centres in India, but I was never struck with modernism in these places as was the case when I was in Bangkok.

We have to take note of other important Bangkok temples, even though we cannot detain ourselves with a full description of the same. The *Wat Phra Jetubon* was built in 1793 by King Rama I and contains several of the statues collected from the ruined city of Ayudhia. The *Wat Sudat* was projected by King Rama I and completed during the reign of Rama III and renovated by King Chulalongkron. The most conspicuous feature of this building is its double roof, something unique in Siamese architecture. The *Wat Arun* supplies the most significant landmark in Bangkok in the shape of its high tower, measuring seventy-four metres, which commands a panoramic view of the entire city and the harbour. The *Wat Benchamabopitr* is the most recent construction in Bangkok during the regime of King Chulalongkron, built with choice materials, including Italian marble and Chinese glazed tiles, and represents the beauties of modern Siamese architecture. On the whole, Siam offers the visitor a plethora of artistic gems. Though the exterior suggests affinity with Chinese modes of construction, the interior and the entire spirit of these edifices bear ample testimony to the inspiration which India has lent to Siam.

A few more of the peculiarities of the Siamese race must be noted here. The courtesan flourishes in Siam to a degree not

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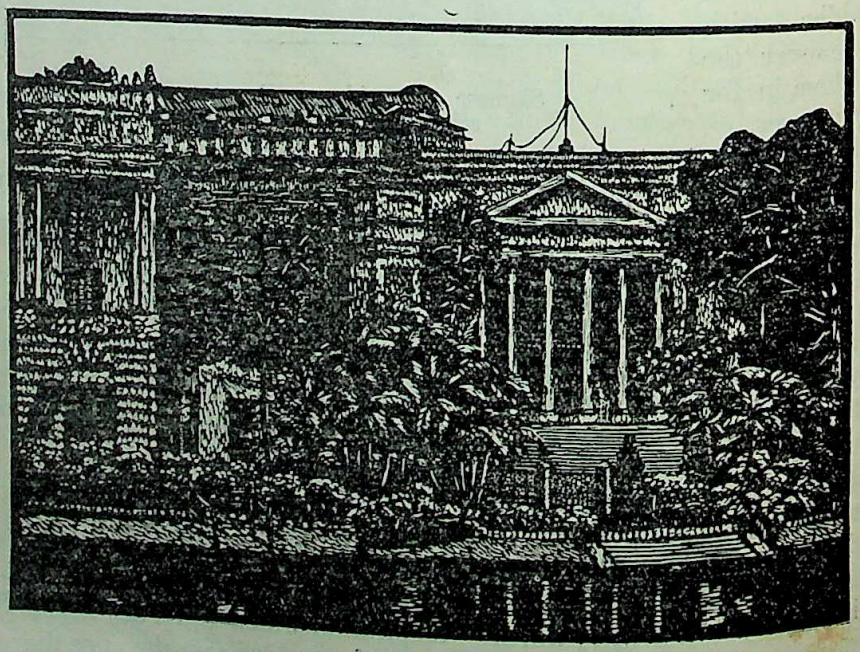
easily heard of in other countries. The Siamese women are uniformly "Eton-cropped." The unwary visitor may unwittingly jump to the conclusion that this method of adjusting the coiffure is due to modern Western influences. This is not so. The story goes that during the Siamese-Burman wars of the middle ages, the people of Siam felt it necessary to draft their women folk also into battalions for service on the western front. Partly to cover up this fact and make the Siamese amazons look like men soldiers and partly for the sake of efficiency they had their ladies' hair dressed up into the "Eton-crop." Samson Agonistes would have wailed at this vandalism, especially when the plaids of the fair sex was concerned. But today this historical accident has been sedulously perpetuated. I believe there is some truth in this story. It is for the following reason. The average Siamese dress both for ladies and gentlemen is almost identical, but for the fact that the ladies' blouse betrays their sex. They uniformly turn up their modest *Dhottar* through their thighs and fasten it up at the back, in the same manner in which the Indian peasant does. Of course, the influence of the West is being gradually felt in Siam at the present day. The "three-piece suit" which made the modern western "flapper" what she is today is gradually catching the imagination of the unsophisticated Siamese wench of yesterday. The Boy Scout and the Girl Guide movement of the recent times has also added to this growing modern tendencies in Siam. Even Her Majesty Queen Rambhai has set the seal of approval upon modern tendencies in the sartorial sequences of Siam. The influence of the Palace upon feminine fashion in Siam has been recognized to be supreme. And there is a feeling that Siam is now attempting to achieve what Japan has achieved during the past sixty years. Whatever the import of these tendencies may be, the fact remains that it is a most picturesque scene which the civilian population present when they march past during any national ceremony or festival.

With a rich historical past, with potential natural resources, with the artistic genius sedulously preserved, Siam is bound to come to the forefront of Asiatic States within a measurable distance of time. The reign of the present King is very important since it was during the past two years that the "revolution" has remarkably changed the *format* of the Siamese structure.



The Calcutta University (Woodcut)
Artist—Mr. Narendra Kesari Roy

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A Fine Specimen of
Siamese Architecture

Representing the beauties of
Siamese Architecture

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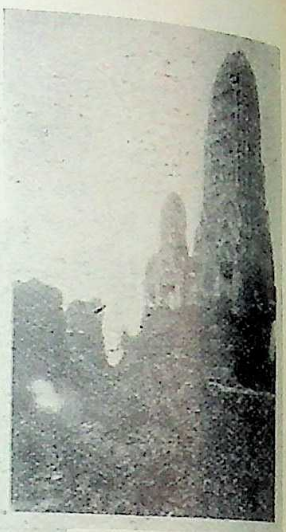
Some of the magnificent ruins of Ayudhia



What remains of the ancient group of temples in Ayudhia

The Emerald Buddha of Bangkok

The Giant Buddha of Ayudhia

The Triple Pagoda of Ayudhia

An architectural gem of Temple of the Emera Buddha, Bangkok

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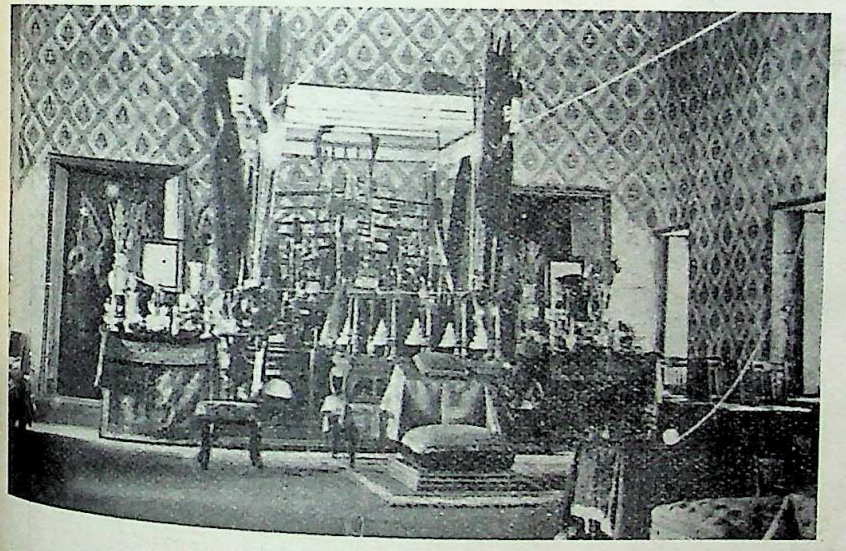
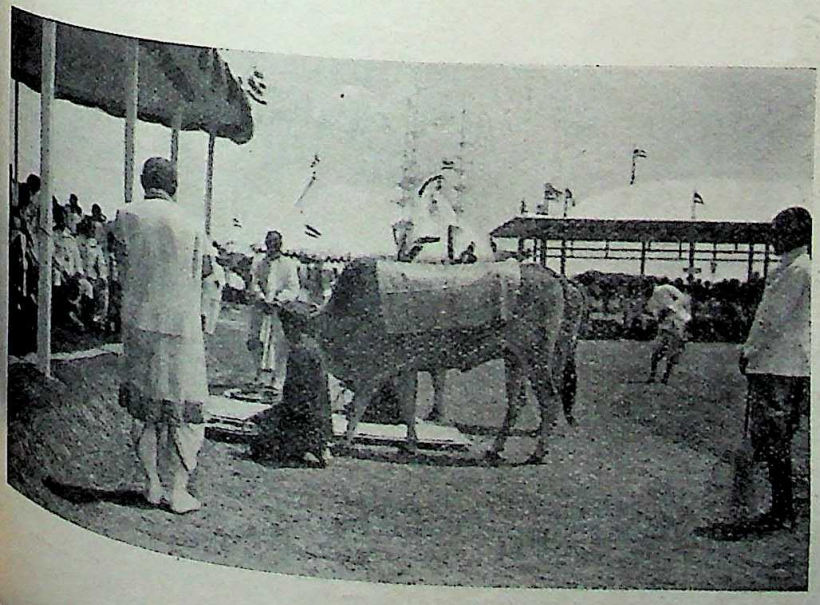
A Siamese Village



The Coronation Hall
—Bangkok



Spring Time Pastoral fête
in Siam

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MAHATMA GANDHI IN ORISSA

1. Mahatmaji at the public meeting at Kendrapara
2. Mahatmaji in a *Harijan* bustee at Lakhandur
3. Mahatmaji selling a hand-fan by public auction
4. Mahatmaji resting on the road-side after a six-mile walk
5. Mahatmaji begging at a meeting at Jajpur

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NOTES

Latest British History of India condemns Separate Communal Electorates

Indian students of political literature are aware of the condemnation and criticism of separate communal electorates to be found in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, the Report of the Indian Central Committee and other official publications—in spite of which, however, they continue to find favour with the bureaucracy. In fact, the White Paper has proposed a larger variety of separate electorates, on the basis of the British Government's Communal Decision, than those which exist now or were ever demanded. Therefore, the fact that a work on Indian history, written by two British authors and published by Macmillan and Co., in May last, points out the evils of and condemns separate electorates need not rouse any hopes of their early disappearance. Nevertheless, it is interesting to find Mr. Edward Thompson and Mr. C. T. Garratt writing in their book on *Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India* as follows on the subject:

> The Muslims specifically demanded separate electorates, and the Hindu leaders conceded the principle in the 'Lucknow Pact' of 1916. Their effect was wholly bad. It is not only that they have led Indians to organize along sectarian lines, for this was probably inevitable, and caste grouping occurs even within the Hindu constituencies, but the system throws up the worst type of pugnacious fanatic, who loves 'to prove his doctrines orthodox by apostolic blows and knocks.' The feeling that great changes were going to take place and the prospect of some actual transfer of responsibility and control over appointments, have combined to rouse all the meaner political passions, especially in those provinces, like Bengal and the Panjab, where the two communities are nearly equal in number. Middle class unemployment and a family system which elevates nepotism into something like a virtue, have also helped to embitter the politico-religious struggle. A further and very grave disadvantage of the communal electorate is that an alteration in the parties can only occur through wholesale proselytism or through differences in the birth-rate. And both sides are stirred to new missionary enterprise, when the reward is not only a soul but also a permanent addition to one's voting strength. The activities of the Arya Samaj amongst the poor Muslims and the various Mohammedan bodies amongst the lower caste Hindus, have aroused the greatest bitterness. The politicians get all the support they need from an irresponsible press, while ill-feeling amongst the educated classes is kept alive by scurrilities like the *Rangila Rasul*.

We do not know whether the authors intend to suggest that nepotism is a failing peculiar to Indians, or that the community to which the writer of *Rangila Rasul* belonged was alone responsible for scurrilities, or that the Indian Press has a monopoly of irresponsibility. But otherwise on the whole Messrs. Thompson and Garratt are quite fair and just in their criticism of separate communal electorates.

The passage quoted above may, however, produce in the reader's mind the wrong impression that the demand for separate electorates *originated* with the Muslims. We have repeatedly shown that it did not originate with them. This has been shown in Major B. D. Basu's *India Under the British Crown* also, from which a few sentences are quoted below:

> A deputation of the Mahomedan leaders, therefore, waited on the Viceroy on the 1st October under the leadership of the Aga Khan. The deputation pointed out that the position of Moslems "should be commensurate not merely with their numerical strength but also with their political importance and the value of the contribution which they made to the defence of the Empire." It also claimed provision for the election of Mahomedans by special Mahomedan electorate. —P. 424.

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After quoting from and commenting on Lord Minto's reply to the deputation, the author writes:

> The late Maulana Mohamed Ali said in the course of his Indian National Congress Presidential Address that this Mahomedan deputation was "a command performance," which means that the deputation was got up at the suggestion of the authorities. This statement appears to be confirmed by the following passage in Morley's *Recollections*, vol. ii, p. 325:
>
> "I won't follow you again into our Mahometan dispute. Only I respectfully remind you once more that it was *your* early speech about their extra claims that first started the M. (Mahometan) hare."

Other corroborative evidence, and that too from official publications, is also available. For example, the following passages are to be found in the *Report of the Indian Central Committee*, published by the Government of India:

> "58. It was at the time of the Morley-Minto Reforms that the claim for communal electorates was advanced by the Muhammadans, *inspired by certain officials*." (Italics ours. Ed., *M. R.*) P. 113.

Again:

> "66. It is often said that we must adhere to the promise made by Lord Minto's Government to the Muhammadan Deputation that waited on him in 1907-8. We will not bring forward the fact, which is now established beyon ddoubt, that there was no spontaneous demand by the Muslims at that time for separate electorates, but it was only put forward by them at the instigation of an official whose name is now well known." P. 117.

These two passages are taken from the Memorandum by the Hon. Sir Sankaran Nair, Chairman of the Indian Central Committee—a Hindu, the Hon. Raja Nawab Ali Khan, member of the Committee—a Mussalman, and the Hon. Sardar Bahadur Shivdev Singh Uberoi, member of the Committee—a Sikh. There is no criticism or contradiction of the statements made in these passages either in the body of the Report of the Indian Central Committee or the Minutes of Dissent submitted by different members, Muslim and non-Muslim.

Therefore, there appears to be no doubt that the device of the separate communal electorate can rightly claim British parentage.

"Terrorism in Bengal is the Same As Ever"

Bombay, June 17.

"Terrorism in Bengal is the same as ever." This is the gist of a conversation which a representative of *The Times of India* had with Mr. Stevens, District Magistrate of Midnapore, who sailed yesterday by the *Mantua* on seven months' holiday.

Mr. Stevens remarked, "The leaders' appeal to the terrorists is all talk, which does not cut much ice." He seemed to suggest that a strong Government was the only means of putting down terrorism.

"How do you find Midnapore now? Have the people sobered down? Has terrorism shown signs of subsiding?" inquired the *Times* reporter.

"No, not a bit. It is the same as before," replied Mr. Stevens.—*United Press.*

Perhaps the opinions of Mr. Stevens represent the opinions of British officials and non-officials in Bengal and in India in general. If the "leaders" could turn successful detectives and bring all terrorists, bound hand and foot, to the police, perhaps that in their opinion—and that alone—could have "cut ice." But then that would imply that the executive and the police were sinecurists and that the people were able by themselves to tackle the most difficult job and were, therefore, fit for self-rule. As, however, in the official view, the people of India, including their leaders, have no capacity for and are not fit for self-rule, it is no wonder that no achievement relating to terrorism, that can "cut much ice," stands to their credit.

Mr. Stevens "seemed to suggest that a strong Government was the only means of putting down terrorism." The districts of Chittagong and Midnapur have been practically under Martial Law for years; and latterly Darjeeling, too, has been under it. The liberties of the people, particularly of the younger generation, have been greatly curtailed. In fact the whole of Bengal has been under the operation of panicky emergency legislation for years. The possession of arms with intent to murder and attempt to murder has been made a capital offence, and already some men accused of such offence have been executed. Perhaps this is not 'strong' Government. But what is? If 'strong' Government were defined as that Government which would succeed in eradicating terrorism, that would be arguing in a circle, and there would be no definite and fixed standard of governmental 'strength.'

And perhaps, to the horror of Messrs. Stevens and Co., it would be found that "Government of the people for the people and by the people" was the strongest for the purpose! Would the prescription contained

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in the following passage satisfy Mr. Stevens and men of his views ?

"The only way to rule India is the way Orientals understand, is by stern reprisals, and, when needed, strong force. They would understand if a list of a hundred leading Congress-wallahs was prepared and they were made hostages for the safety of British subjects. For each brutal assassination the next Congress name on the list would be shot, and so on."—*Saturday Review*. (London), May 12, 1934.

The prescription combines the qualities of brutality, simplicity and futility, though it is based on false assumptions.

Compulsory Education Not a Success in U. P. !

According to the British assistant director of public instruction in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, "compulsory primary education for boys in U. P. does not appear a success." But the system of compulsory free universal elementary education has been a success in all free countries where it has been worked under the direction of its nationals, who wanted it to succeed and were determined to make it a success.

Austrian Independence and Dependence

Hitler and Mussolini, it has been officially stated, have decided to preserve the independence of Austria—and, of course, her dependence on Hitler and Mussolini. But if the two dictators fall out, on whom must she depend and of whom must she be independent ?

The Research Institute of Visva-bharati

The Research Institute of Visva-Bharati is the highest department of Rabindranath Tagore's university at Santiniketan. It carries on researche on various Indological subjects and helps advanced students to do so under the guidance of its principal, Pandit Vidhusekhar Sastri. He himself teaches Vedic and classical Sanskrit, different branches of Indian philosophy, Pali, Prakrit, the Avesta (scripture of the Zoroastrians or Parsis) to some extent, and Tibetan. He combines in himself the depth and accuracy of knowledge of the old type of pandits and the broad outlook and capacity for research of Western Indologists, having received his training in various branches of Sanskritic learning under the most distinguished pandits of his time in Benares, and having carried on research work for years with such European colleagues as Dr. Winternitz of Prague, Dr. Sylvain Levi of Paris, Dr. Sten Konow of Norway, Dr. Lesny of Prague and Drs. Carlo Formici and Giuseppe Tucci of Rome, etc. He is a Sastri of the Panjab University. Besides possessing an accurate knowledge of Sanskrit literature in general, he has made a special study of Mimansa, Vedanta, Vedas, Pali, Prakrit, Buddhism, Jainism, and Philology.

His knowledge of the Avesta enables him to undertake and guide comparative studies relating to the Indian and Iranian branches of the Indo-European family. Much Indian literature is extant in Tibetan and Chinese in translations into those languages. In some cases, where the originals existed in India, Pandit Vidhusekhar Sastri was able to compare them with the translations and discovered various readings, and where the originals had been lost here, he could re-translate the Tibetan and Chinese versions into Sanskrit, because of his possession of the knowledge of Tibetan and Chinese. His knowledge of English, French and German enables him to acquaint himself with the researches made by English, American, French and German Indologists. He has initiated and trained students from different parts of the country in Tibeto-Sanskrit studies. In addition to Indian students he has had students from Ceylon, Burma, China, Japan, Mongolia and Germany. Students under his personal guidance have obtained the Ph. D. degree and the Premchand Roychand Studentship of the Calcutta University.

The depth, accuracy and extent of his scholarship have been recognized by the Universities of Calcutta, Dacca, Benares, Allahabad, Agra, Panjab, etc., by their making him an examiner in the highest examinations in such subjects as Vedic and Classical Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Linguistics, Indian philosophy, Indian vernaculars, etc. He is the author or editor of many books known to savants, and has contributed many original papers in English, Hindi and Bengali to different journals of high standing and commemorative volumes in India and abroad.

As the new session of Visva-bharati begins this month, it is to be hoped that research students will join the Research Institute in time. Only a few students can be taken. Pandit Vidhusekhar Sastri, having been in Benares for years as a pupil of great pandits, can speak Sanskrit with correct pronunciation fluently ; so even those advanced students of Sanskrit who cannot speak and understand Bengali, Hindi or English, but can speak and understand Sanskrit, can profit by his instruction and guidance.

Lady Tata Memorial Trust Scholarships

The Trustees of the Lady Tata Memorial announced the award of the following scholar-

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ships for the year 1934-35 on the 18th June last on the occasion of the third anniversary of the death of Lady Tata.

Indian Scholarships

Indian Scholarships of the value of Rs. 150 per month each for scientific investigations having a bearing on the alleviation of human suffering.

1 Mr. Har Dayal Srivastava, M. Sc.

To study Anatomy and Life-history of Helminth Parasites of Man and Animals, under the direction of Prof. D. R. Bhattacharya, D. Sc., Ph. D., and Dr. H. R. Mehra, M. Sc., Ph. D., Department of Zoology, University of Allahabad, (Second year's award).

2. Mr. Sudhendu Kumar Ganguli, M. B.

To study Chemotherapy of Anti-malarial Drugs, under the direction of Lt.-Col. R. N. Chopra, M.A., M.D., I.M.S., Professor of Pharmacology, School of Tropical Medicine, Calcutta, (Second year's award).

3. Mr. Nirode Chandra Datta, M.Sc., A.I.I.Sc.,

To study the role of Tin in Nutrition and the Effect of Body of Mineral Contamination of foodstuffs during cooking and storage, under the direction of Prof. V. Subrahmanyan, D.Sc., Department of Chemistry, Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore. (Second year's award).

4. Dr. M. V. Radhakrishnarao, M.B., B.S.

To conduct clinical and pathological investigation of Decompensated Portal Cirrhosis and allied diseases, under the direction of Prof. T. S. Tiramurti, M.B.C.M., Department of Pathology, Andhra University. (Second year's award).

5. Mr. Madhab Chandra Nath, M.Sc.

To carry out Chemical and Biological Analyses of Proteins of Indian Foodstuffs under the direction of Dr. K. P. Basu, D.Sc., Bio-chemist, Dacca University.

6. Mr. Atma Ram Rajavanshi, M. Sc.

Researches into Actinotherapy in the Prevention of Metabolic Diseases under the direction of Prof. N. R. Dhar, D.Sc., F.I.C., I.E.S., Chemistry Department, Allahabad University.

7. Mr. Basheshwar Das 'Kochhar,' M. Sc.

To conduct Syntheses and Pharmacological studies of Anti-malarial Compounds of Quinoline group, under the direction of Prof. S. S. Bhatnagar, D.Sc., Department of Chemistry, and Lt.-Col. D. H. Rai, M. A., M. D., M.R.C.P., Professor of Pharmacology, Panjab University.

8. Mr. Samant Keshao Mahableshwar, M. Sc.

To elucidate the Constitution of Ergosterol, under the direction of Prof. I. M. Heilbron, D.Sc., F.R.S., Department of Chemistry, University of Manchester.

9. Mr. Kedar Nath Gaind, M.Sc.

To synthesize new Compounds possessing local Anæsthetic properties, under the direction of Dr. P. C. Guha. D.Sc., Department of Organic Chemistry, Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore.

10. Mr. Yelandur Venkanna Srinivasa Rao, M.Sc., A.I.I.Sc.

To study the Proteins of Indian Foodstuffs, Chemical and Biological analyses, under the direction of Prof. V. Subrahmanyan, D.Sc., Department of Bio-chemistry, Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore.

Foreign Scholarships

International Scholarships of the value of £400 per annum each for research in diseases of the blood with special reference to leucaemias.

Of the eight scholarships awarded to foreigners, two of the recipients are of British nationality, two Danish, one French, two German, and one Russian.

Acceptance or Rejection ?

The British Government have not asked the people of India or any organization or organizations representing them to say whether the White Paper or the Communal Decision is acceptable to them. On the contrary, they profess to believe that these two interrelated things have the approval of the vast majority of Indians. Hence the importance of the Indian people or of any sections of them expressing disapproval of the White Paper including the Communal Decision lies mainly in contradicting this British official profession of belief and in possibly convincing the foreign public that the British assumption is wrong. Congressmen and the Liberals have all along condemned the White Paper and the Communal Decision. The Hindu Mahasabha has condemned the Communal Decision and to some extent the White Paper also. The communalist view is the preponderant one in the Muslim community. The Communal Decision is acceptable to the majority of Mussalmans who are communalists, if not also to many Nationalist Mussalmans. The only fault they find with it is that it has not given them *all* that *they* wanted. They want improvements in the White Paper, because if more power is thereby transferred from British to Indian hands, it will not be a transfer to the Hindu majority, who have been reduced to the position of a minority, but to a majority of which the Mussalmans will form the most important Indian group.

Taking the Indian people as a whole, it is correct to say that the White Paper, including the Communal Decision, is not acceptable to the majority of politically-minded Indians—nothing can be said of other Indians, one way or the other. But such is the power of British propaganda and the power of the British Government and news agencies to prevent the truth from being conveyed and published abroad, that most probably the foreign public including the British public continue to have exactly the opposite idea of Indian public opinion. Still we must all go on publishing

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the truth in India and abroad to the best of our ability.

Our rejection of the White Paper and the Communal Decision can have no practical value so far as British action is concerned. Of course, it is not unthinkable or unimaginable or impossible that our rejection of these abominations may influence British action. But what is most probable—nay, almost certain—is that the present British ministry will give effect to them as they are: only, owing to the British Die-hard compaign against the White Paper proposals, more safe-guards may be added to them, making them still more reactionary and anti-Indian and anti-democratic than they are.

If, believing that the majority of politically-minded Indians are against the White Paper, the British Government dropped it along with the Communal Decision, no true Indian Nationalist, whatever his religious persuasion or political creed, would shed a tear for it. Not that India's political condition is at present satisfactory; but it would be worse under the White Paper constitution.

If the majority of politically-minded Indians supported the White Paper, that would supply Sir Samuel Hoare with a weapon to fight Mr. Winston Churchill, and to save the White Paper from the onslaughts of the latter and his fellow die-hards. But we do not want that abomination to be saved. So just as we do not want to help Mr. Winston Churchill and his gang, so we do not want to help Sir Samuel Hoare and his caravan.

Congress Working Committee on the White Paper and Communal Decision

For convenience of reference the authorized report of the Congress Working Committee's resolution on the policy of the Congress regarding the White Paper proposals and the Communal Decision is printed below:

The Congress Parliamentary Board having asked the Working Committee to enunciate the Congress policy regarding the White Paper proposals and the Communal Award, the Working Committee declares the Congress policy as follows:—

"The White Paper in no way expresses the will of the people of India, has been more or less condemned by almost all Indian political parties and falls far short of the Congress goal, if it does not retard progress towards it. The only satisfactory alternative to the White Paper is a constitution drawn up by a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult suffrage or as near it as possible with power, if necessary, to important minorities to have their representatives elected exclusively by electors belonging to such minorities.

The White Paper lapsing, the Communal Award must lapse automatically. Among other things, it will be the duty of the Constituent Assembly to determine the method of representation of important minorities and make provision for otherwise safeguarding their interests.

Since, however, the different communities in the country are sharply divided on the question of the Communal Award, it is necessary to define the Congress attitude towards it. The Congress claims to represent equally all communities composing the Indian nation and, therefore, in view of the division of opinion, can neither accept nor reject the Communal Award as long as the division of opinion exists.

At the same time it is necessary to re-declare the policy of the Congress on the communal question. No solution that is not purely national can be propounded by the Congress. But the Congress is pledged to accept any solution which, though falling short of the national view-point, is agreed to by all parties concerned and conversely to reject any solution which is not agreed to by any of the said parties.

Judged by the national standard, the Communal Award is wholly unsatisfactory, besides being open to serious objections on other grounds. It is, however, obvious that the only way to prevent the untoward consequences of the Communal Award is to explore ways and means for arriving at an agreed solution and not by an appeal on this essentially domestic question to the British Government or any outside authority."

Neither Accepting Nor Rejecting Evil

When Abraham Lincoln became president of the United States of America, he became theoretically the supreme representative of the slave-holding Southern States of the Union as well as of the anti-slavery Northern States. But, because the States were "sharply divided on the question of" slavery, did he say, "in view of the division of opinion," that he "can neither accept nor reject" slavery? Did he neither try nor un-try to liberate the slaves? History tells that he struck a blow and freed the slaves. No cause espoused by anyone who dared, if need be, to be in the minority of one with Truth and Right on his side, has ever failed.

When Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar was convinced that child-widows ought to be married, did he say, "in view of the division of opinion" on the subject, among Hindus,

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child-widows should neither be married nor remain unmarried ?

When Mahatma Gandhi was convinced that untouchability was an evil, did he say, "in view of the division of opinion" among Hindus, Harijans should be allowed neither to enter nor to not-enter the temples, neither to use nor to un-use public roads, schools, wells, etc. ? Did he refuse either to drink or to not-drink a cup of water offered by a Harijan ?

These are not, of course, cases parallel to the Congress neither accepting nor rejecting the Communal Decision. We mention them only to remind the public that on numerous memorable occasions sitting on the fence has not made for the progress of humanity. There is this much of resemblance between slavery and the Communal Decision that, as the United States of America could not possibly have remained *united* and become and remained really *free* if slavery had not been destroyed, so India cannot possibly become and remain *united* and cannot possibly become and remain *free* unless the Communal Decision is upset. That decision is not only the result but would also be, if not unsettled, the cause of the perpetuation of our slavery. That decision is objectionable not merely because it gives Hindus less seats than they are entitled to on the basis of population or any other basis, but also because it is anti-national, anti-democratic, makes for the disruption and disintegration instead of the unification and solidarity of the communities and classes inhabiting India.

Therefore, Congress as a *national* organization ought to condemn and reject this *wholly* anti-national decision in unequivocal terms, even at the risk of having a smaller number of Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Sikh or other adherents. In the long run it is not number but strict adherence to right principles which tells.

We hope, therefore, when Congress meets next at Bombay, the question of the acceptance or rejection of the Communal Award will be allowed to be brought forward for consideration. We are rather hazy about the proposed Constituent Assembly and are not disposed to wait for it. And, may we add, that an *essentially*, even if only partially, national constitution cannot be expected from a Constituent Assembly which is probably to be formed in part by separate election of minority representatives.

We know the Working Committee of the Congress has neither the powers nor the responsibilities of the Congress. So we do not blame it for not making a definite pronouncement on the Communal Decision.

The Congress Working Committee's Resolution

We do not know whether the Working Committee of the Congress refrained from accepting or rejecting the Communal Decision because of its lack of power to do so. But the main reason which appears to have weighed with them is that if they condemned the decision outright, Muslim Congressmen would have no chance to enter the Assembly. Hence to give them a chance, the Working Committee have adopted a non-committal attitude. We shall be glad if this attitude helps Nationalist Muslim candidates for the Assembly. But will it ? In any case, the Nationalist Muslims should feel grateful to the Working Committee for the friendly gesture made towards them by temporarily shelving principle.

Had the Working Committee rejected the Communal Decision outright, communalist Muslim candidates could have told their electors (all Mussalmans, mostly of the communalist variety, and supporters of the Communal Decision), "Do not vote for Muslim Congressmen, for Congress has not accepted but has rejected the Communal Decision." In spite of the Working Committee's non-acceptance and non-rejection of the decision, Communalist Muslim candidates may, however, *now* tell their constituencies, "Do not vote for Muslim Congressmen, for Congress has not accepted the Communal Decision. It is true that it has not rejected it either. But those who are not definitely *with* us are *against* us." Is there much practical and effective difference between these two probable exhortations to Muslim constituencies on the part of communalist Muslim candidates for the Assembly ?

Nevertheless, we shall be sincerely glad if the appeals of Mr. Sherwani, Mr. Asaf Ali and other Nationalist Muslim leaders are largely responded to by Muslims and if in consequence

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large numbers of Muslims become loyal members of Congress and Nationalist Muslim candidates succeed in entering the Assembly. The strength of the Nationalist group in the coming Legislative Assembly depends on the success of the Nationalist Muslim candidates to some extent. If they can outnumber the Communalist Muslim M. L. A.'s—if in any case the Muslim and non-Muslim elected *Nationalist* M. L. A. 's combined can clearly outnumber any other elected groups combined, that would be some definite and tangible proof of the true fact that Nationalists represent the majority of politically-minded Indians, even according to the voters' rolls prepared by the bureaucracy, and that therefore Nationalist condemnation of the White Paper is really practically entire India's condemnation.

But if the Nationalist group in the Assembly be not as large as Congressmen of the Swarajist mentality anticipate, the Working Committee's non-committal attitude on the communal question would prove fruitless. There are other reasons why the Working Committee's compromise dictated by expediency may not be of practical advantage. The Hindu Mahasabha leaders had already warned the Congress leaders that if the Communal Decision were not rejected by them, the Mahasabha would bring forward its own candidates to contest the seats open to Hindus, and Mr. Aney has said that the Democratic Swaraj Party in Maharastra had agreed to cease to be a separate party and to join the Congress on the understanding that the Communal Decision would be rejected. Now that it has not been rejected, it would be open to both the Mahasabha and Democratic Swaraj Parties to run their own candidates. It is not yet known what they would do. Should they actually do so, and should some of their candidates be not staunch Nationalists it would further weaken the Nationalist position in the Assembly. These two parties may, however, conclude that as the Congress Working Committee has not aecepted the Communal Decision, they need not set up their own candidates, on the charitable principle that those who are not definitely against them are with them. But if they do set up their own candidates, there will be no harm if these persons be staunch Nationalists.

The opinion expressed by the Working Committee on the White Paper is unambiguous and expressed in language free from vehemence. In the abstract, a constitution drawn up by a Constituent Assembly would be a satisfactory alternative to the White Paper constitution. But as we have already said, we have no clear idea of what that Assembly would be and when and by whom it would be convened, nor how its decisions would be given effect to.

The words, "with power, if necessary, to important minorities to have their representatives [to the Constituent Assembly] elected exclusively by electors belonging to such minorities," seem somewhat ominous as conceding to important minorities exclusive separate election of representatives to the Constituent Assembly as a right. From this concession, would not the embodiment in the constitution itself (to be framed by the Constituent Assembly) of the right of separate election to legislatures follow naturally as a corollary ? If minorities can have the "right" of separate election of their representatives to the Constituent Assembly, why can they not have such a "right" as regards legislatures ? Does the Congress or does it not hold joint electorates and joint elections as essential features of a *Nationalistic* constitution ?

"The White Paper lapsing, the Communal Award must lapse automatically."

Not necessarily. For, it is only with regard to the Communal Decision that Sir Samuel Hoare, cross-examined by Sir N. N. Sircar, said that "Government had said their last word" ; that is to say, though other parts of the White Paper might be altered, the Communal Decision was a "settled fact." Of course, in politics there is no settled fact—other settled facts have been unsettled. But the unsettling has required long and strenuous and immense struggle. Hence, the words of the Working Committee's resolution, "The White Paper lapsing, the Communal Award must lapse automatically," appear rather too easy-going. All the parts of the White Paper do not so hang together that either all of them must be scrapped or all of them must be kept intact. It is quite feasible to scrap some, keep others intact and alter the rest. And how is the White Paper going to

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lapse, what is the exact meaning of this lapsing, and who is to bring about this lapse and how? We confess we do not understand all this. The White Paper proposals are not a house of cards to be blown down by a Working Committee resolution or by an adverse resolution carried in the next Legislative Assembly.

> "The Congress claims to represent equally all communities composing the Indian nation and, therefore, in view of the division of opinion [on the Communal Decision], can neither accept nor reject the Communal Award as long as the division of opinion exists."

Here the Working Committee expects something as improbable, if not impossible, as the British Premier and Ministry *seemed* to do. The latter demanded an agreed settlement as a solution of the communal problem. But as the so-called delegates to the so-called Round Table Conference (for which the British Government had selected as "representatives" of the Muslim community only inveterate communalists and also from the Hindu and Indian Christian communities some inveterate communalists as their "representatives") could not, as was natural under the circumstances, arrive at and present such an agreed solution, Mr. MacDonald gave his Communal Decision, miscalled an Award.

Of course, Mr. MacDonald wanted an agreed solution, from persons many of whom could never possibly agree, knowing full well that there would not be any such agreement and that, therefore, he would be able to impose his will on Indians under the plea that, as they had failed to agree among themselves, he had to give his decision perforce. On the contrary, the Working Committee really want an agreed solution from motives of the sincerest patriotism. We shall be delighted if their optimism justifies itself. But without in the least pretending to be prophets, which we certainly are not, we doubt whether a time would come—at least in the near future—when "the division of opinion" on the Communal Decision would *completely* disappear from among *all* the different communities. So the Committee may have to keep up their non-committal attitude for an indefinite length of time. In the present state of the human group-mind it is too much to expect that those who have got an excessive advantage would willingly give it up or that those who have been humiliated and deprived of their just dues, which they had earned too by their ability, public spirit, sufferings and sacrifice, and who had been deprived of facilities for serving their country in due measure, would willingly submit to such humiliation, injustice and deprivation.

We are fully conscious that Congress has to tackle a very difficult problem and we recognize that Congress leaders are making sincerely patriotic efforts to solve it. Perhaps an *absolutely* national solution is not at present feasible. But the solution which, though falling short of the *fully* national view-point, should be acceptable to the Congress must possess at least the minimum of the essentials of a nationalistic solution. Perhaps the leaders would cogitate and deliberate to determine this essential minimum. May it be hoped that this minimum will include joint electorates? Mahatma Gandhi fasted, unto death if needed, partly to bring about joint election of representatives by "depressed" and "upper" class Hindus. But now he appears to be prepared to give up the principle of joint election by Hindus, Muslims and others, for saving or securing the (nominal?) adherence to the Congress of a small number of Muslims.

In July, 1931, the Congress Working Committee, while deviating to some extent from pure nationalism by accepting the principle of reservation of seats for minorities, did not give up joint electorates. Is there going to be a still greater departure from nationalism pure, unadulterated and undiluted?

> "... the only way to prevent the untoward consequences of the Communal Award is to explore ways and means for arriving at an agreed solution and not by an appeal on this essentially domestic question to the British Government or any outside authority."

We fully appreciate this self-respecting attitude. Moreover, if the communities concerned can produce an agreed alternative to the Communal Decision, Mr. MacDonald is pledged to accept it—though imperialist politicians do not consider their pledges inviolable. So, if any Indian party appealed to the British Government, an agreed solution would strengthen the appeal. Hence, we are in favour of trying to have an agreed solution.

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But we are afraid, Congress leaders in their anxiety to secure surface unity may be led to accept an alternative to the Communal Decision between which and that decision there may be as much difference as between tweedledum and tweedledee.

By "any outside authority" perhaps the League of Nations is meant by the Congress Working Committee. But that authority, perhaps anticipating the attitude of the Congress Working Committee, has already neither accepted nor rejected the Communal Decision!

The Communal Decision and the Next Legislative Assembly

Congressmen are not the only Nationalists in the country, though it is undoubtedly true that the Congress has a far larger number and proportion of sturdy and self-sacrificing Nationalists than any other organization. So it is likely that the next Legislative Assembly will have some Nationalist members—Hindus among them, who are not Congressmen and hence not bound to carry out Congress mandates. It may be taken for granted that some Hindu non-Congress Nationalist M. L. A. will move a resolution condemning outright or calling in question and proposing amendments to parts of the Communal Decision. Will Congress M.L.A.s support or oppose such a resolution, or will they remain neutral?

Pandit Malaviya and Mr. Aney's Resignation And "Withdrawal" Thereof

Pandit Krishnakant Malaviya, who had accompanied his uncle Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to Bombay and has returned to Allahabad, being interviewed by a press representative *re* his uncle's resignation of membership of the Congress Parliamentary Board and withdrawal of the same later, said:

It was not correct that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya had withdrawn his resignation. He said that Mahatma Gandhi, the Congress Working Committee and the Parliamentary Board had undertaken to reconsider the objections raised by Pandit Malaviya and Mr. Aney to the resolution relating to the Communal Award. Pandit Malaviya objected to the use of the phrase withdrawal of resignation, saying that his convictions remained the same and if he was not convinced even in the end he might have to resign.

Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya said that on account of Pandit Malaviya's objections, the resolution relating to the Communal Award will be reconsidered at Benares, when it would be open to Mahatma Gandhi to convince Pandit Malaviya and to Pandit Malaviya to convince Mahatmaji about their respective viewpoints on the subject.

As the letters of resignation of the two leaders are not before us and as their objections to the Congress Working Committee's resolution on the Communal Decision are to be reconsidered at Benares, the matter must remain undiscussed for the present.

The Congress Socialist Party

Both Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress Working Committee have expressed pleasure at the rise and existence of a socialist party among Congressmen, objecting, however, to their programme of class war and confiscation of private property, as that implies violence. In reply, Mr. Jai Prakash Narayan, organizing secretary, all India Congress Socialist party, says in the course of a statement to the press:

> The resolution of the Congress Working Committee regarding the Congress Socialist movement shows how reactionary the present leadership of the Congress has become. The programme adopted by the Patna Socialist Conference speaks not of class war but of organizing the masses on the basis of their economic interest and fighting for the removal of their immediate demands and leading them to independence and socialism. Nowhere in the Patna conference has the phrase 'confiscation of private property' occurred. He characterizes the Working Committee's resolution as a challenge to the socialists and concludes, 'let us accept this challenge and put forth our utmost energy to have this reactionary resolution rescinded and our programme adopted by the Bombay Congress.'

The reply of the executive committee of the Bombay Congress Socialist party states in part that the entire policy which the Working Committee has induced the Congress to accept is inconsistent with the Congress creed of independence, and denies that the party is disloyal to the method of non-violence. It asserts that it is as earnest about accepting non-violence as its creed as any other Congressmen.

Bombay, June 21.

"To import the topic of non-violence into this controversy is only to cloud the issue and create

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prejudice. We desire to make it clear that just as other Congressmen accept non-violence as a policy so do the Congress Socialists," says a statement issued by the Bombay Congress Socialist Party in reply to the Working Committee's resolution on the Socialist programme. We feel, says the statement, that the opinion of the Working Committee is based on entire misconception of the nature of class struggle.

"Class struggle is inherent in the capitalist order of society, where a small-propertied class dominates over and exploits the mass of people. Class struggle means no more and no less than expression of irreconcilable antagonism, which is already there. It is only when the masses become politically conscious and desire to create a classless society, where exploitation would find no place, that the dominant class raises the bogey of class war."—*United Press.*

We do not know whether in India and abroad there are any thoroughgoing supporters of the absolute non-employment of physical force by individuals and small and large groups of men even for the attainment of legitimate and righteous objects. But without either accepting or rejecting the doctrine of such wholehoggers, we would certainly rejoice if the Congress Socialist party succeeded in ameliorating the condition of the masses in India by strictly following non-violent methods.

It should be added here that though the Congress is against class war and confiscation of private property, it does not accept the present economic order. The last sentence in the Working Committee's resolution on the economic programme adopted in Bombay on June 18 last reads as follows :

> At the same time the Working Committee is of opinion that the Congress does contemplate wiser and juster use of private property so as to prevent it from exploiting the landless poor, and also contemplates a healthier relationship between capital and labour.

Telegraph Line Between Persia and Afghanistan

An agreement was recently arrived at between the Persian and Afghan Governments for the establishment of direct telegraphic communication and the construction of six miles of line from Hirat to the Persian border wherefrom at present the nearest telegraph station is 18 miles. Both Governments, it is reported, have undertaken the construction of telegraph lines within their respective territories, linking the two neighbouring kingdoms.

The more the countries of the world are linked up with one another for peaceful intercourse the better it would be for the cause of humanity—of civilization and culture.

A Partly Un-national and Partly Self-contradictory Resolution

We have already in previous notes commented upon the Congress Working Committee's resolution on the White Paper and the Communal Decision, because our viewpoint being closely akin to the *National* Congress viewpoint, we have felt constrained to criticize the Working Committee's deviation from the *National* viewpoint. It is necessary to make some additional observations, which may involve some repetition. In our heading the resolution is characterized as partly un-national. It can be called partly anti-national without injustice, but it is better to be moderate in criticism. For the sake of convenience we shall again quote those portions of the resolution which are open to criticism.

> The only satisfactory alternative to the White Paper is a constitution drawn up by a constituent assembly elected on the basis of adult suffrage, or as near it as possible, with the power, if necessary, to important minorities to have their representatives elected exclusively by electors belonging to such minorities.

The mere fact that a constitution is drawn up by a constituent assembly, and not by the British Government, cannot necessarily make it satisfactory or more satisfactory than the White Paper constitution. To be satisfactory, it must in the first place be national—at least fundamentally and essentially so, it must not be anti-national, and in the second place, it must fulfil many other requirements which need not be specified here. Considering the mode of election of the constituent assembly foreshadowed in the resolution, it is quite possible for a constitution, to be drawn up by it, to be vitiated by anti-national communal bias as the White Paper is—to a less or equal or greater extent. For, as the resolution concedes to important minorities the un-national method of separate exclusive communal election of their representatives to the constituent assembly "if necessary," that "necessity" is sure to arise—some community or communities are sure to ask for it and to get it ; and representatives of those communities elected in that way are sure to insist upon the inclusion of separate and exclusive communal election of communal representatives in the constitution itself which is to be

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drawn up by the constituent assembly. And either the majority community and the Congress will have to yield to this communal demand, or there will be no agreed constitution: for, according to another part of the Working Committee's resolution, "the Congress is pledged...to reject any solution which is not agreed to by any of the said parties."

In our opinion, therefore, the passage quoted above from the resolution should have ruled out the possibility of any anti-national constitution being drawn up by the constituent assembly by laying down that the constitution must not be un-national or anti-national in any fundamental or essential respects. And the resolution should certainly not have started with a flagrant departure from national lines and principles by indicating its readiness to yield to the communalistic clamour for the exclusive and separate election of communal representatives. And supposing, without admitting, that minorities should have this "right," why are only "important" minorities to have it? What is the standard of importance? Is it not true that the interests of "unimportant" minorities require more attention than those of "important" minorities?

> Among other things it will be the duty of the constituent assembly to determine the method of representation of important minorities and make provision for otherwise safe-guarding their interests.

Why is it assumed here that the method of representation of important minorities may or must be different from that of the majority and unimportant minorities? In the constitution of no civilized and modern country that we are aware of is such a distinction made between the methods of representation of majorities and unimportant and important minorities. In the League of Nations' Minorities Treaties, which embody the political wisdom of most of the leading nations of the world, no such distinction is recognized. The United States of America, Soviet Russia, etc., are not in the League, it is true. But they, too, do not recognize such a distinction. Assuming, however, without admitting, that minorities require special treatment, the Working Committee's resolution should have definitely shut out even the suggestion or consideration of separate communal electorates, which are un-national, the special treatment being confined to the reservation of a number of seats for the minorities for a definite period or to a system of proportionate representation, or both, and the like.

As regards safe-guarding the interests of minorities, the League of Nations' Minorities Treaties do *not* recognize that any minority group has any separate political and cognate interests, the only minority interests recognized and safe-guarded are those relating to their separate languages, if any, separate religions, if any, separate personal laws, if any, and the like. The Congress practice should be like that of the League of Nations. To recognize the existence of separate political and cognate interests of minorities and in consequence to give them separate sectional representation by separate electorates is to plant a "state within a state," to prevent which, according to Mr. Austin Chamberlain, was the object of the League of Nations' Minority Treaties, and should be the object of all Nation-builders.

> Since, however, the different communities in the country are sharply divided on the question of the communal award, it is necessary to define the Congress attitude on it. The Congress claims to represent equally all communities composing the Indian nation and, therefore, in view of division of opinion can neither accept nor reject the communal award as long as division of opinion lasts.

No doubt, the Congress represents all communities in the sense that among Congressmen there are members of all communities or in the sense that members of all communities are eligible for membership of the Congress, provided they accept its principles and 'creed' and fulfil other conditions. But it can hardly be admitted that it represents all communities *equally*.

But from the fact that it represents all communities it does not necessarily follow that it can neither accept nor reject anything on which opinions are divided. On the contrary, it is or should be the privilege and the duty of the Congress to find out what is National and to inculcate it, never minding whether that would increase or reduce the number of its adherents. All sections of the Hindus do not support the anti-untouchability principles and activities of the Congress, and numerous Mussalmans are opposed to it for reasons which need not be stated here. Nevertheless, it has never been said that the

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Congress can neither accept nor reject it. Similarly, in no community is there unanimous or practically unanimous adherence to the cult of the charkha. But the Congress enjoins the production and use of khaddar.

We have pointed out in a previous note that if the Congress wants to condemn and reject the Communal Decision only when all communities are against it, it will have to wait for an indefinitely long time—before which that Decision may perhaps breakdown owing to its innate mischievous, vicious and iniquitous character.

In the meantime, being part of an official scheme, it will be given effect to and go on producing "untoward consequences," unless it is effectively opposed. One way to to do so would be for the Congress to boldly denounce it and call on all communities, including as many truly National Muslims as possible, to condemn, oppose and reject it. Such action on the part of the Congress will have the further indirect beneficial result of enabling the public to judge who are the genuine Nationalist Muslims and who are merely liaison officers of the communalist Mussalmans. As in the opinion of the Congress Working Committee, "judged by the National standard the communal award is wholly unsatisfactory besides being open to serious objections on other grounds," the Congress would have ample justification for adopting the course suggested above.

The other method of effectively opposing it, which has been suggested in the resolution, *viz.*, to arrive at an agreed solution of the communal problem, has been partly dealt with in a previous note and will be referred to again.

The resolution proposes neither to accept nor to reject the Communal Decision so long as there is division of opinion on the question. We are afraid this division of opinion would last very much longer than the Working Committee has perhaps anticipated; and that for very good reasons. Observers of political conditions in India cannot have failed to conclude that in self-defence British imperialists must go on favouring the growth of sectional ambitions and the rise of sectional claims. The greater the National self-consciousness in India—the greater the strength of Nationalism, the greater must be the partiality shown by British imperialists to particular sections of the people which are open to such treatment. Hence, as our Nationalism grows more vigorous, pronounced and articulate, the direct and indirect support to sectionalism and communalism given by British imperialists must grow greater. For this reason, the Congress should not expect communalism to dwindle and die a natural death in the near future. The Congress must directly, definitely, promptly and persistently fight it. For preserving or securing the allegiance of the sectionalists and separatists of any community the Congress cannot make higher bids than those of the British imperialists. If Congress concessions to them increased in arithmetical progression, the British imperialist favours would be showered down upon them in geometrical progression.

> No solution that is not purely national can be propounded by the Congress. But the Congress is pledged to accept any solution falling short of national which is agreed to by all parties concerned and conversely to reject any solution which is not agreed to by any of the said parties.

Whether *in the future* any solution that is not purely national can be *propounded* by the Congress or not, we do not know. But *in the past* the Congress *has* either propounded or accepted or been a party to solutions that are not purely national; *e. g.*, the Nehru Report, reservation of seats for minorities, etc.

The second sentence in the above extract reminds us of the story of a man who had abjured meat. One day when he sat down to dinner, along with the soup poured down on his plate there fell a piece of meat. The cook wanted to pick out and throw away that piece. But the diner said, "That which has come of itself should be allowed to remain"! Similarly, though the Congress will not itself propound any not-purely-national solution, it will accept (being "pledged" to do so) *any* solution falling short of national which is agreed to by all parties concerned, however communalistic and inimical to the growth of national unity and solidarity and responsible self-rule it may be! And "conversely," it is pledged to reject any solution which is not agreed to by any

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of the said parties, however highly national it may be.

The resemblance suggested above between the abjurer of meat and the Congress must not, of course, be taken literally. For, the abjurer of meat in the story had a lurking lingering liking for meat, whereas the Congress has no such secret liking for communalism, but feels constrained by circumstances to yield to communalist clamour against its principles.

But let us try to be a little logical. The resolution says that the Congress is pledged to reject any solution which is not agreed to by any parties concerned. Now the Communal Decision *is* a solution of the communal problem and it is not agreed to but opposed by the Sikhs to a man and also by innumerable Hindus and others: why not then reject it outright? Perhaps it is to have the privilege and the honour of not being rejected, because it is not an Indian but a British solution!

Suppose the proposed constituent assembly arrives at substantially the same solution as or a worse solution than the Communal Decision, the Congress must then, according to this resolution of its Working Committee, accept it!

> It is, however, obvious that the only way to prevent the untoward consequences of the communal award is to explore ways and means of arriving at an agreed solution and not by any appeal on this essentially domestic question to the British Government or any other outside authority.

In a previous note we have commended this self-respecting attitude of the Congress. We do so again. But we beg leave to conclude by putting a supposition, stated above, in an interrogative form. If the agreed solution be more communalistic than national, will the Congress accept it? Are there no such things in politics as right principles? Is it true that the bigger the crowd of supporters —particularly of communalistic supporters—of any scheme, method, or opinion, the better it is?

Did Dr. Ansari Threaten to Resign?

The Leader wrote editorially in its issue dated June 24 last:

> Is it a fact that at Bombay Mahatma Gandhi was faced with two resignations, one resignation (not made known to the public) cabled by Dr. Ansari that if his view was not upheld by the Congress he must resign and the other by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and as stated by the *Hindustan Times* the weak Hindu community's claim had to be ignored to please the Muslims? Is it also true that this time the great Hindu community is not going to allow itself to be treated in this manner and that already some activities are going on, the result of which will show that the community does not consider its interests to be safe in hands where full justice cannot be secured to its interest lest some other interests might get displeased?

The following appeared in the same paper next day:

> Some confirmation, though not authoritative, is available of the report hinted at already in this morning's editorial columns of the *Leader*, that a certain cable was received either by Mahatma Gandhi or by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, from Dr. Ansari when the Working Committee and the Congress Parliamentary Board were considering at Bombay the question of their policy with regard to the communal award.
>
> It is said that in his cable Dr. Ansari, president of the Congress Parlimentary Board, threatened to resign or withdraw from the Board in case they did not accept the position with regard to the communal award suggested by the Swaraj Party at Ranchi prior to the Patna decisions, namely, that they neither accepted nor rejected the communal award.

The Congress and Mahatma Gandhi are in a very unenviable position. Its delicacy and critical nature may be realized from the occasional experience of heads of joint families. In order not to be accused of partiality and in order to appear just, sometimes such a head has to be less than just to his brother or his son and indulgent or over-generous to his cousin or his nephew. But domestic politics are not exactly the same as the politics of nations, nor are the former always a safe guide to the latter.

Father Ethelbert Blatter, S. J.

By the untimely death of Father Ethelbert Blatter, S. J., in his 57th year, India has lost an eminent botanist, a distinguished educationist, a truly pious man and a deeply and broadly human soul. He was born in Switzerland at Rebstein, "a bright little township perched high above the banks of the upper Rhine." As a Swiss he was to his dying day proud to be a son of such a glorious country.

> "His home was nothing less than a castle which had belonged to the Knights Templars, had weathered eight centuries of history and was more

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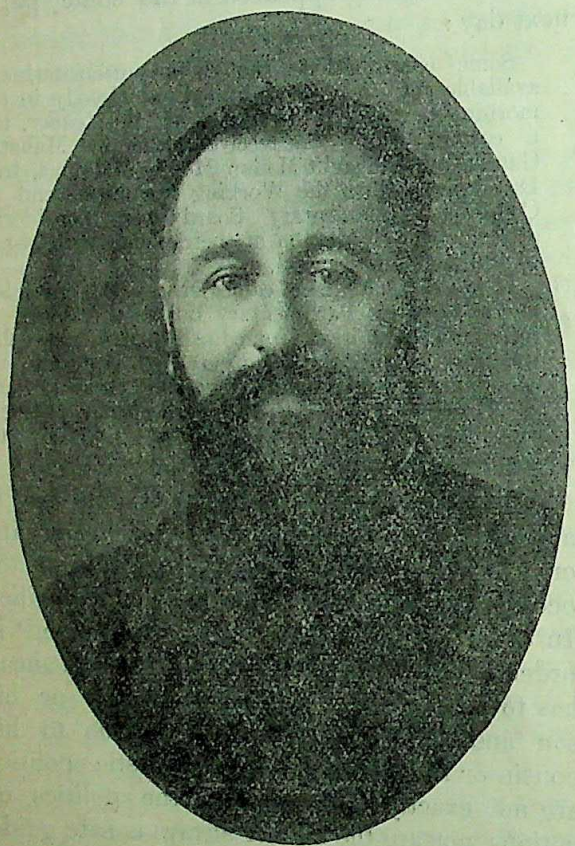
than figuratively haunted by the 'strange enchantments of the past and memories of the day of old'...It is a corner of the earth as inspiring as any spirited lad could wish to roam in. Here it was that the future botanist got his love of nature, of freedom, of spacious and cheerful living, of fun, of humour, of vast horizons."—*The Examiner*.

All through life he kept his boyish jovial spirits. Many people wondered how such a man could become a Jesuit, submit to stern rule, and live and die a poor selfless priest who



Father Ethelbert Blatter, S. J.

asked for no human reward and did not get any. That he was professor of botany and later principal, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, Syndic of the Bombay University and chaplain at Panchgani—these facts do not indicate how much romance there was in the life of this man, whose body was as big as his heart was large. For botanical studies and the collection of materials he made expeditions to Sind and along the Indus, the Rajputana Desert, Kashmir, Assam, and Waziristan. His botanical publications are numerous, only a few of them being : Flowering Season and Climate, The Flora of Aden, The Palms of British India and Ceylon, The Flora of the Bombay Presidency, The Ferns of the Bombay Presidency, On the Flora of Cutch, The Flora of Panchgani, Plant types for College students, A Bibliography of the Botany of British India and Ceylon, Flora Arabica, The Flora of the Indian Desert, Contributions towards a Flora of Baluchistan, Beautiful Flowers of Kashmir, Flora of the Indus Delta, The Flora of Waziristan, and The Bombay Grasses (in the press.)

That in addition to being a botanist Father Blatter was a poet need not cause any surprise ; for botany is not a dismal science.

In collaboration with Father Caius, Father Blatter has left ready a second edition of the late Major B. D. Basu's monumental work on *Indian Medicinal Plants*, so thoroughly revising and rewriting it and making such copious additions that it is practically a new work, double the size of the first edition. It is now in the press. It was a gigantic task but a labour of love all the same.

"He exercised a good influence over his students and many a young man owes his education in character and manliness to Fr Blatter."

Communal Representation

The subject of communal representation has been engaging public attention for some time past. But that attention has for the most part resulted merely in some persons expressing themselves as being for and some others against it, not in the formation of informed opinion on the part of many. The number of those who have studied the subject is not large. Those who may want to do so will not stand in need of rare books. They may read the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, the Simon Commission Report, Report of the Indian Central Committee, the Nehru Report, Sir N. N. Sircar's *Speeches and Pamphlets*, Mr. Shiva Rao's *Select Constitutions of the World*, Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherji's pamphlets on the League of Nations' Minority Treaties, the pamphlet entitled *The Communal 'Award'? Examined and Criticized*, with a foreword by Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, recently published by the Allahabad Law Journal Press, and the like. In the last-named publication, as pointed out

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in a subsequent note in this issue, the reader will find the past opinions of prominent Muslim leaders on separate electorates, all being against them.

Sir C. V. Raman and the Indian Science Association

The Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science was founded in Calcutta in 1876 by the late Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar, the renowned homeopath. Its assets now exceed six lakhs of rupees. It is an all India institution, though the founder was a Bengali and the bulk of the donations have come from Bengalis. The largest single donation to it was that of Rs. 100,000 by the late Babu Bihari Lal Mitra of Calcutta. The most munificent non-Bengali donor was the late Maharaja of Vizianagram, a patient of Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar, who gave Rs. 50,000. Smaller amounts have been given by a very small number of other non-Bengali donors. We do not at all like any separate mention of Bengalis and non-Bengalis, but have been obliged to state these facts because of interested propaganda meant to produce the wrong impression that Bengalis have done little or nothing for the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science.

Even when Sir (then Mr.) C. V. Raman was an officer in the finance department of the Government of India, he used to carry on scientific research in this Association. Sir Asutosh Mukherji discerned the great scientific ability of the then obscure young researcher and appointed him to the important post of Palit Professor in the Calcutta University. He has been connected with the Science Association for some 27 years and for the greater portion of that period he has been virtually its dictator and all in all, enjoying unchallenged power. This was not without some justification. For, as he said at the meeting of the Association held last month,

> As a Professor of the Calcutta University he worked in this Association in an honorary capacity and devoted much more attention to the work of the Association than to his work in the College or School. This was a subject of criticism both inside and outside the University. But he never concealed the fact that he worked in two laboratories and he used to say that in one of them he worked but did not get any pay but in the other he did not work but got his pay. —*Amrita Bazar Patrika.*

It was the researches which he carried out in this Association and the discoveries which he made there that secured for him the Nobel Prize in Physics. This was not only an unprecedented achievement and honour for an Oriental, but it made the Association also famous. In addition to bringing fame to the Association, though at the expense of the Calcutta University in more senses than one, he rendered service to it in another way. He applied for and obtained a grant from the Government of India for carrying on its work. Thus he was in these respects a well-wisher and benefactor of the institution.

These facts, as well as his eminent scientific ability, his great energy and his powers of speaking, show what he has achieved and what more he can achieve. But, like some other gifted and masterful men, he made a mistake as regards the means and methods of securing the permanence and progressive efficiency and usefulness of a public institution. For gaining such an object the co-operation of all sincere and fit men should be welcome. But far from seeking and welcoming such co-operation, he excluded even a man like Sir P. C. Ray—not to speak of the exclusion of other qualified men who are not so famous as Acharya Ray—and filled the managing committee with his own nominees, turning it into a coterie. Therefore, the institution ceased to be managed and looked after in the way that it should have been. Dr. Raman is now the Director of the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore, and, therefore, no longer a resident of Calcutta. Nevertheless, he wanted to maintain his exclusive hold over the Indian Science Association in Calcutta. For that reason, he wanted to change its rules in such a way that no one might in future become a member of the Association and of the Managing Committee who was not a nominee, protege, or creature of his. Some details require to be known for understanding this manoeuvre.

Under the rules of the Association its managing committee has complete power to admit any applicant to or exclude him from its ordinary membership. Thus hitherto Sir C. V. Raman and the members of the managing

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committee (his nominees) have been able to keep out "undesirable" men. But the managing committee could not prevent any one from being a life member. One could be a life member of the Association by giving Rs. 500 or more to the Association or Rs. 250 or more to the Mahendra Lal Sircar Physics Professorship fund. Such a donor became a member automatically by virtue of the donation. The change which Dr. Raman wanted to make was that even such a donor could be a member only after his election and admission to ordinary membership by the managing committee.

This change he sought to make by calling a special general meeting to be held before the annual meeting. Somehow his intention became known, and through the exertions of some well-wishers of the Association 68 persons became life members in the course of a day or two by paying Rs. 250 each or Rs. 17,000 in the aggregate.

> These gentlemen, including Sir Nilratan Sircar, Mr. Syamaprosad Mookerjee, Dr. P. N. Banerjee, Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, Mr. S. N. Banerjee, Prof. Dr. D. M. Bose, Prof. Dr. Sisir Kumar Mitra, Prof. Dr. J. N. Mukherjee, Prof. Charu Chandra Bhattacharjee, Mr. C. C. Biswas, Hon'ble Mr. B. K. Basu, Dr. S. N. Sen, Meteorologist, Rai Bahadur Dr. Gopal Chandra Chatterjee, Dr. Harinath Ghosh and several other life members, went to the Association Hall at Bowbazar in the afternoon to attend a special meeting and also the annual general meeting which was to take place immediately after.
>
> EXIT BY BACK DOOR.
>
> Immediately on their arrival, Sir C. V. Raman hurriedly left the place through the back door and accompanied by Dr. Krishnan, the Secretary, repaired to the shop of the Book Company. A small deputation was sent there to induce Sir C. V. and his companion to come to the place of the meeting. Although they came to the Association Building, Sir C. V. Raman was found trying to prevent Dr. Krishnan, the Secretary, from attending the meeting. This curious attempt led Mr. Syamaprosad Mookerjee to exert his power of persuasion, which in the long run proved successful. With about a dozen of his followers Sir Chandrashekhar entered the meeting hall. —*Advance.*

So both the meetings were held. In the course of his speech Sir C. V. Raman said that he no longer wanted to remain president of the Association. We need not print the details of the proceedings—they have appeared in Bengali in *Ananda Bazar Patrika* and in English in *Amrita Bazar Patrika, Advance* and *Forward*. The following office-bearers and members of the managing committee have been elected at the annual meeting.

President—Sir Nilratan Sircar.

Vice-Presidents:—Mr. J. N. Basu, Prof. Dr. Birbal Sahni, Prof. Dr. Ganesh Prasad, Prof. Dr. J. N. Mookherjee, and Dr. Bimala Charan Law, Ph.D.

Secretary:—Prof. Dr. S. K. Mitra.

Members:—Maharajadhiraj of Darbhanga, Mr. C. C. Biswas, Prof. Satish Chandra Ghosh, Prof. Dr. D. M. Bose, Prof. Nibaran Chandra Roy, Mr. G. D. Birla, Capt. N. N. Dutt, Prof. Dr. Himadri Kumar Muherjee, Sir Onkarmull Jehtia, Rai Bahadur Dr. Gopal Chandra Chatterjee, Prof. Charu Chandra Bhattacharjee, Mr. Jyotish Pal, Dr. N. N. Law, Prof. P. N. Ghosh, Dr. M. S. Krishnan, Dr. S. K. Mukherjee of Lucknow.

The thanks of the public are due to all those who have worked to prevent an undesirable change in the rules of the Association—particularly to Mr. Syamaprasad Mukherji, whose great energy, powers of organization, resourcefulness and influence over men were brought into full play on the occasion. The new committee contains men of distinction. It is to be hoped that they will apply themselves seriously to the task of reviving and revitalizing the Association which they have undertaken.

Dr. Krishnan will, of course, continue to hold his professorship.

Bengal Hindus and the Congress Working Committee's Resolution

It is well known that the British Premier's Communal Decision has done very great injustice to the Hindus and to none more so than to the Hindus of Bengal. In our previous notes we have given our personal opinion on the Congress Working Committee's resolution on the White Paper and the Communal Decision. We must now advert to a representative Bengal Hindu view, by which is meant one held by those Bengali Hindus who are not under Congress party discipline. Besides, as in Bengal there are two Congress parties without the leadership of any towering personality, it is difficult to say what the real Congress view is in Bengal.

The Bengal Hindu view that we refer to, is printed below. We do not consider it unwarranted, though we cannot vouch for its accuracy in every detail.

The latest Congress decision has clean bowled the Hindus. Every one, whether Hindu, Muslim or English, takes the situation to mean this:

(1) Muslims insist on the Communal Decision.
(2) Congress does not object to it.

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RABINDRANATH TAGORE IN CEYLON

Address given on Palm leaf by the Indian Mercantile Chamber of Ceylon
11th May, 1934

At the Rotary Club.
10th May

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On arrival at Colombo. On the Boat *Inchanga*.
9th May

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At the Art Exhibition
Opened by Sir Graeme Tyrrell, Chief Secretary.
14th May

On the Stage of "Regal Theatre." *Shapmochan*" Test.
12th May

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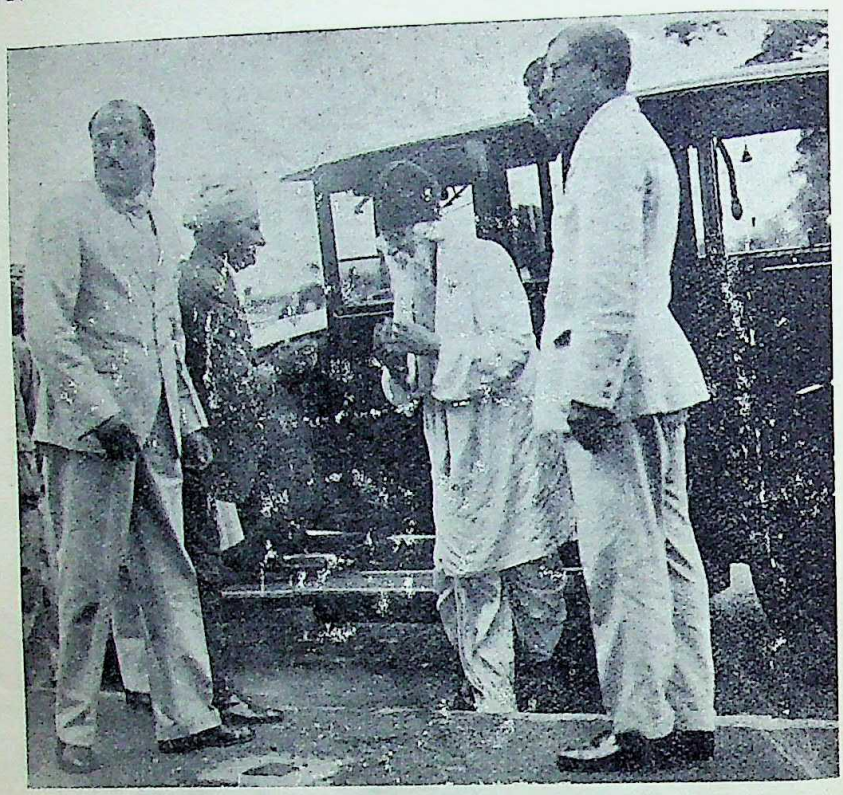

Reception by the Indian Mercantile Chamber.
11th May

Nandalal Bose at the Santiniketan Art Exhibition

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The strategical saying that when the White Paper disappears, the Communal Decision will also disappear, is deceiving nobody. If you say you are opposing the White Paper and then say that at present you are neither opposing nor accepting the Communal Decision, it can have only one meaning, *viz.*, that as regards the Decision, *at present* Congress is not opposing it. The further strategical saying that the Constituent Assembly will consider the Decision, is also deceiving nobody. If the Communal Decision can wait for the Constituent Assembly, why should not other parts of the White Paper equally wait?

As Congress is not opposing the Communal Decision, it is ten times more secure. What is the sense in Congress saying that, if there is an "agreed solution," that Decision must go? The Decision itself says the same thing. Congress knows full well that there will be no agreed solution and that nothing will happen at any Constituent Assembly.

It is easy to realize the intense sense of triumph which the Muslims feel over Mahatma Gandhi's attitude. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya appears to have been like clay in potter's hands.

So far as Bengal is concerned, the Hindus are doomed and not only will the Mohammedans be supported by the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee, but the Bengal Hindus will be so hopelessly divided that they will be treated with deserved contempt. Dr. B. C. Roy as well as Mr. J. C. Gupta, realizing the advantage of being loyal to Mahatma Gandhi, will do nothing to stop the rot. The members of the British Indian Association, the Indian Association, etc., will curse and swear at the Mahatma in their parlours, but they have not sufficient energy or courage to take any action in public. The Hindu Sabhas in Bengal have no money or efficient organization and there is little doubt that from Bengal there will be some representatives who will carry out the orders of the Congress Board and will sacrifice Hindu interests for keeping some Muslims with them.

Professor Devi Dayal

When we met Professor Devi Dayal of the D. A. V. College in Lahore a few years ago at the house of Prof. Diwan Chand Sharma, he was past 60, but did not look more than 50. Hence we can well realize that the death last month of this distinguished teacher came as a shock to thousands of Panjabis. *The Tribune* writes:

> By the death of Professor Devi Dayal the Panjab has lost a veteran educationist, an astute business man and a social reformer of strong convictions. Prof. Devi Dayal was only 69 years old at the time of his death; and those who knew him fully expected that he would live up to a ripe old age. He was a philosopher, guide and friend in the truest sense of those words, to the tens of thousands of students whom he taught in the course of his long and distinguished career as a teacher.

Mr. R. G. Pradhan's Article

Mr. R. G. Pradhan's article, published in the present issue, was written some weeks before the last meeting of the Congress Working Committee in Bombay.

Anti-Sind-Separation Work in London

Last month, Mukhi Govindram, the well-known Sind leader, gave to a representative of the *Sind Observer* an account of the work done by the London office of the Anti-Sind Separation Conference in England.

> Two Englishmen are working on their behalf who keep themselves informed of the situation and with the happenings in Sind and they are placing the case of the Hindus of Sind before members of Parliament. So far, they have met about 250 M. P's. and before the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee is published, they hope to meet many more.
>
> A number of them have promised sympathetic consideration of the case of the Sind Hindus when the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee will come up for consideration before the Parliament.
>
> Mukhi Gobindram felt very hopeful about the mission of the deputation of Sind Hindus to England, the personnel of which was soon to be decided.

Ahle-hadis Muslims Demand Joint Electorates

According to an Associated Press message, dated Benares, June 15 last,

> Demand for joint electorate in the next constitutional reforms has been made in a memorandum sent to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India by the All-India Ahle-hadis League, whose head office is at Benares.
>
> Maulanas Abulqasim and M. A. Saeed are President and General Secretary of the League respectively.
>
> The memorandum opines that separate electorate will go against the interest of the Ahle-hadis community of Muslims.
>
> The memorandum demands reserved seats for Ahle-hadis in the case of non-acceptance of joint electorate. It is stated that the population of Ahle-hadis in India is nearly two crores.

Rabindranath Tagore to Sindhis and Sinhalese

Last month Rabindranath Tagore made appeals to Sinhalese and Sindhis which are akin in spirit. On the 11th of June the public of Jaffna, Ceylon, gave him a reception. In replying to the address the Poet said:

> "What saddens my heart is to find that though you are born to a beautiful land, there has risen

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no poet in your midst, inspired by her magical charm, no lover to sing her serenade. Your life seems to be floating on the surface of your history which almost solely consists of politics of a colourless kind. You have not yet been inevitably urged to take up that living instrument. Your own language has not yet fully strung her and tuned her. You would have surely felt the necessity of it, if your soul were fully awake and if it responded to the ceaseless messages of beauty that came to you from your horizon and blessings that meet you from the bosom of your earth.

"You indulge in the vanity of mastering a language which is not of your heart and of your birthright, which does not belong to your past nor to your future and owing to that obsession in her children your country is waiting in vain for her wealth of literature which only can help her to discover her own soul and to bring out the treasure lying hidden in the lightless corner of her mind.

"I hope that my coming to your country will not end in an ephemeral sensationalism, that even when I leave your shore the memory of it will speak to you about the greatest of your problems, which is that of finding your own true voice—not that of your master—in your own language. In order to justify your existence you must make yourself heard to your own self and to others.

"Do not waste your time and intellect in carefully imitating other people, however great they may be, imitating their idioms and being utterly lost in a vagueness of futile innanity. I shall consider myself as having failed in my message if I have not sufficiently impressed you with the truism that you cannot belong to yourself if you do not produce your own literature as the truest document of the mastery of your mind, and also if I have not persuaded you to believe that you must have a continental background of your culture, which is the Indian background that will vitalize your thoughts and enrich your imagination."

Similar is the poet's message to the people of Sind, published in the *Indus*, the annual organ of the Karachi Rabindranath Literary and Dramatic Club, reproduced below:

"Sindhis are an intelligent and adventurous people. Sindhi officials are found all over India and Sindhi merchants have carried Indian trade to many distant ports of the world. And yet modern Sind has contributed so little to the cultural renaissance that is sweeping over India to-day. This poverty is traceable, it seems to me, to the Sindhis looking for inspiration where only demoralization is to be had. Sindhis are still under the shadow of a cheap, foreign, imported culture. It is a sight, at once ludicrous and pathetic, to see their young men strutting about in foreign dresses, muttering foreign accents, imitating foreign gestures. We in Bengal were the first to come under the foreign fascination, but we soon strove to free ourselves and, in the process of refinding ourselves, we released forces which have given us a new pride, entirely our own. We may learn from other people but we can get inspiration only from within ourselves. My advice to modern *Sindhuvasis* is to remember and, by remembering, to recapture the glory that once flourished on the banks of the Indus. Let them *be themselves*, true to the life that has nourished them for centuries and their old glory will blossom again."

Central Provinces Government Discards Offensive Terms

Mahatma Gandhi writes in *Harijan*:

The C. P. Government deserves congratulations for announcing that henceforth the so-called depressed classes are to be known as Harijans, and criminal tribes as wandering tribes. Both the names 'depressed classes' and 'criminal tribes' were certainly offensive. And let us hope that the other Governments will copy the good example set by the C. P. Government.

"Pilgrim Scavengers"

Some idea of the kind of work done by Gandhiji's companions during his walking tour in Orissa may be had from the following passage taken from Mira Ben's article entitled "Pilgrim Scavengers" in *Harijan*:

Generally, at the end of the morning's march, a batch of men and women from our party visit the Harijan quarters of the village near the camp, taking with them brooms and spades. They talk to the Harijans about the necessity of sanitation, about keeping their yards and roadways clean, about burying rubbish, instead of leaving it to blow here and there, and about the virtue of digging a little hole when going to the jungle for calls of nature, and covering it up with earth afterwards, instead of soiling the surroundings and leaving everything exposed for flies to carry infection. While engaged in these talks, the party begins cleaning the basis itself. This draws out the Harijans, who appreciate the idea and soon join in the work themselves. The water supply and general conditions are then investigated and a full report is given to Gandhiji on return to the camp.

Local workers often join our sanitation party, and they not infrequently promise to revisit the basis at least once or twice a month so as to help carry on the good beginning.

Abdul Hakim's Dormitory, Madras Ramakrishna Home

The Abdul Hakim Ward, a new dormitory for the senior boys in the Ramakrishna Mission Students' Home, Madras, was opened on June 20 last by Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer.

Owing to increased pressure for admission in the Home from highly deserving cases, they had to take in the Home more boys than the buildings could conveniently accommodate. A separate dormitory for older boys was felt as a great necessity and they appealed to the Prince of Benefactors, Sowcar Janab C. Abdul Hakim Bahadur, and he acceded to the request with pleasure. The Janab Bahadur not only took to supply all the bricks, wooden and metal materials needed for a "pucca" dormitory, but in grateful recognition of the timely munificence, the authorities had named the dormitory as "Abdul Hakim Ward."

While acknowledging the gratitude shown to him, Janab C. Abdul Hakim Sahib said:

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He had never entertained the idea of perpetuating his name. But when he paid a visit to the school in response to the appeal made to him, he saw the names of Hindu Rajahs and Zamindars perpetuated and a thought arose in his mind to perpetuate a Mahomedan name also there so that posterity might see that Hindus and Muslims were living together in terms of peace, goodwill and cordiality (Cheers).

Well done and well said.

Nationalist Muslims on Separate and Joint Electorates

Though at present Muslims claiming to be Nationalists are praising the Congress Working Committee's non-acceptance and non-rejection of the Communal Decision, of which separate electorates are an essential feature, it was not long ago that their most prominent leaders condemned separate electorates and praised and asked for joint electorates. Brief extracts from their opinions are reproduced below from the Allahabad Law Journal Press pamphlet on the Communal Decision.

We shall first give the opinion of the late Sir Ali Imam. Presiding at the All-India Muslim Nationalist Conference at Lucknow on the 18th April 1931, he said :

"To-day's Conference represented Muslim Nationalists, in other words, people who were not wedded to a scheme of separation. They had been simply flooded with messages from every corner of India from different leaders who one and all insisted on the basic principle of joint electorates."

"Separate electorates connote the negation of nationalism. Political problems are but a reflex of social forces. If you erect an iron wall between community and community in their politics, you destroy the social fabric, and day to day life will become insupportable if you insist on building political barriers. Nationalism can never evolve from division and dissensions."

At this Lucknow Conference Dr. Ansari moved the principal resolution the last paragraph of which stated that "the Nationalist Muslim Party" "strongly holds" the principle of "joint electorates." In moving the resolution Dr. Ansari said, in part :

"This is not the occasion to expatiate on the absolute necessity of joint electorates for the growth of a united nationhood. I am speaking to Mussalmans just now, and I wish to tell the Muslim community though you that, apart from wider national considerations, the insistence on separate electorates would prove suicidal to the continuance of the Mussalmans in this country as a political and cultural force of any significance."

Presiding at the All-Bengal Muslim Nationalist Conference at Faridpur on June 27, 1931, Dr. Ansari repeated his previous views.

The principal resolution passed at this Conference insisted on "joint electorate with adult suffrage." In supporting this resolution Mr. T. A. K. Sherwani said.

> "The advocates of separation wanted to erect insurmountable barriers between Muslims and other communities. To this the nationalists could never consent. The evil effect of separate electorates was apparent from the fact that the spirit of separatism was penetrating among the Muslims themselves. Votes were being canvassed on the basis of a candidate being a Mirza or a Pathan, Qureshi or Ansari, Shiah or Sunni."

Dr. Ansari, in the course of a speech at the United Provinces Nationalist Conference at Meerut on the 28th July, 1931, stated that joint electorates were the second basic principle of the scheme he stressed.

Dr. Mahmud in his presidential address at the same Meerut Conference stated that

> "the programme of separate representation has killed the spirit of competition. It has arrested the natural and healthy growth of public spirit among the Mussalmans. Common electorates, on the other hand, will draw out the best and the noblest that is in the Muslim society."

Malik Barkat Ali, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Panjab Nationalist Muslim Conference held at Lahore on the 24th October, 1931, said with reference to the question of separate electorates :

> "We feel that in the circumstances of today and in the India of the future, they should have no place whatever."

The Bengal Council devoted the whole of August 2, 1932, to discussing Mr. Abdus Samad's resolution in favour of joint electorates and ultimately adopted by 47 votes to 32 Mr. Tamizuddin Khan's amendment :

> "That the Government be pleased to inform the proper authorities concerned that in the opinion of this Council the system of separate electorates in the future constitution of the country should be replaced by a system of joint electorates."

Mr. Asaf Ali concluded a long statement issued to the Press on June 14, 1932, from New Delhi thus :

> "The simplest formula they (the Muslims) should stick to is 'joint electorates, no reservation, no weightage, no special constituencies and adult suffrage, or the lowest qualification for franchise to enable the bulk of the population to get representation, and if any formula for minorities is insisted upon by minorities in different provinces, it should be uniform for all minorities.' Any devia-

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tion from it would complicate both present and future issues, and would work to the detriment of both the country and even the Muslim community."

The principal resolution at a meeting of the executive committee of the Bengal Nationalist Muslim party held in August, 1932, under the presidentship of Chaudhury Mozzem Hossain recorded

> "its emphatic protest against the communal award recently given by the Prime Minister in consultation with the British Cabinet on the following among other grounds: (a) It recognizes the principle of separate electorates, which is fundamentally opposed to responsible government....."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad said in the course of an interview to the *Free Press* in Calcutta on September 1, 1932 :

> "The Communal Award of the Prime Minister is the most dangerous thing that could happen to Indian Nationalism. It has set one community against the other, without giving any tangible benefit to any save the Europeans."

Dr. M. A. Ansari, President of the Nationalist Moslems, said in a recent interview, published in the *Hindustan Times* of the 13th March, 1934 :

> "The communal award is the result of the deliberate choice of a particular kind of Round Table Conference personnel to render a settlement impossible and thus impose an outside solution."

Communal Decision Not an Arbitral Award

In conferences of Hindus at Nagpur and at Bombay Dr. B. S. Moonje said that the Prime Minister's Communal Decision was not an arbitral award. This is a perfectly correct statement, as has been shown conclusively by Sir N. N. Sircar in his *Speeches and Pamphlets* and by others.

Calling off of Bombay Textile Strike

According to *The Bombay Chronicle*,

> The Strike Committee of the Girni Kamgar Union has passed the following resolution:
> "The Girni Kamgar Union Strike Committee met this evening and resolved to call off the strike as from to-day (June 23)."
> It is reliably understood that the Joint Strike Committee will, at its meeting to-day, also, pass a similar resolution.
> It will be recalled that the General Strike began on 23rd April last. On the first day, 25,000 men responded to the call of the Joint Strike Committee. On the second day 15,000 more joined and 4 Labour leaders were arrested for defying Police orders. On the third day the number of men on strike reached 50,000 and the Chief Presidency Magistrate issued an order under section 144 restraining meetings and procession. On the fourth day 65,000 men were on strike. On the fifth day 75,000 men were on strike. On 29th April 80,000 men were on strike and the Emergency Powers Act was brought into requisition to make a general round-up of Labour leaders.

From the very beginning of the strike the Bombay Government ought to have tried to bring about a settlement. Instead of that the steps that it took had a tendency to break the strike.

According to *The Sun* of Bombay some of the findings contained in the Report of the Government Departmental Enquiry into Textile Wages are :

> In Bombay, a cut of 21 per cent in wages between July, 1926 and April, 1934.
> In Sholapur, a cut of 17 per cent.
> In Ahmedabad, an increase of 5 per cent.

The strike leaders do not admit the impartiality and accuracy of this Report. But if these figures are correct, they show that the cut in wages has been the highest in Bombay. That would go to show, *prima facie*, that the strikers had a grievance and still have it.

Buddhist University at Sarnath

It was a dream of the late venerable Anagarika Dhammapala and of the Mahabodhi Society founded by him, that there should be a Buddhist University at Sarnath. The dream bids fair to be a reality at no distant day. The affairs of the University are to be managed by a Committee of which the president will be Mr. Justice Manmathanath Mukherjee of the Calcutta High Court, who is president of the Mahabodhi Society.

Plans to Reduce the Rice Crop !

With reference to the Government of India's practically abortive crop-planning conference the *Bombay Sentinel* writes :

> "No planning, but plotting" said Mr. Jamnadas Mehta at Geneva.
> He doesn't know of the plans of Sir Fazli Hussain to reduce the rice crop.
> When less rice is grown and it becomes dear, the agriculturists will pay more money to the Government, and they will then be able to restore the 5 per cent cuts to the Services.
> They will also be able to restore the Army Budget to its original figure, and will thus give better protection to Indians—against themselves, (*vide* Commander-in-Chief).

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De Valera on Governor-Generalship of Ireland

Dublin, June 20.

"We would abolish the office of Governor-General tomorrow but for certain obligations of the Free State treaty and constitution," declared Mr. de Valera in the Dail when Mr. Cosgrave moved the reconsideration of the annual estimate for salary expenses of the Governor-General. Mr. de Valera added, he hoped ultimately to abolish the office and declared the functions of the Governor-General were ridiculous and the very title obnoxious to the whole Irish people.

Mr. Cosgrave's motion was defeated by 41 votes to 29 and the estimate agreed to without division. —*Reuter.*

Gandhiji Narrowly Escapes Being Bombed

Puna, June 25.

A bomb was thrown on a car which the assailant believed contained Mahatma Gandhi who was on his way to the municipal building to receive an address in the evening. Seven volunteers in the car were injured, but Mahatma Gandhi who was following in another car narrowly escaped.

We rejoice that Mahatmaji has not been hurt. We hope the volunteers have not been seriously injured. It is difficult to say to what class of terrorists the bomb-thrower belongs. *The Saturday Review* and men of its way of thinking should now at least hesitate to believe that the Congress is in secret league with the terrorists.

Gandhiji, of course, remains unperturbed—this is not the first time that an attempt on his life has been made. He will go on doing his duty, as usual, or perhaps with greater zeal.

Zanzibar Bills to Deprive Indians of Their Rights

Bombay, June 24.

The Indian National Association of Zanzibar has sent the following cable to the Associated Press:

"The local Government published draft Bills seven days ago which they propose to pass into law on June 28.

"These Bills are calculated to prevent Indians from acquiring land and depriving them of their ancient rights of dealing in the only important local industry, *viz.*, cloves, thus threatening the very existence of the whole community numbering fifteen thousand.

"Conjointly, they also practically deprive Indians of about eight million rupees, being the capital invested in *bona fide* business. We had applied to the local Government for postponement of these measures, but it has been refused. The relations between Indians, Arabs and natives are so far most cordial and intimate. The proposed legislation is sure to create a friction and racial bitterness. Great consternation, panic and fear prevail among Indians."

Hitherto Zanzibar Indians had not much of a grievance—the Hilton Young Commission found them a prosperous community. Now the Government there want to reduce them to poverty, following the evil examples of South Africa and Kenya.

Kelkar-Congressmen Pact Accepted

Bombay, June 25.

The executive committee of the Democratic Swarajya Party decided today to accept the pact arrived at between Mr. Kelkar and the Maharashtra Congressmen to carry on the work of Maharashtra in connection with the forthcoming Assembly elections. The meeting also decided to make clear that the acceptance of the pact did not prevent the party members from carrying on propaganda in matters such as the Communal Award, the Indian States' subjects, the debt redemption scheme, etc. The meeting further resolved that any member of the party chosen as a candidate for election to the Assembly should accept the discipline of the Parliamentary Board.

Indian Students and Burmese

The Rangoon Daily News has published a reasoned leader on the question of Burmese as a compulsory subject for Indian students who seek admission to the Rangoon University. It writes, in part :

> That this decision of the University authorities to place a disability against Indian students, wishing to continue their studies in the University, is most unfair, cannot be gainsaid. While in the case of English schools in Burma the standard of Burmese knowledge required of students there is low, that in Indian schools is not accepted as such. It is admitted by the Education Department that the standard of Burmese in English schools should be low. But the pupils of English schools have one advantage over those of Indian schools, *viz.*, they have a speaking knowledge of Burmese in most cases. The standard for Indian schools should therefore be lower than that which obtains in English schools. Indian pupils have to learn their own mother-tongue and English. Burmese they can learn only as a third language.

As regards Indian girls in Burma, the paper rightly argues partly thus :

> Female education is in the infant stage, so far as Indians are concerned; and it requires sympathetic encouragement. It will be a great hardship for Indian girls if they are required to offer Burmese in lieu of their mother-tongue for the Matriculation Examination. Most of the girls will probably go out of Burma by marriage or transfer of guardians. A knowledge of Burmese will not be of any use to them, if they are required by force of circumstances to join other Universities of India for general education. And if they are prevented from joining the University of Rangoon (while they are in Burma) they would be denied the elementary right of general education.

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Kapurthala and Rampur

The state of affairs in Kapurthala and Rampur and, in many other states too, makes one wonder of what use the absentee princes are to their subjects. The Nawab of Rampur is not, of course, an inveterate absentee.

Kidnapping and Abduction of Girls and Women

Hindus in public meeting assembled have in many places in the Panjab, N.-W. F. Province and Sind raised their voice of indignant protest against the frequent kidnapping and abduction of Hindu girls and women. This state of things must not be allowed to continue.

Lifting Ban on Congress

The lifting of the ban on Congress organizations generally on the part of Government has been a wise act. It should be completed by lifting the ban on each and all of them and by the release of all leading and other political prisoners not guilty of acts of violence, and of course, also of all detenus. In the case of the latter, if Government have a case against any, why not try them?

India Asked to Keep Faith With England

On June 1, 1934, Sir Frederick Sykes, ex-governor of Bombay, declared at the Bombay dinner in London :

> "I feel we have kept faith with India. We may accordingly ask that India keeps faith with us."

Every Indian school-boy knows all about the redeeming of British pledges to India. Hence repetition would be unnecessary. But what pledge or promise did India ever make to Britain? Sir Frederick has perhaps dreamed that India promised to be eternally ruled by Britishers, to provide jobs for Britishers, to purchase British manufactures (only or mainly), to produce raw materials for Britain, not to turn her (India's) raw materials into manufactured goods, and so on and so forth. He has called upon India to keep this imaginary promise.

Wanted More Women in Parliamentary Board

Mrs. L. R. Zutshi of Lahore demands that as women have been comrades in arms with men in the fight for Swaraj, there should be more women in the Congress Parliamentary Board, and not merely Mrs. Naidu. She is right.

War Debts

Except Finland, all European countries which borrowed huge sums from America during the War have failed to pay the June instalment of their debts, following the high and mighty example of Britain. Britain said in effect : "Not that I cannot pay—I have a surplus budget. But after 15 lean years, my children are entitled to a little relief. Besides, my debtors have not paid me, and so how can I pay you? And moreover, paying you huge sums in dollars or gold would disturb your exchange rates." So, it is more honourable to feast than to pay your debts. America has rightly reminded Britain that the payment by Britain of her debts was never conditional on Britain receiving money from her debtors. And we suppose, America can take care of her exchange problems without British expert advice. America has said in her reply to the British war debt note that she has no desire to place impossible burdens on her debtors. But the beauty or the pity of it is that America's debtors do not want to bear any burden of debt at all.

Anti-Indian Propaganda in Europe

In a statement sent from Belgrade Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose draws attention to anti-Indian propaganda in Europe, *e. g.* :

> "In many countries I have been asked why Mahatma Gandhi is against the untouchables and why he undertook his fast in September, 1932 against their cause."

Mr. James Ramsay MacDonald also professed to think at the time that Gandhiji's fast was calculated to injure the cause of the depressed classes.

Congress Constructive Programme

The Congress constructive programme contained in the Working Committee's Wardha resolution is good—though there is nothing new in it. It was pointed out by us that Mahatma Gandhi's Patna exhortation to Congress workers did not mention

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education. The Wardha resolution has supplied the omission.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Health

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's health has not improved in Dehra Dun jail. There is no sense in keeping him confined in summer within the limits of a high-walled small enclosure.

Neither is the joke of supplying him with a hand-fan enjoyable, when there are electric fittings in his cell and an electric fan can be easily supplied.

Honour to Anna Saheb V. R. Shinde

Those persons in Bombay who, in public meeting assembled, presented Anna Saheb V. R. Shinde with an address and otherwise showed their appreciation of his lifelong labours in the cause of the depressed castes, honoured themselves. Forty-one institutions took part in the function, which was presided over by Sheth Mathuradas Vasauji. Mr. Shinde took up the cause of and worked for these humble people before Mahatma Gandhi and Congress did so. In fact it was at his instance that the latter took it up.

Bengal Mill-owners' Association

The formation of a Bengal Mill-owners' Association under the presidentship of Sir P. C. Ray is a move in the right direction. Its object is to look after the interest of cotton mills in Bengal. Bengal can and ought to supply all her requirements of cotton yarn and cloth. There is in Bengal good agricultural land, too, for the production of cotton. The Bengal Government's agricultural department ought to initiate and encourage such production. The progressive development of Bengal's cotton industry is a sure, though of course not a complete, remedy for unemployment in the province.

Madras "Justice" Party to Admit Brahmins

The Madras Non-Brahman party is known by two other names, the South Indian Liberal Federation and the Justice Party. It has resolved to admit Brahmans into its ranks. The abandonment of an exclusive policy on its part is commendable. In wishing it God-speed *The Indian Social Reformer* points out its advantages over the Congress, *viz.*, twelve years' administrative experience, no communal commitments, and no restrictions as to the kind of cloth to be worn and the language to be used at meetings. *The Guardian*, a Christian weekly of Madras, observes:

> One outstanding feature of the Justice Party has been its virulent anti-Brahmin bias. It manifested itself in the severe exclusion of Brahmins from official jobs, from legislative seats and from nominations to local boards. The first of these will remain in full force, as the rule of communal rotation has been widely adopted. The second will likewise continue, as non-Brahmins have reserved seats in the Madras Legislative Council. It is in the third that Brahmins may have henceforth freer scope. There will therefore be little material difference in the position of Brahmins.....

The Servants of India Society

The Servants of India Society has celebrated another, the 28th, anniversary of its foundation day. It is characterized by the high ideal of service of its members, their spirit of sacrifice and self-abnegation and their expert knowledge. We wish it a long life of ever-increasing usefulness.

Bihar Earthquake Relief

The Bihar Central Relief Committee and the Bihar and Orissa Government have hitherto exerted themselves in various directions to relieve the distress caused by the earthquake The advent of the rainy season will necessitaet. other forms of relief. For, in addition to the usual floods, there may be unusual ones caused by the lowering of the level of land in large areas, the silting up of river-beds and the shrinking of their banks. The Central Relief Committee and the Government have, with commendable energy and foresight, made arrangements to meet emergencies.

A Blind Boy's Success

We join our contemporaries in cordially congratulating Sriman Sadhan Chandra Gupta, son of Mr. J. C. Gupta, on his remarkable achievement in passing the Matriculation examination of the Calcutta University with great distinction in spite of his blindness.

Sir John Thompson on White Paper Generosity

The following extract from a speech at Bristol of Sir John Thompson, ex-Chief Com-

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missioner of Delhi, gives some idea of the amount of power which the White Paper proposes to transfer to Indian hands :

> The Ministers will have the spending of 20 to 25 per cent. of the central revenues. They will not control defence and foreign affairs, which will be under the Governor-General. They will not without the Governor-General's permission be able to touch these thorny subjects of currency and exchange. They will not have the control of payments on account of loans, the pay of the principal services or their pensions, and they will not have the administration of the railways. They will not be able to amend the constitution, and if they menace the interests which are to be specially committed to the Governor-General's charge they will find that he has ample resources of persuasion and of power to protect them.

Progress of Non-violence !

War may break out again any moment between Japan and China. There may be war between Japan and Russia. Recently there has been regular war in Arabia. In South America some countries are still fighting. In addition to these a sort of civil war has been going on in many countries. They are the many acts of terrorism in Austria, the peasant revolt in Spain, the fight between Sir Oswald Mosley's blackshirts (Fascists) and anti-Fascists like communists and others and the riots in various parts of France between Fascists and anti-Fascists about the 24th of June last.

> "Over a hundred were injured at L'Orient in a pitched battle in which a mob numbering over two thousand charged the mounted police. One policeman had an eye gouged out, while 28 others were seriously injured.

Devastating Floods in Bengal, Assam and Bihar

There have been devastating floods in parts of Assam, Bengal and Bihar, houses being swept away, villages under water, crops destroyed, and people in many places living on *machans* (improvised platforms on tops of bamboo poles). A vast area in Assam has been cut off from the world. At Susang in Mymensingh, elephants and horses from the Maharaja's stables have been swept away. Harrowing details, including many certain and more probable loss of lives, are reaching the public. Relief societies are up and doing.

Graduate and Under-graduate Constables

Though unemployment among middle-class people in Bengal is most widespread, it exists in other provinces also. In consequence, at Agra one graduate and two F. A. or Intermediate passed young men have accepted posts of constables on Rs. 16 per mensem. Good would come out of evil, if the presence of educated men in the lowest ranks of the police had the effect of raising their moral tone.

New President of the Theosophical Society

Mr. George Arundale, known to Theosophists as Bishop Arundale, has been elected president of the Theosophical Society in succession to Dr. Annie Besant. To non-Theosophists he is best known as sometime principal of the Benares Central Hindu College and Dr. Besant's able and energetic lieutenant in her Home Rule campaign, who was interned with her and Mr. Wadia. It is to be noted that up till now the leading persons in the Theosophical Society have been all Occidentals —Olcott, Blavatsky, Besant and Arundale. Among Indian Theosophists Babu Bhagavan Das is known as a great scholar, a profound thinker and a spiritually advanced brother to persons of all faiths.

Another Extension of Life to Bengal Council

The Bengal Legislative Council has got another—the third—year's extension of life. Why? Bengal did not want it, but rather opposed it; some M. L. C's themselves did not want it, but opposed it; the Council has become unrepresentative, if it ever was representative; owing to its subservience, Government has already got a record number of highly repressive "martial" laws and cannot possibly require more; and it is not likely that in another year India will get a new constitution. It may be the intention of Government not to have a less subservient Council before the inauguration of the emasculating White Paper constitution. If so, the present Council would require at least another year's extension. The only gainers by extensions are M. L. C's like Chaudhuri Haji Badi Ahmed, Khan Bahadur Muhammad Abdul Momin, Khan Bahadur Azizul Haque, Babu Amulyadhan Roy, etc., who drew allowances of Rs. 2947, Rs. 2060, Rs. 2208, Rs. 1937, etc., in 1933 for attending Council meetings.

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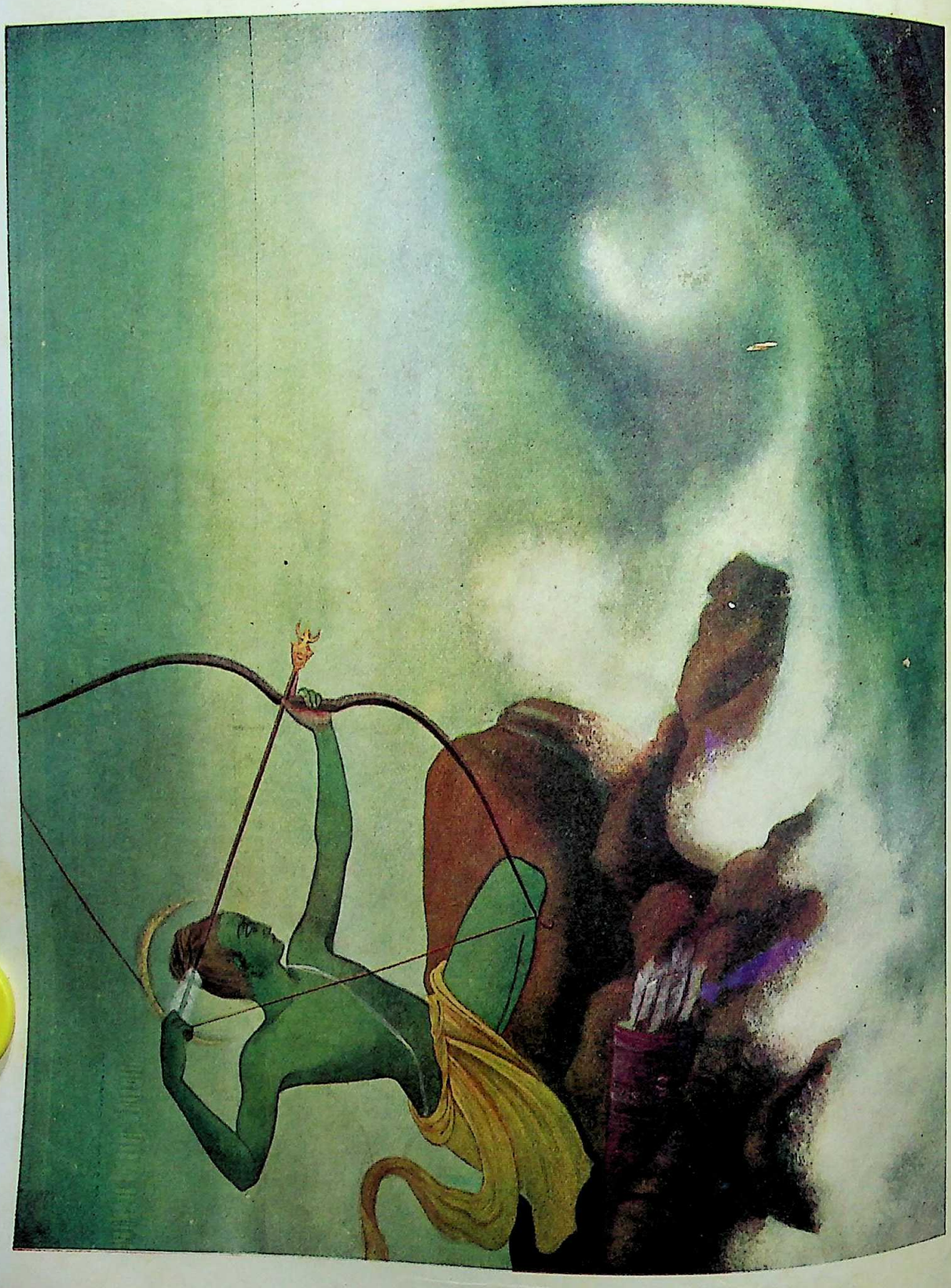

PUNISHMENT OF THE SEA
By Surendranath Sen-Roy

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SUPREME MAN

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

THE scientist solves the mystery of a piece of iron and says that it is nothing but the constant movements of electric particles of a special rhythm. The intervals between them in such a system are, in proportion to their size, immense. If our unaided eyes could see what has been discovered by scientific vision, then, like the individuals in human society, we should have seen the particles as distinct and separate. However distinct these may be, a force,—for let us call it a force—is working among them. It is a relating force,—the community force of the piece of iron. When we see the piece of iron, we do not see the multitude of electrons, we see the mass. In fact, the visible appearance of the iron is a symbol; it is not what it ultimately is. To take an analogy we are given a ten-rupee note. He knows it truly who at sight recognizes the piece of paper as a symbol of unity that represents ten separate silver coins.

We see the piece of iron to be iron, and yet it is only a physical symbol revealing the mysterious spirit of relationship which cannot be seen by the bodily eye. Likewise, the distinctions of time and place between individual men are very great, and yet there is a large and deep unity encompassing all men. This unity, imperceptible by the senses, is not that of a numerical aggregate, for it transcends all aggregates. Those who have in them the great capacity of feeling within themselves the one Spirit in all men, are the people to whom we give the name Mahatma or Great Soul. It is they who can lay down their lives for the good of all men. It is they who can address the comprehensive spirit within and without them and say "तदेतत् प्रेयः पुत्रात् प्रेयो वित्तात् प्रेयोन्यस्मात् सर्व्वस्माद् अन्तरतर यदयमात्म।"

— He is dearer than a son, dearer than wealth, dearer than all else is this spirit who is in our inmost heart.

The scientist condemns such statements. He says that we attribute humanity to God in calling Him our Beloved. I reply that it is not *attributing*, but *realizing* humanity. It is by developing the sense of the dignity of his human truth that man has attained to his God. The human mind cannot therefore protest against the attribution of humanity to his God, and it would not be at all true if he did so. Man does not attribute lighthood to the vibrations of ether, he feels and uses the vibrations themselves as light and is not deceived in such use.

There is the ultimate world entity even beyond the immediate entity of man, as we have the stellar sphere beyond the solar system. But it is primarily the solar system of which the earth is a part, it is solar heat that is the life of the earth, and it is the solar connection that governs the earth's movements and its day and night. We have knowledge of the stellar sphere, but it is the solar system we fully comprehend with our body and our mind. Similarly, the greatness which is supremely cosmical is for us an object of knowledge, but the greatness which is human is a matter for the fulfilment of all our body, mind and character.

But even the impersonal world with regard to which we can trace no distinctions of good and evil, beautiful and ugly, about which nothing more can be said beyond the fact that it exists, is bound-

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PUNISHMENT OF THE SEA
By Suradindu Sen-Roy

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ed by human knowledge. And therefore by knowing it we become aware of the extension of our own consciousness and we are glad. The world we know or hope to know sometime through scientific experience is itself a human world. *Man* alone perceives this world in the form of *his* thought within the scaffoldings of *his* Understanding and Reason. It is possible to conceive of a mind which perceives a world that is beyond the range of our mathematical measurements and does not exist in the space which *we* know. But how shall we call extra-human the world whose fundamental truths are found by man in conformity with the innate principles of his thought? That is why a modern scientist describes the universe as the creation of mathematical mind. But even this mathematical mind is not beyond the bounds of the human mind. If it were, then we could not have at all known the scientific theory of the world, like the dogs and cats who can never reach it.

The true character of Him who is the Qualified Reality, *Saguna Brahma*, is defined in our scriptures as *Sarvendriyagunâbhâsam*. All the qualities which belong to the external and internal faculties of man have their suggestion in Him. The very meaning of this is that the ultimate Truth for us is *human* Truth, and that is why this world we know is necessarily a *human* world. Even if there be any other world beside this, it is non-existent for us, not only for today, but for ever.

We give the name Love to that relation of one soul to another which is the deepest and truest. Our actual acquaintance with the physical world is through sense perception, but our true comprehension of the spiritual world is through love. In the love of his parents, man begins his acquaintance with the spiritual world from the very moment of his birth. Here we find immeasurable mystery,—the contact of the indescribable. The question may arise, wherein lies the basis of the truth of parenthood. It must be in Him, who is *Pitritamah pitrînâm*, पितृतमः पितृणाम्, who contains the perfection of the fatherhood of all fathers. We can understand the characteristics of this earth to which we are born by scrutinizing it from outside, but the mystery of parenthood we can comprehend only in the depth of our own spirit, and it is there in this depth that we realize the Supreme Father. This Supreme Father does not dwell in any particular heaven, nor is He to be found in the history of any particular time or country. He has not expressed Himself once and for good in any particular individual but extends His love over the past and future of humanity and pervades the whole world of man.

We hear of the God of man:

यद् यद् विभूतिमत् सत्त्वं श्रीमद् ऊर्जितमेव वा
तत्तदेवावगच्छ त्वं मम तेजोंशसम्भवम्।

Whatever has splendour, has beauty and excellence, is born of an aspect of my own divine energy.

In the universe there are many things great and small. So far as bare existence is concerned, they all have the same worth. From the point of view of mere actuality, there is no distinction for better or worse between the lotus and the clod of earth. But man has in his mind a standard of value, which does not judge by need nor by the measurement of size or degree. In man, there is the sense of perfection transcending all quantitative standards—a consciousness of the inmost satisfaction. This is what he means by excellence, and yet we find no unanimity of opinion about this excellence. How then can we say that this excellence is based upon an impersonal and eternal truth which is in the universal man.

We know all scientific truths have passed through innumerable errors. In fact, the errors are many, the truth is one. The errors are personal, the truth belongs to the all. The astronomer wants to study the planet with his telescope, but he has many obstacles to overcome. In our sky there are the dust of the earth, the enveloping atmosphere, the veils of vapour and many kinds of disturbances all around. Defects are possible in the instrument, and the mind which observes is clouded by its predispositions. Pure truth can be attained only when all the obstacles —internal and external—have been overcome.

It is easy to admit that the realization of pure truth is the manifestation of the universal mind, but it is possible to doubt whether in aesthetic experience, we realize the universal mind. How can there be an absolute standard of beauty when our sense of joy in it often varies with the country, time and the individual? And yet, when we look at human history over a large period, we find that the minds of all artists of all times tend to agree in their judgment of the merit of artistic beauty. It has to be admitted that it is not absolutely every man that finds complete joy in an artistic creation. Many have minds blind to beauty; their personal preferences do not agree with universal appreciation. There are also among men many who are naturally impervious to science. Their conceptions of the world are confusingly irrelevant and antagonistic, because their minds are prejudiced, for the prejudice of one does not agree with that of another. Yet they are so inordinately vain of the truth of their own parti-

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ticular wrong view that they are prepared to go to any lengths in support of their doctrine. Similarly, there is no lack of persons in the world with naturally deficient taste. In their case also, differences of opinion become dangerous. We cannot question the universal perfection of knowledge simply because there are different levels of born stupidity, of every variety, from the lowest to the highest. It is the same with regard to the ideal of beauty.

Bertrand Russell has expressed in some writing of his, that Beethoven's symphonies cannot be regarded as creations of the Universal Mind, for they are personal to him. Russell means that a symphony is not like a mathematical truth, which is an object to all minds and has the mind of the individual as merely the occasion of its formulation. But if it has to be admitted that everyone ought to appreciate Beethoven's creation, that if there is no natural deficiency of the mind, everyone must appreciate it when with proper training the opposition of ignorance and unaccustomedness have been dispelled, then it must also be admitted that the appreciation of the best composer is to be fully met with in the mind of Man and is impeded only in some particular men as listeners.

The intellect is indispensable for the preservation of life, but there are many instances of worldly success in spite of an imperfect sense of beauty. The sense of beauty has no sanction of vital urgency, nor does licence in this sphere carry with it its own necessary punishment. And yet a stupendous amount of effort is being applied to the task of creating beauty although in the maintenance of life it serves no purpose: only its influence is for transforming our inner being.

In the Upanishads we again and again find mention of this attainment through being. From these we understand that man is one in spirit with the Supreme Object of his strivings.

नाविरतो दुश्चरितान् नाशान्तो ना समाहितः
नाशान्तः मानगोवापि प्रज्ञानेनैनमाप्नुयात् ।

It is said that He cannot be reached through mere knowledge. He has to be realized through the perfection of being, by refraining from evil conduct, by achieving a steadfast mind through the control of the passions. In other words, this realization is the attainment of one's own eternal truth.

I have stated before that we must remove all impurities and disturbances of the environment and all individual idiosyncrasies if we want to see physical truth in its purity. This applies even more to spiritual truths. It is when we attribute to spiritual truth the perversions arising out of our lower nature that our mistakes become most dangerous. We can understand how much more ruinous than mistakes in knowledge are our mistakes in being when we find that the very forces which we have brought under our control through science become our medium of the hatred and avarice of man and extend the sphere of his self-destruction from one end of the earth to the other. It is for this reason that perversion of the nature of some particular individual or group in the name of the community or religion incites man's will to evil far more than scientific mistakes or conflicts of material interest. The communal god thus becomes the receptacle of hatred, vanity, snobbishness and stupidity. Insulted Godhead degrades man and keeps him in constant fear of his own fellows. This calamity strikes at the very root of power and fortune in our country.

There are instances of this in other countries as well. The traditional Christians express their contempt for the degradation and cruelty in the characters of the traditional gods and modes of worship of some Indian communities. On account of habit they cannot however see that their own conception of God is equally possessed by the evil genius of man. The community, whose sacred books condemn to eternal hell a child that has died before its baptism, has attributed to God a degree of cruelty that is perhaps unparalleled anywhere else. In fact, the conception of eternal hell, for any sin however heinous, is the most potent invention of human cruelty. Herein lies the explanation of the anti-scientific and anti-religious persecution practised in mediæval Europe in order to preserve intact the faith in scriptural religion. Even today that conception of hell pervades with horror the prisons of civilized man, where there is no principle of reformation but only the ferocity of punishment.

It is with the development of humanity that the realization of God gradually grows free of prejudice, at any rate, it ought to be so. The reason that it is not always so is due to the fact that we take anything and everything connected with religion to be eternal. It does not follow from our reverence for the eternal ideal of religion, that we must accept any particular religious dogma as also eternal. If we were fanatically to assert that every scientific opinion is eternally true, because there is eternal truth as the foundation of physical science, then we should have to assert, even today, that the sun is revolving round the earth. It is this mistake we generally make with regard to religion. The community gives the name of religion to its own traditional opinion,

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and thus strikes at Religion itself. The conflict, the cruelty, the unreasoning and unintelligent superstition, which then emerge, are without parallel in any other sphere of human life.

Mistakes in science, or in our code of conduct, arise from our inability to comprehend the wholeness of truth. In spiritual life we realize the wholeness of our being when it is conscious of a centre in a great and eternal meaning.

The earth revolves round its own axis and yet it circles round the sun along its vast orbit. Whatever happens in human society also exhibits these two tendencies. On the one hand, the paraphernalia of wealth and power are accumulated through the urge of the individual ego and yet on the other, under the inspiration of the Universal Man, men unite with one another in their activity and their joy and make sacrifices for one another's sake.

Some years ago there was a report published in the London *Times*, which I came to know through the *Nation* of America. The British air-force was destroying from the air a Mahsud village in Afghanistan. One of the bombing planes was damaged and came down. An Afghan girl led the airmen into a neighbouring cave, and to protect them, a Malik remained on guard at the entrance of the cave. Forty men with brandished knives rushed forward to attack them, but the Malik dissuaded them. All this time, bombs were dropping from above and people were crowding in to take shelter in the cave. Some Maliks of the neighbourhood and a Mollah proposed to help the Britishers and some of the women offered to feed them. After some time they at last disguised the airmen as Mahsuds and brought them out to a safe place.

In this incident, we find the two aspects of human nature revealed in their extremest forms. In the bombing from aeroplanes we have an instance of the wonderful development of human power—the vast expanse of his mailed fist from earth to heaven. But to forgive and protect the enemy engaged in dealing death reveals another aspect of man. The natural instinct to kill enemies is the prompting of man's animal nature, but he transcended it and uttered the strange command: Forgive your enemies.

Our scriptures lay down that at the time of battle a charioteer must not attack the man who is not in a chariot but on the ground. Nor must he kill one who is impotent, or a supplicant, nor one who is seated or has his hair untied, nor one who humbly offers to submit. Nor yet must he kill one who is asleep or unprotected, naked or unarmed, a spectator or a non-combatant, or engaged in fighting another. He must remember the teachings of virtue and refrain from killing one whose weapons are broken, one who is afflicted with sorrow, one who is wounded or frightened.

We have heard Man say, न पापे प्रतिपापः स्यात्—Do not sin against those that sin against you. Whether or not the individual conforms in his conduct to this law he does not laugh it away as the ravings of a lunatic. In human life, we only occasionally find conformity to this principle and generally we find its opposite. In other words, its truth is hardly seen in a mere count of heads, and yet its truth is acknowledged. Where lies the basis of the aspect of man which realizes it? Let us see what answers have been given by man to this question.

यः-यात्मा विरतः पापात कल्याणे च निवेशितः
तेन सर्वमिदं बुद्धं प्रकृतिर्विकृतिश्च या।

He whose spirit refrains from evil and attends to the good has comprehended the *sarvam*, the totality. He therefore knows what is natural to him and what is an aberration.

Man comprehends his nature only when he abstains from evil and works for the good of all. This means that only the great among men understand human nature. How do they know it?

With a transparent heart, they comprehend the totality. The true and the good are in the totality. It is when man refrains from the sin which belongs to his nature as limited by the ego that he knows his own spiritual wholeness—it is then that he understands his own nature. His nature does not concern the individual alone: it concerns Him of Whom the Gita says, "पौरुषं नृषु"—He is the humanity in Men.

All that we have said so far about the good and evil is not from the point of view of the preservation of society. The code, based on the solid foundation of praise and blame, which society promulgates through commands and precepts for its own preservation, gives but a secondary importance to the eternal principle of Truth: the preservation of the traditional society is its primary object. We are therefore told that it is harmful to introduce into society the Religion of Truth in all its purity. It is often said that there is a great deal of stupidity in the common man. To keep him away from evil, he must therefore, if need be, be kept engaged with delusions, frightened or comforted with false fears or hopes, in short, treated as eternally a child or a brute. It is with society as with religious communities. The opinions and customs prevalent at some previous time are loath to give up their rights even at a later age. In the insect-world, we find some harmless insects that adopt the disguise of terrible

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cises and thus secure themselves. It is the same with social laws. They try to make themselves powerful and permanent by disguising themselves as eternal truths. On the one hand, they have the external show of piety and on the other the terrors of torture in the after-life, various strict and sometimes unjust means of social punishment, compelling blind conformity to needless conventions under the threat of a made-to-order Hell. The Andamans, the Devil Islands of France, and the Lipari Isles of Italy, are the symbols of this very attitude in the field of politics. The inner truth about them is that the pure law of Truth and man-made laws do not move with the same rhythm. Those who revere the True, the Good, the Human as the ultimate goals of man have throughout the ages fought against this attitude.

It is not the object of this lecture to estimate the value of the good as conformity to society or the State. I want to discuss the basis of man's acceptance of the Truth, to discuss wherein Truth lies. In the many fields of interest in society and the State, we find at every step contradiction of the Truth in daily conduct, and yet man has given to it the highest place in his self-knowledge, called in his *dharma*, which means his ultimate nature. In spite of the many differences of opinion with regard to the ideal of the good that different countries, times and individuals have, all men have honoured the reality of the good. What I have discussed are the implications of this fact with regard to the nature of the Religion of Man. The conflict of "It is" and "It ought to be" has raged from the very beginnings of human history. In discussing the reason of this conflict, I have said that in the mind of man, there is on the one hand the Universal Man and on the other the animal man limited by his self-seeking. It is the attempts at harmonizing the two that reveal themselves in different forms according to different religious systems. Otherwise, only advantage and disadvantage, the pleasant and the unpleasant, would have prevailed in the law of life. There would have been no significance at all of sin and virtue, of good and evil.

The question has been asked about the truth, in the Universal Mind, of the pain and pleasure one feels in his individual mind. If we think about it, we find that the pleasure and pain within the limits of the ego are transformed at the borders of the spirit. The man who dedicates his life for Truth, for the sake of his country and for the good of man, who thinks of himself against a vast background of ideals, finds that personal happiness and misery have changed their meaning for him. Such a man gives up his happiness with ease, and by accepting pain, he transcends it. In the life of self-seeking, the burden of pleasure and pain is very great, but when man transcends his self-interest he feels the burden so light that his patience when faced with the bitterest suffering and his forgiveness in spite of the heaviest insults seems to us to be superhuman.

Discords become too evident when the tuning of the instrument is going on, but they are not a part of the music itself. Discords jar on us, and if they did not, we should not progress on our quest after harmony. That is why we give the name Rudra or Terrible to the Infinite—He draws us towards freedom along the path of the pain of disharmony.

Upanishad declares:

एषास्य परमागतिरेषास्य परमा सम्मत्
एषोस्य परमो लोक एषो य परमआनन्दः ।

Here we have the dualism of He and this, the individual man and the other One who is within him and beyond him. It is said that *He* is the ultimate aim of *this*, its richest possession, its final rest and supreme joy. In other words, it is in Him that *this* has its perfection.

He is not a mere abstraction. He is an immediate object of the most intimate awareness, just as much as the self which I call my own. When my devotion yearns after Him and in Him I find my joy, it is my self-consciousness that is enlarged, deepened and extended to the Truth beyond the limits of my narrow existence. It is *Eshah*, this great He who challenges man to strike after perfection through endeavours to struggle from the unreal to the real, from darkness towards the light, from death towards immortality.

This challenge never allowed man to stop anywhere; it made of him an eternal wayfarer. Tired and worn out, those who abandon the road and build themselves a permanent house have in fact built their own mausoleums. Animals have their lairs, but man has taken to the road. Those who are great among men are the road-builders and the path-finders. The lure of the call of the infinite in him has brought man out on the way in quest of the unattained. Empires rose and fell by the roadside of his journey, riches were amassed and then lost beneath the dust. Man built many an image to give form to his desire and again smashed them to pieces, like childhood's toys when childhood is over. He tried again and again to construct the magic key and open with it nature's treasure-house and again he discarded them all and started anew to search out the secret path leading to its depths. Age follows age in human history, and man continues in his ceaseless search,

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not for the satisfaction of his material needs, but in order to strive with all his might for the revelation of the Universal Man in the world of men, to rescue his own inmost truth from the crude obstacles set up by himself. That is the Truth which is greater than all his accumulated wealth, greater than all his achievements, greater than all his traditional beliefs and knows no death nor decay. Man's mistakes and failures have been many, leaving their ruins on the way along which he came. The strain of his sorrow and suffering has been infinite, but they mark his strong perseverance to shatter the bonds of his imprisoned ideals. Who could have, even for a moment, endured all this struggle, if it did not have an eternal significance in an inspiration which ever urges him to realize a greater unity in wisdom and love with him who can lead his heart and mind into the truth of all things. Who among men can seek for comfort and where for him is rest? The only goal of human life is to offer freedom and be free, the freedom that guides it to the life which is worth while.

The article is principally based upon my "Religion of Man" and the Kamala lectures delivered at the Calcutta University. In the translation of it, I have been greatly helped by Mr. Humayun Kabir of the Calcutta University. In the present revised form it was delivered at the Andhra University, Waltair, on the 9th of December, 1933, being one of a series of three Readership lectures.

— RABINDRANATH TAGORE

"BREEZY APRIL, VAGRANT APRIL"

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Breezy April, Vagrant April,
Rock me in your swing of music !
Thrill my branches with enchantment
Of your touch of sweet surprises.
In my idle dream by wayside
You come startling me from slumber,
Wilful in your mood fantastic
Tease me with inconstant courting.

Breezy April, Vagrant April,
I live with my lonesome shadows.
I know all your fitful fancies
Language of your flitting footsteps.
All my secrets burst in blossoms
At your passing breath of whisper,
And my new leaves break in tumult
Of surrender of their kisses.

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PACIFIST POLICY IN THE FAR EAST AND INDIA'S FREEDOM

By WILFRED WELLOCK (ex-M.P.)

THE issue of total disarmament is at last coming into the domain of practical politics.

Owing to its revolutionary character, however, there is little likelihood that this policy will be adopted by general agreement among the big Powers. In all probability its general adoption will depend upon one Power first applying it. To do this it will have to take its courage in both hands.

Opinion in Britain is strengthening in favour of the adoption of unilateral disarmament—by Great Britain, that is. During the last year or two the Churches especially have more and more veered round to this view.

Those of us who support this line of action are being asked to state our case in relation to the existing world situation. Hence the present article on the situation in the Far East, with special reference to unilateral disarmament and Japanese Imperialism.

In presenting a case for a pacifist policy in the Far East, I should not be warranted in assuming that were a British Labour Government, say, wholly to disarm, other Governments would immediately follow her example, although it is quite possible that the U. S. A. might.

Psychological Effects of Disarmament

What most people entirely overlook when discussing pacifist policy is its psychological effect, not so much directly upon Governments, as indirectly, through a change in public opinion. In disarming herself voluntarily, Great Britain would perform one of the most courageous deeds recorded in history, and this would not be a gesture to Governments merely, but to world democracy, whose acclaiming response would be instantaneous. There is every reason to believe that the direct result would be strong revolt and growing against the old order of things, and ere long changes which would amount to a social revolution. Britain's prestige and influence would be greatly increased both in a general way and in all international assemblies.

For more is involved in total unilateral disarmament than meets the eye, especially if the Power which disarmed controlled an Empire. Were Britain to disarm, she would prepare for that step by the issuing of a Declaration explanatory of her intentions. These would include the freeing of the Empire from military control, therefore the giving of freedom to India, for instance, and the institution of a sound democratic policy in Africa; a promise to place all international disputes not settled by agreement before the appropriate International Tribunal; and proposals for the constructive use of the £110,000,000 now being spent annually on militarism.

Such a policy would strike the imagination of the world, and point the way to an era of sanity and progress which the heart of mankind would endorse.

The new psychological situation thus created would constitute a powerful bulwark against Imperialism, and make it very difficult for any Government to support an Imperialist policy, not to speak of setting out to create an Empire.

Imperialism no longer Pays

Moreover, Great Britain would now be in a strong position to tell Japan that Imperialism does not pay; that whatever may have been the value of an Empire in the past, its cost today is far greater than its worth. Imperialism is the greatest stumbling-block in the way of disarmament, and its upkeep is costing this country annually more than the annual value of all British investments, public and private, in the Empire. Furthermore, such preferences as those arranged at the Ottawa Conference, given to the Empire at

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the expense of the British farmer and the British taxpayer, in many cases, were given primarily to assist the Empire to keep up its annual interest payments to the British investor. Indeed, when these concessions jeopardize other investments, such as those in the Argentine, modifications have to be made. Then, to crown all, when the national consciousness of a ruled people awakens and the demand for self-rule asserts itself, Imperialism can be very costly indeed, as we are discovering in India today.

The U. S. A. is making the same discovery in regard to her financial Empire in the S. American Republics, in consequence of which President Roosevelt has renounced the policy of collecting interest dues by means of gunboats and declared in favour of discussion and co-operation.

Is it beyond belief that Japan can be made to see these things? There is good reason to believe that Japan will very soon learn this lesson in Manchuria, as already that venture is proving extremely costly, while the fruits of conquest are slipping from her fingers. The Chinese, moreover, are a patient and intractable people, and have methods all their own of defeating the conquests of usurpers and bullies. It is more than likely that Japan will very soon discover that in these days of enlightenment and awakening conquest and Imperialism do not pay.

Japan's Perilous Ambitions

At the moment Japan is credited with entertaining Imperialist ambitions in China, Siberia, India, Singapore and Hong Kong, in Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific. A pretty tall order. A century's hard work, if things went well. But a good deal is likely to happen both outside and inside Japan before she proceeds very far on her path of conquest. Let us face the realities of this situation.

It is generally agreed that Japan's first objective will be the conquest of part or the whole of China, and that afterwards she will make a bid for the conquest of Siberia. The attack upon India would come later. But if a subjugated India has been able to hold up Imperial Britain by means of pacifism, a free India would know how to deal with Japan should the latter attempt to conquer the country. Regarding the conquest of Siberia, if Japan does not feel equal to that task now, it is difficult to see how she hopes to be equal to it after she has been decimated and rendered bankrupt by her conquest of China. It is well known that even now Russia has 700 aeroplanes within easy striking distance of Japan; that she is constructing a large number of roads on her South Siberian frontier; that she is pushing on with the completion of the double railway line through Siberia, and that she is encouraging emigration to Eastern Siberia and developing industry there on a large scale. Soviet Russia is more than a match for Japan now and the disparity will increase in Russia's favour as the years pass. As for Japan being assisted by a simultaneous attack from the West by Hitler as is frequently being suggested these days, the latter is not likely to play so completely into the hands of the Communists. Were Hitler to attack Russia, before many weeks were passed revolution would be rife in Germany, which might very easily be the prelude to a European and indeed a world revolution. Hitler will think twice before making such a gift to Communism. Thus the invasion of China by Japan would be attended by tremendous risks which a disarmed Britain would point out to Japan.

How a Pacifist Policy would Operate

The question which now emerges, therefore, is what effect a totally disarmed Britain would have upon the proposed Japanese invasion of China. The conduct of Sir John Simon during the last two-and-half years is a proof that no Conservative British Government is likely to give serious opposition to such an invasion. Now while a Labour Government would definitely side with China and oppose Japan were the latter to invade the former, it is highly improbable that a Labour Government, even were it to retain its arms, would support China to the extent of going to war. And Japan would probably feel safe in counting on that fact. But I contend that a bloc of Powers which were ready to pledge their military forces to aid China could defend China equally well by other means. That

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bloc would include Britain, U. S. A., Russia and France—the four strongest Powers in the world—financially and economically. That bloc along with other Powers that would come in with them, would be able to place an embargo upon Japan which would be deadly. This embargo would be on finance, armaments and on certain specified materials used in the manufacture of armaments. If need be, they might even make a world appeal for the voluntary boycott of Japanese goods. That would be tremendously effective, for the U. S. A. is Japan's best customer, and Japan knows very well that the easily accessible market of America consists of a population three or four times that of her own, whose standard of living and purchasing power exceeds that of any other country. Japan, faced with the united opposition above described, would think twice before jeopardizing a definite and very lucrative market for a nebulous one which depended upon an exorbitantly costly war.

Then, as Manchuria is teaching Japan, the cost of conquering China or some part of it would not be nearly so great as the cost of holding it afterwards. And China has an uncanny capacity for absorbing her conquerors, and she could absorb many Japans. Moreover, Japan may learn to her cost that the proposal to invade Siberia might provoke an attack upon herself by Soviet Russia should Japan invade China. Since a number of Fascist States have been set up in Europe, in all of which the fear of counter-revolution is rampant, the Western border of Soviet Russia is safer from attack than it has ever been. In such circumstance, Russia might feel justified in taking time by the forelock and either attack Japan or go to the assistance of those Chinese Provinces which have set up a Soviet system of Government, should they be attacked with Japanese assistance.

But as already indicated, a powerful deterrent to a Japanese invasion of China would be the example of Britain in granting freedom to India and substituting voluntary co-operation for domination.

Let us Understand Japan

But the strongest argument of all in favour of a pacifist policy (starting with a disarmed Britain) in the Far East is that it would be accompanied by measures which could allay Japan's fears and avoid most of the catastrophies above discussed. Our first duty is to try to understand Japan's position. Japan fears the future, the possibility of being overwhelmed by mightier Powers than herself in the Far East—Soviet Russia on one side and an awakened, industrialized and united China on another; the British Empire holding sway in the South and the United States in and across the Pacific. She needs some assurance. The voluntary disarmament of Britain would give her that assurance in great measure, while the declaration which would attend it regarding India, Australia, etc., would set her thinking and cause her to see the possibility of the dawn of a new era in international relations.

Sooner or later the emigration question, *e.g.*, will have to be raised in regard to Australia. The holding of Australia for high grade European citizens is a policy which cannot be defended. While the East is overcrowded there can be no excuse for allowing a vast continent like Australia to be at the disposal of a handful of people. Australia lies midway between the East and the West, and might fittingly be the meeting-place where East and West unite in the fullest sense of the term. On the other hand, Australia's fear that her standard of living might be jeoparodized by this proposal is a real one. But it could be met. There are plenty of people in Japan, India and China who are accustomed to a high standard of living and would fight to prevent it being lowered. Hence a solution would appear to be possible in a policy of selective emigration—a policy to which the Governments concerned would readily agree. Also, were the U. S. A. to disarm, that step would probably be followed by the restoration of the immigration quotas to Japan and China, as is being proposed by the advocates of disarmament in the U. S. A.

In my opinion action along these lines would revolutionize world thinking in regard to international affairs. Incidentally it would increase the prestige of Great Britain and make her counsels on all international bodies all powerful, while the common people of all lands would demand action in their own

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countries on the lines of that taken by this country. Thus it is not unlikely that ere long Great Britain would have gathered around her a strong body of Powers which were ready to follow her example and disarm.

As I see the situation, therefore, a pacifist policy in the Far East, which of course would have to be started by one country alone, (I have assumed that it would be Britain,) is perfectly sound, would be beneficial from every point of view, and be the quickest way of ending militarism and Imperialism and of leading the nations to the methods of reason and co-operation on all issues, including the Economic, the right of all nations to adequate supplies of raw materials, etc.

CHRIST OR THE KAISER OF CHRISTENDOM

By MANILAL C. PAREKH

MORE than a century back, India registered its protest against Christian Missions through the mouth of its greatest son, Raja Rammohun Roy, whom Mr. C. F. Andrews speaks of as the greatest religious genius of modern times, in these words :

> It is true that the apostles of Jesus Christ used to preach the superiority of the Christian religion to the natives of different countries. But we must recollect that they were not of the rulers of those countries where they preached. Were the missionaries likewise to preach the Gospel and distribute books in countries not conquered by the English, such as, Turkey, Persia, etc., which are much nearer England, they would be esteemed a body of man truly zealous in propagating religion and in following the example of the founders of Christianity. In Bengal where the English are the sole rulers, and where the mere name of Englishman is sufficient to frighten people, an encroachment upon the rights of her poor, timid and humble inhabitants and upon their religion cannot be viewed in the eyes of God or the public as a justifiable act. We have been subjected to such insults for about nine centuries and the cause of such degradation has been our excess in civilization and the abstinence from the slaughter even of animals.

Rammohun Roy followed up this protest by issuing three big books which he called "Appeals to the Christian Public," pleading with them not to carry on such mission work as was done by "introducing a religion by means of abuse of and insult to the religions of the people of India, and by affording the hope of worldly gain to its converts." This was not merely an Indian protest but the protest of one who had openly declared himself a follower of Christ.

It is needless to say that this protest was not heeded in the least, and Protestant missions in India carried on their work in the objectionable manner described above. The methods of mission work, however, became still more objectionable and anything but Christian after about half a century from the time that Rammohun Roy voiced his protest. This was immediately after the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857. During this Mutiny a German mission working among the Kols offered (10,000) ten thousand Kol Christians, and an American mission working among the Karens in Burma, offered 3,000 Karen Christians to fight for the East India Company against the mutineers. The Company did not accept this help, mainly from prudential motives, especially as the Mutiny had arisen from a belief on the part of the people that the British were going to convert both the Hindus and the Moslems to the Christian faith. The Mutiny was quelled and these facts, *viz.*, that in India there were millions of people—the Untouchables and the Aboriginal Tribes—whose interests were not in some respects identical with those of the major portion of the nation, and if these could be converted to Christianity, the Government could have a large body of people on whom it could rely for support in times of trouble, came to be known all over England, and from Queen Victoria down to the commonest man an enthusiasm for mission work in India grew as never before. The churches and missions of other countries, such as, America, Germany,

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etc., joined hands with the British missions, and from 1858 onwards we have had in India the now much-boomed Mass Movements. The number of these Mass Movement Christians grew in every part of the country by leaps and bounds, and from that time practically whatever little conversion there was among the upper classes came to an end. This is the genesis of the Mass Movements in India and what has been said here can be verified in Richter's History of Missions in India word for word.

We have in this story an example of Missionary Imperialism at its worst, and this in a country where religion means so much to the people, and where because of that Christianity should have been saved from being the scandal that it became. Christianity in India has been made a wrong use of in a way the like of which it is doubtful if anything in the history of entire Christendom has been known. I well remember a statement that was made to me by a well-known missionary in India who said, "Mr. Parekh, whenever any man comes to us for Baptism, the first question that we ask ourselves is, what does this man want ?" About the same time I was told by a young Salvationist : "The moment a man is baptized he is materialized." The situation is only a little better in China from where we have the words "Rice Christians." It is perhaps as bad in Korea. While I was coming to this country (America) first time *via* China and Japan, I met an Anglican Bishop working in Korea, who told me words such as these in regard to mission work there: "It is all bribery and I feel that even I am bought up : I am, however, prepared to work with my own hands."

In these countries and others we are face to face with Missionary Imperiailsm, which is a compound of five kinds of imperialism, *viz.*, religious, racial. cultural, political and economic, and Jesus Christ has been made into what may be called the Kaiser of Christendom, a figure as different from the meek and crucified Jesus as could be. This is the great tragedy of Christian missions in the Orient, and in it lies a real menace to the civilizations and cultures of these oriental countries. On the so-called uniqueness of Christ has been built up an edifice which is the very negation of the Christianity of Christ. Intelligent and honest missionaries are fully aware of these facts, and although they among themselves discuss these matters frankly and fully, they are afraid to do so before their home constituencies for various reasons. They dare not face the fact of failure of their life work and of the cause they have sponsored. Once in a while a man like Mr. C. F. Andrews has the supreme courage to break himself loose from this godless system and his very loyalty to Christ is doubted by his erstwhile co-workers for almost all his life. Indeed, things are so bad that a very eminent Anglican missionary, the head of one of the finest Christian missions, told me : "Real mission work has not even begun. What we have done so far is only philanthropy." I had to correct him by saying that the so-called mission work was or could be called philanthropy only when it was at its best ; on lower strata it could not be called even that. This was a correction which he gladly accepted.

The results of work done on these lines have been such that the Missions have now stuck in the mire of their own creation or Karma. The so-called National Churches are neither national nor churches. This is especially true of India. The church there is a socio-economic community the outlook of which is largely secular and materialistic. It is entirely parasitic to its Western patrons and what is worse is pharisaic in its relation to the people of other faiths. This attitude has been generated in it by the constant dinning into its ears of the indictment of faiths other than the Christian. The moral results of all this pharisaism have been disastrous. A very eminent English Bishop just before his retirement from India said to me : "Things are so awful that nothing that you can tell me would surprise me." One can find the same from the Regional and Fact Finders' Reports issued by the Laymen's Commission.

This is not the worst of it. The so-called National Church in India is now filled with a desire to swell its numbers. Backed up by the Missionary system of the Western World, it has generated enough momentum for this at least. Islam divided the Hindu society into two communities by its proselytizing work done during the last eight or nine centuries,

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so much so that the Hindu-Moslem problem has now become a permanent problem giving the deepest anxiety to all lovers of India and of God among both the Hindus and the Moslems. To this problem Christianity is now adding another by dividing the Hindu society further (it has been able to make no impression upon the Moslems in India). In 1928, when Dr. Mott was in India, after a long talk with me about the way I came to know Christ and profess myself as a disciple by baptism, he asked me as to what it was that weighed upon my mind the most, I replied to him that it was the creation of this new community in the name of Christ and Christianity, a community which would add to the evils of communalism already rampant in India, and which would, moreover, be a stumbling block in the path of people who wanted in earnest to acknowledge Christ as their Master. The creation of the so-called National Church, which really is a community with a special non-Hindu legal and social status and with almost an anti-Hindu cultural and religious bias, is a powerful disintegrating factor in the life of India, and, what is worse, it is a huge bar in the program of the Kingdom of Christ inasmuch as it makes that Kingdom coincide with this socio-economic community.

Four years ago, when I came to this country (America) first, I tried to tell some of these things to the American Christian public and what I said was deeply resented. Indeed, one man in California, who had been once a missionary in China, went so far as to say that, if I said these things, he would see that I had no opening for speaking to the public. I then told him that there were many things in regard to the missionary problem which I had not told the people of India and which I wanted to tell the people here in order that the situation might be remedied, and he climbed down. None the less, the people of this country, especially the Christians here, were not prepared to listen to the truth about the Missions.

Since then a great change has come for the better, thanks be to the Laymen's Report, and one cannot be too thankful to God for this. The churches and the Mission Boards have been at least a little more humble and they have been rudely shaken in their dogmatic and imperialistic assurance that what they have been doing so far is the best that could be done. The Report, however, steered in the middle path. It could have been as orthodox in its belief as any group in this or any other country and yet its criticism of Missions would be valid. In this, however, it took the middle path, and surely in this it is truly representative of the best Christian mind in America and Europe. But the Report could have gone much further in its criticism of Missions. It has been largely silent in regard to the worst aspect of Missions *viz.*, their Imperialism. Dr. Fisher was the only one who pointed one to this shortcoming in it. Mr. C. F. Andrews has mentioned this matter in an article of his in one of the issues of *The International Review of Missions* of 1933, though he does not speak of the Report making this omission there.

This Report, however, has rendered the greatest possible service, not to the cause of Missions—the sooner we forget this term with all its unfortunate but almost inherent connotation of religious, cultural and racial superiority the better—but to the Kingdom of Christ, which after all is the thing that matters. It has been charged, falsely though, with syncretism, but even if there be any such element in it, it is far better than this Missionary Imperialism which has confounded in the past the Kingdom of Christ with Western culture and civilization together with various Colonial Imperialisms, and which would still persist in confounding the same with the various churches and Christianity. As both a Hindu of Hindus and a disciple of Christ, let me appeal to the Christians of America and Europe no more to confound the spiritual Kingdom of Christ Jesus with the secularized, materialized and carnal Christianity which the Churches and Missions represent both in the East and West. It is against all the principles and above all the spirit of Jesus Christ, and the time has long since gone, if it ever was, to divide the human race into Christian and non-Christian by the mere fact of baptism, which has been misapplied to such un-Christian and even anti-Christian ends both in the past and in the present. This confusion of thought induced by the lurking missionary imperialism lies behind the book, *The Christian Message in the*

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World Today, which has been recently published.

Jesus Christ is a far greater reality on the Indian Road and among non-Christians in India and perhaps in other non-Christian lands, such as, China, Japan. etc., than in so-called Christian lands. Even the churches in these latter lands require as much to be converted as the "heathens" of Asia and Africa, and if Jesus Christ came today he would convict them of the sin of self-righteous pharisaism, the greatness of which is in proportion to what Christendom is to Jewry of His day.

What has been written here is a plea from a Hindu disciple of Christ for a return to Christ from the Kaiser of Christendom, and for ending this Missionary Imperialism, which is a compound of five types of Imperialism, in order to make room for a real and vital Christo-centric (not Christian) international, inter-racial and inter-religious unity of the world.

WORLD FELLOWSHIP OF FAITHS

By IDA M. GURWELL

IV. Exit Orthodoxy

It may be truthfully said that at many intervals during the sessions of the World Fellowship of Faiths, Orthodoxy gracefully made its exit in favour of many waiting active groups, religiously speaking, not known as Orthodox.

Lest we forget, we shall repeat again the purpose of the World Fellowship of Faiths ; "To unite the inspiration of all faiths upon the solution of man's present problems."

Bishop Francis J. McConnell, National Chairman, in an article in the *Literary Digest*, in comparing the Parliament of Religions forty years ago and the World Fellowship of Faiths says there are two vital differences :

> The first difference is that, instead of a comparative parade of rival religions, all faiths will be challenged to manifest or apply their religion by helping to solve the urgent problems which impede man's progress.
>
> The second difference is that the word 'faiths' is understood to include, not only religions, but all types of spiritual consciousness of conviction which are determining the actual lives of significant groups of people.
>
> Educational, philanthropic, social, economic, national and political 'faiths' will thus be included.

Under the second difference, we extend the horizon and bring into the Conference the educational, philanthropic, social and economic groups. They are present. Needed too. Who more than they know what is going on in the world ? Who in a position to have a truer reflection of life ? These groups are working daily with the conditions as they are, and not as some Idealist wishes them to be.

Such groups for want of a better name, might be called practi-religious. Their activities are important not only to the soul of man, but, his material well-being. These groups are the active end of religious thought. Our wide-visioned leaders know this. They welcome them.

Idealism is not so popular in the world today. Everywhere there are real problems to be solved if civilization is to endure. Perhaps these "unprofessionally" religious groups can show us a way. They do present many practical, adjustable ideas, and let us honestly say they seem to be working unselfishly for the greatest good for the most people.

Jane Addams, Honorary President of the World Fellowship of Faiths, said in her opening address :

> I am sure the soul of this complex age of ours must be discovered through the bringing together of many people from various parts of the earth.

We have carried out a part at least of Jane Addams' plan, namely, "brought together many people from various parts of the earth."

Such questions as the following were discussed :

> Proverty admidst plenty—How to cure it ?
> Men and machines—Which shall be master ?

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Non-violence—A key to world Peace ?
Racial and Religious persecution—How prevent it ?
How Faiths, in fellowship, may save civilization ?
Youth and the future.
How realize World Unity ?
Russia's Soviet Faith.
Public Ownership.
Motion Pictures.

There were many other questions equally important, but we give these that you may see the variety of interests considered throughout these sessions. Specialists in their particular field introduced each question. There can be no doubt as to the authenticity of information. Speakers taught us to respect statistics. They did not disguise facts. They spoke of tottering civilization and gave possible reasons, which those conversant with current problems must realize are truths.

Attending these meetings classified properly as un-orthodox, came groups widely known for their influence in shaping many thinking minds of the world. Each was given an opportunity to tell of his plan for World betterment. Leaders of Theosophy, Spiritualism, Unity, and Bahai, and many "cults" and "isms" not so well known were present, all responding in the earnestness of his accepted Faith. Large audiences assembled to hear these leaders, for many thousands of people in America and elsewhere are followers of these plans for living.

Theosophy was well represented. Mme. Rukmini Arundale gave an excellent talk on India. Her subject, "India, her past Contribution and Present Potential Power for World Progress". Rt. Rev. George S. Arundale, who is also a Bishop of the Liberal Catholic Church, gave an address on—"Theosophy, its Light on Living Today". This was a thrilling message. Attending almost every session was a representative of the *National Spiritualist* published in Chicago by The National Spiritualist Association. Sir Oliver Lodge's message was given in an earlier article. *Unity* was represented by the Founder who gave a most excellent and understandable talk.

The Bahai Movement, which originated in Persia, was represented by Rev. Albert R. Vail, Ph. D., who is Editor of the Bahai magazine, *Star of the West*. He talked on "The Bahai Program for World Re-construction." Chicago has been selected for the centre of Bahai activites in this country, and a beautiful temple, significant in traditions and symbolism, is being completed.

Motion Pictures were covered by Dr. Worth M. Tippy, New York. He gave definite instances where sermons, powerful ones, had been preached through Motion Pictures. In the United States, more than 60,000,000 people see pictures every week.

Mrs. Margaret Sanger talked on, "Women of the Future."

Dr. Carl D. Thompson, LL.D., Secretary of Public Ownership League of America, gave an enlightening talk on "Public Ownership the Way Out." He gave names of municipalities operating under this plan, that were free from debt.

Dr. James Yard, formerly of Northwestern University, Chicago, talked on "Youth of the Future." He spoke in glowing terms of the intelligent way in which the Youth of the world are facing the problems that have come to them through the disruption of the present social order.

Dr. Manly Hall, Los Angeles, Calif., whom many of us in America have acquired the habit of always hearing in his lectures, spoke on "How Man may Master Fear." He is a forceful and dynamic speaker and he talked to one of the largest audiences of the entire Parliament.

Mrs. Charles Church Terrel, Washington, a graduate of Oberlin College in Ohio, the first College in the United States to open its doors to coloured and white alike, told of her struggles and those of her coloured sisters in trying to overcome race prejudice. Others of her race talked on this question too, which is a problem in America, gradually being overcome.

Miss Muriel Lester, Social Worker, London, in whose home Mahatma Gandhi lived for three months during Indian Round Table Conference, gave several talks from her experience in Social Work and touched upon the fine qualities of India's well-known man and brought comprehensive plans for the betterment of the world's conditions.

There were 247 speakers on the programmes of the World Fellowship of Faiths. It is impossible even to mention the many splendid talks given.

In seeing the splendid co-operative work

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of all these groups we might ask the question, ess what is religion? Are not all groups nd all men religious in the fullest meaning f the word?

In speaking of Religion, Hon. H. A. allace, U. S. Secretary of Agriculture, in s address on "Machinery, Economics and eligion" says:

"By religion I mean that instinctive, fundamenal, underlying attitude which everyone has to the World outside of himself and especially toward the ess tangible, more enduring, spiritual force." The religion I am talking about has nothing to do with creeds or churches."

V. Hostess Chicago

Everywhere in this vast city is seen people m all parts of the world. Not only has e World Fellowship of Faiths brought to the great religious leaders, but the world's has centred the interests of the educaal, economic, industrial and scientific world Chicago.

In the official welcome extended by Mayor to this Conference he said,

Perhaps no convention ever held in Chicago as represented such a cross-section of the whole orld. From all the corners of the earth you ome, free of prejudice, abundant in love for your ellow-men, and earnest in your desire to add the friendliness of your own particular faith to a common objective." "Out of this great convention must come plans which, if they are carried out, will exert a vital influence upon the whole world.

At the Morrison Hotel where the headquarters for this Conference was located, e registered many great names. Some a few days only; others for the duration the Convention. On the platform the ening night were many leaders who contrihed greatly to the success of the Convention. y were as follows:

Bishop Nakayama, Patriarch of the Tenrikyo Church (Shinto), Japan. (Translated by Prof. K. Kishimoto.)

Vidya-Vibhushana Pandit Dr. Shyama Shankar of India and Geneva, representing Hinduism.

Dr. Shwen-Ching, of China, for Confucianism.

Dr. Bhagat Singh Thind, of India, for the Sikh Religion.

Dr. Maneck Anglesaria, M. A., PH. D., of Bombay, India representing Zoroastrianism.

Bishop Kenju Masuyama, Buddhist, from Japan. (Translated by Rev. Terakawa).

Mr. Champat Rai Jain, of India, for the Jain Religion.

Pandit Ayodhya Prosad, B.A., of India representing the Arya Samaj of Bombay.

Syed Mutiur Rahman Bengalee, of India, for Islam, read a Cabled message from His Holiness Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, Khalifa-tul-Masih II, Head of the Ahmadiyya Movement in Islam, Qadian, India.

Dr. K. V. Mulbagala, of India, representing His Holiness Jagadguru Shri Shankaracharya, Head of the Hindu Seat (ranking as an independent State) established 1,100 years ago.

Rabbi Abraham Nowak, of the Temple on the Heights, Cleveland, Ohio [JUDAISM], Rabbi Jacob Singer, of Temple Mizpah, Chicago, responded for Judaism.

The Rev. William Franklin Slade, D. D., of the South Congregational Church, Chicago, spoke for Christianity.

Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, of Washington, D. C., called to represent Christian Coloured Women.

Rt. Rev. Callistos, Bishop of San Francisco, of the Greek Orthodox Church.

Duke Kwesi Kuntu, of the Gold Coast, West Africa, representing the Ashanti religion, was introduced to audience.

Rajah Jai Prithvi Bahadur Singh, a Prince of Nepal, closed the programme on the opening evening with a greeting to All Religions after a Peace Song, written by Rajah Singh, was sung by Emery Darcy.

Most of the above-named were guests from the Orient. We have said little concerning the leaders from Europe who were guests in Chicago. Still less has been said about those who attended as delegates from America. It would be unfair not to name a few of them, as they are Inter-nationally known, and contributed some of the finest thoughts of the Western world.

To us from Europe came representatives fully aware of the problems within their own borders as well as having a knowledge of the affairs of the world. Two of these delegates were outstanding. Their talks as well as their attitude of helpfulness and understanding won for them a place in our hearts.

Prof. Herbert von Beckereth of Bonn, Germany, delegated by the America Institute and the Authorities of Germany, gave an address that showed detailed study. His talk, "The Moral Basis of the Economic Order," reflected unbiased truths.

Dr. Herman Neander, Rector of Estuna, Sweden, was broad and sympathetic in his views. Nearing the completion of a three-year tour of the world, in which he made a study of the Religions of the different countries, he was able to give us much first-hand information. His angle on Russia seemed unprejudiced. His fairness to all nations was appreciated by his audience. He believes

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thoroughly in the great helpfulness that must come to mankind through freedom of thought. It would seem that his talks were built of the proper amount of spiritual and the correctly measured amount of material that made them well-balanced. Through them he added the strength of conviction without inciting the sometimes accompanying argument. Dr. Neander talked many times while a guest in Chicago, but it seemed his discourse, "The Necessity of Co-operation among Religions," brought forcibly to his listeners the purpose of the World Fellowship of Faiths.

So many dalegates from America were present that it is possible to mention a few only. We listened to John Dewey, of of Columbia University, who is known as one of America's greatest Educators ; Bishop Montgomery Brown, D. D. of Galion, Ohio, who spoke to large audiences on his chosen subjects, first, "A Faith for a New World," second, "The New Faith from the view-point of Science." From the Mormon Church in Salt Lake City, came Hon. Brigham H. Roberts, who gave a most interesting talk on, "The Standard of Peace". Dean Roscoe Pound of Harvard University, "Faith in Civilization" and Dr. Preston Bradley, Chicago, "Ideals for a new world Order".

From the Jewish Faith, Judaism, came many delegates. In additlon to Rabbi Nowak whose response on the opening night proved his breadth of vision as well as sincerity of purpose ; Rabi Abba Hillel Silver, Rabbi Felix Levy, Rabbi Samuel Goldensen, all nationally known, came with others to join the Conference. They spoke eloquently on subjects of great interest to Jew and Gentile alike, and it may be said of these learned men that they spoke with an earnestness and sureness that comes only from deep convictions.

Because we feel poetry is related to religion, we must not omit our guest, Dr. Percy Mackaye. From his inspiring talk, "The Faith of Poetry", we quote here,

> "The founders of all World Faiths that have swayed Humanity—Jesus, Buddha, Confucius, Moses, Homer, Aknanton,—the seers of all philosophies, mythologies, religions—have been the supreme poets of their varied faiths." "Christian and pagan, Gentile and Jew, underlying and supporting all their creeds is the faith of poetry. The creative law of imagination."

A glowing purposeful group !
With my heart and my head,
I salute the Soul in you.

You taught us the Hindu Saluate. When we analyse it we find it means all ! We are practical in the Western World and direct. How better can we welcome you ? When one man recognizes the soul in another, then we have gone far toward Universal Brotherhood.

VI. To All Intent

To all intent, the second Parliament of Religions has been the Spiritual success of the age. Many facts have been brought to us, the principal one being, that TRUTH is vari-hued and can be broken up and viewed as colours of the spectrum ; like a well-cut gem it scintillates prismatic rays from each facet. It is a many-sided thing of fire and beauty. The great truth that *God is* reaches the consciousness of man through various channels.

There were no world problems solved at this Conference. How could there be ? The purpose of this body is, "To unite the inspiration of all faiths upon the solution of man's present problems." These meetings have brought about the "united inspiration", now it remains for the mind of the world to acknowledge this unity as one of the greatest steps yet taken toward helpfulness to all mankind. Remember this is a Religious union ! What could be more important to the world ? We have learned that religion shapes thoughts ; thoughts become words and deeds, and if the world deals with the concrete then in time it will accept what has been done here.

The Great Soul Lincoln in his Gettysburg speech, a speech that has been preserved in England as an example of pure English, and in America as an example of pure Spiritualism as well, said, "The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here." The bigness of the Parliament of Religions justifies the use of the quotation.

Before leaving the Conference, we shall quote Manly Hall, well-known Publisher and Lecturer. He has never been known to

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great truths, and his address on, "True Fellowship of Faiths" evaluates World religions as the practical worker finds them. He said,

"For thousands of years the function of Theology has been to divide and confuse." "There can be no Christianity while five hundred Christian sects compete with each other in creedal barriers." "There can be no Fellowship of Faiths while several great religions of the world ignore the unity of their spiritual aspirations and emphasize their sectarian differences." "We fail utterly to be religious because we fail to realize Zeus and Brahma, Jehovah, Allah, and God are not different divinities, but the same Divine Essence interpreted through the language mediums of these different races."

He further said,

"Co-operation toward a common purpose is the most acceptable sentiment which modern religion can preach to a troubled world."

It has been said in speaking of the East and West, "Never the twain shall meet". It would seem they have met in the World Fellowship of Faiths, in mutual sympathy and understanding. The meeting has been brought about through the needs of a troubled world. Here all have learned to say meaningly, not *My* Lord, *Your* God, but *Our* Father, thus knowing brotherhood; and not *My* East, *Your* West, but *Our* World, thereby acknowledging Universal Togetherness.

On this the closing day, the lobby of the Morrison Hotel is still crowded with delegates from many lands. Emerson said, "The Old Religions have a charm for most minds which it is a little uncanny to disturb." Whether because of this charm, or through actual interest manifested, the Representatives of many Faiths have remained.

Great minds agree that when the problems of the world are solved, it will be done with religious thought back of it. What matters whether by the studied circuitous route of the East, or the youthful directness of the West? The very best in religious thought from both East and West must be used if the devastating, undermining influence of selfishness and greed is to be overcome.

Maharaja Gaekwar of India gave the opening address. A long list of other men from the Orient held an important place throughout the Conference.

In conclusion came the benediction, used so many times during the World Fellowship of Faiths. It was repeated in unsion. All earnestness went into it.

From unreality lead us to truth,
From darkness lead us to light,
From death lead us to immortality.

The beauty of this benediction falls like a rich mantle upon the activities of the Parliament of Religions. In the benediction, there is something of the quiet of the brood at evening when the sunset purples into night; Something of the Peace and Wisdom of the Himalayas; and behind all—hidden away in the heart of humanity a universal desire for right living to merit the crown—Immortality.

CONFESSION

By CHARLES C. MARSHALL

(After hearing Rabindranath Tagore at Carnegie Hall, New York, November 21, 1916.)

"Out of the Orient Light!" It shines again,
O Sage of India, from thy message wise
Athwart our Western World, unto our eyes
Starkly disclosing all our age-long sin,
Our lust for empire and our greed for gain,
The temple vowed to God and given to Baal,
And all the twice one thousand years' betrayal,
The red world-welter on the Danube's plain,
The iron rule that came with Christ's own bread
To India, and all the vast machinery
We sent to break the Orient's revery—
From West to East the Gospel we have spread.
And now the judgment! We have not sufficed.
We wrought for Cæsar while we spoke for Christ.

19—3 New York. November 29, 1916

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CAUSATION OF GEOLOGICAL DISTURBANCES AND CLIMATIC CHANGES

By D. C. NAG

I. Geological History

THE periodic recurrence and worldwide extension of mountain-making and volcanic activities, the great continental floodings and the Ice Ages are the most remarkable geological events. There have been about a score of epoch-making geological cycles and as many marine transgressions since earliest known geological age. The upliftings of the Himalayas, Alps, and Rocky Mountains, during Tertiary Age, were thus more or less simultaneous; many other instances of contemporaneous world-wide volcanic activities and geological disturbances may be cited from definitely established geological history. There is definite evidence that at certain times glacial condition and at certain other times warm climate extended from Pole to Pole.

II. Evidence

Geological history is built on evidence found in the rocks of different ages, in fossils, stratigraphy, glacial boulder-beds, etc. The *true* density and chemical constitution of igneous rocks also throw considerable light on their condition of formation, particularly the relative temperature and pressure at which the rocks were formed—density varying directly as the pressure and inversely as the temperature. Accordingly, examination of density and chemical constitution of the basic substrata (consisting of diorites, gabbros, etc) shows that the rocks are products of crystallization from the parent basaltic magma at about 1200°C and 200,000 atmospheric pressure. This condition of temperature and pressure just below the crust is essential for the maintenance of dynamic equilibrium and the presumed viscous state of the subcrustal magma which may be defined as rocks in a state of incipient fusion.

There is therefore good reason to infer that an enormous subcrustal magmatic pressure constantly tends to uplift and burst the crust. The crust at the present time must be sufficiently rigid and strong to withstand the internal pressure and prevent world-wide violent explosion. This view throws new light on the outstanding problems about the causation of periodic world-wide geological disturbances (*Khando-Pralaya*) and climatic changes for which, at present, there are hardly any satisfactory explanations.

Seismology shows that the crust is rigid and solid to a depth of about 25 miles, where there is a marked *Discontinuity*. The average temperature gradient (50°C rise per mile of depth) according to which the subcrustal rocks should fuse at about 25 miles' depth, strongly supports this view. The solid crust consists of about 2 miles of sedimentary (porosity about 30 per cent), 7·5 miles of granitic (porosity about 0·4 per cent) and 15·5 miles of basaltic (porosity 0.2 per cent) rocks. Fissures and cavities are most likely confined to the upper zone (say, 8 miles) below which the weakness in the solid crust may be expected to exist in the form of local strains in molecular aggregation. The subcrustal magma under high pressure at times suddenly intrude through the local places of weakness in the substratum and produce commotion or earthquake tremor in the upper zone.

For a solid crust of about 25 miles' thickness and 2·8 as density, the gravitational pressure on the magma below could utmost be 1100 atmospheric pressure and that only if the continents were isolated floating bodies. If the crust were rigid, as it apparently is, the gravitational pressure on the magma should be practically nil—the crust should retain its shape even if it were hollow inside.

III. Explanation

There is evidently an enormous magmatic pressure, which at normal times like the present appear to be about 200,000 atmospheric pressure and this can by no means be due to gravity. There must be some other cause. The high pressure is apparently developed by steady increase of volume of the fluid materials in the interior caused by ceaseless atomic disintegration which is more active where the heavy and possibly the more radioactive elements predominate.

According to modern physical theory all elementary atoms are liable to atomic disintegration by which heavier elements are as a rule transmuted into lighter ones with increase of volume of the products and liberation of considerable amount of latent heat. The heavier atoms which have high atomic number and more complex structure disintegrate more readily than the lighter and simpler ones—those which have atomic number above 80 are highly radioactive. The disintegration is ceaseless and should be more active in the interior of the earth where the heavy elements predominate, particularly in the core the density of which is between

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and 12. Enormous heat and pressure thus developed in the core of the earth where the temperature possibly exceeds 100,000°C and the pressure (according to Daly) ranges between one and 3·4 millions atmospheric pressure. The solid crust as an insulator resists the outward flow of heat and pressure which slowly and steadily accumulate below the crust. Eventually, at intervals of tens of millions of years, the subcrustal pressure gradually attaining maximum intensity, ruptures the crust, pours out lava flows, uplifts mountain ranges, raises oceanic floors causing continental floodings, and lets out the subcrustal store of heat which with the help of oceanic water, atmospheric agencies and solar-heat primarily governs the climatic condition and the evolution of this planet. This conclusion is strongly supported by its consistency with many important geological and pæleometeorological observations of eminent authorities. It accounts for geological cycles, Ice Ages and Interglacial warm periods.

IV. Climate

Schuchert in his *Climates of Geologic Times* (4) observed some close relationship between geological disturbances and climatic changes. The broad climatic changes of geologic times are apparently the after-effects of worldwide sub-aeriel and sub-marine mountain-making and volcanic activities. How the two different conditions of geological disturbances produce opposite effects on climate appear to be simple enough. Under the sub-aeriel condition the internal heat poured out with lava flows is quickly lost by radiation, while under the sub-marine condition the heat is long retained by oceanic water and distributed all over the globe maintaining a prolonged tropical and subtropical climate most favourable for the evolution plant and animal life. Ice Ages appear, as if *suddenly introduced*, during or immediately after the periods of marked mountain-making and volcanic activities and at times when the continents are more or less emergent; while worldwide tropical and subtropical climate, marked by maximum coal and limestone formations, falls in with times of great continental floodings. Continental flooding or marine transgression has been ascribed by some writers to the melting of polar ice; it is more likely to be chiefly due to upheaval of oceanic floors by sub-marine igneous activities which introduce heat into oceanic water and thus melt polar ice. The melting of polar ice may thus be only of secondary importance.

There are definite evidences that shortly after the grand Himalayan upheaval glacial condition prevailed along the foot-hills of the Himalayas at levels considerably below 5000 feet elevation; glacial condition also appeared in Jodhpur State shortly after the outburst of Melani rhyolites in Cadapah (Madras Presidency) after the local volcanic activities during Cambrain Age. Many other instances may be given (see, *Climates of Geologic Times* by Schuchert, 1914).

Hence, it is evident that local climatic condition and climates of geologic times have been primarily governed by the intensity of subcrustal magmatic heat and the way the internal heat is transported to, retained at and dissipated from the surface. Accordingly, at high elevation the rarified atmosphere by facilitating quick radiation produces cold climate; for similar reason the moon, which has thin atmosphere, gets very cold at night by quick radiation.

Solar-heat and atmopheric agencies are evidently chiefly responsible for the seasonal and diurnal variations. They also serve as moderator of extreme climates which invariably appear during and immediately before and after the great geological disturbances; they shorten the duration of Ice Ages which rarely exceed 100,000 years—a very short period according to geological time scale. It is quite evident that solar-heat could not prevent the recurring Ice Ages on earth nor the present frigid condition of the moon. Variation of solar-heat cannot account for the Ice Ages nor there is any other satisfactory explanation for repeated worldwide refrigeration. (See *Ice Ages Recent and Ancient* by Coleman, 1926.)

The short Inter-glacial warm periods in Ice Ages, which have been found so very difficult to account for by any of the existtng theories, are evidently produced by a series of minor later outbursts of heat through fractured zone developed in the crust by the original igneous activities. It may be noted that quicker succession of the minor outbursts of heat may even retard actual glaciation, as in the case of Deccan Trap which it seems was not followed by local glacial condition—the Inter-trappean beds present definite evidence of such intermittent minor outbursts of lava flows, during the late Creteceous Age, over an extensive area in Southern India.

The latitudinal variation of climate is commonly ascribed to the angle of incidence or slanting of solar rays. This seems hardly satisfactory; there must be other important factors. The latitudinal variation should be, to a large extent, due to distribution of subcrustal magmatic heat. The hotter and the more fluid magma should traverse the Equatorial zone being driven there by the stronger centrifugal force generated at the Equatorial region by the diurnal revolution of the earth. The cooler and the more viscous magma should, for the same reason, be in the polar subcrustal region. Accordingly, the Arctic and the Antarctic zones should be naturally cooler, but the extreme glacial condition of the present day is considered abnormal being remnant of the Pleistocene Ice Age which intensely affected the Polar region immediately after local volcanic activities. The extreme volcanicity abundant lava flows and the numerous geysores of Iceland and other evidences are suggestive

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of intense snb-aerial volcanic activities at the fringe of the Arctic Circle, perhaps extending to the North Pole, which evidently originated the polar glacial condition. Further evidences of polar volcanic activities are likely to lie hidden under the thick sheets of ice which are now melting and slowly receding towards the Poles as the Polar climate is tending to become warmer again.

It is noteworthy that the Permian glaciation was chiefly confined to the Equatorial zone and Southern Hemisphere; the Poles were then very much warmer. According to Coleman and other eminent scientists there is definite evidence that at times warm climate extended from Pole to Pole. Unmistakable biological evidence shows that "in early Meocene time the climate was at least warm temperate in Arctic America." The North Pole was very likely habitable immediately before the Pleistocene Ice Age as suggested by Bal Gangadhar Tilak's Aryan Migration Theory.

V. Discussion

Considering the geological and paleo-meteorological evidences some of the principal theories regarding geological disturbances and climatic changes need considerable modification. The suggestions made in this paper are worth careful consideration and critical review.

The old theory of a cooling and shrinking earth and its surface corrugation is no longer acceptable as geological and pœleo-meteorological evidences indicate that no appreciable cooling has taken place since the earliest known geological age, nor there is any evidence of sufficient gradual contraction of the earth during the time (Schuchert). On the other hand, it seems more likely that the earth is increasing in volume; the growing excess of volume in the interior is apparently poured out as lava flows and this is also indicated by the mountain-making phenomena and the uplifting of oceanic beds. The increase of volume should be more consistent with modern physical theory and an *Expanding Universe*.

The commonly accepted view that the uplifting of mountains might be due to lateral or tangential pressure developed by the gravitational potential energy of the crust itself appears untenable as the horizontal component of gravity should be too small to cause the majestic upliftings of the Himalayas, Alps and other high mountain ranges of the globe. Besides, it is unable to explain the evident correlation between geological disturbances and climatic changes, nor can it account for the intense metamorphism, wrinkling and over-thrusting of the apparently too rigid strata of rocks in the upper zone.

The most widely accepted Theory of Isostasy is regarded by many as established fact. The theory is principally founded on the important geodesic observations which show that "density of rocks beneath the mountains is low and beneath the oceans it is high." The continents and high mountains are accordingly more or less isolated floating bodies capable of re-adjustment with loading and unloading at the surface, or it must be presumed that the crust is traversed by a system of deep fissures or visco.us magma-dykes which allow isostatic re-adjustment. Such presumptions are too speculative and highly improbable though they might explain the geodesic observations.

The high magmatic pressure as determined from the density of the deep-seated plutonic rocks and the apparent rigidity of the crust deny the possibility of isostatic re-adjustment at the present time. But a suitable condition for isostatic re-adjustment or even for the drifting of floating continents (Taylor's and Wagner's Theory) possibly arises periodically at times of epoch-making geological disturbances when the sub-marine sub-strata are fused and the overlying granitic and sedimentary layers are rendered more or less plastic by the periodic maximum accumulation of sub-crustal heat; the crust then loses its normal rigidity and the continents possibly behave like isolated floating bodies. Isostatic adjustments, as periodic phenomena, can just as well account for the geodesic observations about the density of rock below mountains and oceans. During this periodic weakened condition of the crust the high sub-crustal magmatic pressure can easily produce the revolutionary geological disturbances and topographical changes and at the same time induce the wholesale metamorphism and the intense folding, over-thrusting and wrinkling in the upper granitic and sedimentary layers; it is then chiefly the rocks acquire the gneissic and schistose structures. As soon as the excess of the sub-crustal heat is released the crust rapidly regains the normal thickness and rigidity by re-crystallization of the partially fused upper layers and the more completely fused basic sub-strata. The alternate fusion and re-consolidation of the rocks, by increase and decrease of volume, would certainly cause extensive crustal movement and minor geological disturbances; many fractures and planes of weakness are then developed in the crust which eventually become sources of fault-slips and earthquakes, and less frequently of igneous intrusions and volcanic activities.

VI. Earthquakes

Earthquakes are geological disturbances of extremely minor importance. Severe earthquakes are comparatively rare. They are ascribed by the majority of geologists to loading and unloading at the surface and isostatic re-adjustment. The present writer is inclined to think that severe eathquakes which often extend over a hundred thousand square miles are as a rule originated by sudden plutonic intrusions through zones of weakness in the sub-stratum at about 25 miles' depth which cause fault-slips and

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originate secondary centres in a series of pre-existing faults at different levels in the upper fractured zone. For minor shocks it is not necessary to presume any underthrust or deep-seated plutonic intrusion; they may be originated even by heavy rainfall and loading and unloading at the surface. Thus 95 per cent of the severe earthquakes are confined to well-known fractured zones and their centres are more often found at about 25 miles' depth. The local variations of barometric pressure and alternations of hot and cold climates immediately before and after severe earthquakes are probably due to local disturbances of temperature gradient in the rocks immediately below the surface caused by fore-shocks and after-shocks; they are thus the after-effects of earthquakes and not the cause as suggested by some.

VII. Radioactivity

Joly has very ably shown the importance of radioactivity in geological history, particularly its thermal aspect. He has ascribed the causation of geological cycles to radiothermal energy of rocks and isostasy. According to him the radiothermal source of heat in the crust can produce local fusion and minor geological disturbances. The effect of increase of volume resulting from radio-active or atomic disintegration is of no less importance; how it causes the periodic worldwide mountain-making and volcanic activities has already been explained.

Besides, it is very probable that atomic or radioactive disintegration in the crust itself, by its tendency to increase the volume, produces more or less strain according to high or low radioactivity in the rocks and thus induces fractures in the upper zone and formation of high pressure minerals, such as garnets (which are abundant in the deep-seated Eclogite Series) in the deeper zone where the rocks are more compact and there is no available space to allow fracturing. The frequent disastrous rock-bursting phenomena in the deep Mysore gold mines appear to be due to local radioactivity but confirmative evidences are needed; the pegmatitic character of the gold quartz is congenial to radioactive concentration.

It has been argued in this paper that there is high radioactive concentration in the core of the earth. This might seem apparently improbable as it is inconsistent with the more or less established fact that the upper granitic layer is more radioactive than the underlying basaltic layer and the magma below. But a more careful considera-tion would show that the concentration of radioactive elements (Uranium, Thorium, etc.) in the outer crust is chiefly of secondary origin, evidently caused by infiltration of gaseous compounds through the crust from below and their deposition at low temperature and suitable condition in the upper zone (*pyrometasomatism*). Accordingly, some of the radioactive gases are found occluded in volcanic glasses and also found dissolved in many hot springs; some even escape into the atmosphere. Many of the heavy metals, by similar process, become highly concentrated and are found as ore-deposits near the surface. The higher concentration of radioactive elements in the outer crust should not, therefore, preclude their far greater cencentration in the core; according to density distribution in the earth the primary store of the heavy elements should be in the core.

VIII. Nature's Organization

Philosophical speculation and scientific study of terrestrial Evolution shows that Nature has worldwide organization and there is a system of uniformity in all her activities. The earth itself and all the inanimate things are apparently struggling, like an ordinary living organism, between destructive and preservative forces. It seems as if the living things are constantly striving for a happier or more peaceful state while the non-living for a more stable condition; they are actuated by similar motive forces. Analogy and uniformity thus lie at the basis of all sciences and scientific speculation.

Geological disturbances periodically threatens the earth with destruction. Various agencies, both physical and chemical, are kept vigorously engaged for the reparing and strengthening of the weakened portions of the crust (its fractured zones, oceanic depressions, etc.) and re-establishing the normal condition after a destructive geological disturbance. Accordingly, materials are being constantly denuded and brought down from high lands, particularly from high mountains where wind and rain maintain maximum denudation, into the oceanic beds which coincide with the weakest parts of the crust and are thus found most liable to frequent subsidence and upheaval; it may be noted that all the high mountain ranges of the globe originated by the uplifting of oceanic basin where sedimentation was thickest

According to natural process, the fractured zones, developed by geological disturbances, are eventually utilized for the pouring out of the internal excess of heat and materials, particularly the refractory silicates, which are essential for the building up and strengthening of the crust. The earth is young yet and its crust, which serves as protective armour, is perhaps still growing thicker and stronger. If the internal heat were not thus let out, it would possibly soon convert the earth into an extremely hot uninhabitable desert; if there were no intermittent outburst of lava flows, the crust would certainly burst with more explosive violence. Thus volcanoes act as safety-valves and the apparently destructive periodic geological disturbances are essential for the preservation of earth and maintenance of an equable mild climate suitable for the evolution of plant and animal life. In the same manner atmospheric and oceanic currents minimize the rigour of local climate by transferring heat from

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place to place; accordingly the deep-sea regions are kept cold by the circulating cold water from the Poles as if for the preservation of deep-sea animals as also for maintaining the rigidity and strength of the more fusible and vulnerable sub-marine sub-strata.

IX. Evolution

The motive forces of all evolutions are inherent in atoms and these are set free with progressive atomic disintegration in which *time* and *space* are important factors. Thus, with the progress of time new materials (refractory silicates, new elements, etc.) are being chemically manufactured by natural process and new forms of life are being gradually evolved, under constant change of environment by the co-operation of protoplasmic matter and new forms of energy set free with progressive atomic disintegration. The mechanism of atomic dintegration is yet very little understood but it is evident that atomic and sub-atomic constitution lies at the bottom of all sciences. Atoms are now considered as bundles of energy congealed. Modern physical science and atomic theory have, during recent years, undergone revolutionary changes. Modern scientists are now more inclined to support the Mechanistic Theory which maintains that life is a "dynamic molecular organization" kept going by physico-chemical reactions. The old Vitalistic Theory has undergone considerable modification and is surviving only as "Lingering Dryads"* or superstition. The secret of life and both physico-chemical and metaphysical properties of the living and non-living appear to lie in the grouping of "ultimate units" which are neither electrons nor protons but are almost infinitely finer units than either of them. It is now an established fact that electronic configuration in molecular structure imparts characteristic physico-chemical properties to molecules.

X. Conclusion

The future geological history and climatic condition are thus likely to be governed by the material constitution of the earth. Density is an important factor; the heavier elements more readily supply the energy which causes geological cycles and maintains the temperature of the earth. The moon has become frigid and uninhabitable as it is considerably lighter than earth and contains lesser proportion of heavy elements. The earth will eventually become frigid and uninhabitable when, perhaps thousands of millions of years hence, its density by the natural process of progressive atomic disintegration will approach the present density of the moon; accidental collision with a heavenly body may in the meantime bring about more drastic revolutionary changes.

The present writer's conception of high sub-crustal magmatic pressure is fundamentally different from the generally accepted view; it is based on important scientific observations. Some of the arguments may be decried as speculative but speculation based on observational data has been the main spring of scientific advancement.*

* Persisting belief in nymphs of the woods among superstitious people.

* This article is an abridged summary of a paper read in 1932 in one of the meetings of the *Geological, Mining and Metallurgical Society of India*. The details are expected to be published shortly in the Journal of the Society.

HOME OF TANTRICISM

By Prof. NAGENDRANARAYAN CHAUDHURI M. A., Ph.D.

TANTRICISM was not born in the soil of India. The introduction of the worship of Śakti and of other similar rites in Tantricism which are clearly un-Indian in character, makes the conclusion indubitable that it must have been of foreign origin. And this view is confirmed by the following śloka of the Kulâlikâmnâya or Kubjikâmata Tantra which has been discovered by late Mahamahopadhaya Dr. Haraprasad Sastri, where Śiva says to Pârvatī:

gaccha tvaṃ bhârate varṣe adhikârâya sarvataḥ |
yâvannaivâdhikârâste na saṅgamastvayâ saha ||

"Go forth to India and assert yourself in the whole country. I will not unite with you unless you establish yourself there."

Now it is quite clear from the above śloka that Tantricism has been imported from outside of India and for this reason, I think, the Tantras bear also the name of Āgamas, though

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we find the following fanciful interpretation of the word âgama :

âgataṃ śivavaktrebhyo gatañca girijâmukhe ।

"It has come out of the mouth of Śiva and delivered to the mouth of Girijâ."

Let us now find out the fountain-head from which it first originated. The Indian tradition that Tantricism derives its main teaching from the Śruti, is corroborated by the following lines of the Sûtasaṃhitâ where it is said :

śrutipathagalitânâṃ mânuṣâṇântu tantram ।
śrutipathagalitânâmeva tantroktapûjâ ।

"Tantricism has been evolved from the Śruti."

"Tantric worship has also come out of the Śruti."

Basing on these lines and on such other similar evidences and out of their profound devotion to Tantricism, the orthodox Hindu minds, in order to justify their theory, put forward quite a good number of arguments, though they are without any acceptable foundation. And they endeavour to establish a connection between the Śruti and Tantras. But it will be clear from a deeper study of the subject that instead of a link, there is a big gap between the Śruti and the Tantras.

In fact Tantricism has little connection with the ancient religion of the Hindus. There can be no questioning the fact that Tantricism is beyond the pale of the Vedic religion and built up on foreign elements. Tantricism is not included in the list of the fourteen branches of literature. Excepting in the Agnipurâṇa, the mention of Tantricism, found in some Purâṇas, is generally about the low sacrilegious character of Tantric cults. It is, therefore, quite evident that it was not at first accepted by the Brâhamaṇas, since it owed its origin to a foreign religion and therefore was opposite to the Vedic rites. There is a well-known myth regarding the sacrifice of Dakṣa where all the gods of the Hindu Pantheon were invited save and except Śiva. At this, Śiva became furious and destroyed the Sacrifice while it was flying away in the shape of a deer. He broke Savitṛ's arms, kicked out Pūṣan's teeth, knocked out Bhaga's eyes and paralysed all the gods who did not honour him. This also clearly shows that Śiva, who is the supreme deity and promulgator of Tantricism, was not, at first, included in the Hindu Pantheon and was always ignored for his foreign origin. Later on, he is, of course, regarded as a Hindu god and became the historical successor of Rudra of Vedic age holding a very exalted position in the Hindu Pantheon.

The statement that Tantricism owes its origin to the Śruti, has also been nullified by the following accounts of the Śrîmadbhâgavata and the Padmapurâṇa in which the followers of Tantricism have also been highly vilified :

bhavavratadharâ ye ca ye ca tânsamanuvratâḥ ।
pâṣaṇḍinaste bhavantu sacchâstraparipanthinaḥ ॥
naṣṭaśaucâ mûḍhadhiyo jaṭâbhasmâsthidhâriṇaḥ ।
viśantu śivadikṣâyâṃ yatra daivaṃ surâsavam ॥
brahma ca brâhmaṇâṃścaiva yadyûyâṃ parinindatha ।
setuṃ vidharaṇaṃ puṃsâmataḥ pâṣaṇḍaśâśritâḥ ॥
Śrîmadbhâgavata, IV, ch. II.

"Those who worship Śiva and those who follow them, are the opponents of holy scriptures and let them be pâṣaṇḍins. Let the silly-minded who with matted locks, ashes and bones have lost their purity, be initiated into the worship of Śiva in which wine and brewage are regarded as gods. As you are vilifying the vedas and Brâhmaṇas, the bridge and sustainer of humanity, so you have accepted the views of pâṣaṇḍas."

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kapâlabhasmâsthidharâ ye hyavaidi-
kaliṅginaḥ ।
ṛte vanasthâśramâcca jaṭâvalkaladhâriṇaḥ ।
avaidikakriyopetâste vai pâṣaṇḍinastathâ ॥
—Padmapurâṇa, Uttarakhaṇda, ch. 235.

"Those who wear skulls, ashes and bones—the symbols, contrary to the Vedas, put on matted locks and the barks of trees, even without entering into the third order of life and are engaged in the rites, not sanctioned by the Vedas, are Pâṣaṇḍins."

In the Bhâgavata as well as in the Padmapurâṇa, the follower of Tantricism is called Pâṣaṇḍa which is a contemptuous term.

Tantricism has its origin in the Bon religion of Tibet. According to the Tibetan and Chinese traditions, it was Asaṅga who first introduced Tantricism to India from Tuṣita heaven where he learnt it from Maitreya Buddha. The word Tuṣita, has been, I think, sanskritized from the Tibetan word, Ti-rtse or Ti-se, the name of a mountain which lies to the north of the Himalayas near the Manasa Lake and is indentical with the Kailasa mountain. Zaṅ-Zuṅ is the ancient name of a province in Tibet and it comprised the district near the Kailasa mountain bordering on the west of the Manasa Lake where the Bon religion was first promulgated and where shenrab (gśen. rabs) or simply shen (gśen), the founder of the Bon religion, was born. It is also known from the Gurbum (mgur. bum.) of Mi. la. ras. pa. that at one time the Bon religion of Tibet was pravailing in the Kailasa mountain and there lived a great Bon priest in that mountain. It is now quite clear from the above that the home of the Bon religion is the Kailasa mountain in Tibet. We know from the Tantras that God Śiva, one of the deities of the Hindu Triad, promulgates his teaching on Tantricism from the Kailasa mountain to the world below. From these evidences, we are led to one positive conclusion that the home of the Bon religion is the home of Tantricism, which is the Kailasa mountain. Even in the modern days, this mountain is still an object of pilgrimage both to Bon people and to the followers of Tantricism.

In the colophon of the Sâdhana No. 127 of Ekajaṭâ, in the Sâdhanamâlâ there is a remarkable sentence :

âryanâgârjunapâdairbhoṭeṣu uddhṛtam ।

Here it is distinctly said that Ârya Nâgârjunapâda brought to India the worship of Ekajaṭâ from the country Bhoṭa (Tibet) where her worship was very popular and current. Ekajaṭâ is also known as Mahâcînatârâ i.e. Târâ of Mahâcîna or greater China. The greater part of Eastern and South-Eastern Tibet was administered by the Chinese and was under the direct control of the Chinese rule and for this reason this part of Tibet constituted what was called rgya. chen. or Mahâchîna (Greater China). This part also constitutes what is called bod. chen. or greater Tibet.

It is said that once Vaśiṣṭha, one of the greatest sages of Brâhmaṇism, went to Mahâcîna and there he saw the Buddha surrounded by a large number of women in a deeply drunken state and also engaged in obscene rites. At this very sight, he got horrified and asked the Buddha to remove all his doubts. Being thus implored the Buddha made everything clear and then Vaśiṣṭha attained Siddhi (Perfection) with the help of the Mantras and of the free use of the five Makâras, namely, madya (wine), mâṃsa (meat), matsya (fish), mudrâ (postures), and maithuna (copulation). This system of worship is quite un-Indian and has been imported into India from the country of Mahacina which I have already indentified with Eastern and South-Eastern Tibet.

In the pre-Historic age before the advent of the Aryans into India there was a colony

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of the Tibetans from Kashmir to Assam along the Himalayas on the Indian side. Though the Tibetans were pushed back by the new-comers, yet in course of time the Aryans took up the Bon religion of their Tibetan neighbours and incorporated it in their own religion, mostly in a refined form so as to suit their own religious requirements and tenets. In ancient times two land routes connected both Kashmir and Assam with Western and South-Western as well as with Eastern and South-Eastern Tibet respectively. These two routes were generally followed by the immigrants from Tibet. Thus Kashmir and Assam were in colse communication with Tibet. For this reason, though Tantricism has never been universal in its acceptance, we find its magnetic influence over the religious life of Kashmir, Bengal and Assam. Kashmir and Eastern India have been two great centres of Tantricism; the former is famous for its sixty-four tantras and the latter has also contributed its quota to the spread and popularization of Tantricism. There are traces of Tantricism at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, the history of which goes back to the Chalcolithic Age when the Aryans were never heard of. Abbinavagupta, Kṣemarâja, Vasugupta and other Tantric teachers of Kashmir contributed very highly to the evolution of the wide range of Tantric literature. Bengal is also very proud of having produced a host of Tantric saints and savants like Sarvânanda, Pûrṇânanda, Brahmânanda, Kṛṣṇânanda Âgamavâgîśa and others whose services in the cause of Tantric literature are equally invaluable. The Tantric forms of dikṣâ and worship of the goddess Kâlî and her different manifestations are still to be largly found in Bengal and Assam. In the Âgamaprakâśa, written in the Gujarâti language, it is said that the worship of the Goddess Kâlî was introduced into Guzrat and other places in Western India from Bengal I think that from Eastern India Tantricism also went to the Vindhya range and thence to southern India. The Vindhya range is also a great seat of Tantricism. The Śakti of Śiva bears also the name of Vindhyavâsinî (the female dweller of the Vindhya range). Southern India too is famous for its siddhântâgamas which are twenty-eight in number. Pûrṇagiri, Uḍḍiyâna, Sirihaṭṭa and Kâmâkhyâ—these are four Pîṭhas or sacred places of Tantricism, These are the four places where Tantricism first developed and was transmitted to the other Pîṭhas and to the rest of India Uḍḍiyâna (Oḍḍiyâna, Oḍiyâna, Odryâna) is identified with Udyâna in the Swat Valley. Pûrṇagiri whose Tibetan name is gaṅ. baḥi. ri., is, according to the Tibetan work Kâlacakrapariccheda dus. ḥkhor. gyi. ye. śes. kyi. leḥu, on the north of Udyâna whose Tibetan name is u. rgyan. in the Swat Valley. Both Sirihaṭṭa and Kâmâkhyâ are in the province of Assam. Sirihaṭṭa is modern Śrîhaṭṭa (Sylhet) and Kâmâkhyâ is in the neighbourhood of Gauhati. Thus the first two are situated on the Kashmirian side and the two others are in the province of Assam.

In course of time, in the 7th century A. D. when Buddhism penetrated into Tibet, its rulers embraced it and Lamaism began to grow, the Bon religion was actively crushed down and its establishments in the Western part of Tibet were totally destroyed by the Tibetan rulers. This is the cause of the decline of Tantricism, in later times, in the Valley of Kashmir as it did not receive any fresh inspiration from the Bon religion of Tibet. When the Bon religion was, thus, being annihilated in Western Tibet, the people of Eastern and South-Eastern Tibet, made an appeal to the Chinese to protect them and their religion which induced them to rule over these provinces on behalf of the

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Bon people. Thus these provinces shook off the yoke of the Grand Lamas and for many centuries, have been under the sway of the Chinese Government. Thus the Bon religion, flourished in this part of Tibet, has, for many centuries, supplied new religious thoughts and ideas to the Tantricism of Eastern India. The practice of five Makâras, specially in Bengal and Assam, is due to their close touch with Eastern and South-Eastern Tibet, the most populous part of the country, where this kind of practice was, at first, originated. This is why we find even to-day the dominating influence of Tantricism in Eastern India, specially in Bengal and Assam.

Let us now explain the term Tantra. According to the Indian tradition, it is this :

tanoti vipulânarthâṃstattvamantrasamanvitân ।
trâṇañca kurute yasmattantramityabhidhîyate ॥

"As it profounds (tanoti) great things with their truths and Mantras and protects (trâyate) (its followers, it is called Tantras."

But this interpretation is very fanciful and does not cover the real significance of this particular class of religious literature. Practically all the Tantras chiefly deal with Magic and for this reason Tantricism is called indrajâlavidyâ, mohanaśâstra, rahasyavidyâ, *etc.*, i. e., the mystic science dealing with Magic. The Bon religion, too, which is the sources of Tantricism, mainly deals with Magic. The name of the Supreme Bon deity is gto. rgyal. ye. mkbyen, one who knows great magic.

Let us now compare the gods and goddesses of the Tantric Pantheon with those of the Bon.

Tantricism fundamentally deals with Śiva and his Śakti Umâ in their various aspects and for this reason, it is quite probable that Tantricism is also called Śâmbavi-vidyâ. As a form of worship, Tantricism is the same as Śaivism or Śâktaism. Later on the Tantras are generally classified under four heads, namely, Śaiva-Tantra, Śâkta-Tantra, Vaiṣṇava-Tantra and Bauddha-Tantra.

Śiva who is the main factor as well as the promulgator of Tantricism, is a god of external origin. The use of the word Śiva in the Ṛgveda has naturally led us to search for its Indo-European origin. But it has no Indo-European name and even in the Avestic language we do not come across with this word. This word has come from the Tibetan word, shi.ba, meaning auspicious, the name of a god. shi.ba. belongs to the Bon pantheon and holds a very unique position in the Bon religion He is also very fond of dancing with his attendants. It is quite likely that the god Śiva of the Tantric pantheon, who has been, later on, identified with Rudra of the Vedic age and who is also very fond of Tâṇḍava dance, originated from Bon Pantheon of Tibet. There are, of course, many words in the Tibetan language which have been directly borrowed from Sanskrit. And in Tibetan we find that Sanskrit palatal sibilant (ś) has been transliterated by Tibetan palatal sibilant (ś) *i.e.* the twenty-seventh letter of the Tibetan alphabet, *e.g.*, śaṇa, hemp (Tib.śa.na) ; śata, hundred (Tib.śa.ta) ; Śâriputra, the famous disciple of Buddha (Tib. śa.riḥi.bu) ; Śâkya, name of a race to which Gautama Buddha belonged (Tib.śâ.kya), śakti, spear, lance (Tib.śag.ti) ; śaṅkara, an epithet of Śiva (Tib.śaṅ.kar) ; śâlmali, name of a tree (Tib.śal.ma.li) ; śirîṣa, name of a tree and its flower (Tib.śi.ri.śa) ; śubha, happiness (Tib.śu.bham) ; śloka, sanskrit verse (Tib.śo.lo.ka) ; śrî, beauty, glory (Tib.śrî) ; etc., and nowhere we find a single instance where sanskrit palatal has been transliterated by sh, the twenty-first letter of the Tibetan alphabet. Had the word Śiva been borrowed from Sanskrit into Tibetan, as suggested by some, this word must have been transliterated by Tibetan palatal sibilant (ś). We find

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another word śi.ba, (secondary form of ḥchi.ba), meaning 'death,' in the Tibetan language. I think that in later times both shi.ba (auspicious, prosperity, name of a famous Bon deity) and śi.ba (death) have been confused owing to their similarity in pronunciation. This is the cause of attributing destruction to Śiva, the Auspicious one' and he gets the epithet, god of destruction. For this reason it is quite likely that Śiva and Rudra of the Vedic age who is described in the Ṛgveda as fierce and destructive and as a god of destruction, have been identical and the former occupied the place of Rudra in post-vedic mythology.

The worship of the Female principle of Divinity in Tantricism has its origin in the Bon religion of Tibet. In the Bon religion the active principle is personified as ha.mo (Goddess). She is the active will of Divinity.

Umâ is unknown in the Vedic Pantheon. In the Pauranik as well as in the Tantric pantheon, she, as Śakti of Śiva, occupies a very high position. Umâ is said to be fancifully derived from 'u mâ,' 'O (Child), do not (practise penances)' said to pârvatî by her mother Menakâ. But really speaking, Umâ has been Sanskritized being borrowed from Tib. 'yum,' meaning mother, the Female principle of Divinity. As a goddess, 'yum' is worshipped in the Bon religion from which I think, she has been introduced in Tantricism.

Goddess Durgâ, wife of Śiva, is also unknown in the Vedic Pantheon. But she holds a very exalted position in Tantricism. She is very much fond of flesh and drink. According to popular interpretation, she is called Durgâ, because she saves her followers from 'durga' (Difficulty). But this interpretation is very poor and far-fetched. This word might have been derived from the Tibetan word 'gdug' (here the Tibetan feminine suffix 'mo' is left out) and the worship of the goddess Durgâ has been introduced into Tantricism from the Bon religion where the goddess dgug. mo.— a terrible goddess is most commonly worshiped.

Kâlî, wife of Śiva, who is also a very famous deity in Tantricism, is not traceable in the Vedic pantheon, The worship of the goddess Kâlî, in Tantricism, appears to have been borrowed from the Bon religion where the goddess 'rgyal. yum' is worshipped and she is one of the most popular deities in the Bon Pantheon. The word 'Kâlî' has been derived from Tib. 'rgyal'. Here the suffix 'yum' has been left out as it does not form an organic element in the whole name. There is a well-known Tibetan mantra, addressed to this deity. Even to-day this Mantra is chanted. And the Mantra is this :

rgyal. yum. sgrol. ma. khyed. sku. ci.
ḥdra. daṅ ।
ḥkhor. daṅ. sku. tsheḥi. tshad. daṅ. shiṅ.
khams. daṅ ॥
khyed. kyi. mtshan. mtshog. bzaṅ. po. ci.
ḥdra. ba. ।
de. ḥdra. kho. nar. bdag. sogs. ḥgyur.
bar. śog ॥

Ḍombî is also a very famous deity in the Tantric Pantheon. We find her worshipped in the Bon religion of Tibet. 'Ḍombî' has come from the Tibetan word 'gtum. mo.'—a fierce goddess.

Next we find the worship of spirits and demons in Tantricism and this kind of worship has been adopted from the Bon religion of Tibet where spirits and demons are most commonly worshipped.

Ḍâkinî is one of the Yoginîs. This word is feminine from the word 'ḍâka' which is unknown in the Vedic speech as well as in old classical sanskrit. This word has been introduced into later classical Sanskrit from the Tibetan language where 'gdag' means

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'prajñâ' (wisdom) and then deified, meaning the god of wisdom. So Ḍâkinî means the goddess of wisdom and is expressed in the Tibetan language as ye. śes. kyi. mkhaḥ. ḥgro. ma. I have fully dealt with Ḍâka and Ḍâkinî in my 'Studies in the Apabhraṃśa Texts of the Ḍâkârṇava' which will soon be published and also in the *Baṅgalakṣmī*, a Bengali monthly (Kartik, 1340. B. S.)

Cumbikâ and Khaṇḍarohâ are also mentioned in the Tantras as the female energies (śaktis). Their worships have been introduced into Tantricism from the the Bon religion of Tibet. Cumbikâ has been derived from the Tibetan word 'gtso.mo'—a female spirit. Khaṇḍarohâ is also derived from the Tibetan word 'mkhaḥ. ḥgro. ma,' a female spirit with the infix-n- and the suffix 'rohâ' instead of 'mo,' the Tibetan feminine suffix.

We find the worship of Karṇapiśâcî in Tantricism. And in the Bon religion, ka.ra.naṅ, who is the source of Tantric karṇapiśâcî, is also worshipped as the mystic form of Ḍâkinî.

Guru plays a very important part in Tantricism as in the Bon religion. In the Bon religion, lama (bla. ma) holds a very high position and even he is equal to and sometimes superior to gods. In Tantricism too, the qualifications of a Guru are identical with those of Divinity itself. In the Vedic as well as in Pauranik religion, we do not find such a unique position of a Guru. There is no doubt that this is due to the influence of the Bon religion.

Tantricism, as we have said before, has kept in tact a system of religious practice which has come down to us as the offshoot of a very ancient religion which is quite un-Indian. I have shown above that the form of worship incorporated in Tantricism has its origin in the Bon religion of Tibet. The organic kinship between the Bon religion and Tantricism has been clearly brought out on the evidence of a number of deities of the Bon religion whose worship forms an integral part of Tantric cults. So far as the mystic teaching is concerned, Tantricism runs parallel to that of the Bon religion. Magic, fetishism, demon-worship and propitiation by means of incantations are features in Tantricism which go to show the affiliation and adjustment of Tantricism to the Bon religion of Tibet.*

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* Submitted to the Seventh Oriental Conference, Baroda, December, 1933 and accepted for printing in full form in the volnme of the Proceedings.

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THE BENGAL MONEY-LENDERS ACT, 1933

By PARIMAL ROY, M. A.

THE history of legislation against usury in India is briefly told. The Regulating Act of 1774, modified by later enactments, fixed the maximum rate of interest in India at 12 p.c. per annum. Subsequently in 1885 the Usury Law Repeal Act empowered the Courts to adjudge or decree a suit in which interest is recoverable at the rate stipulated by the parties or in the event of its absence, at a rate deemed reasonable by the Court. The law was misguisedly in favour of the creditors and the rates of interest on loans became in consequence competitive. The menace spread far and wide, until by amendments of Sections 16, 19A and 74 of the Indian Contract Act in 1899, the Civil Courts were allowed equitable jurisdiction with a view to relieve the debtors and arrest the practice of usury. Lastly came the Usurious Loans Act of 1918 by which further powers were granted to the Courts, in cases where the rate of interest was excessive or the transaction substantially unfair, to reopen the transaction as between the parties in a suit brought by a creditor for the realization of his dues, and relieve the debtor of any excessive interest.

The effectiveness of these legislations to regulate terms of contract between the creditor and debtor was, however, soon doubted. For example, quite a large number of judicial officers in their memoranda to the Bengal Banking Inquiry Committee complained that the Usurious Loans Act of 1918 was quite an inadequate legislation. It was extremely difficult, they said, to establish the "unfairness of a transaction or the excessiveness of a stipulated rate of interest", and the scope of the legislation was also alleged to be "considerably limited."

The Bengal Banking Inquiry Committee appreciated the weakness of the situation and laid down a number of suggestions for the better control of money-lenders. Much on the basis of these suggestions and greatly after the English Money-lenders Bill, 1927, the Bengal Money-lenders Bill was drafted, and it was passed into law in August, 1933,—bringing in effect "promise of delivery from the extortionate money-lender."* We shall discuss briefly in the following pages one or two of the more important features of this new legislation.

The necessity for a law against usury cannot be disputed. There *are*, however, a few dissentients† who condemn the usurers' plough for going even on Sundays and yet belittle the importance of a usury law on the ground that the rate of interest is exclusively a question of demand and supply. But if economic laws are inexorable, the money-lenders are, it is alleged, relentless. A law penalizing usury is not therefore always futile.

But the Money-lenders Bill which has recently become law is not all that could be done to relieve the situation. One of the greatest defects of the law is that it is much too ambitious. While it ought to have been taken as purely an experimental legislation applicable with caution and with an eye to practical defficulties the law as passed by the Legislature extends its provisions to the *whole of Bengal* (outside the Original Jurisdiction of the High Court*) and to *all classes* of money-lenders.

On the ground of securing uniformity in law relating to money-lending, the position is certainly unassailable. But some questions naturally arise. If the principle of the Bill is to protect debtors from the rapacity of money-lenders, there is no reason for discriminating between rural or urban areas as between the city of Calcutta and the muffassil.† And if the discrimination is once allowed, there is also no warrant for withholding its extension to the various *classes* of money-lenders. An amendment providing that the Local Government shall have the power of determining the area and classes of money-lenders to which the law would be applicable, was thrown out on the ground that it was against the principles of democracy.§ In pure theory, however, the Legislature was right. But there was certainly no harm in providing for a little of caution so that the application of the law could proceed by stages. This would not have gone against the principle underlying the legislation. For, if all debtors are to be relieved, all money-lenders need not be indiscriminately penalized.

The Act defines a money-lender as a person

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* *The Statesman*, August 26, 1933.

† Bengal Leg. Council Debates, Nov. 22, 1932, P. 96.

* The *Damdupat* system applies within the Original Jurisdiction of the High Court.

† The *Damdupat* does not adequately justify the exclusion of Calcutta. Why not extend its application to non-Hindus and to areas outside Calcutta, if uniformity in law is the main object, without creating a new law ?

§ Bengal Leg. Council Debates, August 22, 1933. Pp. 71-72. The Government, however, recognized the experimental nature of the law and was prepared to accept the amendment in a spirit of caution ; for, they were rightly apprehensive that the desired results would not otherwise come about.

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who grants a loan of money. Now a money-lender may either be a resident *Mahajan* or an itinerant *Pathan, Kabuli* or *Peshwari*, or a casual shopkeeper, pensioner or widow. If a *Mahajan* proves rapacious, the Act will certainly—and with justice—put a check to his malpractices. But the Act will be of no avail in the case of the itinerant money-lenders who do not keep any form of documents at all. Nor will it contribute to much social good if it purports to penalize a casual widow who ensures herself a precarious livelihood by lending out her little capital to neighbours. Besides, there is the question of the village credit societies, loan companies and other indigenous institutions. These rural credit agencies of Bengal—none too abundant—do not all deserve the check which the Act will impose upon them. The contention that "usury is more practised by these banking companies and loan offices, than by private persons" is open to question. On the contrary, the existence of these credit institutions has had in many quarters a very wholesome influence over the private money-lenders. Dealings being less personal and the credit operations more organized, they are always given preference to the ordinary money-lender who is in consequence compelled to bring down his rate of interest in order to face competition.* The Act will, therefore, succeed only in suppressing a large number of rural credit agencies, precipitating thereby a very heavy loss of credit. And with a retrospective effect it will all the more seriously affect the accommodations and investments previously made by these banks.

It thus appears that it has been extremely unwise not to have differentiated between the various *classes* of money-lenders all of whom do not equally deserve the consequences of this legislation. The Local Government, indeed, could have easily been given the power to extend the operation of the Act in respect of such classes of money-lenders as it would think fit. There is no point in fearing that this confidence would be abused.†

And then arises the question of the rate of interest. Section 3 of the Act provides that if the interest charged exceeds the rate of 15 p. c. per annum in the case of a secured loan and 25 p. c. per annum in the case of an unsecured loan, the Court shall presume that the interest charged is excessive and that the transaction is substantially unfair.

A legal maximum rate of interest has thus been fixed in respect of both secured and unsecured loans. The Bengal Banking Inquiry Committee did not fancy the idea of fixing a legal maximum for unsecured loans.* But the legislators apparently did not take it seriously. It is, however, not suggested that since a loan is *unsecured* the interest on it should be *unlimited*. But it ought to have been realized that any restriction of interest must always divert loanable capital to other avenues of income; so that a double check both on secured and unsecured loans will render the already slender rural credit all the more scarce to the greatest handicap of agriculture and the peasantry.

The wisdom of fixing a legal maximum rate of interest is also open to question. What may have presumably led to the provision is the complaint that a number of judicial officers made before the Bengal Banking Inquiry Committee about the inadequacy of the Usurious Loan Act. Among other causes which were alleged to have led to its failure was the "difficulty of proving that the interest is excessive," and one of the suggested remedies was the "fixing of a maximum rate of interest," Presumably the demand was not for *one* legal maximum rate for the whole of Bengal. For economic conditions vary from district to district and from villages to villages. A rate of interest which is regarded as usurious in Western Bengal is only tempting to the peasants of the East.†

The Central Banking Inquiry Committee was also unable to agree with the suggestion of fixing a definite statutory limit to the rate of interest. This, the Committee recognized, would be "neither practicable nor effective." § But unfortunately, the legislators missed the point and inexpediently enough laid down categorically a maximum rate applicable everywhere. The Bengal Banking Inquiry Committee recommended that "the maximum rates should be fixed according to the *special circumstances* of each province and if necessary for *different parts* of the same province and for *different classes* of borrowers." ** It is difficult to see why such an excellent recommendation did not appeal to the House.

Besides, the rates of interest that have been suggested are not also properly chosen. A rate of 15 p. c. interest on secured loans is particularly disputable. The original figure in the Bill was 12½ p. c. which was raised by an amendment to

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* See an article "Indigenous Bankers" in *Capital*, Aug. 31, 1933.

† *Cf.* The proposed Bill to enable Local Governments to fix sugar-cane price in pursuance of the recommendations of the Tariff Board that "no direct measures can be taken to ensure that a definite rate for cane is paid to producers." P. 99, para 101.

* They thought that the Usurious Loans Act could easily check abuses in case of unsecured loans.

† There is an extraordinary variety of rates all over Bengal, Vide Table at p. 198, Bengal Banking Inquiry report.

See also Central Banking Inquiry Committee report, vol 1, part I, p. 79. The rate of interest is lower in western and central Bengal than in eastern and northern Bengal Minimum rate varies from 10 to 37½ per cent and the maximum rate from 37½ to 300 per cent.

§ Cent. Bank. Inq. Com. Report, vol. 1, part 1, p. 86.

** Beng. Bank. Inq. Com. Report, vol. 1, p. 171. Italics are mine.

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5 p. c. But even then the rate is low and is supported by the custom of calculation in Calcutta and other city banks can charge in normal times 8 to 12 p. c. interest, with monthly rests, on money advanced against very sound and excellent securities, the money-lenders can easily go up at least to 18 p. c. for loans against securities which involve risk and uncertainty. For, in this province the land laws do not adequately protect secured loans from risks. Even under the new Tenancy Act (Sec. 26 D. Bengal Tenancy Amendment Act, 1928, though occupancy holdings, which are generally taken as securities, have been made transferable, heavy premiums have to be paid.* The interest does not only cover this premium, but must also provide against the risk of losing the holding in case the landlord exercises his right of pre-emption. And it not unfrequently happens that a mortgager refuses to pay rent when the mortgagee has himself to pay up the arrears in order to save his own interest. If all this is taken into consideration it will certainly be appreciated that a rate of 15 p. c. interest on the so-called secured loans is rather inadequate. †

As for unsecured loans, the rate of 25 p. c. interest is not also quite happy. In the absence of any security the realization of the decretal amount is always a question of time. Now, if this time is taken into account as also the rate of interest that the Court would usually allow for such period, it will be easily found that the final amount recovered by way of interest is very small and falls much below the rate stipulated. A solitary Councillor who apparently felt the argument, suggested that the rate should be raised to 37½ p. c. But the counsel went unheeded.

We are thus led to the conclusion that the legal maximum of 15 p. c. and 25 p. c. for secured and unsecured loans respectively have not been very properly chosen, being a trifle too inadequate. Curiously enough, the legislators, were afraid that the rates stipulated were already too high and therefore hastened to provide that the provision laid down in Sec. 3 "shall be without prejudice to the powers of the Court under the said section where the Court is satisfied that the interest charged, though not exceeding 15 p. c. per annum or 25 p. c. per annum as the case may be, is excessive" !

There is also in the Act a half-hearted attempt at eliminating compound interest. "Good opinions" for the retention as well as abolition of compound interest were offered and the legislators could not apparently make up their minds definitely in favour of either. So a compromise was made and compound interest was "discouraged". If a person, says the Act, contracts for compound interest in contravention of the Act, he would not be able to recover interest of any kind at a rate exceeding 10 per cent per annum. Thus the money-lender is not deprived of interest altogether, but the habit of charging compound interest is discouraged. As the mover of the Bill explained, "while we do not intend at this stage to abolish compound interest, yet . . . we want to discourage it".* We fail, however, to appreciate the special reasons for this unexpected measure of caution here,—particularly when it has been refused in other provisions of the Bill where it was far more necessary.† It is strange that the experimental nature of the legislation is recognized only in connection with compound interest !

Apart, however, from all this, the Act itself is based upon a wrong assumption that all money-lenders practise usury, and should therefore be brought under a 'more effectual control'. And consequently the money-lenders' point of view has been totally disregarded. One need not seriously press the argument that since the rate of interest is purely a question of demand and supply, no money-lender is usurious. But it remains a fact that in many places of Bengal interest at a rate exceeding 15 per cent is only too readily offered by the peasant if he is sure that it is going to fetch him a substantial capital for his soil. We have already mentioned that in the evidences it received and the enquiries it made, the Bengal Banking Inquiry Committee found an extraordinary variety of rates prevalent in the Province. For example, in Jalpaiguri the rate varies from 10 to 50 per cent per annum, while in Pabna it is between 37½ to 300 per cent per annum. In most other districts the minimum is 24 per cent and the maximum varies between 100 and 200 per cent.§ In such circumstances it has been extremely arbitrary to have stipulated a rate of 15 per cent per annum as excessive in order to penalize indiscriminately all classes of money-lenders including many who are not necessarily in the habit of usury.

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* In many districts it is usual to find the price of the land falling below the average level to the loss of the outgoing *ryot*, but the landlord takes advantage of his position to extort a capital sum, called *naxarana*, in consideration of recognizing the purchaser's status, a sum which is incommensurate with the average profits from the holding. — *Land Problems of India*; Mukherjee, P. 159. *vide* also *Ibid.*, page 167.

† A glance at the table given at page 198 of Beng. Bank. Inq. Com. Report will show that 15 p. c. is the minimum rate usually charged in Bengal. On the average it varies from 20½ p. c. to 46 p. c. The English Money-lenders Act, 1927, puts the legal maximum at 48 p. c. The Uniform Small Loans Law of U. S. A. makes it 42 p. c.

* Beng. Leg. Council Debates, August 25, 1933. Page 219

† We have already mentioned how the Act ought to have proceeded cautiously in its application to *various classes* of money-lenders living in *various localities*.

§ And 'in spite of the very generally accepted view to the contrary, the rates of interest charged are not exorbitant'. *Capital*, August 31, 1933. P. 357.

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Incidentally, this brings us to the question as to what exactly usury is. Formerly, this term was synonymous with interest. By common usage it now denotes "the practice of lending at interest which exceeds a lawful or reasonable rate".* A 'lawful' rate certainly refers to a legal maximum—from which the ridiculous conclusion is that there is no usury so long as there is no law against it. If, however, usury means a rate of interest exceeding a 'reasonable' rate, the idea is not clear until we define a 'reasonable rate'. And the 'reasonableness' of a rate being strictly relative, there cannot be *one* usury law against *all* money-lenders.

As a matter of fact the idea that has generally grown in every mind is that a rate of interest is not usurious so long as the borrower is able to pay it (should we say, without feeling it?). The money-lender's point of view has thus been sedulously avoided. It is a common knowledge that "interest rates vary with the supply of money, the demand for it, the risk incurred in lending it and the trouble and expense of collecting it."† So that the rate depends not only upon the *readiness* with which a borrower would pay it, but also upon the *willingness* with which the money-lender would agree to it. This important aspect of the whole situation has been totally lost sight of. The law, indeed, has gone so far as to penalize a money-lender if on account of the default of the debtor, any arrears of interest accumulate in excess of the principal. For, there is a section in the Act limiting the total accrual of interest to the amount of the principal originally lent.§

Before we conclude we shall point out another important fact which is sometimes very conveniently overlooked. The money-lender is not an extraneous element—far less an unnecessary appendage—of the present rural credit system of the country. His calling, indeed, cannot be abolished at a moment by making it illegal. The Royal Commission on Agriculture very rightly said that "if he is ever driven from the land it will not be by legislation but by the growth of the co-operative movement and more specially by the habits of thrift inculcated by that movement."* The same opinion was also given by the Central Banking Inquiry Committee which pointed out that 'a real and lasting solution can only be found by the spread of education, the extension of co-operative and joint-stock banking and by the training of the borrower in habits of thrift and saving.'†

The merits of the co-operative movement cannot indeed be over-estimated. But while we recognize the potentialities of the movement and even foresee its eventual success, we must not lose sight of the fact that in spite of everything, the money-lenders are going to stay with us for a very considerable period of time. For, "in spite of the large strides which co-operative credit societies have made of recent years and in spite of the excellence of those institutions, they have, as yet, touched the fringe of the banking problem of the rural districts."§ The Linlithgow Commission which advocated the growth of co-operative movement had itself to admit that the money-lender alone is in a position to provide the bulk of the capital required for current agricultural needs and on a recurrence of severe distress he alone will continue as ever, to support the peasants by timely loans —till we have universal primary education which may not be till years have elapsed.

If that is the situation, why all this legislation against the money-lenders?

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* Ency. Brit., vol. 22. Ed. 4. Page 908.

† *Cf.* 'The money-lenders' expenses of collection and management of loans given to innumerable small borrowers are much higher than similar expenses of, say, joint stock banks.' Cent. Bank. Inq. Com. Report, vol. 1, part 1, P. 83.

§ The mover of the Bill declared that this section was inserted exclusively with a view to penalize the *Kabuli* money-lenders. But the *Kabuli* menace could have been easily removed by a separate and exclusive legislation. Besides, their loans are not represented by any documents.

The Central Bank. Inq. Com. said, 'we do not think that legislation on the lines recommended is practicable'. Vol. 1, part I, page 86-87.

* Royal Comm. on Agriculture. page 433, para 363.

† Cent. Bank. Inq. Com. Report, vol. 1, part 1, page 90.

§ *Capital*, (Indigenous Bankers), August 31, 1933, page 357.

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A HUNGARIAN EYE ON INDIA

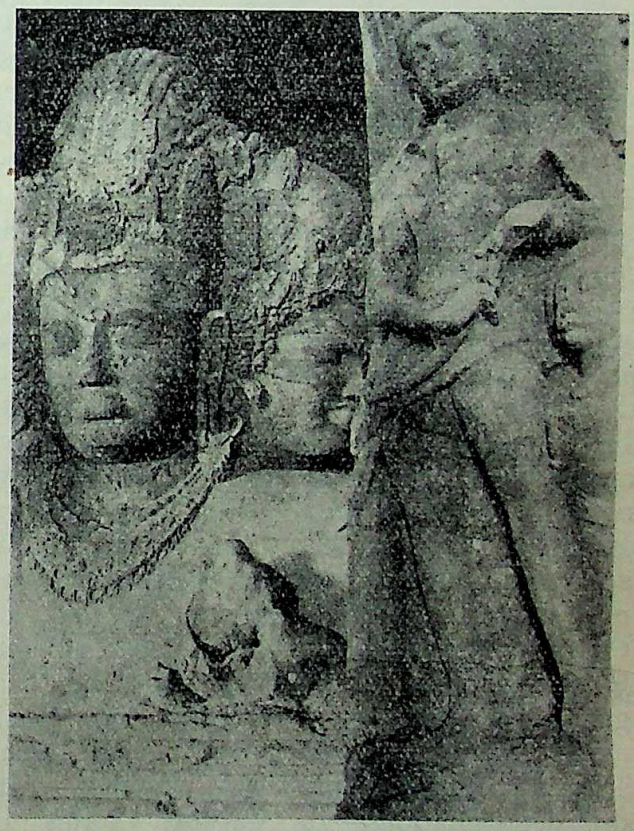
By Prof. Dr. JULIUS GERMANUS

I am aware that it is a bold assertion to make that Baktay's two volumes* take an eminent position in the huge literature on India. Numberless books of travel, descriptions of the customs, studies in the religion, philosophy, art and history have appeared in various languages, indifferent or excellent. Still this work differs from all of them, for it comprises India as a whole, it presents its throbbing heart and its spirit, which mightily heaves up out of the depth of Mother Earth towards the pinnacles of human intellect and sentiment.

Writers might view particular sides of a compound phenomenon and describe them with the accuracy of a photographic camera, the artist first imbibes the spirit of his object and projects it before his public, after it has become part and parcel of his individuality. The two volumes of Baktay's India are the work of the artist who, after ten years' intensive study of Indian literature, philosophy and art, has visited the country of his yearning and stayed there for three years, travelling across it from one end to the other, visiting the palaces of the rich and sleeping under the thatched roof of the poor, investigating the museums of the capitals and researching these objects of curiosity in their far-off original sites.

Imbued with an extraordinary love for Mother India, the author sees her with the eyes of a European and appreciates its majestic grandeur with the heart of an Indian. This rare capability renders his book unique in its kind. He stops for hours where the ordinary tourist would pass untouched, he gazes with thrill at monuments of art at which others would only cast a glance. A painter in his earlier days, he uses his talent to pick out the most characteristic views of Indian landscape and buildings for his camera and the hundreds of photographs that accompany the text present a veritable gallery of art on Indian life.

His book starts with the author's travel to India, from Italy to Bombay. His first impression strikes him already on the boat. A European, he feels a stranger among the Englishmen and Englishwomen on board. He has to unlearn his Hungarian tongue, he has to subdue his innate Hungarian love of ideals, which the vast Hungarian low-lands inspire into man and has to adapt his mentality to the "business view" of sea-faring nations. In Bombay, the ancient caves of Elephanta, the force of expression in the faces of Trimurti, which he finds superior to the products of Greek or Renaissance art, elicit a humble prayer from his breast :



The Hindu Triad (*Trimurti*) in the Elephanta Caves. Side View.
Photo by D. K. Sen.

* Ervin Baktay : *India*, 2 vols., 320 pages each, published by Singer and Wolfuer, Budapest, 1933. A work in the Hungarian Language.

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"Brahma satyam, jagat mithya
Jivo Brahmaiva, naparah."

Nothing can be more suitable to introduce a traveller to the mental world of India! From Bombay he carries his reader to the North and after a vivid description of the landscape he finishes the chapter with a eulogy of the affection Indians bestow on monkeys and on all other animals. "Is it a shame to man to descend from these monkeys who in their motherly love hug the skeleton of their dead young ones?"—he cries, as if to symbolize the Indian conception of unity of the Universe pervading the animal and vegetal kingdoms alike.

The book gives us chapters on the history and philosophy of India and points out that the early speculations have been in many cases justified by recent researches. Philosophy is the motto of Indian life and without its knowledge the rôle of Indians in human history cannot be understood. While other continents excelled in the joys of an earthly existence and developed the material foundations of this existence, India has created a spiritual philosophy which has become the common good of all her children and which philosophy transcends the narrow boundaries of our short life in order to encompass all phenomena of the Universe abstracted from the illusions of space and time. The world to Indians is not this tiny globe with its seducive appearances, but the unchanging eternal reality of the spirit, which reflects itself in all beings. Religion in India is either knowledge of the spirit, or love or virtuous deed—each man may grasp that form of worship, or walk on that path of salvation which is most suitable to his own self, in order to reach his final goal. This liberality of conception has eliminated religious wars and persecutions in Indian history. While Europe has churches, sects and denominations—all outward forms of organizations—India has *religion*. This standpoint of our author smooths the way to explain all customs of Indians, that other European travellers find grotesque and abhorrent—according to their intrinsic meaning. He has not found idolatry in the veneration of symbols of those who can grasp the Infinite only through finite forms—much as we express notions through definite words of sound and form.

One hardly feels how he carries us on deeper and deeper into the mentality of India. At every step some new and startling point of view presents itself before the reader and when he thinks of putting the book down, for a little rest, a new chapter opens new wonderful sights of India. One of the towns appears before us with its bustling bazaars, its sweet smells of spices, its glaring sunlight and resplendent cupolas and shrines, the melodious sounds of music played on fine and delicate strings, the narrow lanes lined with innumerable booths, before which Muslim women

The Hindu Triad (*Trimurti*) in the Elephanta Caves. Side View.

Photo by D. K. Sen.

covered with their burqas linger like ghosts. where—in short—the pulsation of everyday life awakens in us a queer longing to go to see, to hear, and to feel Indian life, as it has breathed for thousands of years, always the same and always new.

A wonderful panorama opens before us in this book. From Peshawar, where the truculent Afghan scowls at the fertile plains of Hindustan, to the land of the five rivers we reach Lahore "richer than Shiraz and

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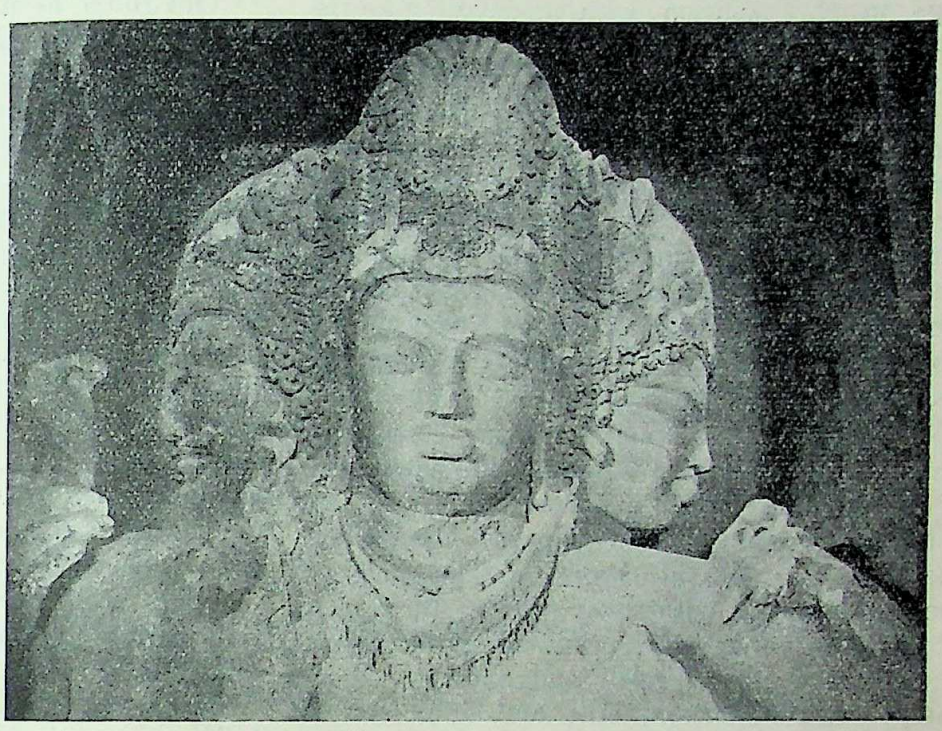

The Hindu Triad (*Trimurti*) in the Elephanta Caves. Front View.
Photo by D. K. Sen.

Ispahan, "then the towns of the Rajput nobles who, in their baronial eagle-nests, jealously guard their honour and caste from times immemorial, while the architectural wonders of Mount Abu, the Pushkar lake, Udaipur, Ajmere, Jaipur, lie unveiled at our feet. Unveiled and resuscitated to life, not mere marble, stone and shunam—no, this would be the task of photography—but alive with the explanation of the creeds, legends, poetry, gay or sad, of the people who have built up these towns, enjoyed and suffered in them. We see the pious Jainas preserving "life" and venerating its unity through all the creatures of the earth, we see the law-abiding Sikhs reading their Granth-Sahib with the devotion of a monk and defending it with the valour of heroes, we see the Panjabi Muslims conquering and proselytizing and unconsciously absorbing much of the warmth, softness and intellectuality of the clime of India.

Again we lower the book into our lap and our eyes stare at the vast horizon projected before us. Kashmir shawls, ivory figures carved with a minute skill and superior taste, woven stuffs, and leather wares, cotton cloths, known throughout the world, are rolled to our feet. What a richness of human skill and industry! There is a grandeur in the smallest things if art inspires its maker and Indian industry is art unimpeached by the warning note of machinery, it gave free play to fancy and created the most precious trinkets for every-day use.

Each invader bowed his haughty head to the spirit of India. The Muslims, fierce and self in fight, humbly stooped down to pick up the fallen columns of Hindu temples and built their mosques from the very stones on which the exuberant Hindu imagination has hewn its legendary gods and their faithful satellites.

Fatehpur Sikri, the town of a dream, immortalizes Akbar, the greatest of Moghuls, whose heart listened to the whispers of Mother India: a true believer cannot worship God but in all religions. Agra, with the most beautiful building of the world, the Taj, this tear-drop frozen to marble stands out with the noblest monument to conjugal fidelity. Delhi with its fort and historic traditions, Lucknow with its decadent luxury, all pass review before our amazed eyes. "So much art, poetry and beauty kneaded out of the sweat and blood of a people can be seen nowhere in the world, not excepting Italy!" Then Benares appears on the plane with its impressive river-view and the burning ghats fraught with legendary memories of old give opportunity to instruct the reader in Indian literature and religion after which the author finishes his first volume with his visit to Sabarmati, to the Saint of India and the world. In all the turmoil of life today one figure stands out contrasting with the fragility of body the strength of his soul. The palaces, the fabulous riches, even the dead relics of art dwarf beside the mighty personality of the Mahatma. Our author

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steps in the Ashram with a devotion he is unable to describe. He witnessed the physical cleanliness and moral purity of Sabarmati, he was thrilled by the enthusiasm and endurance with which the disciples work for a better future of India and he felt how the irresistible force radiating out of this focus of true nationality will conquer the whole of India. The time he spent at this earnest training ground of young India remained indelible in his memory and the description he gives of it deeply touches the reader.

The second volume leads us down the rich Gangetic plain to Calcutta, the emporium of India, where the manifoldedness of the country presents a new aspect: Bengal is the granary of the world. The mighty metropolis teems with busy people, thousands of vehicles convey the products of the plains and attract the greedy adventurer. Rice, jute, coal, iron, cotton, silk and hides almost stifle the atmosphere—and still even in this air saturated with the chinking of gold, the spirituality of India has heaved a sigh which has overcome the avarice of the trader. The Brahma-Samaj with its noble founders Rammohun Roy and the Tagores sprang up in the steaming soil of Bengal. The family of Tagore, the Maharshi and the Poet represent philisophic literature transcending the frontiers of India and reaching the farthest nooks of the world. Our author visited Santiniketan with the intention to stay there for some time but he left the place with some disappointment. The pushing force and sincere simplicity he found at Sabarmati, he missed at the "abode of peace."

Central and South India offers ample opportunity to the author to expatiate on problems which have attracted the curiosity of Europe and on which so many false notions have been formed. The fakirs and their mysterious powers are analysed here in a scientific way, the chariot of Jagannath and the syncretism of pagan rites with Hinduism are expounded in connection with the thousand shrines of Puri and Konarak. While the train carries us through the endless plains he throws a light on the mutiny showing both sides of the medal and paying a tribute to those who heroically fell in the defence of what they thought their birthright.

Old India, as it was before this fatal clash, is best represented in the native States, most of which Baktay also visited and presented before us, with all their splendour and all their romance. The Deccan, with the relics of Muslim empires, the phantastic rocks of Golconda which remind us of the travels of Sindbad into the valley of diamonds, the Ellora and Ajanta caves with the wonders they enshrine in their hand-hewn cells and temples, all appear in plastic description. The chapters on Indian art, painting and sculpture, the instructive digressions on the Indian theatre, old and new, on Indian music, exhale the thrill of the artist who wants to hear and to feel with the senses of the enraptured connoisseur and not as an indifferent or even biassed onlooker.

The description of the mighty temples of South India, the Dravidian culture, its origin and rôle in India, is followed by objective remarks why Christianity had so little practical influence on the Indian mind, and the book closes with the wonder island of Ceylon, where we take leave with a heavy heart from a continent so unique in its manifold riches in the present and the past. In his farewell words Baktay holds review of his experiences in the Indian world of matter and spirit. "India is the huge furnace of spirituality. She has gathered for thousands of years into one focus all that is beautiful, great and lofty which Man has thought of. Today the fight between East and West is still going on. West supports its claim with authority, supremacy and might, India has awoke to the imperishable powers of her primeval cognition: to the truth of the Spirit. The fight must end in a great reconciliation."

"I have witnessed many disquieting, antipathetic and even repulsive impressions in India" he writes, "but no sooner did I observe the complexity of impressions from an adequate distance, these unfavourable impressions faded and disappeared in the brilliancy of the beauty and truth experienced. The embraces of love and sympathy are wiser and truer than the methods of analysing criticism. I have lived in the complex of the great human facts of India and in its organic reality and in this complexity the external faults, the annoying defects dwindled into insignificance. The loftiest cathedral loses the essential beauty

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radiant from its general aspect when we scrutinize—magnifying glass in hand—the small chinks in the stones of its walls. Which is the real, the true picture? That which presents the living reality of the whole or that which photographs every spot in the details? The synthetic view comprises every element, to present us the living entirety, the analysing criticism dissects the edifice into the thousands of its bricks and snaringly points to this huge heap of stones.

"I wanted to show India not as foreign eyes view her but as she appears in the light of her own goals and ideals."

These are the closing words of our author, which ring with the sincerity of his deep affection for Mother India.

And with all the merits of this book it has a great drawback: it is written in Hungarian and consequently closed to the great reading public of the world. A drawback, however, which I hope, a clever publisher can, with an adequate English translation, easily eliminate.

Budapest, 1934.

TAGORE'S VISIT TO CEYLON

By D. B. DHANAPALA

RABINDRANATH Tagore's recent visit to Ceylon with a number of Santiniketan students was a veritable eye-opener to the Ceylonese.

I met him on board the "Inchanga". I shall never forget that happy sight. In a sheen of orange light there he sat in his cabin—a picture of poetic delight. "I am not a politician; I do not want to reform the world," he said to us—newspapermen.

He smiled. He smiled more with his eyes than with his lips. But it was a tired smile—really like a prayer.

"With politics I am not concerned. My mission is of spiritual delights, of art and beauty far and wide."

An anxious request that he would say what Ceylon's contribution was to Indian culture was politely evaded.

"I do not know sufficiently of your culture, but I do hope you have a contribution to make to Indian culture....

"You are really Indians....We want you to come to us and share our heritage."

We got into a motor-boat to come ashore. A lantern was dimly burning. He sat with his eyes half-closed. He was dressed in a buff-coloured gown of sorts. I sat beside him longing to put yet another question. But it seemed a crime to spoil that unforgettable picture.

A bargee cried to his helpmate somewhere in the distance. Twinkling points of fire moved like reflections in the harbour like so many struggling worms.

And a poet was sitting inside this boat, with a lantern dimly burning—come with a message of culture from a mother to her daughter.

I felt I was assisting in a mystic ceremony of the spiritual regeneration of a nation.

The whole of Colombo was agog—nay, the whole island.

The Poet had come to Ceylon many a time. But this was the first time he landed with a kind of gist or summary of Indian culture—with a special mission to give the people of Ceylon, some idea of the culture that Santineketan represented.

For, with him came the band of his students who gave performances of *Shap-Mochan* in which all modern tendencies in Indian culture seemed to be boiled down into one glorious extravagance entirely executed in song and dance and rhythm.

The first performance of the drama was memorable. Every seat in the hall was booked days previously. Large numbers were disappointed, because owing to the smallness of the auditorium they could not get admission.

Since the unknown artist put the last finishing touches to the frescoes on the face of the rock at Sigiriya, nothing greater in the way of Oriental art has been achieved in the island than that created by the Tagore players in the presentation of *Shap-Mochan* that Saturday night. This is not said through love of hyperbole or any desire for grandiloquent expression. The house was crowded to its fullest capacity from an early hour. In hushed admiration the audience witnessed the performance as though a revelation were taking place before their eyes. And revelation it was, for, perhaps ninety per cent of those present had not imagined that Indian music could satisfy a cultivated mind.

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Tagore reading one of his lectures at the Rotary Club lunch in Colombo during his visit

Comparison is the core of criticism. And no criticism is possible of the exquisite performance of that unforgettable evening, for never within living memory has anything similar to it been seen to afford comparison with, in Ceylon.

Once upon a time when the moon was very young, according to legend, there came by chance to Lanka (Ceylon) a Bengali called Vijaya to conquer the primitive tribe that inhabited this island in those days of pre-history.

After the lapse of almost twenty five centuries another Bengali had come, not by chance, with another band of loyal followers for the cultural conquest of what by contrast may be considered the primitive Ceylonese in the way of the highest possession of man—art and beauty and music.

At the first parting of the curtain the great cultural crusader, dressed in a saffron-coloured *dhoti* and *kurta*, with a scarf thrown about the shoulders, Bengali-wise, stood slightly stooping, with his finger tips touching in salutation. He was garlanded by Miss Nalini Wijewardene who paid homage to the greatness of this veteran artist by kneeling at his feet—thus composing a graceful picture of youth's obeissance to aged wisdom and the regenerator of a whole nation.

In a little speech full of endearing simplicity the Poet said :

"With some trepidation of heart I stand before you this evening, for this is the first time I meet you from the Stage. Some of you who do not know me are apt to exaggerate my merit and go on spreading an absurd rumour that I am a philosopher. I know that you will find it extremely difficult to reconcile your idea of a philosopher with that of a young aged man who revels in music and dancing. But I ask you to begin this evening with some confidence in my power to please you. But for that I ask you to meet me half-way and exercise your will to be pleased. It is needless for me to say that the first important step towards perfect enjoyment is a mutual co-operation between the artist and those who are ready to enjoy."

When the first scene opened it was a veritable feast of dreams and longings, translated into colour, sound and rhythm.

Against an orange background, with a border of peacock blue in between as a contrast, sat Indra's Court. The court's dancers, each in a different costume of shadowy, elusive gold, spotted green, crimson of the blood and creamy white, danced scattering flowers to the rhythm of a haunting melody that seemed to carry the audience away from the world of men.

The show was a perfectly woven pattern of marvellously matched colours. Bathed in flooded light the supple bodies of Bengali damsels moved serenely to rhythm. The pageant that moved across the stage flitted some time, with the swift gaiety of running water. At other times it lingered with the mourning of winds, the sadness of hearts and the suppressed ecstasies of great moments.

Each scene seemed a bringing to birth in a dream of beauty the frescoes of Ajanta and Bagh with a vividness that almost intoxicated the senses.

Through it all, Rabindranath Tagore himself sat on a side of the stage nearest the audience looking on the great pageant of music, dance, rhythm, fragrance, flowers and flames, like an artist looking at a picture of his own creation—the spiritual offering of a life of poetic cultural work.

Kathakali, Manipuri, Indo-Chinese, ancient Classical Indian dancing and the banal Nautch dancing of modern India—all these had been laid under contribution to evolve something absolutely new, neither Kathakali nor Manipuri nor Indo-Chinese nor classical nor vulgarly modern. And this something new is Tagore's creation original, exquisite, peaceful.

What Tagore has done for the dance, he has done to the music as well.

Classicism and modernism combined together to form something new—a perfect welding of music and emotion, sense and sound.

The whole setting was a lavish simplicity—Greek in design, Javanese in execution.

Tagore has borrowed largely, borrowed beautifully, borrowed extravagantly from all parts of India and the Orient. And the harmonizing of all these precious gleanings into one artistic

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whole was the work of a master-artist with the vision of a poetic prophet.

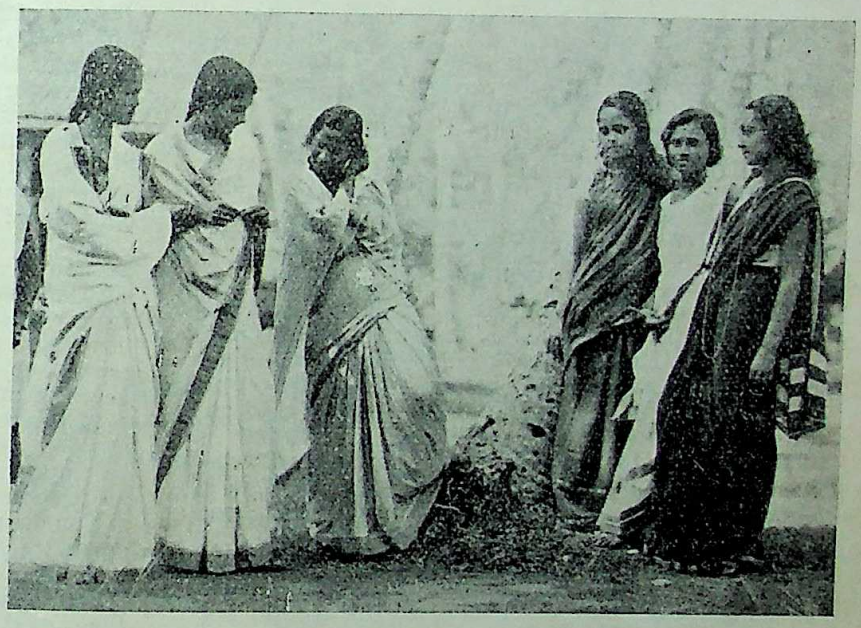
On that first performance the *Ceylon Daily News*, the Island's leading newspaper, wrote in the course of an editorial note headed "A Testament of Beauty":

"The warmth of the ovation accorded to the Tagore Players on Saturday on their first appearance in this country was a tribute to the beauty of their offering as well as a testimony that the artistic sensibility of our people is not yet dead or atrophied. The criticism is frequently made that the Ceylonese of today is an unworthy inheritor of the traditions of the race and unable to appreciate the ministrations of sound, colour and movement to the joy of life.

"It is unnecessary to recount the reasons why the arts suffered a decline in Ceylon. Except for a few scholars whose erudition has been devoted to the editing of works of ancient poets and philosophers, generations have passed without an outstanding exponent of a great art rising amongst us to re-awaken and re-fresh through his medium the slumbering spirit of the nation. The conclusion from this dearth of artistic genius that the people had lost all sense of beauty was pardonable. The response to the exquisite imagery and haunting melody of *Shap-Mochan* with its language of music and rhythm is, however, a proof that the people of Ceylon can appreciate the beautiful when they are brought face to face with it. The fact is that the Ceylonese had been starved of these things to such an extent that they became unfamiliar with them and were in danger of forgetting them. To Rabindranath Tagore we owe a debt for quickening the artistic conscience of the people as it has not been quickened within living memory. While the people of Ceylon accept gratefully and with humility the boon Tagore has given them, they may well ask themselves whether it is not their duty to do something more. It would be a poor compliment to the Poet to praise him but fail to be influenced by his example and his personality. Ceylon is very badly in need of a movement to inculcate a proper appreciation of Oriental art and music and it would be appropriate if she went to India, which has given her many gifts as mother to daughter, for guidance and help. Political advancement alone will not restore the self-respect of the people. If they are to lift up their heads without fear and take their place beside other Eastern nations that are challenging the attention of the world they must be able to show that they are capable of enduring achievements in the realm of the spirit. The magic touch of a supreme artist has brought out the latent forces of beauty and truth, long dormant in Bengal and the rest of India. We may look around in vain for him who is so to deliver us from the bondage of self-abasement. But against his coming we should strive to convey to the minds of the young and the receptive the value and beauty of music, dancing, poetry and colour which can convert human life into a sacrament. If the visit of Rabindranath Tagore and his party inspires us to begin such a task we shall honour the Poet much more than by mere praise. And in so doing Ceylon will honour herself."

The Sunday Edition of the *Ceylon Observer* was not less impressed, for its critic wrote :

"Against a plain, rose-coloured back-cloth, dispensing with superfluous accoutrements and trappings, in the way of Greek drama, the Santiniketan Players were disclosed at the parting of the curtains last night, grouped artistically in one corner of the stage, whilst the world-famous poet-producer sat on a colourful divan by the footlights following keenly and occasionally beating time. The Regal Theatre has rarely experienced such a stupendous attendance as last night when people had literally to fight for their seats on the unique occasion of the presentation of a poem-play by India's greatest poet of modern times. Tagore is the embodiment of all that is finest and loveliest in India's culture and truly is he fit to be the spiritual ambassador of his country to the world at large. It was indeed a great moment for the people of this country to be privileged to hear and see in person one of the outstanding figures of the age—one who has re-made his country and regained for it the respect and admiration that was her due."



Some of the students of Santiniketan who accompanied Tagore in Ceylon and took part in the play.
(Second from the right is a Ceylonese student)

After that first night's performance, the fame of the Tagore Players spread like a rumour all over the island. I know of people who travelled fifty, sixty miles to see them on stage.

Not only in Colombo, where *Shap-Mochan* was

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played five times, but also in Galle, Matara, Kandy, Jaffna, the play was a great success. I have never known any play that evoked so much admiration and praise in Ceylon. Mr. D. R. Wijewardene,—the Ceylon Northcliffe—the Managing Director of the Associated Newspapers, which run six newspapers, both in English and in the veranculars, was so impressed by the Play that he opened the services of publicity which flooded the Island from end to end.

Before his arrival in Ceylon Tagore himself was diffident regarding the response to the visit. The organizers of the tour in Ceylon were pessimistic, too.

I well remember that untiring worker, Dr. S. A. Wickremesinghe, suggesting that the workers would have to go round the town, house to house, hawking the tickets, if need arose!

But the newspapers made the whole island Tagore-minded. People read Tagore; they talked Tagore; they longed to see Tagore and his players. "Going Santiniketan" became a magic phrase that expressed the idea of being artistic.

Not only was the play a success. The Art Show drew crowds.

Mr. Nandalal Bose, hitherto an unheard of name in Ceylon, leapt into the limelight and was featured in all the newspapers.

The retiring artist was induced by the *Ceylon Observer* to explain the tendencies in modern Bengal Art. His contribution was short and simple—but he left out nothing:

> "The new Art movement in India, inaugurated by Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore, is only thirty years young. Here we have brought a small collection of paintings from Santiniketan, representative of this School. You will notice the stages through which the School has passed during her lifetime.
>
> Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, the giant-artist, who has produced about one thousand paintings in a short period of five years, has made the school take a step forward in her march towards the Unknown.
>
> We are marching towards the Unknown because it is only the present that exists for us and not the past or the future.
>
> We are Indian because we are trying to keep up the Indian spirit, although irrespective of style and technique, we welcome everything that has life, accept with regard all that those who come in touch with us have to offer.
>
> And it is for this reason that we do not attach much importance to technique and worship Life —the spirit of the living.
>
> Nature inspires us and the past. The past experiences of the world guide us.
>
> Here is the exhibition of our works, and they collectively speak all we have to say, because this is the language through which we are trying to speak.
>
> We have tried to express our joy because Art is the expression of Joy (ananda) of Life."

During the visit Tagore spoke frequently and on many subjects. Many were the occasions when the venerable Poet was made use of for personal propaganda and publicity purposes by aspiring politicians and shrewd tradesmen.

How much the Poet himself was pleased with what he achieved during his month's stay in Ceylon may be gauged from the message he sent to the *Ceylon Daily News* before his departure from the Island.

"On the eve of my departure from this beautiful land", he wrote, "I take the opportunity of offering my heartfelt thanks to the people for their very generous and warm welcome and hospitality offered to me and my students.

> "We have travelled from the extreme south to the farthest north and everywhere we have been greeted with enthusiastic welcome and untiring help that has done a great deal to lighten the strain of the continuous engagements, too arduous for our party who were not used to such a task. When I was about to take my voyage to Ceylon I expressed my confidence in my power to win the hearts and hospitality of the people in return for some of the best gifts that I had in readiness to offer them. My hope has been amply fulfilled, the credit for which is not mine alone and I gladly acknowledge that your own contribution to the success has been considerable. You came prepared to be pleased which I am sure is a trait of your hospitable nature and as a host you were eager to reward us with your recognition. In this you never disappointed us and I have most agreeably been impressed with the fact that you as a people are not given to carping criticism which usually accompanies the sneering supercilliousness born of an ignorance loudly trying to seem clever.
>
> You have the rare gift of friendliness which created a home atmosphere round us wherever we travelled in this island, for you easily banished the natural uncomfortableness of the unfamiliar by the sweet simplicity of your kindly spirit of service. From now the memory of the friends whom I have gained will make concretely real the vision of this country uniting it in the bond of love with my own."

Tagore's visit has left behind it a certain fragrance, an aroma that is subtle and sweet. In the island there is already a vague longing expressed and unexpressed. Whether this is merely superficial or lasting cannot be judged yet.

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LITHUANIA'S AGE-LONG FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

By A. POSKA

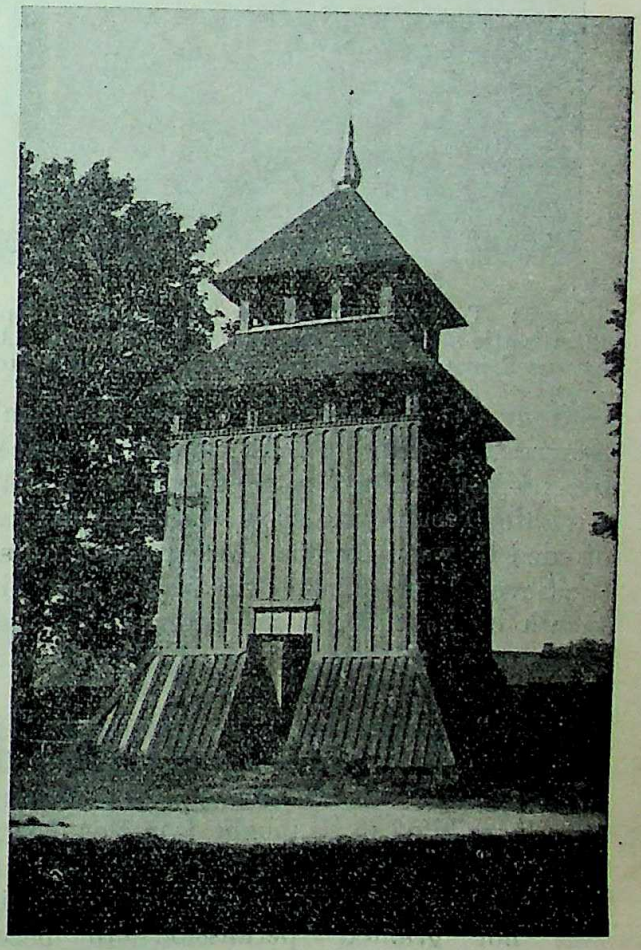
In spite of the fact that throughout the period from the 11th to the 15th centuries Christian Europe sent its best Cavaliers and Knights to fight pagan Lithuania—Lithuania expanded from Baltic to Black Sea, from Visla to Moscow. The Russians were very easily subdued, and Lithuanian kings entered into matrimonial relations with Russian principalities.

When constant fighting weakened Lithuanians in the West, they found allies in Russians and even Tartars; when peril menaced them from the East, Lithuanian policy was to become friendly with the crusaders. The Lithuanians frustrated the endless ambition of Chengiz Khan to conquer Europe, and constantly defeated and gave fatal blow to the Golden Horde, the Tartar kingdom in Europe.

With the expansion of Lithuanian territories the doors were widely opened for foreign influence. First we were confronted with the comparatively advanced West, and Lithuanians were absorbed into the East.

Lithuanian statute and the court language were Russian. Western ideas and notions bore their way through Latin, and Lithuanian language, as a language of minority, was neglected in the Lithuanian Empire.

In the beginning of the fifteenth century Poland was in great difficulties and sought union with pagan Lithuania. The Lithuanian king Yogaila married Polish Queen Yadviga and consequently both the States entered into personal union. With joint forces including Tartars and Russians Vytautas the Great gave the mortal blow to crusaders near Tannenberg from which they never recovered. After union with Poland Lithuanian kings baptized large number of people and officially Christianity became the State religion. But the people were for long centuries suspicious of the danger pending over them—for which they so bravely fought for centuries and continued to worship fire in thick forest until late seventeenth century. Slowly the grip of union was strengthened and Lithuania was annexed to Poland. Soon was introduced from Poland the system of vassalage and people were compelled to live in villages. The new type of aristocracy, though it contained some of Lithuanian blood, soon became more Polish than real Poles. The Churches also tyrannized



Ancient Lithuanian wooden Watch-tower

over the villages by heavy taxes and interfering in old customs. In the estates, churches and meetings the Polish language was used despising everything Lithuanian as pagan and working for its disappearance.

Lithuanians strongly disapproved of the union with Poland and the new system of slavery and rule, but tired of continuous wars and

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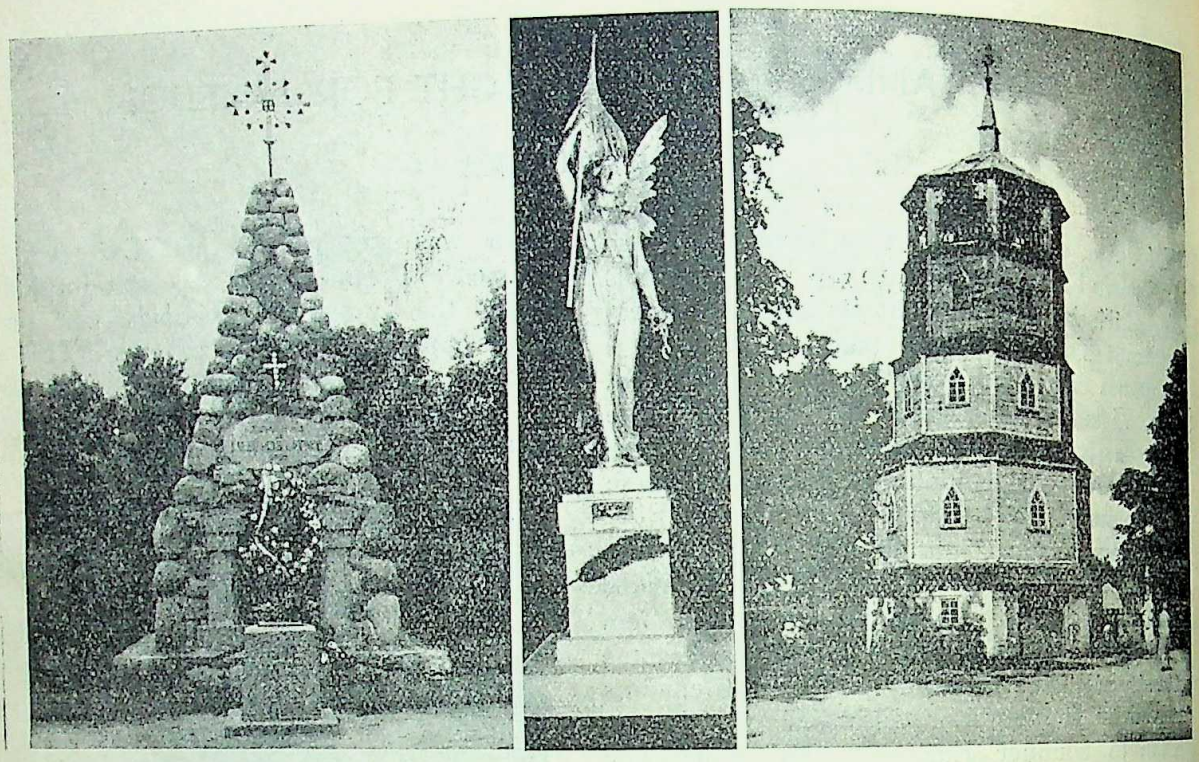

Left: To those who fell for "Lithuanian Independence" an altar-monument of blood-stained stones collected from battle-fields in various parts of Lithuania. *Middle*: Statue "Free Lithuania" cast from shells and bullets etc. used in the Campaign. *Right*: An old Watch-tower

without a leader, cheated in Pollo-Lithuanian congresses, retired to their villages for peaceful life, no more taking any interest in State affairs. And the result was soon seen—Poland was divided between Austria, Germany and Russia.

Several times in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Poles and Lithuanians tried to shake off the Russian rule, but without any success.

The darkness of the most severe sway began with the Russian revenge for rebellions. The name of Lithuania was abolished, the language was prohibited to be taught, learnt or spoken. Lithuanian books (religious only at that time) were declared unlawful and to Lithuanians was not granted permission to become teachers, legal practitioners or Government servants in Lithuania proper. The catholic priests were in full sway, denouncing everything Lithuanian and preaching everything that was Polish but in Polish languge no one of the listeners understood anything.

It appeared as if the Lithuanian Nation had been completely washed out of the surface of the Earth, but the last live coal was yet burning, covered with thick ashes.

The last waves of passing romanticism of Europe inspired some of Lithuanian sons like Poska, Duonelaitis, Reza and others and they began to seek inspiration in Lithuania's past for its glory and riches of culture. Such names like Goethe, Lessing, Kant, Mickevitz and later linguists find real gold mines for their plots and studies. Brother Grims exposed celebrated collection of Lithuanian fairy tales. Adam Mickevitz, the greatest of the world's romanticists, sang "Litva ojczizna moja"—"Lithuania, my Fatherland, thou art like health, we realize your value only when we lose you." But he wrote in Polish, Kant in German, Dostoyevsky and Solovyov in Russian.

The national feeling of denationalized Lithuanians and those living abroad was roused and they became conscious that it was not a shame to be Lithuanian. But the nation drew the last breath in paws of the Russian bear. No one believed that the dying one was capable of new life.

But the new day was near and "Auszra" (Dawn) appeared in German part of Lithuania as a Lithuanian monthly calling Lithuanians to awake. Soon appeared several more papers and the Russian Empire had a hard

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A Market day in Village

Lithuanian "Dobis" washing cloths in a small stream

A Market day in Town

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time to execute, exile and lock up thousands of Lithuanians for distributing illegal revolutionary literature. The Lithuanian book became a symbol of independent Lithuania and was procured and distributed with great difficulty under danger of death and exile. In this fight of the flea with the Elephant, the Russian Empire, Lithuanians lost hundreds of thousands of their best sons in jails, exiles, and executions. Many escaped to some more liberal countries like England, U.S.A., Brazil, S. Africa, Austalia, even now outnumbering the Lithuanian population in Lithuania proper.

Russia, completely defeated, proposed compromise, to print Lithuanian books in strongly Russian jargon, in Russian characters. But the Catholic Church, being afraid of orthodoxy, encouraged fight and boycotted Russian printed books.

Soon on the stage appeared poets Strazdas, Kudirka Maironis, whose songs blew out the last ashes and infuriated inextinguishable fire for Lithuanian resurrection.

The Russian Revolution in 1905 made the Czar grant some liberty and at this time the great Lithuanian National Congress in Vilnius demanded Lithuanian autonomy. But soon came defeat of the Russian Duma (Parliament) and terrible repressions darkened the sky of the great Utopia of Lithuanian freedom.

The bloody drama of the Great War was enacted in Lithuania and after four years hardly left a house standing or a family whose members did not perish from wounds or disease.

The Kultur-tragers of the civilized world occupied Lithuania and ruled it so cruelly that not the savagest tribes living under the Sun can parallel the sadism of the Superman. Before them all Czarist and Cossack cruelties were only "caresses." Terrorizing, robbing and killing innocent women and children just for sport, or using dead women's bodies for intercourse was the nimbus of occupants' triumph in Lithuania from 1915 to 1918.

But in 1918 the crushed ambition of the Superman took revenge in a most severe way in our unhappy land. Peace, and President Wilson declared the subjugated nation to be freed from the despotism of the occupants. A few Lithuanian veterans, women and war invalids gathered in the capital Vilnius on 16th February, 1918, and declared Lithuania independent.

The new Lithuania started a tragi-comical work to realize Lithuanian independence.

Germans got their own plans to put on Lithuanian throne one of their own princes.

The Germans were followed by waves of communists to occupy Lithuania and to spread world revolution into the West. First Lithuanian "troops" was of twelve to fourteen year old boys and girls, who began work between two fires, driving out Germans and guarding from communist invasion. After return of part of long-experienced war prisoners or refugees from Czarist armies defence was easier for the Lithuanians and soon Lithuania made peace terms with Soviet Russia. Seizing the opportunity, part of Russian and German monarchist army established themselves in Baltic States and began to rule, not recognizing local national governments. At the same time Poland, freed from Germans, started with the idea of building Empire to prevent to be united with Germany and Russia, and on the ground of past personal union to amalgamate also Luthuania and Latvia. Once more Lithuanians found themselves between two fires. Fighting all like one Lithuanians defeated Poles and signed a peace-treaty at Suvalkai where Poland acknowledged Lithuanian territory. Lithuania turned all its force against monarchists terrorizing the country and doubtless would have crushed them for ever, if the League of Nations had not interfered.

At the same time after a week of ratification Poland invaded Lithuania taking its capital Vilnius and a large part of Lithuanian territory. The central Polish Government denied responsibility of invasion—declaring that rebellious general Zeligonsky did it on his own account. To prevent new blood-shed the League of Nations and the International Tribunal at the Hague intervened declaring Lithuanian rights. Also the Central Polish Government promised to settle the question in a peaceful manner. But the Poles continued the invasion and Lord Curzon, Himans and other gentlemen from Geneva were busy to draw new lines of demarcation, neutral zones, etc.. The same fate attended also Klaipeda (Memel), the only sea-port of Lithuania. which was by Versailles Treaty separated from Germany as

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Parade on the tenth anniversary of Lithuanian Independence. Dr. A. Smetona, president of the Republic, in the carriage

Tenth anniversary of Lithuanian Independence. Prayers over the graves of fallen heroes

Lithuanian Independence celeberation in a village

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Lithuanian to be incorporated in Lithuania. The sympathy of the League to Poland was known to Lithuanians. So the Lithuanian youth made same as Zeligonsky, but without consent of Central Lithuanian Government and drove away French troops and battle-ships.

But Vilnius, the old Lithuanian capital, and one-third of ethnographical Lithuania is yet under the tyranny of the Poles, who are trying to denationalize Lithuanians by not allowing Lithuanian schools, usage of Lithuanian language in Churches, etc.

Lithuania in protest for the last twelve years has not any communication with Poland, remaining in a state of war.

Soon after the War was over, the first Lithuanian Parliament in 1922 declared Lithuania a Democratic Republic, and a State of farmers where every government outlook will be from the point of view of farmers.

As everything was entirely destroyed, people were demoralized and robbed by endless requisitions,—the first steps of rebuilding were very difficult. The war disadvantage also gave new opportunity to rebuild the country on absolutely new modern lines—not villages but farms, new system of field division, agrarian reform, supplying ground only to those who cultivate themselves personally, etc. Modern hygienic and practical building rose in place of pre-War huts crowded in villages.

Not being able to compete with the grain-exporting countries, Government built national centres for preparing finished products instead of raw ones—butter, cheese, bacon, meat pastes, good bread, semi-finished flax, linseed oil, celluloid, ply-wood, dry fruits and confectionary in place of grain and timber exported in pre-War times.

Education was made compulsory. Higher schools and special schools teaching subjects like farming, agriculture, poultry, carpentry, applied arts, etc., are free to everyone and poor and talented students are sent to Europe at Government expense for acquiring complete education. In the University and the gymnasiums 40% students are allowed free and 25% are given scholarships.

In the whole system of education there is a tendency of selection and only fit and capable students are encouraged to higher studies and given full opportunity for research work.

Lithuanians being conscious of their situation and duties are continuing severe fight for their neglected rights. We decided to win our enslaved part of compatriots and old Vilnius not by sword, but by intellect.

We are conscious that we are not merely beggars to take everything from the treasury of culture without paying our own share to it. So we neglect civilization, but we are building culture,*—that is why Lithuania is different from other Baltic states.

* Civilization consists of things, of artifacts, of machines, of ways of earning a living; culture represents the organization of emotions; through cultural experiences we discover values and learn how to appraise our relation to the physical universe. Civilization is the embodiment of externals; culture is derived from the inner life.

—*Edward C. Lindeman*

THE CHARKHA AS A MACHINE

By MELLY ZOLLINGER (Zurich-Switzerland)
AND
W. LAKSHMANA RAO, M. A., D. Sc. (Tübingen)

The Beginnings of Charkha Research

FIFTEEN years ago Sjt. Maganlal Gandhi began to study the design of the types of spinning-wheels in use in the different parts of the country, with a view to the introduction of an improved type. About five years after Sjt. Maganlalji began, a prize was announced by Sjt. Ravishankar Jhaveri for the design of a spinning-wheel capable of producing an output three or four times that of an ordinary spinning-wheel. This gave a fillip to Charkha research; even though none of the designs submitted satisfied the conditions laid down. About this time, the All-India Spinners' Association established a Technical Branch at Sabarmati under the directorship of Sjt Maganlalji, to which a school for the study of Charkha was attached. This marks the first step in the establishment of a research laboratory devoted to the study of Khadi problems. Unfortunately Sjt. Maganlalji did not live long enough to see the fruition of his labours. His death was an irreparable loss to the Khadi movement and the scientific side of the movement suffered a temporary set-back. But thanks to the labours of a gallant band of workers in the various provinces of the country—

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Satish Chandra Das-Gupta in Bengal, Lakshmidas Purshotamdas in Bardoli, and Keshavbai Gandhi and Prabhudasbai Gandhi in Sabarmati—the research outlook is fast being rehabilitated.

Need for Further Research

Charkhas designed and made by the technical branch at Sabarmati and Bardoli are largely in use in Gujerat and have proved very efficient. It required years of patient work to produce this improved type of spinning-wheel. Yet the time has not come when we can cry halt. Even though the Sabarmati-type is by far the best spinning-wheel available to spinners, there are a number of problems connected with the Charkha and with spinning that still await solution. The time and labour involved in winding the yarn on the spindle, the consequent falling off of the spinning speed, the necessity of using fresh spindles, the time taken in changing slivers—these drawbacks are inherent in the charkha, which could only be overcome if an entirely new design is adopted wherein these operations could be performed automatically.

There are, however, other defects in the present-day type of the charkha—such as, the slippage and creeping effects, the frequent adjustment required to keep the 'mala' (the string passing over the wheel and the spindle) neither too tight nor too slack, the all too frequent snapping of the 'mala' and the trouble and time involved in preparing fresh 'malas', the fatigue produced after a few hours of continuous spinning, the slow spinning speed and the small output realized on the charkha—that can be certainly overcome, or at least minimized to a great extent, through a better understanding of the principles underlying Charkha Sastra and by the elimination of faulty spinninng technique. Patient research is required to correct these defects and the measure in which we succeed in our efforts to this end is the measure in which we emanicipate the poverty of the dumb millions.

The following is a brief resumé of the problems that confront us in this connection and the experimental work done by us to get a better orientation of these.

Efficiency of the Charkha

The out-put of a charkha and its capacity for high-speed spinning depend directly (not taking into account the skill of the individual spinner) upon the number of revolutions made by the spindle for every complete turn of the wheel (driver). The greater the number of spindle-revolutions per turn of the wheel, the greater the speed with which a spinner can operate. This is a very important factor and the low speeds of the spinners in these parts, is mainly due to the defective design of the charkha, which does not allow a greater spindle-speed to be developed.

The number of revolutions made actually by the spindle is much less than that obtained by calculation. Thus the actual number of spindle-revolutions per turn of the big wheel in the Pattusali charkha has been found by us to be (the average of a number of counts) 172. The discrepancy of 52 revolutions, or 27 per cent represents a loss in actual performance. This means that when we spin on this charkha, we do not get full advantage of all the energy used by us, but that we get an output equal to only 77 per cent of the energy, the rest being lost or wasted. The accompanying table gives the number of spindle-revolutions per turn of the big wheel and the efficiencies in this respect of the different types of charkhas in use in Andhra.

Table 1

Type of Charkha	Diam. of Wheel.	Diam. of Spindle.	Calculated Revolutions Number.	Actual No. of Revls.	Loss of Revls.	% Loss.
Pattusali (40-1000)	28″	1/8″	224	172	52	23
Velama (15-40's)	26″	3/4″	104	83	21	20
Berhampur (10-20's)	25″	1/4″	100	82	18	18
Nellore (6-15's)	24″	1/4″	96	72	24	25
Sabarmati—Junior	24″	1/5″	120	101	19	16
Sabarmati—Bamboo	28″	1/5″	140	119	21	15
"Andhra"*	30″	1/5″	150	130	20	13

"Slippage"

The chief factor in the loss in the spindle-revolutions is to be referred to what is known as "slippage" or "slip." When one wheel drives another, a loss in the revolutions of the driven wheel will always occur. This slippage will be a minimum when the driver and the driven are properly aligned. It is not possible to explain how this slippage occurs during transmission. In the charkha it might be that the 'mala' or (the rope passing over the big-wheel and the spindle-pulley) itself does not travel over the big wheel with the same speed as the wheel itself. Whatever be the cause of this slippage, we have to investigate how the various factors in charkha design and spinning technique effect this loss and how best we can minimize this. It is hoped that these investigations would lead to improvements in the spinning-wheel, so as to increase its efficiency, without materially altering its simple design.

* This charkha has been designed and made for us for the purposes of research by Sjt. D. L. N. Sastry, B. A., B.Sc. (Lond), Managing Director, Andhra Engineering Co. Ltd., Vizagapatam.

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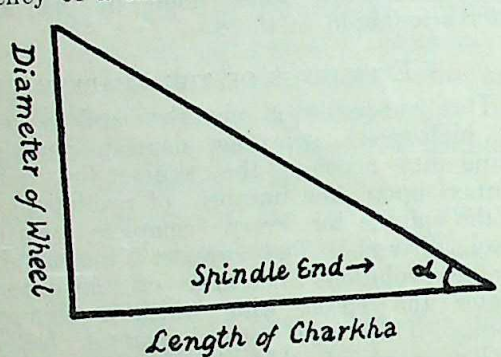
The Length of the Charkha

It is not usually recognized that the length of the charkha, or to put it more correctly, the ratio of the length of the charka to the diameter of its wheel plays a very important part in determining the slippage and in consequence the efficiency of a charkha.



From the above diagram it is clear that the 'mala' when passing over the wheel and the spindle-pulley makes an angle at the spindle end; and also that the value of this angle is dependent on the ratio of the length of the charkha to the diameter of the wheel (*i. e.*, this ratio is equal to the cotangent of the angle). From this it would follow that where the angle is greater, the mala grips a smaller surface of the spindle-pulley than when the angle is smaller, when it would grip greater part of the surface of the spindle-pulley. When the angle is small and the mala grips a greater surface of the pulley, there will be a minimum tendency for the mala to slip and for a minimum loss in transmission. In the following table we give the value of the angle and the dimensions of the different types of charkhas (the last column represents the efficiency per cent, as determined in Table 1):

TABLE 2

Type of Charkha	Diam. of Wheel	Length of Charkha	Angle made by the Mala	Length Dia-meter	Effi-ciency
	(D)	(L)	(d)	(cot d)	
Pattusali	28″	33″	42°	1.2	77%
Velama	26″	33″	39°	1.3	80%
Berhampur	25″	36″	37°	1.4	82%
Nellore	24″	26″	43°	1.1	75%
Sabarmati-Bamboo.	28″	39″	37°	1.4	85%
"Andhra"	30″	45″	35°	1.5	87%

It will be seen at once how important the dimensions of a charkha are in determining its efficiency. In the Pattusali charkha, which is exclusively used by the high count spinners, and which is considered to be the best type of the country-made charkhas, the wheel is larger than in any other, yet owing to the proportionately smaller length, the angle made by the 'mala' is larger and the slippage greater than in any other charkha. In the Sabarmati and Andhra types, the slippage is minimum, because the length has been made equal to one-and-half times the diameter of the wheel with the result that the loss due to slip has been reduced to a minimum. We cannot, for obvious reasons, increase the length of the charkha beyond a limit which is determined by convenience of the spinner. For all practical purposes, a length equal to 1½ times the diameter of the wheel and a wheel of 28 inches and a length of 42 inches would be very satisfactory for high count as well as for high-speed spinning.

Table 3 represents the results of another series of experiments, which also point to the above conclusions.

TABLE 3

(Type of Charkha: "Andhra." Calculated No. of Revls: 157)

Thickness of Mala (inches)	Spinning Speed	Angle=35° Tension of Mala (grams)	No. of Revolu-sions	Angle=42° Tension of Mala (grams)	No. of Revolu-tions
1/32″	Slow	115	141	85	132
	Usual	115	Loss due	95	Loss due
	Rapid	115	to Slip=10%	115	to Slip =16%
3/64″	Slow	130	134	110	128
	Usual	125	Loss due	110	Loss due
	Rapid	130	to Slip=13.3%	90	to Slip =18%
1/16″	Slow	200	116	180	115
	Usual	185	Loss due	150	Loss due
	Rapid	145	to Slip=26%	150	to Slip =27%

Thickness of Mala

The efficiency of a charkha depends also upon the thickness of the mala used. There is no uniformity among spinners with regard to the mala-thickness. The Pattusali spinners use very fine malas, whereas the medium count and coarse count spinners do not observe any definite rule at all. The Pattusalis, when questioned why they use only fine malas, are unable to give any reason at all, except that of custom. To get a more definite knowledge about the influence of mala-thickness on slip, a few experiments were devised by us, the results of some of which have been included in Table 3. The results are not very conclusive and require more experimental work: it is however more than likely that thinner malas improve the efficiency than thicker ones. (The usual thickness of the Pattusali mala is 3/64″, that used by other spinners is 1/16″.) It is also very probable that very thin malas (thinner than 1/32″) would not be able to drive the spindle at all, owing to the very small surface of contact between the mala and the spindle. It would be interesting to know the limiting values of mala-thickness.

The results also indicate that thicker malas exert a greater tension on the spindle and require greater energy to bring the spindle in motion than thinner ones.

Charkha and Motive-Power

To find whether one type of charkha runs more smoothly than another, or whether one

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of bearings are better than another set, it would be necessary to find out the energy required to spin on charkhas under these different sets of conditions, and to compare the energy required, the charkha or bearing requiring the least energy being the more efficient. This has a very important value in charkha mechanics, because for spinning, we have to depend entirely on the power we can exert with our right arm. It is said that the maximum power that a person could exert is only equal to about 1/10 H. P. and that too for a few minutes (see *Khadi Economics* by Gregg. Ganesan, Madras). As our energy is so very limited, we must be in a position to use it with the greatest advantage and economy possible, and any knowledge that helps us to this end is of the utmost value to us.

The small amount of power required to spin on the charkha lies at the root of all Khadi economics. While protagonists of the spinning-wheel take their stand on the trifling amount of capital required to buy and maintain it and on the ease with which it can be worked by young and old alike, critics of the spinning-wheel point out to the monotony of spinning, which they allege, involves a wastage of time and labour, in return for a few pice—in short, that spinning is sweated labour. It is unfortunately true that a spinner has to work at least 8-12 hours a day to earn a few coppers and that a few hours of continuous spinning at full stretch induces fatigue, making it impossible for the spinner to work longer hours and earn more wages. We must not, however, be obsessed with the idea that this state of affairs is beyond improvement. A good charkha designed on scientific lines—a true axle, frictionless bearings, a light wheel, etc.—and a correct spinning technique would certainly eliminate a great amount of fatigue. This is amply proved by the astounding records in continuous spinning and in high-speed spinning set up by enthusiasts during the many exhibitions and competitions. One is forced to the conclusion that a greater appreciation of the principles of Charkha Sastra on the part of charkha manufacturers and on the part of spinners would very effectively minimize fatigue and make spinning more a pleasure than a task.

Weight of Spindle and Spinning Energy

It is often the case that spinners who ignore even the fundamental principles of mechanics are the worst sufferers from early fatigue. We shall instance one such case of early fatigue that has been studied by us.

Amateur spinners often find it trying to commence spinning owing to the frequent snapping of the yarn. But once they get fairly started at a good wheel, they find the 'going' so smooth that they are unwilling to stop even to remove the loaded spindle and replace it by a fresh spindle. They never considered that as their spindles get heavier (as spinning proceeds) it requires an increasing amount of energy on their part to turn the wheel. It is no wonder that they feel fatigued after three or four hours' continuous spinning. Their out-put falls gradually and at the end of this period they are thoroughly tired out; whereas, if they changed over to a fresh spindle in the middle of their spinning, they could not only have turned out greater amount of yarn, but could have spun for a longer time, without feeling fatigued. In this connection, it must be emphasized that the lever-type of handle fitted to the Sabarmati charkha is an immense improvement over the curved type that is common in the country-made charkhas. The lever-type very effectively eliminates fatigue and gives a great comfort to the spinner. (It is a good plan to fit these handles to the ordinary charkhas.)

Initial Torque due to Friction in a Charkha

In this connection some experiments were done by us to find out the initial torque due to friction with varying weight of spindle (*i. e.*, with different weights of cops on the spindle). The following table gives the results with the "Andhra" type of charkha, the length of the balanced lever-arm being one foot, diameter of wheel 30", length of charkha = 45", thickness of mala = 1/32".

Table 4

Wt. of Spindle (Tolas)	Wt. to start motion (Tolas)	Additional wt. for every 1/2 Tola weight of Spindle	Initial Torque in lb-ft.
Spindle alone	15 Tolas		0.025
0·5 Tola	19 „	1 Tola	0.475
1.0 „	21 „	2 „	0.525
1.5 „	23 „	2 „	0.575
2.0 „	26 „	3 „	0.650
2.5 „	29 „	3 „	0·725
3·0 „	32 „	3 „	0.800
3.5 „	36 „	4 „	0.900
4.0 „	41 „	5 „	1.025
4.5 „	48 „	7 „	1.200
5 „	58 „	10 „	1.450

The curve below represents the results obtained in columns (1) and (2) of the above table.

From the above experiments we can gather the following facts: (*i*) We must first overcome the initial torque due to friction. Then we must apply energy to keep the wheel in motion. As spinning is not a continuous operation, we are unable to take full advantage of any momentum gained by the wheel which we set in motion. The force required to operate a charkha with a 2-tola spindle, will therefore be considerably in excess of the force equal to a weight of 26 tolas, (*i.e.*, a force of 0·65 lbs.) required to overcome friction. We would not be far wrong if we assume the force to keep a charkha with a 2-tola spindle in motion, to be

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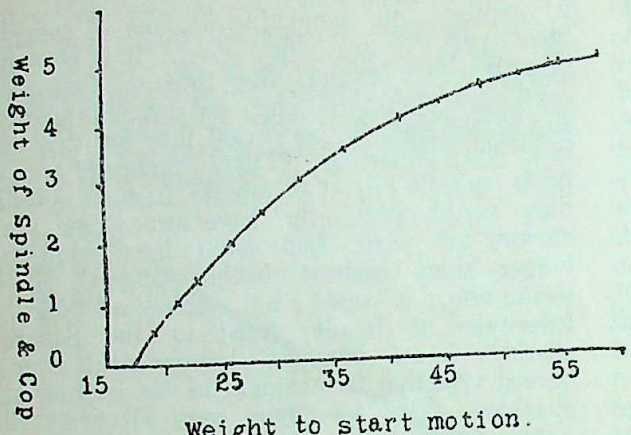


equivalent to 1 lb. (*ii*) From the data given in the above table, we can calculate the energy required to drive a charkha. This would be equivalent to about 0.008 H. P. to operate the charkha used in this experiment with a 2-tola spindle. It would be safe to assume that an energy of 1/100 H. P. would be required in spinning upon an ordinary charkha. (*iii*) The charkha in the above experiments was equipped with ball-bearings. In ordinary charkhas which are not equipped with any bearings, or at best with iron bushes, the initial torque to overcome friction and the energy required to spin would therefore be much in excess of that obtained for the above charkha.

Weight of Spindle-Cop and Tension of the Mala

It would also be interesting to know if the tension exerted by the mala on the spindle varies with the increased weight of the spindle-cop during the course of spinning. With this object in view a series of experiments was made, the results of one set (done on the experimental charkha) being given below in Table 5.

Table 5

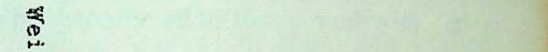
Wt. of Spindle.	Tension of Mala.
Spindle only	9.2 Tolas
0 5 Tolas	8.0 ,,
1.0 ,,	7.4 ,,
1.5 ,,	7.0 ,,
2.0 ,,	6.6 ,,
2.5 ,,	6.0 ,,
3.0 ,,	5.7 ,,
3.5 ,,	5.4 ,,
4.0 ,,	5.0 ,,
4.5 ,,	4.3 ,,
5.0 ,,	3.8 ,,

The accompanying curve represents the relation between the weight of the spindle and the tension of the mala.

It will be seen that as the mass of the spindle increases, the tension decreases. This would partly explain why sometimes the spindle does not revolve when the wheel is rotated. As the mala exerts less and less tension, it is unable to transmit the motion of the wheel to the spindle. As a result of this, a great amount of loss due to slippage occurs.

The Practice of Spraying Yarn

Sjt. Maganlalji has written in his book that yarn, after it is hanked, should be sprayed with water and that such treatment improves the strength of yarn. The instructions issued by the A. I. S. A., to its members to spray their subscription yarn before sending it to headquarters, is apparently based on this. In the absence of definite information as to how many hours or days the yarn is to be kept in a wet condition, or the increase of strength resulting from such treatment, some of the members do not take the trouble of following the advice, while others spray their yarns for a few seconds and no more, while still some others keep their yarns in water overnight. There is thus no uniformity at all as to the procedure in this respect.



With a view to investigate the effects of spraying on the tensile properties of yarn, the following procedure was adopted by us.

Experimental Work

The experimental work done by us falls under two parts. The first part consisted in determining the count and uniformity of count and the tensile properties of the yarn samples. Each sample was divided into twelve smaller hanks. Two of the smaller hanks were kept as controls. Each of the remaining ten hanks were first thoroughly wetted and then kept in water for 1, 3, 6, 9, 12, 18, 24, 36, 48 and 60 hours respectively. They were then hung out dry in the shade. Afterwards they were again tested for variations in count and tensile properties. The material used for this part of the investigation consisted of 25 different grades of yarn, which included all the available grades in Pattusali yarn (in all 10 grades), all available grades in Velama yarn (in all 7 grades) and the medium grades in coarse yarn (8 grades).

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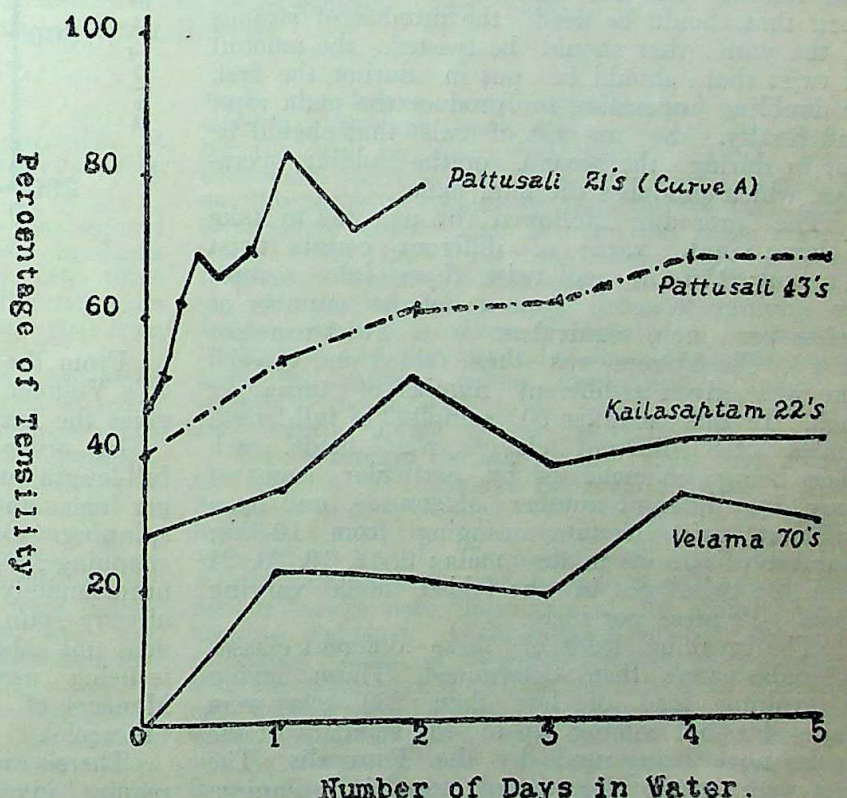
The following is a summary of the results obtained by us in the first part of our experiment:
(1) Every sample tested by us showed an increase of tensile strength after being soaked and dried in water.
(2) The increase in strength was proportional to the duration of water absorption.
(3) The increase in tensile strength is not steady and gradual, but shows frequent rises and falls. The strength after treatment is, however, always greater than the initial strength.
(4) An increase in the evenness of count and uniformity of tensility always accompanies the increase in tensile strength.
(5) No appreciable change was noted in the count of yarn after absorption of water.

Extended Time of Soaking

After having demonstrated the advantage of water absorption, the period of soaking was increased, so that our procedure might have a definite bearing on the practice followed by weavers in this respect. Weavers, as a rule, wet their yarns before sizing them. In some localities, the yarn is kept soaked in the shallow water of the village tank; in other places, the yarn is soaked in earthen vessels containing water. There is no uniformity of practice among weavers in this respect. Weavers of Pattusali and Velama yarns (high count yarns) keep their yarns soaked overnight. Some fine-yarn weavers in the Berhampur area soak their yarns for one whole day. We have been told that Guntur weavers soak their yarns sometimes for a period of two whole days.

In the second part of our experiment, the duration of soaking was varied from one to five days so as to find out the effects of water absorption for periods much longer than 60 hours, the maximum period covered in the first part of this experiment. The material for the second part embraced only a few of the grades of the Pattusali and Velama yarns (*viz.*, Pattusali counts: 43 and 29; Velama counts: 29 and 70). Samples of coarse yarn (*viz.*, Kailasapatnum, count 12's) were also used for the purpose of comparison.
The results are represented here graphically.



Wear and Tear of 'Mala'

Spinners, both amateur and professional, are very familiar with the annoyance caused by the equipment wearing out of the 'mala' after only a few thousand yards of spinning and by the time and labour involved in preparing fresh malas. It costs spinners many a pang to be forced to use yarn of their own spinning for the purpose of making fresh malas and for the professional spinners this represents a source of loss. Again, a fresh mala requires adjustment every few minutes, owing to its stretching; this also causes hindrance to continuous spinning. (One has only to witness a spinning competition to realize how defective malas are a handicap to successful spinning.)

The malas used by the Pattusali spinners (these spinners take the greatest care in the preparation of the mala, as in fact in all their processes, which are based on traditional methods and to which they adhere, very rigidly adhere) require to be renewed, on an average, every 3 days roughly 10 times during the course of the month. In summer, a mala lasts for 4 days, whereas in winter only for 2 days. Again, during seasons when good prices are realized for yarn, the spinners work both day and night, and this naturally wears out the mala much earlier. The Pattusali women usually spin one tola yarn per day of about 8-10 hours. Thus, taking four days to be the maximum life of a mala, and calculating the yardage on the assumption of 40 count spinning, we find that the maximum yardage spun by the Pattusali mala to be equivalent to not more than 3,500 yards. In the case of coarse count spinning where a thicker mala is used the maximum life of a mala can be taken to be equivalent to spinning 5,000 yards.

About 100 yards of yarn (the Pattusalis are now getting into the habit of using mill-yarn

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for their malas, these malas wearing out much earlier than the ones prepared from yarn of their own spinning) and about an hour's labour is required for the preparation of a mala. Thus the loss to spinner during the course of the month on this head would come to: the price of yarn that could be earned for spinning ten hours (approximately two annas); plus, the value of yarnu tilized in making ten malas (approximately 2 annas) a total of 4 annas.

The introduction of a mala having a longer life would undoubtedly be welcomed by the spinners as this would to a great extent minimize the labour and trouble involved. We have therefore devoted some time for finding out a process of making malas which would give a longer and more satisfactory wear.

Folding and Doubling Twist

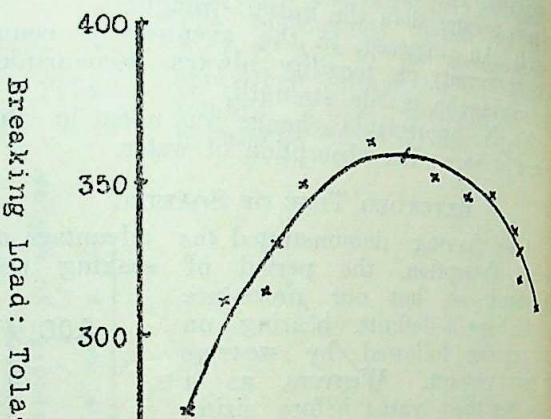
The problem of mala strength resolves itself into finding out the fineness or count of the yarn that should be used, the number of strands of the yarn that should be twisted, the amount of twist that should be put in during the first, or doubling operation to produce the mala rope, and finally, the amount of twist that should be put in during the second, or the folding operation, which produces the final mala.

The procedure followed by us was to take Velama single yarns of different counts (twist constant: 3.75-4.5) and twist them into a rope, by giving to each rope a definite number of twists per inch, equivalent to a Twist constant of 4·5. Each rope was then folded and to each one was given a different number of turns per inch. In this manner 50 samples of full-length malas of 8 different classes were made, each class being characterized by particular count of yarn, by different number of strands, and by a different twist (counts ranging from 10-35's; number of strands in the mala: 8, 12, 16, 20, 24 and 32; twist put in the folded mala varying from 1-12 turns per inch).

The breaking loads of these different classes of malas were then determined. Those having a breaking load of less than 250 tolas were rejected as not coming up to the standard of the malas now being used by the Pattusalis. The rest were tested for actual wear in spinning. Many of these were found to be satisfactory; specially those having 20, 24, and 32 strands with 5-10 turns per inch, and having breaking loads of 260-300 tolas, spinning from 8,000 to 12,000 yards before they snapped for the first time.

In the second part of the investigation, only malas having 32 strands of Velama 40's were used. A number of test-lengths were made, each with different number of twist-turns per inch. The breaking-loads of these test-lengths were found.

The relation between the twist and the breaking-load is represented graphically by the following curve.



From the curve we find that with a 32-ply, 40's Velama mala, a twist of 6-7 turns per inch gives the maximum strength.

In order to confirm these results, a few full-length malas were made with 6-7 twist-turns per inch and are now being used in actual spinning. One of these spun 15,000 yards before snapping; a third spun 20,000 yds; and was unfortunately lost by mistake; a fourth has already spun 40,000 yards and is still in use and does not show any signs of wear. (This mala is being used by Sjt. M. Kodandaramaswamy, Manager of the Fine Yarn Centre, A. I. S. A. Chicacole).

There are still a variety of problems that require investigation. Some of them are of scientific interest and some of them are of immediate practical importance. It is hoped that Indian University men would devote attention to tackling these in a scientific spirit and do their best to help the spinner and the weaver earn a living wage.

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BOOK REVIEWS

BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

THE NABOBS: *By T. G. P. Spear, Ph. D. (Cantab). Published by the Oxford University Press, London. Price 10s. 6d. net.*

This is an interesting and fully documented description of the social life of the English in India during the eighteenth century, divided into three periods: (*i*) from the beginning of English Settlements down to 1750, (*ii*) from 1750 to 1785 and (*iii*) from 1785 to the end of the century.

During the first period, the number of Englishmen in the different settlements was so small that a strong corporate life naturally developed. There were meals at the common table at which the Governor presided. The Company's servants in those days "believed in general fare washed down by copious draughts" of wine. Such hard drinking was partly responsible for the mortality which gave rise to the proverb "Two monsoons are the age of a man." Englishmen in those days generally lived in isolation from Indian society. What little Indianization there was, was only superficial, a thing of clothes and food and not a radical transformation of essential ideas."

During the next period when the Company's servants were changed from mere traders into masters of a vast empire, fortunes were more easily made. There was naturally more frequent contact with Indian society. Englishmen in India became so many 'Nabobs.' They acquired not only 'the wealth of Ind' but also the tastes and habits of the Indian country.

Indian dishes like 'palau' and 'cabob' which Thornton lovingly described towards the close of the eighteenth century, became more common. "By the time the fashion of *hookah* smoking had become firmly established" among Englishmen in this country. It extended even to the ladies. The highest compliment they could pay a man was to give him a pipe by smoking his *hookah*! Two other vices became more widespread among Englishmen in India during this period, were the adulation of the zenana and the addiction to the bottle. The acquisition of quick fortunes combined with the comparative paucity of English women, made the former practice possible and perhaps inevitable. European taste for a nautch disappeared by the end of the period, though in the army, enthusiasm for it continued a little longer. Throughout this period of transition from the old factory life to the more settled order, two opposite forces were at work, firstly there was "the cumulative effect of numbers in fostering a class spirit" among Englishmen and secondly "the orientalizing effect of contact with Indian society." Former influence ultimately triumphed and by the end of the century there was a growing contempt among Englishmen in India "of everything Indian as irrational, superstitious, barbaric and typical of an inferior civilization."

This ushered in the next phase when the racial gulf between the rulers and the ruled widened. "The frequency of grand dinners and reciprocal entertainments decreased, the formation of intimate friendship with Indians ceased....The higher posts of the Government were filled with appointments from England, its designs became more imperial and its attitude more haughty and aloof." As the author points out, "the days of corrupt officials, of ill-gotten fortunes, of oppression of ryots, of zenanas ..were also the days when Englishmen were interested in Indian culture, wrote Persian verses, and foregathered with Pandits, and Maulvis and Nawabs on terms of social equality and personal friendship. The tragedy of Cornwallis. ..was that in uprooting the acknowledged evils of corruption, he upset the social balance without which mutual understanding was impossible." Then followed "a period of social segregation and it was left for Rammohun Roy with his advocacy of western reforms and Bentinck with his greater sympathy towards India to lay the foundations of a new and better spirit."

Dr. Spear has given us an able and impartial description of social relations between Englishmen and Indians during the formative period of modern Indian history. He has not minced matters when he has referred to the rôle played by English ladies and missionaries. He finds a solution of present-day difficulties in better mutual understanding. The reviewer however has some misgivings. For, even if the social relations between the two

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communities be as happy as possible, even if there is no trace of racial hauteur in the one, and of inferiority complex in the other, shall we have "rose trees and lotus flowers" instead of "stubborn cactuses of criticism and bitterness" ?

J. C. SINHA

PERSONALITIES IN PRESENT-DAY MUSIC: *By E. Krishna Iyer, B.A., B.L., Advocate, Madras (Jt. Secretary of the All-India Music Conference of 1927 and of the Music Academy of Madras, 1928-31): Rochouse & Sons, Esplanade, Madras, December 1933. Pp. 99, with a number of portraits. Price One Rupee only.*

This is quite an out-of-the-way book, which will interest all lovers of Indian music. It gives an appreciation together with short biographical sketches of some of the best known musicians (singers and players on the various instruments) and dancers of South India. In Northern India we do not know the name and fame of most of these experts in the Karnatak system of Hindu music, though occasionally in Calcutta, Benares or Lucknow we may have the privilege of listening to them and admiring their genius. Mr. Krishna Iyer has rendered a service of love to these eminent personalities of his part of our country, and we can form some idea of the *milieu* and manner in which the genius of these *Bhagavathars*—religious singers—and other exponents of vocal and instrumental music finds its expression An interesting section is on those South Indian *prima donnas* who are famed as the best exponents of classical Indian dancing, such as has been described in Sanskrit treatises like the *Abhinaya-darpana* and the *Bharata-Natya-Sastra*. The author has written with enthusiasm, and on the whole with its portraits and with the sidelight it throws on the music and dances of South India it will be a book to keep in all libraries of Indian music.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

THE RASHTRAKUTAS AND THEIR TIMES: *By Anant Sadashiv Altekar, M. A., LL. B., D. Litt. (Poona Oriental Series No. 36).*

A book on this subject was reviewed in the May issue of this Journal, and regret was expressed that it was neither critical nor exhaustive. It is gratifying to note that within two months a new book appears on the field which is a scholarly production in every sense of the word.

Mr. Altekar has studied not only the political history and the system of administration of the Rashtrakutas but also the religious, social, economic, literary and educational conditions of the times. In dealing with these topics he has given clear evidence of a wide reading and a thoroughly critical judgment. His discussions on the origin and early history of the Rashtrakutas will, I hope, set at rest the controversies inspired by local or clannish patriotism. It is not possible or desirable to enumerate the various topics on which the author has thrown new light or made a critical study of all the relevant facts in a calm judicial spirit. We may refer, for instance, to his dissertation on pp. 139 *ff.* on the numerical figures attached to territorial divisions. Nor is it necessary to refer at length to some of his statements which appears to us to be open to criticism, *e.g.*, his statement that Govinda III compelled Dharmapala to recognize his suzerainty (p. 67). But we have no hesitation in saying that the book under review is the most critical and complete history of the Rashtrakutas known to us and that it reflects the greatest credit upon its author.

It is a matter of sincere regret that neither the printing nor the general get up of the book is at all commensurate with its intrinsic merits. The Rashtrakutas have at last got their historian, but not the publisher.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

NATURE'S FINER FORCES: *By Rama Prasad. Published by Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. Pp. 275.*

As the name implies, the author seeks to interpret some of the mysterious powers that are there in nature and that modern science and philosophy have overlooked or have failed to understand. It is an occult science of the body in which Theosophy believes. The book abounds in occult phrases too: *e.g.*, 'auditory transparency' (p. 5), 'mental matter and 'spiritual matter', (p. 17), 'cardiac soul' (p. 210), etc. It professes to give us the deeper science of the body but quietly ignores the existence of modern physiology and anatomy. We are told of the differences of opinion that existed in the ancient world as to the centre of the system of the body (209), it being the navel according to some, the heart according to others. The difference, however, is considered "immaterial" (p. 210). And we are not even remotely asked to remember that modern physiology also may have to say something on the matter.

Adverse critics would probably think that such a book is only an amalgam of pseudo-science, pseudo-religion and sheer unintelligibility and that no useful purpose is served by translating worn-out Sanskrit texts into English and trying to pass them off as profound science. Though we would not entertain such uncharitable views about our author, we certainly regret the absence of any comparison of ancient theories with modern science. The book would have gained in value if occult truths could be tested and proved with the aid of modern science. With all the glamour of secret knowledge, the world cannot be persuaded to repudiate science so easily.

U. C. BHATTTCHARJEE

MY EXPERIENCE AS A LEGISLATOR. *By (Mrs.) S. Muthulakshmi Reddy, M. B. & C. M. Rs. 2.*

Dr. (Mrs.) S. Muthulakshmi Reddy, as is well-known, is a prominent physician and public worker and she was nominated a member, and elected Deputy President, of the Madras Legislative Council in 1926, continuing in that capacity till 1930. Her career in the Council is by itself a vindication of the rights of women, and she stands as a triumph for Indian Women's Association, which agitated for and secured suffrage in course of only a few years. In these pages she gives an account of her work in the Council, quoting liberally from her speeches to show the reforms she fought for and her achievement in the department of welfare of women and children. Her narrative extends from December 1926 to 1930 and is a record of practical reforms that she advocated for during the period. It is designed to serve as an incentive to other Indian women to enlist their services in the public cause, and there is a quiet note of satisfaction that is gained while doing one's duty. A little more personal touch would have added to the zest of the reading.

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SHAKESPEARE AND THE PROBLEM OF EVIL. *M. V. N. Subba Rau, M. A. The East and West Publishing House, Rajahmundry.*

This was delivered as an Andhra University Extension lecture. Mr. Rau shows how Shakespeare viewed the problem of evil and he tries to find out the philosophy of life that formed the background for the view that he held. Shakespeare recognizes the place of suffering in the scheme of the world but he never makes the wicked prosper in the long run, and though "perfect justice" (as Dr. Johnson had pointed out) is generally absent from his plays, he never makes us lose faith in goodness and virtue. Dowden has discovered a *new* note of *reconciliation* in the last group of Shakespeare's plays; Mr. Rau contends that this note is not new, but it is a characteristic note, present in his earlier plays as well,—in this, however, Mr. Rau has been misled by the term *reconciliation* which Dowden has used in a wider, one would like to add, in a more spiritual, sense.

THE CALL OF THE SOUTHERN CROSS. *A. S. Wadia, M. A. J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London & Toronto. 6s. net.*

Prof. A. S. Wadia has already made his mark in travel books and in this volume he has given his impressions of a four months' tour in Australia and New Zealand. He started on his voyage in October "saw" and "took" Australia and the two islands, north and south, that constitute the latter with undimmed enthusiasm. It is remarkable that the Professor finished his tour exactly as he had planned it—to the minute. He takes delight in praising men and nature alike, but in his most enthusiastic praises he never loses balance and never slips into a hyperbole, he is there to correct other people of such lapses. Mr. Wadia's commonsense seldom deserts him and it hampers his enthusiasm for the scenes he visits; he has an insight into human nature and the processes of civilization, and his evident enjoyment of the different phases of external nature is certain to be shared by the reader. The delightful pictures of Australian landscape and the map of the route traversed enhance the value of the book.

A WORLD IN DISTRESS: *the remedy as seen by the theosophist. A Ranganatha Mudaliar, B. A., B. L., M. L. C.*

This is Adyar pamphlet No. 171 in which the writer, taking up for his subject the whole of the world, confines himself to the distress in rural India; to think India a world by itself, and is it not an important—some would say, the most important—part of the world? It is, moreover, so true that India lives in her villages, not in her towns. The writer's analysis of the causes of India's suffering is lucid, and the exposition is delightful reading.

"The remedy" he prescribes is nothing but recognition of the principle of brotherhood in all scenes of life and acting up to it. A counsel of perfection! But the idealist is always open to this question, and Mr. Mudaliar's lecture (for this was delivered as a convention lecture) contains besides some useful statistics. It should be made welcome to the nationalist and widely circulated.

MY LIFE AS GERMAN AND JEW: *Jacob Wassermann. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London.: 1934.*

The Jews constitute a problem in Europe. There may have been ever regarded with suspicion, distrust and contempt: the Nazi aggression of recent date is but an outbreak of deep-seated discontent, seething and rumbling underneath the surface of society. The problem is not for the Jews and the Europeans only, but it has its reflection in India as well, where provincialism and nationalism are in mutual conflict as well as grating against internationalism. The Bengalis are being ousted from the other provinces of India, the spirit of nationalism is silenced by the bogey of provincialism, and at last it is having its repercussions in Bengal as well, while mere humanity as such is generally given the go-by in our so-called enlightened circles watching their own interests argus-eyed. We thus come to the fundamental problem: how to root out the germs of hatred and racial bitterness from our midst—hatred that corrodes into the soul and chills all genial currents. Wassermann, the gifted novelist, could not cease to be a German because he was a Jew, nor to be a Jew because he was a German. The problem was so acute: he felt it deeply, thought deeply, and over his life, life in its freshness and with its early crises, there hung the shadow of this racial bitterness. He had to pay heavily all through his years in suffering and distress for having been born a Jew and for persistence to retain his nationality as German. He does not hint at the remedy for he has none, his mood is despair, and he merely presents the problem vividly and feelingly, but this sketching should draw us to the mystery and help in its solution. We are told his books have been proscribed in Germany, ever since the Nazis rose in power; and this autobiography (it is not a formal account of his life but the spiritual struggle of his life sketched out with a few bare but important incidents for its background), published in German in 1921, has been published in Great Britain only this year and after his death. The permanent interest of the book should be recognized and appreciated.

GOLAK, THE HERO: *By H. G. Bombay. The Times of India Press. 1932.*

The story of a hero is always refreshing reading, provided he is a real hero. Golaknath was such a one, born in Bengal in the early years of Victoria's reign;- influenced by the teaching of early Christian missionaries, he left house and home at what he considered to be the call of duty, at the bidding of a new-born faith. In a spirit of asceticism, he went so far as to shed off his surname. The result was that he sought for light and found it in Christianity. He settled down at Jullundur and his home there was a refuge for all in the Panjab who had been toiling in darkness. It is, in short, the story of spiritual adventure of a Bengali who stamped his personality on the lives and thoughts of many in the Panjab, the province of his adoption, and as such he deserves to be better known.

The writer, however, in his account of the early struggles of Golaknath, has failed to do justice to the different faiths; this is but natural and his bias may be overlooked. His ignorance of things in general may be proved from a single instance, his rendering of 'Golaknath' as 'lord of ten million cows.' The language is generally faulty, though the thoughts are easy to follow.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

EVOLUTION OF GITA: *By Kumudranjan Ray, M. A. Published by K. Ray, 17 Bhawani Dutt Lane, Calcutta. Price Rs. 4. Pp. 222.*

The title of this book is rather a misnomer. The

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author has discussed various topics, such as the metaphysical and ethical ideas of the Gita, the date and philosophy of the Upanishads, the different systems of Hindu philosophy and their dates, *sutra* literature, Charaka Samhita, Buddhistic philosophy, Puranas, Tantras, the dates of Bhasa and of Kalidasa, etc. Many of his observations are thought-provoking and extremely interesting. The author has sometimes allowed his imagination to get the better of his reason. He has found descriptions of "ostrich-like flying reptiles, such as dinosaur, atlantasaur, etc., in the Vedas." But perhaps the "chronic brain disease" from which he suffers, as he himself says in the preface, is responsible for the discovery. The author has come to the conclusion that the Vedas were written long before 3000 B. C. The best chapter in the book is that which deals with the age of Kalidasa. The author has put forward very strong evidence to show that Kalidasa flourished during the time of the Sunga king Agnimitra, that is sometime about 150 B.C. This view was originally started by the late Principal S. Ray and also independently by Mr. Subramaniya. The arguments put forward by the author to indicate the chronological evolution of the Gita are not convincing. According to the author, Vyasa flourished in the 4th century B. C., and lived for more than 200 years—"for by Yoga power a man can live as long as he likes"!

THE TWELVE PRINCIPAL UPANISHADS *(Vols. I & II). By Dr. E. Roer. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.*

The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, has done a public service in printing the second edition of Dr. Roer's Upanishads. The text is in Devanagri and there is an English translation of the text, with notes also in English from the commentaries of Sankaracharya and the gloss of Ananda Giri. Prof. M. N. Dvivedi has written a very learned preface to the volumes. The first volume contains the Isa, the Kena, the Katha, the Prasna, the Mundaka, the Mandukya, the Taittiriya, the Aitereya, and the Svetasvatara Upanishads. The second volume is wholly devoted to the Brihada Aranyaka Upanishad. The printing is in very clear type and the edition has been very well executed. The book is one that can be confidently recommended to English readers of the Upanishads. The translation generally is true to text although exception may be taken to certain passages such as the rendering of *sloka* no. 23 of the second *valli* of the Kathopanishad where "*prabachanena*" has been translated as "by knowledge," "*Medhaya*" as "by standing," "*bahuna srutena*" as "by manifold science."

THE FUTURE OF THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY—*Convention Lectures, 1930: By Annie Besant, B Sanjiva Rao, Earnest Wood, Hirendra Nath Datta, C. Jinarajadasa. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. Pp. 193, Price 1-8.*

This is a collection of five convention lectures delivered in Benares at the 55th Anniversary of the Theosophical Society in December, 1930. All the speakers have kept in view the question of the future of the Theosophical Society but they have approached the problem from different angles of vision. The lectures are all very instructive and may be read with pleasure and profit even by those who do not belong to the Faith.

TALKS ON THE PATH OF OCCULTISM—*Vols. I & II. By Annie Besant and the Rt. Rev. C. W. Leadbeater. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. Pp. 615.*

These two books record the talks by Bishop Leadbeater and Mrs. Annie Besant, on the three books namely the Voice of the Silence, At the Feet of the Master, and Light on the Path. The talks minus their occultism are thoroughly enjoyable and will appeal to the general reader. The occultism dominating the Theosophical Society is of such a type as to scare away rationally minded people. We are asked to believe that the Book of Dzyan has an "origin altogether anterior to this world" and that "it appears to be very highly magnetized for as soon as a man takes a page into his hand he sees passing before his eyes a vision of the events which it is intended to portray, while at the same time he seems to hear a sort of rhythmic description of them in his own language, so far as that language will convey the ideas involved. Its pages contain no words whatever—nothing but symbols." There are many gems of this type in the books.

G. Bose

SELF-RESTRAINT *Versus* SELF-INDULGENCE: *By M. K. Gandhi, Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad. Fourth edition. Re. 1. Pp. IX+162.*

It is curious that Mahatma Gandhi's book on the sexual question has run to the fourth edition, while his Autobiography, which is of far more abiding value, has run merely to the second edition. We need not, however, believe from this that people are beginning to take a healthy interest in the matter of sex. For that, they would rather turn to a physician or a psychologist than to Gandhiji. The fact is that when men fail to obtain the object of their desire, they like someone to tell them that gratification itself is bad; and that seems to be the chief reason why, of all his works, this book of Gandhiji on sex has become so popular with the public.

But for Gandhiji himself, the justification of self-restraint is entirely different. The present age hopes to make men happier by satisfying their physical hunger for happiness by an improved system of production and distribution. But Gandhiji holds that such a hope is, in the end, an illusion; and that man's true happiness lies in a limitation of the desire for pleasure so that his energies may be liberated for the service of Truth and God, which gives us a greater and a more permanent form of pleasure than is possible through the senses. From this point of view, his views on the sexual question are worthy of careful attention.

At times, however, Gandhiji seems to be actuated by a sheer love of chastity or purity for its own sake and not because it is a means to an end. That seems to us to be a form of idolatry; but Gandhiji answers the charge by stating that, in his own case, the means *are* the end. They are, in fact, identical.

Whether we agree with him or not, the book forms an important contribution to the understanding of the man who, like one crying in the wilderness, preaches the gospel of self-restraint in an age which pins its faith upon the fulfilment of the desires of man, so far as hunger and sex are concerned, as a means of rendering him happier in the end.

Nirmal Kumar Bose

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THE STATE OF THE SOVIET UNION : *By Joseph Stalin. Being Report on the Work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. International Publishers, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York. Price 75 cents.*

This report on the work of the Central Committee to the 17th congress of the communist party of the Soviet Union is a concise but complete survey of the international situation and the internal and external position of the Soviet Union. As regards the international situation, it describes the movement of the economic crisis in capitalist countries, the growing acuteness of the political situation in capitalist countries, and the relations between the U. S. S. R. and the capitalist states. The second part of the report describes the Soviet Union's progress in industry and agriculture, the improvement in the material condition and culture of its toilers and in commodity circulation and transport. The third part is devoted to the problems of ideological-political leadership and those of organizational leadership. Being an authoritative publication the book will naturally be read by all who want authentic information relating to U. S. S. R. so far as it may be available.

As indications of material prosperity may be mentioned, (1) an increase in the national income from 35,000,000,000 rubles in 1930 to 50,000,000,000 rubles in 1933, and in view of the fact that the income of the capitalist elements, including concessionaires, at the present time represents less than one-half per cent, almost the whole of the national income is distributed among the workers, office employees and toiling peasantry, the co-operative societies and the state," and (2) "an increase in the average annual wages of industrial workers from 991 rubles in 1930 to 1519 rubles in 1933."

As indications of the cultural development of the country may be mentioned, (1) "the introduction throughout the U. S. S. R. of universal compulsory elementary education and an increase of literacy among the population from 67 per cent at the end of 1930 to 90 per cent at the end of 1933," (2) "an increase in the number attending schools of all grades from 14,358,000 in 1929 to 26,419,000 in 1933" (3) "an increase in the number of scientific research institutes from 400 units in 1929 to 840 units in 1933," and (4) "an increase in the circulation of newspapers from 12,500,000 in 1929 to 36,500,000 in 1933."

CHILD MARRIAGE : *The Indian Minotaur—an object-lesson from the past to the future. By Eleanor F. Rathbone, J. P., LL. D., M A., M. P. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London. 2s. 6d. net.*

This book exposes the evils of child marriage, giving extracts from the Joshi Report and other sources, shows up the futility of the Sarda Act, and suggests future remedies. It should be read both by the opponents and the advocates or whitewashers of child-marriage. For the fact that child marriage still prevails both the people and the Government are to blame—no matter to what extent respectively. The remedies which the authoress suggests are mainly through women's part in the new constitution and through the education of public opinion by methods old and new.

LITERACY IN INDIA, *with statements giving population, the numbers of literate and English-knowing people, and their percentages in all the Provinces, Districts and States of India, according to the census of 1931. Prepared by the All-India Muslim Educational Conference, Aligarh.*

It is a handy and very useful publication.

SELECT CONSTITUTIONS OF THE WORLD : *Edited by B. Shiva Rao, M. A., Madras. Price Rs. 10. Royal 8vo., pp. 684.*

This bulky volume contains the constitutions of the following 19 countries, as also the Statute of Westminster : Irish Free State ; Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes ; Poland ; Austria ; Esthonia ; Czechoslovakia ; Germany ; U. S. S. R. ; Mexico ; Denmark ; Union of South Africa ; Australia ; France ; Switzerland ; Canada ; Belgium ; Norway ; Sweden ; United States of America. All editors and other journalists in India, all M. L. A.s, and members of the Council of State, all M. L. C.s, all leading Congressmen and Liberals and other publicists would be better equipped for their work if they possessed this valuable work.

It is true, as Mr. Shiva Rao says in the preface, that the value of the book would have been greatly enhanced by the addition of the constitutions of Turkey, Italy, Spain, Persia and Afghanistan But that would have involved some unavoidable delay. As it is, the book would be found very serviceable.

C

SAIVAISM, THE RELIGION OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS : *By D. Gopal Chetty Late Editor, "New Reformer," Madras. Published by the Author, Royapettah, Madras. Pp. 1-50. Price As. 8.*

The author of this booklet has made an attempt to draw the attention of the readers to the agreement (which he supposes to be very close) existing between Druidism, the religion of the inhabitants of Ancient Britain, and Saivaism by which he means the Saivaism of the South as prevalent among the Tamils. From this agreement he jumps to the conclusion that 'Druidism was Saivaism' (p. 47) and that the latter was the religion of the Ancient Britons who are identified with that branch of the Tamil race who after the submersion of the continent of Lemuria fled for life in crafts and reached the shores of Africa and from there went as far as the remote Erin (p. 3). It is supposed that these people took Saiva literature with them and preached the Saiva religion wherever they went. But it is to be noted that the points of agreement pertain mostly to traces of primitive religion including symbolic and phallic worship and mystic diagrams met with among people of different parts of the world. As a matter of fact, however, the arguments put forward do not appear to be sufficient to warrant the conclusion arrived at. But the booklet will be welcome to the general reader inasmuch as it brings home to him the principal characteristics of Druidism, a very old religion indeed.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

THEORY AND PRACTICE OF COMMERCE : *By J. C. Mitra. Pp, 724. Price Rs. 4.*

This is, as Sir R. N. Mookerjee rightly calls it, an omnibus work dealing comprehensively with various aspects of commercial theory and organization, with particular reference to Indian conditions. The book is intended mainly for university students but those engaged in actual commerce have also a good deal to learn through its perusal, the only trouble is that Mr. Mitra has so much chaff mixed up with the real

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grain that one is likely to get quite lost in the mass of unnecessary detail. Moreover, in a big volume like this, one might reasonably expect to meet with a critical study of the Indian Companies' Act, the absence of which considerably detracts from the merit of the publication.

FINANCE AND ECONOMICS. *The World Chaos and the Way Out Series: By Ernest Kirk. Pp. 142. Price Re. 1-8.*

This is rather an evangelist's approach to present-day financial problems than that of an economist. The author holds that the present world depression is not likely to be lifted so long as man's approach to the problems of life is not fundamentally modified in the light of understanding one's real self—"the inner Reality." This fanatical idea hardly needs any comment. We do not know why the author has wasted so much of his valuable time and energy on a thesis like this.

CURRENCY AND EXCHANGE: *By B. T. Thakur, M. A. Pp. 35 only.*

This is a monograph on Indian currency and exchange problems that loomed large with Britain's going off the gold standard in 1931. It embodies the views of Mr. Thakur as expressed in an address delivered by him to the Rangoon Rotary Club on the 20th October, 1931.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY: *By J. D. S. Paul, M. A. (Yale), Ph. D. (London). Pp. 86. Price 3 Shillings.*

In a remarkably small compass Dr. Paul presents here a very good study of the early trading organization of the East India Company, from its inception to 1621, particularly with reference to the competition of the European nations for the markets of the East.

N. SANYAL

GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE: *His Life and Speeches by John. S. Hoyland, M. A. Builders of Modern India Series, Y. M. C. A. Publishing House, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.*

The portrait presented of Gokhale in this small volume of about 200 pages is admirable. By making plenty and skilful quotations from his speeches, the author makes the real Gokhale appear before his readers. Our impatient students of politics would do well in reading this volume to appreciate Gokhale's unique faculty of making interesting even the driest details of public business and how he came by it by laborious study of the *minutiæ* of finance and dry statistics; and what pure and undefiled zeal on behalf of the weak and oppressed, and what undying fire of love for India prompted him to do it. The author being a foreigner, the last chapter of the book on Gokhale's place in History is doubly interesting reading. The printing and get-up of the book is exc llent, and there is a good portrait of Gokhale. The usefulness of the book is increased by an index. At p. 138, one notices a small error. "Lord Ronaldshay tells us that six months *after* his Congress speech &c"—'after' should be 'before.'

J. M. DATTA

YOGA AND WESTERN PSYCHOLOGY: *a Comparison: By Geraldine Coster. Published by the Oxford University Press, London. Price 5s. net.*

This is, we think the first attempt made by a Western scholar to bring the Indian system of Yoga in relation with the Modern Psycho-analytic Therapy of the West. The Authoress' comparison of the analyser and the student of Yoga are real interesting and her English renderings of some of the Yoga sutras of Patanjali are accurate.

She has in the present volume dealt only with the externals of the subject as it were; let us hope she will in her next book go deeper and will make an attempt to bring out the more fundamental unity that exists between Yoga & Psycho-analysis.

SUHRIT CHANDRA MITRA

1. INDIA AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS *by Sir J. C. Coyajee, Kt., [Andhra University Series No. 5, Waltair].*

2. INDIA AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS *By Dr. V. S. Ram and B. N Sharma of the Lucknow University [Upper India Publishing House, Lucknow].*

These two works are the outcome of a laudable desire to interest educated India in the affairs and work of the League of Nations. Sir J. C. Coyajee writes from a somewhat inside knowledge of the working of the League as a member of the Indian Delegation to the League in 1931. He discusses some of the anomalies of the status of India as an original member of the League and the extent of India's international co-operation and commitment in respect of certain world problems like Disarmament, Economic Reconstruction, Public Health, and other Social and Humanitarian Work of the League. He brings to bear upon the treatment of these topics and, indeed, of his entire subject-matter all that mastery of details, clarity of expression, and objectivity of presentation for which Professor Coyajee is so well known. He has not, however, thought fit to handle some of the fundamental problems affecting the very foundations of the League and threatening its future, problems which may be ultimately traced the defection from the League of two such important and permanent members of the League Council as Japan and Germany, and of four out of seven Great Powers from its membership. The German view of the position which the League must answer in its best interests is that the League which was meant as a Society of Nations has in reality become a League of Victors who found in it a handy instrument for the enforcement and perpetuation of the kind of Peace contemplated by them, the Versailles Treaty. It began by excluding the Vanquished Powers who were "treated as moral pariahs." Their subsequent admission to the League did not alter the situation, the spirit of dualism in the League. It still breathes the spirit of discrimination in which it was originally conceived. Germany feels that the coalition of powers, never before known in world's history which brought about her collapse in the War now operates against her as a permanent factor in politics through the League on an extended scale. The joining of the League of neutrals has given to the Resolutions of the League the added prestige as expressions of world-opinion on the matters they decide. The neutrals have been involved in matters that did not concern them, and in responsibilities to which they were strangers, in various committees dealing with Mandated Territories, Minorities, and other matters of international control. This has adversely affected Germany's relations with the neutrals for no fault of her own. The long and short of the matter is that "Germany cannot and will not go back to Geneva as

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long as the League continues an instrument for the maintenance of the Versailles Treaty," as stated by the German Minister, Goebbels. Indian nationalist opinion is also much exercised over the way in which the League's Scheme of Minority Protection so judiciously evolved by the collective statesmanship of the world has been given the go-by in India by an irresponsible Government who have thus destroyed the little lingering faith that her people still had in the League. Minorities in India are being overprotected, not protected to a fault, against the League's Minority treaties, in a manner that is subversive of the security of the State itself, under an autocratic government's scheme of 'Divide and Rule.' On the whole, the League is now passing through its greatest crisis which it can hardly survive if its most important work on Disarmament proves abortive like so many of its other adventures and endeavours.

The other book on the League by the learned editors Ram and Sharma is of less ambitious scope, but admirably fulfils the purpose for which it is intended. It gives a most readable account of the aims and activities of the League together with helpful constructive suggestions regarding its reform and future work. It should be widely used as a text-book in the High Schools and Colleges, though it has s much wider appeal. The question of the publication is fine alike to its matter, so judiciously selected, and the manner of its presentation so lucid and logical.

RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI

BENGALI

SRIMAD BHAGAVAD GITA : *By Pandit Rajendranath Ghosh. Third Edition, published by Babu Amrapal Ghosh, 6, Parsibagan Lane, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3.*

Pandit Rajendranath Ghosh needs no introduction to the educated public. As an author and an editor of various classical works of Indian philosophy he has created for himself the reputation of an erudite scholar and a hard worker in Indian philosophy. His reputation imposes upon him a tremendous responsibility and we have every reason to expect from him a high standard of efficiency in every publication that he sets his hand to. In the book under review we are pleased to observe that Mr. Ghosh has not only maintained his high standard, but in some places he exceeds our expectations. The Gita is a highly popular work in Bengal and its editions are almost a legion. Mr. Ghosh, however, does not traverse the beaten track and he has chosen a new ground. His edition is almost an encyclopaedia of Indian philosophy. The fundamental concepts of Nyaya, Vedanta and Mimamsa have been explained with elaborate lucidity in a sonorous and lucid style. A careful student of Indian philosophy will find in it enough materials digested within a limited compass and we think a study of this work will clear up many obscurities and remove much confusion and it will thus help the progress of research. An elaborate table of contents, word-index and the index of slokas have made the book up-to-date and very suitable to the student. The enterprising publisher of the book deserves our thanks for having set a moderate price upon the book to make it accessible to all.

SATKARI MUKERJEE

BENGALI—ENGLISH

BAIJNANIK PARIBHASHA *or Scientific Terminology, Compiled by Bangiya Bijnan Parishat (Bengal Scientific Academy) and published by the Calcutta Engineering College, Bijnan Parishat Press, 18 Ekdalia Road, Calcutta. Price not mentioned. 127 pages of the size of the Modern Review.*

It is stated in the publisher's preface that the need for this book was felt because in the Calcutta Engineering College the medium of instruction is Bengali. He admits that the book is not free from defects and errors, and that, therefore, a second edition will be published very soon. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that it is a useful publication.

C.

MARATHI

वातम दार (News Reporter): *By Mr. S. R. Tikekar, Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2. Price Rs. 2.*

This first volume on journalism will be found useful to those who intend to be a regular reporter of any journal.

V. S. WAKASKAR

GUJARATI

LOPA MUDRA, PARTS II AND III: *By K. M. Munshi, B. A., LL. B., Advocate: Printed at the Surya Prakash Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Illustrated. Pp. 92+102: Price Rs. 2.*

This Natak from the pen of Mr. Munshi, who has just come out from the Bijapur jail, is a fascinating study of India in the dim ages of the past, when the Aryas fought with the Dasyus, and the maidens of one enemy tribe fell in love with the youths of the other enemy tribe and the consequence was great *contretemps*. The scenes painted by Mr. Munshi are realistic, the old times with their rituals and observances, their forest life and their home life are presented vividly to our eyes, and the human feeling of love and lust, affection and hatred, which affected the mind of the primitive man as they affect the mind of the civilized man of today, in all their intensity and depth are graphically set out and brought into great relief against a background of jungle life as lived then. Mr. Munshi has studied this period of Aryan life with great care and has successfully tried to reproduce it, in archaic colours, in this and other volumes bearing on the subject. It is a new line struck out by him and does him great credit.

PRATIMAO: *By Jhaverchand Meghani. Printed at the Jayaswadeshi Printing Press, Ranpur, Kathiawad. Khadi cloth bound. Pp. 207. Price Rs. 1-4-0. (1934).*

These "Images" (*Pratimao*) represent seven stories. They are tragedies of modern life, and melancholy pictures of the present state of society. Mr. Meghani who till now was painting word pictures of the old folklore of Kathiawad, both in its martial and civil aspects, has now turned to cinema plots and he sees in the creations of cinema directors, the coming into being of a new world altogether. He considers the directors to be the interpreters of art in life. His stories give a vivid picture of the life—romantic and real of the chief characters figuring in them, and cinema-goers will perhaps recognize in them, the

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subject-matter of some picture or other seen by them. The stories are well and feelingly told. Mr. Meghani's powers do not suffer because of the change in the field of the activities of his pen.

BHUTKAL NA PADCHHAYA, PART I: *By Gunavantrai Acharya. Printed at the Swadeshi Printing Press, Ranpur, Kathiawad. Khadi Cloth bound. Pp. 202. Price Re. 1. (1934)*

This book, named "Shadows of the Past," contains eleven stories of the glorious past of Kathiawad. The history of Kathiawad during the mediaeval period is full of deeds of venture and courage, which resemble romance more than reality. Mr. Acharya has tried to catch this "romance" and perpetuate it by means of this collection. All the stories are full of nerve and set out vividly the nerve displayed by the different heroic characters, Hindu and Moslem. Altogether the work successfully gives the reader an idea of the state of society in Kathiawad in those far-off days. Readers already have encouraged it well, as within a short time two editions have been printed.

K. M. J.

THE WATERS OF DESTINY

By SITA DEVI

IX

SUPARNÂ was very busy today. She was to stay and study at Delhi. It had been finally settled. Taran Babu had replied to Pratul's letter, eagerly welcoming Suparnâ to his home. His daughter Amitâ had also written to Suparnâ. Suparnâ had not understood all she had written. But she had understood that these people were very good and that they were very glad to have her there. As she must study, it was fortunate that she could stay with a Bengali family, instead of in a boarding house. She had grown up a good deal mentally during these few days. She had been discussing many things with her father and giving him her views on many subjects. On the whole, both father and daughter agreed that Delhi would be the most suitable place for her.

They were to start tomorrow. Suparnâ was extremely busy; she had tied the end of her *sari* tightly round her waist and was packing up her things. Pratul had to stay out shopping the whole day. Shashadhar Babu's wife had made him buy a lot of things for Suparnâ. "You won't get anything fit for a Bengali girl in that place," she had said, "You must get everything for her here." Pratul had given her some money and asked her to do all that was needful. So she had brought and ordered everything that she had considered necessary for Suparnâ. Suparnâ had gone to her a few times to take lessons in dressing and doing her hair. She still felt some difficulty in walking in high-heeled shoes, but she could walk quite fast in *Nagra* slippers. She had also purchased many books.

Raju's mother sat by her, helping her to pack. Suparnâ had become quite attached to her new belongings and was much afraid of spoiling them. Besides her new trunks, she had got a new suitcase, in which she was packing all the things she would need during her journey.

"How many new things appear daily in the markets," said Raju's mother. "People never saw so many kinds of boxes before. They had only huge wooden chests, in which they kept their utensils and the bits of gold and silver they possessed. And people never wore so much clothing either. If a woman had a *sari* of Baluchari silk or a Murshidabad silk, it was considered sufficient. And if people had to travel, they tied their clothing in a bundle and took it with them.

"We have not got such things even now, in the villages," said Suparnâ. "I did not belong to a poor family, but I never saw such things before. Now, that's finished, I have only my bed left to pack and the tiffin basket to arrange. But these things must wait to the last"

"Lord, what a far-off place, sister," said Raju's mother, "it takes nearly three days to reach it. My limbs ache so, if I stay in a train for more than three or four hours. I consented to go with you, because you are a child and must not travel alone; else catch me going! Besides, you said you would stop at Allahabad for one day and that is a temptation. I am getting old and I shall just take one dip in the holy confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna."

"But we shall be in such a hurry," said Suparnâ. "I don't know whether we would find time to bathe in the Ganges."

"Oh, never you mind sister," said the woman, "I shall see to it."

It was getting dark. Pratul had not yet come back. Suparnâ had her evening meal alone, made her evening toilette, and began to walk about on the terrace. Who knew for how long she was leaving Bengal? It was true she was not leaving any one near and dear to her, but still she had a love for the country. Would she ever see again Jamral, the playground of her childhood and Bhat-gram, that abode of horror for poor Suparnâ? And would she again see Shribilas? Suparnâ thrust the thought away from her. The rest forget this man, forget him entirely.

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her memories, she would keep hidden in her and turn them over at her leisure, like old She knew that her father would have thus. She knew that Shribilas had no the life planned for her. But it was so easy to forget. She had not loved Shribilas had never dared to. She had neither love from him. Shribilas had been like in the blossom of her young life. The wounds he had inflicted on her heart were raw. Would she ever be able to forget him?

Satulchandra came back at night. He had the whole day in making arrangements journey and drawing the money needed his bank. Seeing Suparnâ he said, "Why still up? You should have had your early, and gone to sleep. You won't get sleep perhaps for the next two

How can I go to sleep?" asked his daughter, not packed any of your things. I did know what to pack, else I would have long ago."

my packings?" said Pratul, "that's much. Only a few clothings. I shall that. You must go now and lie down. 's mother going?"

" said Suparnâ. "She has brought all things with her. She will sleep in my room." "That's all right then," said her father, "we have to wait for her in the morning then. your meal now and go to sleep."

's mother went down to bring up food. Pratul usually had his last with the other lodgers, in the first floor. was the only time when he could get them ther and could talk with them. Suparnâ had meals in her room. To-night too, she ate alone and retired to bed. Raju's mother down for her food. Suparnâ would never woman go down if she could help it. She Raju's mother would stay down, as long would. During the daytime the woman her young mistress, but she insisted on down for her last meal at night. She took plates Suparnâ had used and went down and never reappeared before eleven

train was in the morning. It is usual at the last moment that many things had undone, though one had been under pression that everything had been done. ding had to be tied up, the tiffin basket and the water carafe filled. Even people ed to travel lose their temper at this shout. Poor Suparnâ had never so far and her limbs began to tremble nervousness. Pratul was unexcitable and did not easily get ruffled. Raju's and the other servants somehow managed age. As she got into the carriage for to the station, Suparnâ heaved a sigh of

But she had still to face the uproar at the station and to get into the train. As she reached the station Suparnâ felt the same numbness stealing over her that she had experienced on the day of her arrival in Calcutta. Raju's mother caught hold of her by the hand and said, "Why do you feel so nervous, my little sister? Fools and idiots even are travelling far and wide now-a-days, thanks to the railway. Why are you afraid? You have your father with you."

Still Suparnâ could not shake off her fears. So many people and so much noise seemed to overpower her. After Pratul had pushed her into a compartment, she looked round her for the first time and saw where and with whom she had got in.

Pratul had purchased tickets for the intermediate class for Suparnâ and Raju's mother, thinking his daughter would feel uncomfortable in a second class compartment in the company of strangers. As Raju's mother was there he put them in the lady's compartment. He could have taken them with him easily, but here too he thought Suparnâ might not feel at ease, before so many male passengers. Raju's mother tried to reassure him strongly. "Don't have any fear, Sir," she said, "we shall be quite all right. I have been to Benares, Gaya and Gangasagar, all by myself, I know how to travel. Let anyone try to be insolent, and he shall see."

The compartment was not much crowded. On one bench sat a middle-aged widow, with a boy of eight or nine. On another bench sat a young married girl, with the veil pulled down well over her eyes. She had a baby in her arms. The third bench was now occupied by Suparnâ and Raju's mother. The porters began to push in all their luggage in this compartment with a great deal of noise.

The train never seems ready to leave Howrah and the passengers grow more and more impatient. Suparnâ too was feeling bored beyond measure. She wanted the train to start, she could not endure this turmoil much longer. Raju's mother, too, shared her impatience. "What's the use of waiting any longer?" she asked. "Perhaps another crowd may descend on us, if they get time."

"They might and we have no right to complain," said the widowed lady. "A train is not for the convenience of one person but for all. Many passengers might be rushing yet to catch this train. If they fail to do so, it might mean loss and inconvenience to them."

"That's true, mother," said Raju's mother, "but human beings are selfish, you know. Where are you going?"

"I am going to Chunar," the lady replied. "I live there for six months out of the year. My son works in Calcutta, while my daughter and son-in-law live in Chunar, so I have to fly from one place to another all the time. Where are

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you going? You have got a large amount of luggage with you."

"Oh, we are not going anywhere close at hand," replied Raju's mother, "nothing short of Delhi. But we shall break our journey for a day at Allahabad, that's some comfort."

"You are going to Delhi?" asked her fellow-passenger. "Goodness, you would feel half paralysed by the time you get there. You are right, it is by no means a place you can call close-by."

"Have you ever been there?" asked Rjau's mother.

"Oh, I have been everywhere," the lady replied. "I regard the Punjab Mail and the Bombay Mail as my home. I was born in the Punjab and was married to a person who lived in the United Provinces. He was Deputy Magistrate besides—a class who are notorious for changing their places of residence every five months. Then my son began to work in Calcutta and my son-in-law went to Chunar, so I must be on the move all the time."

Suparnâ began to feel rather interested in the lady, who was a Bengali by birth, yet had travelled so widely. "But do you like to travel all the time?" she asked.

"I liked it when I was of your age," the lady replied with a smile. "But when I got little children, I was put to great inconvenience. Now that I am free again, I am beginning to like it again. If I remain long at one place, I feel very morbid. I like this constant motion."

At this juncture, another lady passenger tumbled into the compartment with a good deal of luggage and two or three children. Those passengers who arrive first regard the late comers as nothing but intruders, and there is never any love lost between them. Raju's mother made an awful face and turned her back on them. Suparnâ's expression, too, was not very cordial. The train was about to start and the porters in their hurry were flinging in the luggage quite recklessly. They put them on other's luggage and might even have put them on the passengers themselves, so eager were they to go away with their money. One porter nearly came to blows with Raju's mother, because the hulking fool had nearly crushed Suparnâ's frail tiffin basket beneath a huge steel trunk. The basket contained so much good food and all would have been wasted.

The widowed lady brought about peace again. She laughed and said, "It would never do to be so easily upset. The porters are foolish men and they have become sillier through hurry as the train is whistling to start. You cannot entirely guard against these accidents in course of a journey. So it is that our ancient Hindu law-givers have written, 'There can be no observance of laws on the back of an elephant and on big wooden planks.' This compartment is a big enough wooden plank. Now take hold of this bundle and put it on that trunk. And you push that box under that bench, my dear boy. Place that mat in that corner. Now we are quite all right and you can stretch your limbs at leisure. One cannot travel such a long way, huddled up in a corner."

The lady who had arrived last, now felt at ease. "You are a very smart person, my dear sister," she said to the widow. "You have restored order in this chaos within a few minutes."

"It needs genius, my dear," said the widow, with a smile, "else you cannot work miracles. You see, I have lived in these trains nearly as long as I have lived in houses. So I know thoroughly how the Punjab mail behaves. I can tell with my eyes shut, where we are, any time you ask me."

The train was travelling at full speed by this time. Everyone tried to sit as comfortably as possible. The children leaned out of the window looking all round them. The others tried to become friendly with the other passengers, so that they could have a good talk. The widow became a favourite with them all.

Suparnâ never spoke to anyone unless she was spoken to. She was terribly afraid of saying something wrong and being laughed at. But she too liked this lady very much. The widow was a rich man's daughter and a rich man's wife, yet how simple she was. She spoke to everyone on equal terms and did not put on any airs. She had a fund of genuine humour too, and could make others laugh heartily. But for a long time Suparnâ did not get any opportunity to talk to her, so busy were the others talking to her. Finding an interval of silence, Suparnâ edged a little nearer to the lady. She understood at once that Suparnâ wanted to talk to her. "With whom are you going to Delhi?" she asked her.

"My father is there in that carriage," said Suparnâ, "and I have got this maid-servant with me."

"Are you going simply for the purpose of seeing Delhi?" She asked again, "Do you study in a school?"

"No, I am going to Delhi to begin my studies. I have no opportunities here. Have you been many times to Delhi?"

"Yes, I have been there thrice I think, in my younger days. But I hear Delhi has changed a great deal, after it became the capital of India. But you will like it, there are so many places to go to, so much to see. Young people usually like it, but after you grow old, it depresses you very much. Only ruins and ruins! You understand fully what a paltry thing human life is, once you see these vast ruins."

Suparnâ understood only half of what she said. "Are there many Bengalis there?" she asked.

"Well, there are a good few," said the lady.

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"But most of the older residents have become Punjabis in habit and manners. They speak Bengali with such an accent that it is hard to refrain from laughing when you listen to them. Formerly, some of the ladies adopted Punjabi dresses too partly. They wear Punjabi ornaments even now. But now people from Calcutta are pouring in constantly so these people are being Bengalized again."

The sun began to grow hot. "Wash your hand and face, my little sister," said Raju's mother. "I am going to give you your breakfast, it is hot yet." "Yes," said the widow, "finish your breakfast now, or the compartment might soon become too crowded to allow you to do so comfortably."

Raju's mother knew how to take care of people. She served breakfast to Suparnâ very carefully. As the train stopped at the next junction, she sent for Pratul and provided him also with an ample breakfast. The other children in the carriage were looking on greedily, Suparnâ noticed it and gave a sweetmeat to each of them.

The train began to rush on again. It passed out of Bengal and Behar and came to the United Provinces. Bengali faces could be seen rarely at the stations, all were upcountry people. The ladies' compartment, too, began to get crowded. Pratul came now and then to see how they were getting on. He found Suparnâ quite comfortable under Raju's mother's care. Then night came on and the sound of voices gradually died down.

X

The party halted at Allahabad, but the halting was only nominal. They had not time even to untie their beddings. They bathed and snatched a meal somehow and then set out in a hackney carriage to visit the holy places, at Raju's mother's importunities. Suparnâ, too, wanted to have a dip in the holy river, but she knew her father would never allow her to bathe in the midst of a crowd of pilgrims and priests. So she had to remain content with sprinkling some holy water on her head. Raju's mother did not care anything about the lack of privacy, she had a good bath at the confluence of the one invisible and two visible rivers and waged a verbal warfare with the priests in a loud voice. She was bent on getting the maximum amount of merit for the minimum sum of money.

A feeling of indescribable joy was stealing through Suparnâ's heart. She had not heard of Delhi or Agra or Mughal and Pathan, but she knew of Prayag, and the holy confluence, from her birth. She had visited these places in her imagination countless times. She had no peace or happiness in her husband's house. She had thought many times of escaping to some holy place of pilgrimage and finding peace thereby. The names of Benares, Pravag and Gaya were very familiar to her. She had not imagined the place to be exactly like this. But the reality was more beautiful. She gazed at the broad blue expanse of the Jumna and at the line of trees on the other bank, at the temples of Jhoonsi and the small hamlet surrounding it. A long line of country-boats was passing by, carrying loads of passengers from many lands. Their dresses were of variegated colours and types and they spoke, too, in many tongues. Suparnâ liked the Hindustani women most of all, with their bright many-coloured *saris* and marks of vermilion on their forehead and on the parting of their hair. They wore small tinsel circlets also on their forehead. Suparnâ did not know their language, else she would have tried to make friends with them. She liked Akbar's fortress, but its grandeur did not touch her ignorant heart. She had never heard of Akbar, or of his achievements. She wanted very much to see the immortal banyan tree and felt sorry because she could not do so for want of time.

As their boat was returning to the place, where they had left their carriage, it passed by a small half-ruined temple. It was placed high on the bank and had no brick-built steps leading down to the river. A small track led up to it from the riverside. A few boats were tied here, waiting for some Bengali pilgrims who were coming down slowly and very carefully, after paying their homage to the deity of the temple. Suparnâ felt a strange attraction for this lonely temple, standing half-hidden under the shade of a giant peepul tree. "What temple is this, father?" she asked eagerly. "It is the temple of Manaskâmaneshwar" said he, after making an enquiry of the boatman.

Suparnâ bowed down with her hands folded. No one knew except the god, what she desired of the Lord of Desires.

There were many more places worth seeing, but Pratul was afraid of tiring out Suparnâ. So he decided to return. Suparnâ, too, was not keen on seeing anything else except the holy confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna.

Next day they started again. They had put up at Allahabad at the house of a friend of Pratul's and they had been treated with extreme cordiality. Raju's mother was enthusiastic in her praise of the family, as they had filled the tiffin-basket with various kinds of delicacies. Suparnâ was unaccustomed to long journeys and could not eat anything on the way, she felt so dizzy. Pratul, too, was a spare eater, so Raju's mother could do full justice to the good things. As she got into the hackney carraige for driving to the station, she said to Suparnâ. "They are real gentlefolks, sister, you can see that from their conduct."

"Why, because they have given many nice

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things for you to eat ?" asked Suparnâ with a laugh.

Raju's mother felt a bit ashamed and said, "Lord, sister, how you speak ! My eating days are gone long ago. But this change of air has given me some appetite. Hence I can take a bite or two now. But how you can go on without taking anything at all passes my comprehension. At your age, we could eat and digest stones."

As soon as they reached the station they knew that they would not have a comfortable journey. The place was crowded to the full. "You must be very careful this time," said Pratul to Raju's mother, "but don't start trouble unnecessarily."

Both Suparnâ and Raju's mother were dismayed at the sight of so many strong people strangely dressed. Were they to travel in the same carriage with these people ? "Good God," said the servant woman, "Are we to go with these people ? Then that finishes all ideas about eating and drinking."

"You must not be so particular, during a journey" said Pratul. "They are human beings, just as you are."

The train rolled into the station. The female compartment had some passengers, but it had not yet become crowded. Suparnâ and Raju's mother got into it, the luggage was divided between Pratul's compartment and this one.

The ladies, who had been sitting inside when Suparnâ and Raju's mother got in, were none of them Bengalis. So there was no opportunity for starting a conversation. Two benches were full, the third one was partly occupied by some children. Seeing Suparnâ getting in, they escaped to their own relatives. So Suparnâ and Raju's mother sat down on it comfortably, quite satisfied with the arrangement.

But their satisfaction was of short duration. As the train was about to start, two meretriciously dressed women, with piles of luggage, tumbled into the compartment. To Suparnâ's inexperienced eyes they appeared in no way different from the other women. But Raju's mother jumped away to the extreme end of the bench in consternation and whispered, "Do you see, sister, these are Baijis (professional dancers ."

Suparnâ looked at the women carefully. She was very much surprised to see them wearing things similar to jackets and trousers like men, though they were undoubtedly women. They had a large pile of luggage from the midst of which many musical instruments showed themselves.

"How are we going to travel such a distance, packed like this?" said Suparnâ in dismay. "And what shall we do, if any more passengers get in ?" But no other passenger appeared and the train steamed out of the Allahabad station. Two women had come with the Baijis to see them off. They burst into loud sobs as the train started, drawing all eyes upon themselves. Suparnâ too was surprised. She had never believed these creatures capable of ordinary human emotions.

As the train passed out of the station, the two Baijis wiped their eyes carefully and settled themselves comfortably. One took up a comb and a small hand-mirror, and began to arrange her hair, while the other began to apply surma to her eyes, to enhance their brightness. The other ladies, who had hitherto remained shrouded in burkhâs, now took them off and began to take note of their fellow passengers. The two professional singers were of cheerful and friendly disposition. They began conversation with everyone of their own accord. They informed Suparnâ unasked that they were going to Agra and would travel in the same train with her up to Tundla junction. Hearing that Suparnâ was proceeding to Delhi, they said they had been to the place once or twice on professional business.

Suparnâ could not understand them clearly as they spoke in Urdu, but since they evidently wanted to talk to her, she replied to their questions with the best Hindi at her command. She did not very well understand the implication of the word Baiji, so she was not so greatly disgusted, as Raju's mother was or pretended to be. But when she saw one of them taking out a cheap *bidi* (country cigarette) and beginning to smoke, much of her enthusiasm for conversation cooled down. The smoke and the pungent smell made her giddy. The Baijis had a male servant travelling with them. He appeared between the compartment at every station and attended to the wants of the two women very assiduously. This excess of attention made Raju's mother furious, and she began to mutter remarks about the women, which fortunately Suparnâ could not hear.

The train went on passing station after station. In some places, passengers got down, in some places, new passengers appeared. On the whole, the campartment remained as crowded as ever. Raju's mother now wanted Suparnâ to take some refreshments. Suparnâ was not at all feeling like it, but owing to Raju's mother's insistence, she had to take something. She turned her back to the other passengers, and sat in that position. Though Raju's mother protested that her eating days were past, she now gave evidence to the contrary by making a hearty meal. The sky outside had become clouded over, and the spirit of the passengers, too, appeared to be damped. Nobody was inclined to talk much and some began to doze drowsily.

Everybody, with the exception of the Baijis, however. They talked loudly to each other since no one else was willing to talk. At one point, where the conversation lagged, or one the other felt drowsy, the younger of the would make a snapping sound with her fingers and thumb and cry out "Yah Khooda !

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shookr hai!" The conversation would flow freely again. Suparnâ could not understand what the cry meant; to her the woman appeared to be half insane. Finding her father on the platform at a station she drew his attention to it and asked, "What does she mean by it, father?"

Pratul smiled and said, "Perhaps she means 'O Lord, I am grateful to Thee,' or something like it. I see many musical instruments; perhaps they might treat you to a song or two."

Pratulchandra was right. After a while the younger Baiji drew out a box harmonium and began to play on it loudly. She evidently did not like the idea of all her fellow-passengers going to sleep. After playing on for a minute or two, she began a song in a rough contralto voice, "Narangiâ harè tuâ binâ rahâ nahi jâi." Suparnâ was nodding drowsily with her head on the wall of the compartment. As the loud contralto voice struck her ears, she sat up straight in alarm. She could never have believed that such a sound could issue out of a woman's throat. But though she knew nothing of music, Suparnâ could understand that in spite of her voice, the woman was a trained singer. The Baiji was not content with singing alone, she also wanted to know the opinion of her audience about her performance. Being accustomed to entertaining, these two women went on entertaining the passengers throughout the journey.

It began to grow dark. Someone had told Suparnâ that many thefts were committed in the train between Allahabad and Delhi. She remembered these words now and began to get frightened. She felt sleepy yet did not dare to sleep. Now and then her head would sink forward on her breast and she would sit up straight again. At Tundla junction, the two Baijis got down with much bustle and noise. It became very quiet inside after that.

"Why don't you lie down for a bit, sister?" asked Raju's mother. "There is some room now to stretch your limbs. Another crowd may get in any moment."

"I am feeling very nervous," said, Suparnâ.

"You should not feel nervous, with myself in the same compartment," said Raju's mother. "As long as breath remains in my body, nobody would be able to approach you." Suparnâ felt a bit reassured and laid herself down on the narrow bench.

Night came down on silent wings and every sound was stilled, except the sound made by the wheels of the carriages. Whenever the train stopped, the noises of the station woke up Suparnâ. People came in, people went out, they talked, they quarrelled. All these she heard, as if in a dream and fell asleep again. The fear of thieves disturbed her slumber every now and then. Raju's mother had long since given up any pretence of guarding Suparnâ and was now snoring loudly, stretched full length on a bench. Thus the night passed away.

The train entered the Delhi station just as dawn broke. Pratul woke up first at the sound of human voices and getting down from his compartment, went to look for his daughter. He found both Suparnâ and Raju's mother sleeping soundly. He put his hand in through the window and shook Suparnâ gently, "Get up, dear, get up. We have arrived."

Suparnâ and Raju's mother both sat up at once. Then the porters came in to take out the luggage and the party got out.

The station at Delhi is a big one quite worthy of the eternal capital of old India. "This is even larger than the station at Howrah!" whispered Suparnâ to her father.

"Did you think there cannot be anything larger than Calcutta anywhere?" asked Pratul with a smile.

They found out very soon that not only the station but many things else here were superior to like things in Calcutta. The fee of porters, the hire for carriages appeared to be such that Pratul frowned in perplexity. These people evidently knew the world well. They were inhabitants of an ancient metropolis, and could give points to the Calcutta people about everything.

At this time their would-be-host old Taran Babu rushed in. He took Pratul by both the hands and began to welcome him with profuse cordiality. "Please, forgive this delay," he said. "This train arrives so ridiculously early that it is impossible to meet it."

"I never expected anybody to meet us so early in the station," said Pratul. "I was trying to hire a hackney carriage, but their terms seem rather outrageous to me. Is that the real state of affairs here?"

"Don't speak to those swindlers," said Taran Babu. "My house is within ten minutes' walk from here. We never take a carriage, if we can help it." He turned to Suparnâ and said, "What do you say, my little mother? Can you walk that far? My car had to be sent away for repairs, otherwise there would have been no trouble."

"I can walk very well," said Suparnâ.

So they put the luggage on the heads of porters and started on foot. One or two Tonga-wallahs now began to follow them, offering to take them on rather reasonable terms. Taran Babu shouted abuses at them and walked on even faster.

As soon as he set his foot on the streets of Delhi, Pratul felt his heart swelling with a strange emotion. But Suparnâ felt nothing, The name Delhi meant nothing to her. But she was amazed at its vastness, its cosmopolitan populace, and its queer stone-flagged streets.

In a few minutes they reached Taran Babu's house. It was situated in the heart of the town, but not in a too congested quarter. The house was two-storied, and was very neat

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and clean. As soon as their arrival was known, everyone, including the servants, a girl of thirteen, and a small boy rushed out to meet them. The servants relieved the poters, and carried the luggage upstairs. The girl ran up to Suparnâ and took her by the hand, saying, "Welcome, my dear; it was getting so late that I had nearly given you up."

"We had to walk, so we became rather late," said Suparnâ, "You are Amitâ, are not you?"

"Who else?" replied the girl, with a laugh. "Did you get my letter?"

"Yes, I got it," said Suparnâ.

"Let us go up," said Taran Babu. "Is tea ready?"

"Quite ready," replied his daughter. "Did not I get up so early for it?"

They came up to the first floor. Amitâ took Suparnâ to her own room. Here Suparnâ washed her face and hands and changed her dress. Raju's mother was agreeably surprised on hearing that a Bengali servant actually worked here. So she went down to the kitchen to give him a look up.

Amitâ took upon herself the duties of a hostess and began to make the tea and serve the bread and butter

"Do you see what a great housewife she has already become?" said Taran Babu to Pratul.

"I think this trait is inborn in Bengali women," said Pratul.

The two small Bengali women looked at each other and smiled.

(*To be continued*)

LONDON LETTER

FROM MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

SOCIALISM IN OUR TIME

NOTHING has ever been so sacred to Conservatives as the right of private property. It is all the more surprising therefore to find the present Government, which is of course predominantly Conservative and controlled entirely by that party introducing a Bill "to vest in the Crown the property in petroleum and natural gas within Great Britain" and giving the Crown "the exclusive right of searching and boring for and getting" this petroleum. It also empowers the Board of Trade on behalf of the Crown to grant licences to such persons as they think fit to bore for and to get petroleum.

In moving the Second Reading of the Bill in the House of Commons, the President of the Board of Trade, Mr. Walter Runciman, said that the Bill would give the Government a chance of developing our national resources to the best of our ability and for the full advantage of the public. The Government have realized that so long as oil in Britain remains in private ownership it cannot be exploited. Lord Londonderry, in introducing the Bill on behalf of the Government in the House of Lords, declared that it was necessary in order to secure the exploitation of a commodity on which so much national well-being depends.

The Labour Party supported the Bill and urged the Government to be logical and go the whole way by ruling out private exploitation of the State-owned oil. But that was too much to expect from the present Government. It is however, valuable to have this striking admission from the Government that private ownership is holding up the development of oil just as it is holding up the development of the coal industry—a fact which has been emphasized in the report of every Royal Commission during the past twenty years.

WHY NOT EXTEND THE GOOD WORK?

The case for the public ownership and control of our national resources, as advocated by the Labour Party, is unanswerable. The National Government has now endorsed it; for every argument used in favour of the public ownership of Britain's oil supplies applies with equal force to every other resource on which the well-being of the nation depends.

NO SOCIALISTS IN "NATIONAL" GOVERNMENT

Some of the Tory die-hard Members argued that this Bill was simply socialism, which of course it is, although it could be improved by a Socialist Government. The Minister of Mines, however, said that

> "to argue that this is Socialism is a very dangerous thing to do, for if this is, as the Government believes, a practical proposition, a wise proposition and a right proposition, if you are going to label that Socialism, you run the danger of making Socialism popular, and that is the last thing that I or any supporter of the Government wants to do."

That comes rather strangely from a Minister of a Government whose Prime Minister has been a life-long Socialist and still declares, although few Socialists would believe him, that he has not given up any of his former principles. It seems to be rubbing in publicly the fact that the Prime Minister can hardly now call his soul his own. And it also explodes the idea that the Government is "National"—representative of all parties in the country. The only "Labour" men who support the Government are those who have swallowed all their former principles and

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accepted, in their place, Tory ones—simply in order to keep their seats as members of the House of Commons and chiefly by votes of Conservatives.

Straws in the Wind

Even the coal-owners are now realizing that the ownership of minerals in a large number of hands is not for the public advantage. The Chairman of the Manchester Collieries Ltd., at their annual meeting this week, said that in his opinion "the industry as a whole was adversely affected by the fact that the ownership of minerals was in such a large number of hands" and he went on to add: "I am of opinion that the unification of mineral ownership is desirable." Had it not been for the selfishness and pig-headedness of the mineral owners, it would have been brought about many years ago.

The International Outlook

It is twenty years ago now since Sarajevo—twenty years since 28th June, 1914, when the Archduke of Austria and his wife were assassinated and the Great War broke over the world. One might imagine that the sense of this anniversary was heavy upon us; that this week the millions who were killed in that War would seem to rise from the dead to warn us against the consequences of such another disaster. But no. The exact opposite is the case. This week the National Government has shown its sense of what is fitting by going out of its way to stab the Disarmament Conference in the back—and it marked its respect for the anniversary of Sarajevo by choosing that very day on which to land an important military mission in France!

Never at any time since 1914 has the international outlook been so black. And never have we had a Government who cared less and would do less in the cause of peace. The way they have thrown away their opportunities at Geneva is almost past believing. The one and only idea of the Foreign Secretary, Sir John Simon, is not to commit this country to anything: he is religious in it. The result is that we have become a laughing stock to other nations instead of a power to be reckoned with. They titter with delight when somebody guys us at Geneva—as the French Delegate, M. Barthou, did in the Conference on May 30th.

Shilly-Shally

Even the Conservative *Morning Post* the devoted supporter of the National Government, is alarmed at the way in which Britain's prestige is declining abroad. It recently published an article entitled *Shilly-Shally*, dealing with the present conduct of our foreign policy. "It is impossible," it said, "any longer to maintain silence concerning the grave public anxiety which is being aroused by the indecision and lack of coherence in the present conduct of British foreign policy." This policy, it continued, has left Britain "isolated and friendless among the nations." It concluded by calling for the resignation of Sir John Simon.

But Sir John Simon has not resigned. Only the Prime Minister, too ineffective these days to make any positive protest, has decided to go on a long holiday... "The Prime Minister," said a high official the other day referring to the announcement of new air and naval programmes, "is happier out of this business."

Still, his colleagues in the National Government did not wait till Mr. MacDonald had left the country before they proclaimed their warlike intentions. As stated above, they chose this Sarajevo time to give a stab in the back to the Disarmament Conference.

World Peace in Jeopardy

The First Lord of the Admiralty and the Secretary of State for Air are the offenders and the First Lord began it. In a speech at Spetchley Park near Worcester, in the presence of Mr. Baldwin—the real head of the National Government, so there is no escape—he made an alarmist and provocative speech. This speech may be a turning point in history and is worth a little consideration.

First there is the now famous declaration: "I believe a strong Navy helps more than anything towards world peace." This from a member of the British Government, at a time when the whole future of disarmament trembles in the balance at Geneva!

No wonder the President of the Disarmament Conference, Mr. Arthur Henderson, said of it (and of the speech on the new Air programme made by Lord Londonderry):

> "If anything is calculated to make impossible the task of achieving disarmament at Geneva, it is speeches such as two that we have had from members of the present Cabinet this week."

But the First Lord of the Admiralty went to even more irresponsible lengths. To back up his plea for a Big Navy he did not scruple to try to frighten his audience into believing that we must increase our armaments here and now because we are threatened from abroad! What wickedness! "Don't think for a moment," he said, "that there are not covetous eyes on some of our great and fair heritage all over the world."

It is, of course, the stock-in-trade of the National Government to assert that we alone have decreased our expenditure on armaments while all the other great nations have been increasing theirs. The First Lord made great play with this argument. Said he: "In the last eight years Italy has increased her expenditure on armaments by over 91/2 p. c., the United States by over 10 p. c., Germany by over 12 p. c. Japan by over 80 p. c., France by over 100 p. c., and Russia—that Mecca of brotherly love—by over 197 p. c. We show the only decrease, a decrease of 16 p. c.

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It is high time that someone examined and exposed this argument and pacifists are at last waking up to the fact. Figures can prove anything. It makes a great difference, for instance, if instead of giving percentages, you give the actual cash amounts. It is only fair also to consider the relative position of different countries at the close of the last War. The percentage method assumes we all start from scratch.

Armaments Race Begun

A writer to the *News Chronicle* this week raises this first point:

> "Britain has no right to boast of taking the lead in navel disarmament until she actually spends less in cash on her Navy than do the other countries.
>
> "If we are still spending, say, twice as much as France or Italy on our Navy, we cannot expect them to be much impressed by our claim that we have decreased 16 per cent anyway."

And Mr. Richard Lee, the President of the Unitarian Peace Fellowship, has been letting in the daylight with regard to Russia's apparently swollen estimates:

> "The reply which Mr. Baldwin should have revealed is that Russia's navy was non-existent, apart from a few battleships after the war, and she had no air force.
>
> "It is true that in 1926-27 Russia spent 14·1 per cent of her Budget on armaments. Today she spends only 6·1 per cent. We spend over 14 per cent of our Budget on war preparations *more than double the Russian proportion*. Moreover as the wholesale price figure is 100 today compared with 148 in 1926, our actual expenditure has gone up over 30 per cent.

So that sneer about Russia and brotherly love wasn't really fair.

Indeed it is only safe to say one thing about armament figures at the present time—and that is they reveal that an armament race has begun. There is a Naval Armament Race going on now among Germany, France and Italy. And it is useless for us to say we must join in the race if we are to defend ourselves, because it is *solely owing to our lack of policy at Geneva that this race has begun.*

Our Biggest Blunder

France sets the pace on the Continent in the matter of alliances and armaments, France is the challenge to Italy and Germany—but she would call off the race *to-morrow* if Great Britain would come down on the side of a system of pooled security. But at Geneva at the beginning of this month Sir John Simon made it clear that Britain will not take on any new obligations. That was why M. Barthou, the French Foreign Minister, held us up to scorn. That is why he has been visiting Poland and the Balkans reviving French alliances —and annoying Italy. That is why Italy is building two 35,000 ton battleships. That is why Germany is making such an occasion of the launching of the latest pocket battleship. That is why France has decided to reply to Germany!

No wonder Mr. Vernon Bartlett, writing in a series of articles on "Germany To-day and To-morrow," says: "I look upon the British failure in Geneva to offer guarantees of execution of a disarmament convention as our biggest blunder since the War."

Why, oh why, can't we see that we all have the trumps in our hands—or if we can't see the trumps, why won't we try to play a courageous game? Not only France despises us but Italy. Signor Mussolini's mouthpiece, the *Giornal d' Italia* said the other day: "It is England's duty to make France follow a calmer and less bellicose foreign policy."

But far from seeking to enforce peace in Europe, we are ourselves going out of our way to discredit the whole idea of peace and disarmament. Perhaps the most outrageous feature of our announcement of an expansionist naval programme is that we should be making it at the present time. Why are we making it now?

Preliminiaries To 1935 Naval Conference

We are making it now because a Naval Conference is due to take place in 1935. As a preliminary to that Conference conversations are going on in London between England and America, and the Japanese Ambassador in London has been seeing the American Ambassador-at-large, Mr. Norman Davis, in this connection. The National Government are as secret as claims about what they have said at these conversations. But from reports which are coming back from America it is clear that we are already contemplating that the Naval Conference will be a failure—and indicating what our programme will be in that event!

That is the defeatist, non-possumus, way the National Government goes into peace conferences. That is why they always break down. It is exactly the method we adopted with regard to the Disarmament Conference and air armaments. As long ago as March, Mr. Baldwin was anticipating the failure of the Conference and hinting at the huge increase in our air forces which would follow. So that the Conference was allowed to fail—and before it is decently dead we have the new Air Programme. It will be the same story with regard to the Navy Conference.

At present our naval programmes are subject to the agreements signed at the Washington and London Conferences. But at the third of these Anglo-American conversations the experts issued a statement showing "the increases that could reasonably be held necessary for the safety of Empire routes if the present limitation agreements lapsed and were not replaced." If the 1935 Conference failed in other words.

What a spirit in which to approach a Conference!

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Why We are Taxed Heavily

But the first Lord of the Admiralty does not believe in Disarmament. He thinks it is a dream and that "It is about time we woke up." He is resolved on a large naval programme. He wants to build up to the limits of the existing treaties, and, if the Conference fails—beyond!

A peace-loving Government, of course, might propose, if and when the Conference had failed, that instead of all-round naval expansion there might be a Naval Holiday. But the National Government would think that was another dream.

Rumours are rife as to what Britain will demand at the Conference. It has been said, and it has not been contradicted that a demand will be made for 70 cruisers. Yet it was a demand for 70 cruisers that wrecked the 1927 Three-Power Naval Conference at Geneva.

Whatever we may demand at the Conference, we are going to give the world a foretaste of our temper now. Last week it was stated in *Reynold's Illustrated News*, a paper which is clever at uncovering official secrets, that

"When the Government comes to announce its Naval construction programme for the next twelve months, it will be found that this will exceed £14,000,000.

"It is expected that by the end of the present year this country will have under construction no fewer than 13 cruisers, 27 destroyers, 8 submarines, 4 sloops and an aircraft carrier."

Why do we want to strengthen our navy? There are three great Naval Powers—Japan, America and Britain. War with America, we are always told, is "unthinkable". Japan, then, presumably, is the potential enemy.

We have, of course, apropos of Japanese aggression in China, shown that we would never go to war with her in furtherance of any existing Treaty obligations. But perhaps we might if she "coveted" some part of the British Empire—of Australia for instance—as an outlet for her population. Yet the signs are surely that Japan will expand, as she has begun, on the Asiatic continent, in the islands of the Pacific.

In any event American opinion, which is always the more sensitive about Japan, is afraid that our new naval activites will have a most unfortunate effect on Japanese policy. The New York Correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* telegraphs: "American anxiety over the new British programme is based largely on fear of its effect on the Japanese. The latter have already indicated that they want complete equality with the United States and Great Britain in the next year's Conference."

"While it may be argued that the new British programme would discourage the Japanese, making them feel they cannot afford equality on such an expensive scale, it is feared here that the result may be just the contrary and may embolden the Japanese to demand a tremendous increase in their fleet."

In other words, America fears that Britain's naval programme will lead to a new Naval Race. The old evil causes cannot fail to produce the old evil results···and end in War.

Dangerous Speeches

The First Lord of the Admiralty let loose the dogs of war all right when he declared (in the presence of Mr. Baldwin) that international disarmament had become a dream. He was closely followed by the Secretary of State for Air, Lord Londonderry, improvising on the same theme.

"Improvising" is about the only word that can be used to describe Lord Londonderry's statement in the House of Lords. It was on all counts one of the most disgraceful and dishonest betrayals ever put over. He said in the House of Lords—and it was broadcast all over the world—that the Government had held its hand as long as it could in "the hope that something might be achieved out of the Disarmament Conference." But now it had become abundantly clear that the other nations (!) would have nothing to do with disarming or the ideals of the British draft convention. So far from disarming, they are actually increasing their armaments. "Therefore, it would be imprudent on our part not to meet the situation which has thus been forced upon us."

This sounds dreadfully like the Kaiser's famous aside: "The sword of war has been forced into our hands"! And it has not deceived anyone abroad. One German newspaper headed a report of the speech with the caption: "The world in a fever of arming." And another with: "England wants to become the strongest Power in the air."

What They Conveniently Forget

Nothing could be further from the truth than Lord Londonderry's picture of the situation at Geneva and our part in it. We have done nothing, absolutely nothing, to help on the cause of aerial disarmament. Our only positive action has been in the opposite direction. We alone stuck out for the right to so-called police bombing—the right to bomb recalcitrant villagers and tribesmen in the remoter parts of the earth. And we underlined our diehardism on this point by seizing the next opportunity of such bombing. Ten days later, while air disarmament was still being discussed at Geneva, we were bombing tribesmen on the North-West Frontier of India.

The point about this reservation of course—the point about any reservation where air disarmament is concerned—is that it invalidates straight of any possible Air Convention. So long as any nation retains aeroplanes for its own national ends, those aeroplanes can be converted to instruments of war against other nations.

We pretend we do not see this dilemma,

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although every other nation at Geneva does. The vast majority of the nations at Geneva see that the problem of air disarmament is only capable of international and universal solution, and they have declared themselves in favour of the international solution.

The French Proposals

This solution was put forward by France in February and March of 1933. France proposed the abolition of military aviation entirely. To make this watertight two conditions were essential. (*i*) Civil aviation must be internationalized. (*ii*) The League of Nations must be equipped with a small force of fighting planes to prevent the possible misuse of civil aeroplanes.

And how was England acting while France was seeking a solution of the air problem? She was putting every difficulty in the way that she could, apart from indulging in some private police bombing. "Readers of the Minutes of the Air Commission in February and March, 1933", says Mr. W. Arnold-Forster writing in the *News Chronicle*, "know that Lord Londonderry and Sir Philip Sassoon, instead of helping the French Air Minister in his splendid effort to secure agreement on these lines, put forward only the difficulties in the way."

International Solution only possible

No wonder Mr. Arnold-Forster describes the story that precedes this latest development, this announcement of an expansionist air programme, as "a story of hypocrisy which should make Englishmen sick." Lord Londonderry, he says, has never acted, never spoken, as if he meant to get any real measure of disarmament in the air. He has not even waited till the Disarmament Conference was dead!

Lord Londonderry blames the other nations. But the other nations are only facing facts. They know that there can be no disarmament without security—and no security without international security, without *pooled* security. It is worth listening to Mr. Noel Baker, summing up the position in a speech which he made the other day at a meeting of the General Council of the League of Nations Union:

> "The foreigners are not to blame, as is so often said, for the failure of the Conference up to the present time. They cannot put through any international solution of the Air problem without the co-operation of this country, and this country has not yet accepted the international solution which the vast majority of Europe is ready to accept.
>
> "It remains true to-day, as it was true in 1933, that if our Government accepted the international solution of the Air problem, the Air problem could be solved, and *The Disarmament Conference could succeed in a week.*

The Conference could succeed in a weak! And instead, under the stiff-necked, old-fashioned, guidance of Lord Londonderry and the Services, we are making straight for war. For make no mistake about it, unless the National Government takes to heart the rude awakening which has followed on the announcement of its bellicose programme, and stays its hand, we are in for an Air race with France. The declared objective of the National Government is "parity with the strongest country within striking distance of our shores." And of course France is the strongest country.

What Parity Means

Parity, says the impartial experts (not the Service ones), is a mirage. Even if you do achieve parity in the air, moreover, it will not prevent your cities from being bombed. There is no defence against attack from the air. As Lord Ponsonby pointed out in the House of Lords, not even the Secretary of State for Air has ever said that further squadrons of æroplanes are going to make this country safe from aerial bombardment or its consequences. All that "parity," assuming it to be attainable, could achieve would be to give us a *striking* force—not a defensive one. We might then be in a position to spread equal devastation with the force that was devastating us. In other words, aeroplanes are only weapons of aggression, and to increase your Air arm is to do nothing but invite competition in aggressive weapons.

Government By Tory Party Machine

And this is the competition that our National Government is forcing upon us and on the world. They have taken this terrible step and taken it *without any mandate from the electors.* The only mandate they can point to is the vote passed last year at the Conservative Party Conference urging the Government to increase the Fighting Services. Why should the country at large be dragged behind the Conservative Party machine?

The so-called National Government anyway has lost entirely any claim it had to be considered really national. As Sir Herbert Samuel pointed out in a speech at Darwen on 22nd June, there have been ten by-elections this year. And in only *one* of them has the Government candidate secured the support of more than one in three of the electors. Yet such a Government, acting without mandate and and in face of an increasingly minority vote, is taking this utterly grave step. There seems to be only one avenue of escape for us and it is to be hoped that the Labour Party in the House of Commons and in the country will insist on keeping it open. In March this year, when Mr. Baldwin was already talking about the failure of the Disarmament Conference, and the aeroplanes we would build when it had failed, he did try to soften the horror by speaking also of an Air Convention. What has become of that idea?

Mr. Baldwin said that if a convention on the lines of the British Draft Convention failed, we would "start work the next morning to get an

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air convention among the countries of Western Europe." Well, what are we doing about it?

Of course, if Lord Londonderry and his kind remained at the Air Ministry, any Air Convention that we sponsored would have no more chance of success than had the Draft Convention. We would still hang back from internationalizing all aviation, from pooled security. And pooled security would still be the *sine qua non* at Geneva of an Air Convention.

What May Happen

But Lord Londonderry and the other cynical gentlemen may not remain in power. There have been so many rumours of a sudden General Election that, please God, one will come in time. If it doesn't, future ages may write our history thus:

In the twentieth year of the Anniversary of Sarajevo Britain took a step which led to the final World War. She dissociated herself from the Disarmament Conference and entered upon a Naval Competition with Japan and America and an Air Competition with France and the other Great Powers of Europe. The result was the Second World War, in which European civilization went down, and the stage was set for the rise of Asia. The rise of Asia, under the hegemony of Japan, will be the subject of our next chapter!

The Prime Minister in 1916 and 1921

Let me, in conclusion, quote Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, writing in the *Labour Leader* on 6th April 1916.

"....The task of Socialism is to eradicate from Europe confidence in military authority, and to lay through political sagacity and human goodwill made effective the foundations of peace—and we behold our justification. Ruin, sorrow, killing, are proving themselves to be impotent to do anything except to multiply themselves."

The world today shows how true these words are. The pity is that the Prime Minister is at the head of a Tory Government and seems to have swallowed wholesale their views and abandoned his former outlook.

Here is another quotation from the pen of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, in the *Socialist Review* for January-March 1921:

"The priests and parsons whose profession it is to trim the spiritual lamps, and who lied so egregiously both to God and man when they told us of the purifying influences of war."

And again in the *Labour Leader* of 18th April 1918,

"There are but two policies: there must be no compromise between them; both must be carried out to their utmost. Theirs of fighting, basing victory on force and settling peace by the interests of that triumph: ours of agreement, basing victory upon right and settling peace by the wisdom of democracy."

The India Joint Committee Report

Hope deferred maketh the heart sick. Indians must be tired of waiting for the Report of the Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament. The Government's proposals were issued well over a year ago in the form of a White Paper and they had promised to take Indians into consultation. The consultation between members of the British Parliament on the one side, and Indians and Burmans on the other, has been considerably less than it was during the Round Table Conferences. Indeed, before the Joint Select Committee they were merely witnesses whose evidence could hardly be expected to make much impression on a Government with its mind made up as to the limits of self-government it is prepared to give to India.

The members of the Joint Select Committee were not chosen because of their knowledge of Indian affairs, although in the case of some of them that was undoubtedly considerable. They were merely chosen because they represented the strength of the Parties in the House of Commons. Many of them were completely ignorant even of the elements of the problem for which they had to find a solution.

Any members with a real knowledge of India (and of the Reports of the various Committees and Commissions that have been set up one after another during the last ten years), could have dealt with the White Paper proposals in a few weeks. The Joint Select Committee has already spent fourteen months on the job and even yet they are far from having their Report ready for publication.

Mr. Baldwin promised that before the Report of the Joint Committee came before the House of Commons for discussion he would submit it to the Conservative Party in Conference. Had such a statement been made by the Prime Minister of a Labour Government, there would indeed have been an outcry. The Conservative Party Conference will not take place till the first week of October.

Parliament will probably rise about the end of this month and if the Report were published then or during the recess, the Government know that it would be excellent ammunition for Mr. Winston Churchill, Lord Lloyd, and their like to commence a raging propaganda throughout the country. But when Parliament rises its members usually disperse—and there is little chance of the Joint Committee meeting during August or September. Holidays and shooting birds are sacred duties in the eyes of the bulk of our legislators. The Report therefore is not likely to be issued before the end of October. And when it comes. . .

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru

In an article in the London *Daily Herald* Prof. Harold Laski does not only draw a portraiture of the young Pundit, but surveyes as well the political situations of India at present. The following extracts are quoted from the *Living Age* :

I know few criticisms of our system in India more profound than the fact that we have been unable, in the post-war years, to win the loyalty of a single outstanding Indian who has any serious following behind him. Mahatma Gandhi, Lajpat Rai, C. R. Das, Vallabhbhai Patel, Nehru, everyone who in this last period has had a real hold upon the imagination of his fellow countrymen has been the passionate exponent of complete self-government. We hold India not by the quality of our rule, not by a reciprocal interest born of mutual good will ; we hold India by the sword.

That has been painfully apparent in these last three years. No country is held by good will when fifty thousand people have to be sent to jail. No people accepts the rule of a conqueror when the first symptom of women's emancipation there is their full participation in the Gandhi movement.

Basically, we are unwilling to recognize that Indian nationalism is part of a basic revolt of the East against western tutelage, to which there is no answer save that of freedom. It is a lesson we should have learned from our experience of America and Ireland. But it is also, as it seems, a lesson that an imperial race can understand only when it is too late. That is the price of empire.

We have given India a government amazingly free from corruption, eager to do justice in its own way, full of manifold good works. But we have never domesticated the system in the affection of the people. We have always been outside their confidence. We have done good to them ; we have not thought it consonant with our dignity to realize that a people is infinitely happier in seeking to do good for itself. So that, when Indian nationalism was born, instead of seeeking to make terms with it from the beginning, we threw it a concession here and there, as a bone was thrown to a dog. It was done always with arrogance, virtue, emphatic superiority. Now we are paying the price.

If anyone wants to know why Nehru is what he is, let him consider how the rule of Bengal is maintained. There has been ugly terrorism in Bengal, futile and wicked, the action, mostly, of young people barely out of their teens. To anyone not infected with the imperialist virus, that would indicate something gravely wrong.

It is an offense punishable by death to be in possession of arms. The Government may prohibit the publication of any document it thinks fit. It may hold trials in secret and in the absence of the accused. It may restrain the movements of persons under twenty-one. It may imprison up to three years for the possession of seditious literature.

The press is censored as in hardly any country outside Italy and Germany. There are military marches, accompanied by house searchings, and the saluting—it is alleged that this is sometimes forcibly exacted—of the flag. Collective fines are imposed on villages suspected of harbouring terrorists. Punitive police are quartered on them. There are endless arrests without warrant, special tribunals, orders to citizens to report weekly, even daily, to the police, to stay in a particular place, or not to go to some particular area, or—I quote from a government order—to 'conduct themselves in a particular way.'

—

Great Tasks of Christian Missions

Prof. Julius Richter, the Utopian champion of Christian Missions, dreams like Shakespeare's Gonzalo of a world Commonwealth of Christianity by converting almost all into the Faith, beginning with the primitive races in the romotest part of Africa. The following extracts, quoted from the *International Review of Missions* will be of great interest to our readers :

Christian missions are face to face with four great tasks of gigantic dimensions. The first is among primitive peoples all over the world, particularly in Africe, the Indies and Oceania. Their primitive beliefs will in all probability disintegrate and evaporate in a few generations, becoming crude superstitions. Will Christianity be able to supply them with a new and enduring religious foundation ?

The second task lies in China. The whole cultural structure of that empire which had outlasted millenniums and seemed unshakable at the end of the last century is completely broken down, and with it the structure of the State, its world view, ethical principles and basis of highly cherished literary culture. China needs reconstruction on a gigantic scale. This is the time of times for Protestant missions ; will they be equal to the challenge ?

The third task concerns Russian Bolshevism which is starting a world-wide propaganda with apparently inexhaustible resources in men and means. It is a passionate wrestling for social and economic justice combined with a fanatical hatred of Christianity. It is catching at the most cherished ideal of the modern world, and attacking its civilization along the line of least resistence—a widespread indifference to the Church. This renders the challenge almost superhuman for the weak Christian forces. Yet this campaign—organized anti-Christianity—is world-wide. What will be the outcome? Perhaps its gravest danger zone at present is in China. Is the alternative Christianity or Communism?

The fourth task concerns Islam. Islamic advance seemed almost to have come to a standstill at the

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end of last century, but its propaganda has started again with new zeal and success. We do not fear so much the organized propaganda of the Indian Ahmadiya, Persian Bahaism of the Khoja Agha Khan... for great regions such as equatorial Africa, Bengal and the Dutch East Indies the crucial question is Cross or Crescent? Christ or Muhammed?

We have often failed to take sufficient notice of a most important factor of the missionary movement. The religious conversion of tribes and nations is fairly easy if these are just emerging from their pre-history period and beginning to appear on the stage of history. The situation is infinitely more difficult if the new religion is a late comer after all the seats of religious civilization are already occupied and provision is being made for all imaginable religious needs. That has been the case in India, after four thousand years of luxuriant religious growth in every imaginable direction, from the crudest paganism to the highest soarings of theosophy and mysticism. It is the same in China, with her Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism. It is the same, again, in Japan, with her nationalistic Shinto and the manifold sects of domesticated Buddhism.

—

Two Faces of Islam

Though the *Jihad* (holy wars against unbelievers) cannot take place now a days, Mr. Alfred Neilsen in an article in the *International Review of Missions* under the above caption endeavours to show that the eternal feeling of opposition and hostility of a Muslim towards one who has not embraced Islam is still visible. This perhaps has led Muslims to dream of a pan-Islamic federation in the West:

Turkey and a few other Islamic States are members of the League of Nations, but there is a widespread feeling in Islamic countries that it would be better to have an eastern, or even an Islamic, League of Nations as distinct from a western League.

Islam is and must always be more politically-minded than Christianity, which will be understood from a glance at the founders of the two religions. It is not only that Christ once told Peter to put up the sword and that Muhammad wished his religion to be defended by arms; but Christ's work was centred in the relation of men to God as sinners to the Saviour, and no laws or injuctions were given for the affairs of daily life or of social questions; it was all left to the work of the Spirit and of the principle of love. Whereas Islam has, in the Quoran and the traditions, commandments and prohibitions for all spheres of life including the political, and it is rare to find it maintained, as recently by the English Muslim, Mr. Sheldrake, that 'Muslims are not political in the real sense of the word.' An article which appeared at the same time speaks quite differently and is no doubt more in agreement with the Oriental Muslim mind.

"We are Muslims in the full sense of the word. Do not ask us to believe in some of the book and to refuse the rest. Politics are among the first duties of Islam and he who tries to prevent that will rob it of life. Muslims are weak at present only because they have left Islamic politics, which their opponents fear. Islam is a religion of power, not of weakness. The verses of the Quroan speaking of *Jihad* must be accepted as well as those about prayer. The Muslim who bears oppression without protest is no Muslim. Islam and politics belong together as the blood and the veins."

Taking a single local example, such as the development in Syria or Palestine after the great war, it is at once seen clearly how closely connected are religion and politics, especially in Palestine, because the holy places—holy also to Muslim—are there. The Arab Muslim population of Palestine in opposing the Balfour Declaration and Jewish immigration, has issued a call to the Muslims of the world to come to their help. In 1931 an Islamic World Conference was held in Jerusalem (see *The Moslem World* for October 1932) with representatives from nearly all Muslim lands. Even if this conference showed some of the internal strife that is found in Islam, and even if it was a disappointment to many Muslims, so that a second conference has not yet been called although it was decided to have annual conferences, still, it was an important step towards modern pan-Islam. One of its results was the sending of a deputation under the Grand Mufti of Palestine to Iraq, Persia, Afghanistan and India to inform Muslims there of the state of things in Palestine and to enlist their support, spiritual and financial, especially towards the creation of an Islamic university in Jerusalem, to be an Islamic centre of a character other than that of the famous old-fashioned theological school of al-Azhar in Cairo. Another outcome was the European Islamic Conference held in May 1934, as a branch of the general conference in Jerusalem.

—

Mrs. Naidu and Indians in Malaya

The following comment by N. R. appears in *The Indo-Malayan Review* on some views alleged to be expressed by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu to a special correspondent of the *Snnday Times* regarding the Indian emigrants at Malay:

Wide publicity has been given in the local press to what were described to be the views expressed by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu on the Indian question in Malaya. To one who has closely studied this pariot they came as a great surprise. In the absence of further confirmation it is unsafe to venture any opinion on the accuracy or otherwise of this report.

If we are to assume that the opinions alleged to have been expressed by Sarojini Devi are really hers, or are shared by other Indian leaders and politicians as well, then we can only suppose that by some cataclysmic suddenness political opinion in India on Indians abroad has undergone a remarkable transformation. If Sarojini Devi's "views" had been shared by the Government of India it would be a waste of money and energy to continue any further the established "Agencies" in Malaya, Ceylon or South Africa.

"Tell the Indians in Malaya" the poetess was reported to have said "you are economically better off where you are than you would be in your own country." This time-honoured fallacy has been exploded again and again so much so that I have neither the time nor the inclination to go into this matter at present. "You emigrated to better your own status, and for what you have done you are amply rewarded." I very much doubt whether Sarojini Devi has ever said so. She is not of the variety that rushes in where angels fear to tread. In this remarkable interview alleged to have been granted to a special correspondent of the "Sunday

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Times" she is credited with many other such statements which any one who knew Sarojini Devi well would certainly refuse to believe. They display an abyssmal ignorance of conditions here and shows an incapacity to appreciate the very elementary principles of colonisation.

The question of the status of the Indians in Malaya will continue to exercise the minds of Indian leaders both here and in India for some time to come. No Indian will remain satisfied with a third class citizenship. There should not be any difference between subject and subject.

In the past, leaders from India have always interested themselves in our behalf, not because in our negotiations with (and representations to) our governments here we have ever invoked their assistance, but because they have always shewn a desire to sympathise and assist.

—

The Woman's Movement in India

The following note by Miss. I. M. Dickinson on the progressive movement of women in India appears in *The Catholic Citizen*:

The Duke of Wellington wrote in 1805: "it is not possible to interest the British public in any Indian subject." If this were not to a large extent true to-day, the amazing growth of the woman's movement must have attracted far more general attention than it has done. But readers of the "Catholic Citizen" are among the honorable minority who are keenly interested in Indian affairs. They know the whole-hearted response which the progressive women of India have made to the call to service of their country.

An age-long discipline and a selfless devotion to the ideal of woman's vocation in the small group of the family have prepared the women of India for the wider field of activity now open to them. Individual women have for long distinguished themselves in all the careers open to them. That this should be so does not surprise the West as much as the conspicuous ability to organise, and still more, the determination to surmount all barriers of community and caste and creed which the woman's movement has called forth during the last decade. This organising ability and unity of purpose is manifest in the work of the three great All-India associations of women, the Women's Indian Association, the National Council of Women in India, and, most representative of all, the All-India Women's Conference. All these have branches in all parts of India and thus link up all the activities of the woman's movement.

The progressive women of India have a tremendous task to perform. On the one hand to struggle without ceasing until they attain their rightful place in the councils of their country; on the other to work for the uplift of those dumb millions in the villages of India until adult suffrage, which is their ultimate aim, can be reached.

We women electors of Britain must not rest content with admiring their courage. We have to use all our influence on behalf of their just demands for a fuller citizenship.

—

Reduction of Working Week in Germany

Since coming into power, the National-Socialist Government in Germany has devoted much attention to reducing the volume of unemployment. Among the practical measures advocated for this purpose is the reduction of weekly hours of work, and in this direction the government has laid down a series of principles for a beter distribution of employment between the employed and the unemployed. The following is quoted from the *International Labour Review*:

The first attempt towards introducing the 40-hour week in Germany was made in 1931, when at the end of January the Bruning Government appointed a committee of experts to study the unemployment problem. On the conclusion of its task the committee recommended a systematic reduction of hours of work as being, in its opinion, a particularly effective method of reducing the ever-growing unemployment figures. It suggested the passing of legislation authorising the Government to reduce the statutory hours of work, if necessnry to 40 hours per week, in industries and occupations where such a step was technically and economically practicable. It further recommended that wages should be reduced in the same proportion as hours, the purpose of the measure being to achieve savings which would enable industry to re-engage unemployed workers.

The Government adopted some proposals, and on 5 June 1931 it promulgated a Legislative Decree, supplemented later by the Administrative Regulations of 30 September 1931. The Government was thus empowered, subject to the approval of the Federal Council, to reduce hours in the manner indicated. At the same time the Government encouraged employers and workers to reduce hours of work by agreement.

The Bruning Government had tried to introduce shorter hours of work by Orders which would be binding in certain specified industries. The Von Papen Government realised from the first experiments that this scheme was not going to succeed, and it therefore decided to try to stimulate employment by another method indirectly connected with a reduction of hours of work. When the new German Government came into power in the spring of 1933, it at once opened a campaign for the widespread adoption of the 40 hour week.

The various ideas and principles of the campaign have had as a result that the introduction of the 40-hour week has been accompanied by a variety of measures, the central principle of which is that the aggregate wages paid must not be diminished. The aim in view is a redistribution of this amount over a larger number of workers, subject to the condition that each one is assured the minimum of subsistence. Moreover, as a corollary to the principle of the distribution of wages over the largest possible number of workers, no one may hold more than one post and overtime may be worked only in cases of extreme urgency.

—

Collectivization of Agriculture in Soviet Union

The concluding remarks of W. Ladejinsky's essay on the 'collectivization of agriculture in the Soviet Union' are reproduced below from the *Political Science Quarterly*:—

The results of the agricultural year of 1933 have shown that at that time the problem of increasing the productivity of the land was inextricably bound up with the problem of how to infuse into the collective movement a will to press forward. The answer was

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found in a change of attitude on the part of the Communist Party toward the most important of all known agricultural machines—the peasant. This involved a shift of emphasis from coercive and repressive measures to policies more sympathetic to the economic interests of the collectivized peasants. In order that these interests be fully realized, a mutually advantageous exchange of goods must take place. The tendency now is in this direction, since a considerable part of this program is likely to be achieved through the realization of the Second Five-Year-Plan, the main objective of which is the increased production of consumers' goods at lower prices. As more of the peasants' needs would thus be satisfied, and an incentive to work created, so may they be expected to move to greater and greater efforts. But until such time as there exists a fully developed incentive to such efforts, it is premature to judge adequately the extent to which in Russian conditions a collective system of agriculture is superior to an individualistic system.

The Communists view the organisation of the collective farms not only as a means of raising large crops but also a major move toward building socialism in the village and in Soviet Union as a whole. Such an achievement depends upon the complete liquidation of the differences between the city and the village, with a classless society arising in consequence. In order to do away with classes, in Lenin's opinion, it was necessary "to eradicate the difference between the workers and the peasants, to turn all into workers." Thus, in order to solve the central problem of the October Revolution, the creation of a unified, planned, socialistic economy, the Soviet government must concern itself not only with making the collectivized peasant work to the best of his abilities, but must also proceed to the herculean task of de-peasantizing the peasant. Will the artel type of collective farm as now constituted be capable of accomplishing these two things simultaneously? One is inclined to question such a possibility, since the noticeable improvement of the work in the artel was due to governmental legislation which accentuated rather than eradicated the individualistic proclivities of its members. An agricultural system where the peasant cannot accumulate capital goods and where the State-owned land and the modern equipment are worked collectively, is unquestionably to break with traditions handed down by generations of small cultivators. But the perpetuation of this very type of a collective farm that allows its members to carry on a limited individual economy of their own and gives them the right to dispose on the open market the agricultural products earned as members of the collective is not necessarily conducive to the elimination of the acquisitive ideas of the peasantry. One wonders, therefore, whether the Soviet Government will not replace the collectlve farm with a State farm where the collectivized peasants will be transformed into agricultural workers and purged of a centuries-old peasant ideology. One may also venturc to suggest that the road between the present collective farm and the State farm—the "grain factory"—should be travelled slowly and carefully, for the attitude of the peasants towards the Soviet State during the period of mass collectivization and under the subsequent agricultural policies of 1933 is a concrete proof that the process of building socialism in the Russian village must proceed upon the maxim enunciated by Lenin, namely, step by step, and inch by inch."

—

Japan's Real Game

Karl Figdor, a German Orientalist, analyzes Japan's military ambitions in Asia, which, with the reported war in Arabia between the king of Wahabis and the king of Yemen, go to prove that the Orient is in Arms. The following introductory portion of the essay is quoted from the *Living Age*:

The dictatorship that the white race has exercised over humanity for the past century has come to an end It was during these years that the little Asiatic peninsula known as Europe overcame continent after continent economically and politically or else colonized them. But the sea of blood that flowed during the Great War drowned this chapter of history. An unprecedented crisis arose, inevitable and inescapable. The colored world is on the move Asia, which fructified the race of men for thousands of years, has risen in revolt. In a billion people, consciousness has awakened that they are now strong enough to determine their own fate. Just as we have spoken of a "yellow peril,' so to-day the words 'white peril' spread across Asia.

Where does this sudden understanding, this newborn power come from? It is not merely technology turning against its father. A new burst of national idealism has sprung from ancient wells, a deeply religious movement confronting the materialism of the white world and extending to Japan and Persia, to India, China, and Arabia. Fundamentally, it arises from the same desire for moral, spiritual, and political equality of treatment that we Germans have struggled for ever since the end of the War because we could not live without it. It is the recognition that a new world can arise only from the sources of national power. All of us, therefore, want the old order to collapse.

—

Modern Hungarian Writers

Joseph Remenyi surveys in a brief space, the literary activities of modern Hungary with the advent of the Catholic Renaissance in the country, which are reproduced below from *The Commonweal*:

There is a renaissance of Catholic literature in Europe which has reached Hungary too. For the past one thousand years Hungary has been an integral part of western Europe in the realm of literature as well as in the realm of other activities.

The aim of contemporary Hungarian Catholic writers is not a timid or vehement defense of Catholicism, but an attempt to portray the reality of Catholic principles, either with the lyric force of a poet, with the narrative and psychological reliability of a novelist. or with the dramatic instinct and vision of a playwright. Outside of the "'Catholic substance!' of their work, which is after all their ideological background, the uncompromising esthetic criterions are very important. Without the latter it would be merely a didactic literature, ethically and religiously justified, but outside of the jurisdiction of asthetic evaluation. In other words, literary ability is as essential to the Catholic writer as is his honest presentation of his faith.

Hungarian poets and writers of the past—especially of the nineteenth century—who definitely identified themselves with the dogmas of Catholicism were either minor creators or artistically insignificant. Their

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religious honesty is beyond question ; the nobility of their purpose is nnneniable ; but they were not writers. they were only writing ; in most instances not poets, merely versifiers. The two representative Catholic poet of the nineteenth century—Antal Sujanszky and Bela Tarkanyi—were conservative disciples of the inherited forms of Hungarian poetry, but their poetry lacked originality, vitality, spiritual virility. It was pleasant and decent, not profound and magnificent. It was the kind of poetry that fits into a school textbook for educational purposes, but does not fit into a poetic anthology of real merit.

Ottokar Prohaszka, professor of Catholic theology at the University of Budapest later became the Bhishop of Szekesfehervar. The rebirth and newness of Hungarian Catholic literature can be traced back to this unusually rich spirit. Ramon Fernandez says of Cardinal Newman that he was the philosopher of reiligious experience. Reading the works of Ottokar Prohaszka—the bulk of which was written for adults—one would say that he was the imaginative incarnation of a religious experience. His baroque style, his personality that radiated humbleness and knowledge through his works, his transcendental sense of proportion, exerted a lasting influence on the younger Catholic generation of Hungary. Rationalism was then the all-dominating philosophical principle. Voltaire were quoted and not Pascal, the brain was emphasized and not the spirit, Herbert Spencer was dissected and not Jacques Maritain.

If, as T. S. Eliot says, Baudelaire discovered Christianity for himself, one must say that Bishop Prohaszka rediscovered Catholicism for a large percentage of Hungary. In addition to this, he induced, directly or indirectly, writers and poets to adhere to the integrity of Catholicism without offending the integrity of creative work He prevented a return to literary diletantism among Catholic writers.

It is a result of his influence that present-day Hungarian Catholic writers aim to produce a Catholic literature which in its transcendental and ethical substance is Catholic and in its form artistic,

Boris Balla, a novelist, who has the courage of his convictions and the artistic ability to portray it, is the most gifted writer of the Catholic renaissance in Hungary. He is still in his storm and stress period ; even the small quantity of his work indicates originality, spiritual richness, a feeling for realities and a visionary capacity for eternal values. Among the poets Laszlo Mecs and Sandor Sik must be mentioned. The former is a member of the Premonstratensian order in Czechoslovokia. His poetry is sometimes bombastic, sometimes loquacious, but it has touching and disarming humanness. Sandor Sik is a member of the Piarist order on the faculty of the University of Szeged. He is a somewhat more disciplined poet than Mecs, more mature, but he too is uneven from the viewpoint of nonconforming critical evaluation. There is much poetry in his play, not enough action. As a drama, it is static.

It is of interest that medieval Latin hymns were translated into Hungarian by Mihaly Babits, the greatest of contemporary Hungarian poets. His translations including that of Dante's "Divine Comedy," no doubt mean an enrichment of the specific Catholic elements of Hungarian literature.

—

Franco-Italian Relations

The following extracts of an address delivered at Chatham House by Maurice Pernot, quoted below from the *International Affairs* will give some idea of the present political relation between France and Italy :

The regime established in Italy by Signor Mussolini moves a certain number of Frenchmen to defiance. We may dismiss as childish the idea that a liberal and democratic parliamentary republic would be forswearing its principles by holding out a friendly hand to Fascist Italy. Nations live under the regime which pleases them—or which they deserve ; that is their own affair and in foreign policy such prejudices are out of place. Was not Francis I, the ally of the Grand Turk, and Felix Faure of Tsar Nicholas, autocrat of Russia ? None the less, there is a type of diplomacy affected by dictators which they alone are in a position to practise. In Italy to-day the Ministry governs without Parliament, and the Ministry is a single man. I do not suggest that elsewhere parliamentary control over government foreign policy is always effective—far from it ; but it does exist and in certain circumstances it does constitute a check to the executive.' There is no check of any sort where the government does not fear either Parliament or Press and moulds public opinion as it pleases. Thus while a parliamentary government will not be tempted to embark on a foreign adventure simply to increase its prestige or strengthen its position, to a dictator this temptation may prove irresistible. We are obliged to take into account the special risks involved from the international point of view.

Again, although in order to come to some understanding we must know each other, it is possible to know one another too well. The bitterest misunderstandings are those between relations, and the "two Latin sisters" have only too often provided Europe with an unedifying spectacle. I do not know if Prince von Bulow was right in holding the press responsible for the pre-War Anglo-German disagreements ; but I am convinced that Franco-Italian quarrels have been most unfortunately embittered by the newspapers of both countries. On the French side, writers have exasperated our neighbours by jokes in bad taste and an irony which wounds no less for not being understood. On the Italian side free rein has been allowed to attacks, not merely on our government and democratic institutions, but on our people, our customs and our traditions, with the constant refrain that our race is degenerate and about to disappear, leaving room for others stronger and better than we are.

But if anger and hate are unfruitful, a presumptuous optimism is not much more effective. For fifteen years we have heard both Italians and Frenchmen, with the best intentions, declaring that a perfect community of interest exists between France and Italy in all domains. What good is done by harbouring such illusions when the contrary thrusts itself before our eyes ? That best way of making things become what we wish them to be, is first to see them as thep are. Geographical reasons lead France and Italy to develop their activities in the same region, this Mediterranean Basin. France, rich in territory and raw materials, is poor in men ; Italy, over-populated, lacks room and the primary materials for her industry. The French interest is to absorb the excess Italian population which finds in France its means of livelihood ; but the Italian interest is to prevent this absorption and to keep for itself, although she exports it, the human material which she rightly regards as her chief asset.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

To Buddha

Visva-Bharati News published the following lines read by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore at the Colombo Regal Theatre :

The world today is wild with the delirium of hatred, the conflicts are cruel and unceasing its anguish, crooked are its paths, tangled its bonds of greed. All creatures are crying for a new birth of Thine. Oh, Thou of boundless life, save them, rouse thine eternal voice of hope, let love's lotus with its inexhaustible treasure of honey open its petals in thy light.

O Serene, O Free, in thine immeasurable mercy and goodness wipe away all dark stains from the heart of this earth.

Thou giver of immortal gifts give us the power of renunciation and claim from us our pride. In the splendour of a new sunrise of wisdom let the blind gain their sight and let life come to the souls that are dead.

O Serene, O Free, in thine immeasurable mercy and goodness wipe away all dark stains from the heart of this earth.

—

Village Self-Government in Bengal

The poor *chowkidar* of the Bengal village suffers from dual control—of the *thana* officer and the union board. In an article on village self-government in Bengal in *The Calcutta Review* Prof. Nareshchandra Roy writes :

This dual control not unoften places the *chowkidars* between two fires. In many places there is no love lost between the Union Boards and the *Thana* authorities. Long traditions of despotic rule have made the Police haughty and overbearing. When a Sub-Inspector of Police goes to inspect a village he expects and not unoften demands deferential attitude to him on the part of the Presidents and members of the Union Board These latter, however, are in many Unions jealous of their position and conscious of their rights, and become indifferent to the visit of the *Thana* Officer, who consequently comes to suffer from a sense of injured dignity. Nothing but heart-burning now characterizes the relations between the Union and the *Thana* authorities. When the relations between the two are so strained, the position of the watchmen becomes delicate. Those of them who try conscientiously to serve both the masters, find themselves deserted by both of them. Some *chowkidars* of course walk warily in the midst of these petty jealousies. They poison the ears of the *Thana* Police against the Board and are profuse at the same time in their complaints to the President of the Board against the demands of the *Thana* Officers. They help to vitiate further the already tense atmosphere. They neglect the work of the Board on the pretext that the Police makes too much demand on their time and neglect their duties on the plea that the President keeps them otherwise too long engaged. Serving two masters is always an uncomfortable job. If the Union Board is at all to remain invested with the duties of rural watch and ward, it should be given full authority and responsibility in the matter. At present its position *vis-a-vis* the *Thana* Police is invidious. It raises the tax for the maintenance of the *chowkidars* but it exercises only a nominal control over their activities. It pays the piper but cannot call for the tune. If the Government cannot entrust to it full responsibility as to the maintenance of peace and security in the Union, this function should be wholly withdrawn from it and entrusted to its own agents. Divided responsibility seldom makes for efficiency. The Government, however, seems to be unwilling to take any step either way. It sets its face even against a slight modification of the existing arrangement.

—

Functions of Indian Universities

A university is not a technological institute. So Prof. Gurmukh Nihal Singh writes in *The Hindustan Review* :

Universities can and ought to help in the advancement of industry through promoting the study of applied science and research in industrial problems but to train technical experts or technicians is not the work of a University but of special technological institutes and workshops. There is a very great need of starting technical institutions of all types and stages in India, and the Government as well as industrialists and businessmen and other educational organizations should co-operate in bringing them into existence. That will help not only industrial progress and the solution of the unemployment problem, but also the reform of the Universities in this country.

In the words of the Haldane Commission on University Education in London in 1913, "the aim of a University is the pursuit of knowledge not only for the sake of information but always with reference to the attainment of truth." On the other hand, "In a technical or professional school the theoretical teaching is limited and directed by the application of ascertained facts to practical purpose." Bearing in mind this essential difference the true functions of a University may be stated as :

(*i*) The conservation, dissemination and extension of knowledge ;

(*ii*) the inculcation of a spirit and love for learning and a burning zeal for its dissemination ;

(*iii*) the production of learned, cultured persons and leaders of thought and action ; and

(*iv*) the turning out a large number of young persons with trained, well-balanced, disciplined minds, with broad outlook and sound character—*i. e.*, of persons without technical knowledge required for specialized work but with a capacity to adapt themselves to the requirements of any situation.

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How America can help India

Rev. Allen E. Claxton writes in *Prabuddha Bharata*.

If India has been at the end of the Pole where her religion has contributed practically nothing to economics, we have been at the opposite end and have made our religion a tool of economic development. America can help India to see that economic planning and the ordering of one's life to reach the highest possible efficiency can bring about organization in all departments of life and thus indirectly contribute to spirituality. I do not say that this is inherent in Christianity, for Christianity is more Oriental than Occidental. Gandhi's doctrine of non-violence is not primarily either Hinduistic or Buddhistic. It is fundamentally Christian, and he does not hesitate to say so. Christ definitely said, "What shall it profit a man to gain the whole world and lose his own soul." We have practically gained the world and have practically lost our souls. If India can spiritualize our religion and we can help toward making India's religion affect her daily activities, both of us shall be better off

America can help India through the example of a united government. Our history points out clearly how our thirteen colonies each gave up certain of their autonomous rights in order to form a strong federal government without which America could never have become a nation. The bloody War of 1861 to 1864 in which we settled the question of secession as much as the question of slavery should be a sufficient lesson to India that fighting between religions or provinces, will never gain her anything.

—

Chinese Attitude towards Christian West

In the same paper appears the following:

In a recent issue of the *Atlantic Monthly* is given the attitude of a Chinese writer to the Christianity in China. He says: "In whatever the missionary in China undertook he proceeded on one assumption, which he regarded as a self-evident truth: 'What is good for me must be good for you.' Not only did he apply it in religious matters, but in other fields as well. Take education, for example. Almost without exception, the missionaries deliberately copied American models so that Chinese schools became nothing but preparatory academies for American colleges. The charm of many Chinese girls has been destroyed by *The Fœrie Queene* and *The Lady of the Lake*; many Chinese boys have been driven crazy by Burke's *Speech on Conciliation with America*. The Lord made us different from the missionaries for no other purpose than to have the missionaries make us like them.

"The missionaries cannot understand that denominations have no significance to us. If we choose to become Christians, we are Christians—not Methodist Christians, Presbyterian Christians, Baptist Christians Somehow the fine distinction escapes us. If there is any difference between the sects, we dismiss it as unimportant. It seems to us that Christians should have better things to do than to wave baskets of dung before each other's noses We weep to see that the body of Jesus carries more bullets than that of a slain Chicago gangster—bullets inflicted by denominationalists.

"We Chinese have been good customers for ideas, even when they have been preached from behind barbedwire entrenchments. But the day when China could be made the dumping ground for the discarded thought of the West is gone for ever.

—

Early Hindu Colonization in Borneo

Prof. Dr. R. C. Majumdar has established in *The Indian Review* that Borneo came directly in touch with Hindu culture and not *via* Java. He has studied the images in the cave of Kombeng and says:

One of the most interesting facts about these images is, that they are not the products of Indo-Javanese art which was predominant in Borneo in the later periods, and as such we have to postulate a direct stream of Hindu influence from India to Borneo. The images of Kombeng cave are thereby invested with a great importance, being the earliest specimens of Hindu art in the eastern colonies. As already remarked above, they evidently belonged to a temple of which the ruins are preserved in the cave. That temple was one of the earliest specimens of Hindu architecture, though unfortunately nothing now remains of it *in situ*.

At various other places, *e.g.*, on or near the banks of the Mahakam river, Dr. Majumdar finds similar traces. He writes:

Here, again, the Hindu civilization is to be traced direct from India and not through Java. The same conclusion follows from a study of some archæological remains notably in the south and east, other than those on the river Mahakam and Kapuas. Thus we have to conclude that Hindu colonists, direct from India, settled in different parts of Borneo during the early centuries of the Christian era. The general belief that Borneo was colonized by Indo-Javanese emigrants, cannot be accepted, at least for the early period.

—

Disinfectants in Cosmetics

In *Scientific Indian* occurs the following:

Silver chloride silicic acid gel is one of the newer substances. It is a fine white powder. Small additions of this substance to usual powder bases are sufficient to give strong germ-killing power to dusting powders. For example, 10 parts of silver chloride silicic acid gel, powdered; 40 parts of purified silicic acid; 35 parts of talcum, 105 parts of starch powder and 5 parts of magnesia form a mixture which, because of its strong absorptive power, readily absorbs perspiration.

Very active preparations arise from the chlorination of phenols. Examples are trichlorphenol and trichlorocresol: however, their very strong odour prevents extended use for cosmetic purposes. Chlorination of thymol isomers such as carvacrol gives rise to monochlor carvacrol, a strong bactericidal, practically nonpoisonous, harmless to the skin, having good deodorizing power and only very slight odour. Its disinfecting power is far greater than that of phenol, being a little less than that of corrosive sublimate, while it is far less poisonous. It is a good foaming agent.

—

The Carey Centenary

William Carey,—better known as 'Carey'—died on June 9, 1834. So the Carey Centenary has

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...ation due this year, and the followers of Christ ...ld over India have naturally referred at length ...to the good and noble mission to the fulfilment ...of which Carey dedicated his life. *The National ...Christian Council Review* writes editorially :

'It is recorded that 'From the day of his appointment ...in 1793 to the day of his death, Carey did not receive ...more than £600 from the Society's funds. He earned ...his own living and contributed something like £40,000 ...or more to the Baptist Missionary work in India.' ...That is an amazing record.

'We are thinking much of missionary methods in ...these days. Can we better those of Carey and his ...colleagues as set out in the historic Serampore ...Covenant? This is a covenant that never grows old.—

1. To set an infinite value on men's souls.
2. To acquaint ourselves with the snares which hold ...the minds of the people.
3. To abstain from whatever deepens India's ...prejudice against the Gospel.
4. To watch for every chance of doing the people ...good.
5. To preach 'Christ crucified' as the grand means ...of conversions.
6. To esteem and treat Indians always as our ...equals.
7. To guard and build up 'the hosts that may be ...gathered.'
8. To cultivate their spiritual gifts, ever pressing ...on them their missionary obligation—since Indians ...only can win India for Christ.
9. To labour unceasingly in Biblical translation.
10. To be instant in the nurture of personal ...devotion.
11. To give ourselves without reserve to the Cause, ...not counting even the clothes we wear our own.'

'It is written of Carey that 'his whole desire went ...was to meet the Will of God.' Therein lay the secret ...of his success.

—

The Virtues of Goats' Milk

We take the following from *The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health* :

One of the great factors in favour of goats' milk ...is that the goat is almost immune from the tubercle ...germ. Her milk can therefore be drunk with safety, ...without being pasteurized or sterilized, which tends ...to destroy the vitamins. Professor Nocard, an eminent ...French research worker, states that out of 130,000 ...goats brought to Paris for slaughter, meat inspectors ...failed to find a single case of tuberculosis; in Prussia, ...out of over 47,000 goats, only 0.41 per cent were ...found to be suffering from tuberculosis. Goats are ...universally submitted to the tuberculin test in Prussia, ...and on an average only 0.5 per cent give a positive ...reaction for tuberculosis.

Goats' milk contains a fair proportion of iron, ...which should render it particularly beneficial in cases ...of anæmia.

Apart from the question of actual disease, goats' ...milk has a very strong point in its favour on account ...of its remarkable digestibility. Owing to the small ...size of the fat globules, and the soluble nature of the ...curd—as opposed to cows' milk which curdles in ...large masses—it is particularly suitable for delicate ...children and people with weak digestions. It digests ...in a fraction of the time required for cows' milk.

Comparison of Three Different Types of Milk

	Goat	Cow	Human
Water	86.45	87.40	86.40
Dry Substance	85	75	90
Casein	3.00	3.00	1.00
Albumin	1.00	.40	1.20
Fat	4.20	3.75	3 50
Sugar	4.50	4.70	7.00

—

Library Movement in USSR

Mr. S. R. Ranganathan, M. A., writes in *Advance India* :

Modern Library Movement began in Russia in 1919. In spite of 68 per cent of the inhabitants being illiterate, the State resolved that, by 1933-34, the ability to read and write should be the possession of every citizen. The public libraries, with their associated centres for the liquidation of illiteracy, were used as the chief lever to achieve this end.

The latest communication received, states, "The number of mass libraries has increased and quite a new network of them has grown up... ..The number of books in the public libraries increased from 9 millions in 1911 to 124 millions in 1934, The number of readers is growing continuously reaching 15 millions in 1932 as against 120,000 in 1926.

Nevertheless, the Central Executive Committee of the USSR resolved at a recent meeting that the work of the public libraries was still unsatisfactory, in many respects. "The set of books, especially in rural areas, is often obsolete..... The staffs are not sufficiently qualified to ensure an ideologically consistent direction of the work. There are also frequent cases of libraries being moved to unsuitable buildings."

—

Cattle Insurance

Cattle iusurance has not yet been very popular in India. So the following extracts from *The Bombay Co-operative Quaterly* should be read with interest :

Cattle are agriculturists' wealth and in some backward parts of the country, such as Dohad and Jhalod, the agriculturist invests his surplus funds in cattle and buying and selling of cattle with him is like uttering a currency note in the market.

In the absence of good cattle cultivation is not satisfactorily done in these days and the death rate of weak cattle also is rather on the increase. The agriculturist is again a poor man and loans apparently borrowed for bullocks are misused. If such loans are advanced in kind the unproductive debts will be very much avoided and the compulsory insurance of cattle is a sure check against such sins of omission or commission.

Such cattle insurance societies were first organized in Burma and then introduced in other parts of the country. A few were registered in Gujarat also but only one of those originally registered in the Ankleshwar Taluka survived, and after its area of operations was increased from time to time it was dubbed as the Ankleshwar Taluka Cattle Insurance Society. After these attempts had proved successful benevolent compulsion to the extent of insuring one cattle head at least was made as a condition precedent to every loan by a society if the loan was borrowed from the Central Bank, and the same conditions held good in another Taluka institution of the same type

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which was only a few years ago registered for the Wagra Taluka.

—

An Estimate of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore

Mr. D. P. Rao gives an estimate of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore the man in *The Educational Review*. Part of it is given below :

In Rabindranath Tagore, we find, indeed a true exponent of Eastern thought and a real interpreter of Oriental poetry. But his vision is not narrow, his outlook is not short.

His mind has not been influenced by time and space. On the contrary, his heart is as wide as the sea and his soul as lofty as the star. At the same time he does not assert himself. He does not dogmatize not thrust his moral. He is thoroughly mild and humble in conveying the messages of his heart ever sincere and devoted to God, ever engaged in the quest of the Unknown Perfection.

To him life is a search after truth and perfection. "We are all trying to solve the riddle of the Unknown," says he, in all earnestness and devotion to the cause of Truth. He denounces materialism and the modern civilization, as it has made of man a living machine and reduced him to a self-seeking creature with an infinite craze for wants and gratification.

To him all education and religion that end in bigotry and prejudice of caste or colour, and help to create walls of division between man and man, are the curse of mankind. Accordingly his own works militate against those monstrous evils of passions and prejudices which baffle all attempts at true reformation. Not only that, wherever he goes, he exhorts people to carry on a strong and vigorous campaign against blind custom and ignorance, superstition and falsehood that threaten the very true order of society. It is his steadfast belief that the individual man whatever and wherever he may be, must exist for and subserve the great man within him and must express himself in disinterested works of love and charity, science, literature and philosophy.

To him a selfish man is ever held in bondage ; for all the while he works, in the narrow sphere, with dwarfed and stunted brain, with the vision narrowed and shortened down, to serve his mean and vulgar ends. His heart therefore turns to God for true freedom, which is of the mind and spirit rather than that of the body.

—

A new definition of Swadeshi

Mr. Maurice Frydman writes in *India and the World* :

"For the purpose of this Institution, the All-India Swadeshi Sangh, *Swadeshi* shall cover articles manufactured in this country by individual craftsmen and their families or co-operative associations of individual craftsmen, workers, and educated professional men who will accept directions issued by the Sangh as to the tools, technical instructions, quality and finish, planning of production purchase of raw materials and disposal of products, and will therefore exclude all article made by industries utilizing hired labour. The word Swadeshi will thus have the following meaning : Made in India—made at home or Made in India—made Co-operatively."

There is little doubt that this new definition, if accepted, will revolutionize the Swadeshi movement and will necessarily lead to a profound and laborous readjustment. Yet we consider it the only one, that will smoothly and peacefully lead this country towards a better social system, that will not create useless and wasteful suffering of individuals and chaos in the Nation's economic life, that has the merits of fundamental simplicity, that instinctively appeals to the commonsense of every hard-working man and that will find a ready response in the hearts and minds of the children of this country.

—

The Tragedy of Indian Education

The following lines from the same paper are instructive :

Now it is all very well to say that Education is an end in itself. It is. It is better to have developed your mental faculties than not to have done so. It is better to be men than a cow. There would be a certain indicency in admitting that one only sought education in order to improve one's economic position. And yet it is hard to put up with unemployment, under-payment or a soul-destroying job when one's faculties have been developed than when they have not. It is desperately hard when a man has worked hard for years and when his father has made sacrifices to help him, if he then finds that Society has no use for him.

—

Co-ordination of School and Home

To ensure the healthy education of boys both the parents and the teachers should co-operate. Mr. Paresh Chandra Sen, M. A., B. T., writes of the functions which the parent and the teacher should fulfil as follows in *The Teacher's Journal*:

The parent should see that young children receive proper training in truthfulness, obedience, cleanliness and preciseness at home. Young children spend the greater part of day in home circle and parents have got opportunity of inculcating on them, the habits of truthfulness, obedience, etc. They should see that the children imbibe the habit of doing the right thing in right time.

Parents should see that childred attend school punctually and regularly.

The parent should see whether children do regularly school work at home.

Guardians should always lend their helping hand to teachers and co-operate with them.

It should be the duty of teachers to see the parent, as soon as the child is admitted, in order to know the peculiarities and weaknesses, if any, in the character of the child. Prineipal rules and regulations of the school should be made known to the parent.

Periodical report should be issued showing the progress of pupils in each subject. The Head teacher should also note in the report lapses in conduct and attendance.

A day should be set apart in a year for meeting of teachers and guardians for mutual exchange of ideas and healthy discussion of matters relating to working of the school.

Teachers should set proper home work in order to keep a link between school and home. The child should learn that school and home are working together for its benefit.

One of the most important aims of teachers should be the fostering of the habits of punctuality and regularity.

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FINANCE AND INSURANCE

Finance

Preliminary Forecast of Jute

The preliminary forecast of the jute crop for 34 just released by the Department of Agriculture, Bengal, shows that the propaganda for restriction has been almost counteracted by a temporary rise in prices at the sowing time. The consolidated figures are as follows :

Bengal including the States	2,186,100 acres
Behar and Orissa	163,800 ,,
Assam	141,600 ,,
Total	2,491,500 ,,

As compared with the 1933 figures the Bengal returns show an increase of 0.8 per cent, while the total has decreased by only 1.03 per cent. The decrease is to a large extent fortuitous, because due to the deposit of sand in the districts of Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga a very large area has been thrown out of cultivation in Behar where the decrease has been by no less than 28,300 acres.

Co-operative Societies in Bengal, 1932-33

The Report on the working of the Co-operative Societies in Bengal during the year ending on 30th June 1933 has been received by us late in June 1934. It appears that the Report, which consists of only fifteen pages, was signed on the 5th January 1934 while the Government resolution, a mere routine affair, was passed on the 7th of April, that is, after four months. It is regrettable that the Government reports are published so late that the public almost ceases to take any interest in them. Yet we have to refer to them for the latest available statistics.

During the year under review the running audit system was introduced to provide a check against fraud and defalcation. Due to the economic crisis adequate repayment of loans was not made by the members and so the proportion of loans over-due increased to as high as 60 per cent. At the same time a considerable idle balance has accumulated in the Provincial and the Central Banks. It will be remembered that very recently five Land Mortage Banks have been started as an experimental measure to provide long-term loans against land.

The Report reviews that the Agricultural Credit Societies are not working as they should owing to the depression, but that the Central Banks on the whole in a satisfactory position, and in some cases no Central Bank has been forced to close down. The prosperity of the non-agricultural societies has on the whole remained unaffected although many non-credit societies are far from working on a profitable basis. The general conclusion of the Report seems to be that the Co-operative system has passed through a critical year in a way which shows the inherent strength of the co-operative principle.

A closer study of the statistical tables however shows that the optimism is not justified. In case of the Provincial Bank the expenditure exceeded the actual income by Rs. 1,17,616 while the deficit in case of the Central Banks taken together was Rs. 6,58,904. Actual receipts exeeeded actual exenditure only in case of five Central Banks, while in some cases the actual disbursement is more than one thousand times the actual receipts. Curiously however some of these latter banks declared dividends in spite of this.

We are thus forced to conclude that the situation is not at all as reassuring as the Report has sought to show. The position of many banks is very serious indeed, and unless the situation takes a definitely better turn in near future most of the Central Banks would have soon to face a life and death struggle.

Co-operative Statistics 1932-33

	No. of societies	No. of members	Working capital
			Rs.
Prov. and Central banks	120	25,148	7,33,22,614
Agr. societies ...	21,342	771,144	5,92,03,158
Non-Agri. societies ...	2,184	247,705	3,76,75,840

Sources of Capital of Agricultural Societies

	Rs.
Share	55,27,194
Deposit (members)	19,83,317
do. (non-members)	17,08,994
do. (Provincial and Central Banks)	3,42,24,872
Reserve	1,33,64,101, etc. etc.
Total	5,69,00,456

The Tariff Board and the Steel Industry

In the recent Report on the Iron and Steel industry, the Tariff Board has reviewed the situation with regard to not only the Tatas but also others including the subsidiary industries. The Board concludes that on the whole the protective system has worked very well in spite of the cataclysmic fall in prices, increased freight charges and the last strike which so disastrously affected the Tata Company. The Tatas supplied no less than 72 per cent of the total available market in India in 1932-33 as against only 30 per cent in 1927-28. In addition to the growth of a re-rolling industry, the protective system has enabled the company to earn a profit and also to lay aside a large sum for capital improvement. At the same time the reductions in cost anticipated in 1926 have been fully realized even

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allowing for the fall in the prices of coal and spelter.

The Report arrives at the fair selling price of steel products after taking into account the relevant factors such as the valuation of the property, depreciation, interest on the working capital, a reasonable rate of profit, freight charges, selling expenses and so on; and on that basis it proposes a new scale of duties in place of the old one which was suggested in 1926. Generally speaking, according to the new scheme there would be no protection whatsoever against most products manufactured in the United Kingdom. As regards others the duty is to be reduced to a mere fraction of the old level. The duties against the products manufactured in other countries are to be maintained at a high level, at enhanced rates in case of some items and at lower rates in case of others. The duty on fabricated steel is to be the same wherever it is produced, *viz.*, at Rs. 40 per ton. The Board proposes to include in the scheme of protection a provision for off-setting duties under which the Government will have authority to raise or lower the duties as occasion arises. It also proposes a scheme of duties for the Tin plate and the Cast iron industries.

We are not in a position to judge whether the 'fair selling price' calculated by the Board is reasonable. But *if* it is so, and *if* the British prices are not lower it stands to reason that there should be no protection against the British producers, even though the conclusion might appear as a recrudescence of the much decried Imperial Preference and even though the national sentiment might militate against it. We must however remember that what is economically right may not be politically wise. But what we do not understand is why the Tariff Board should go to the length of recommending the removal of even the revenue duties on certain classes of products manufactured in the United Kingdom. This is a matter which we think does not concern the Tariff Board at all.

We give below a summary of the new scale of duties proposed:

	Duties recommended in 1926 (Rs. per ton)	Existing duties (Rs. per ton)	Proposed duties (Rs. per ton)
Rails	13	16¼	Nil
Fish-plates	6	7½	Nil
Fabricated Steel Sleepers	10	12½	40 Nil
U. K. Products:			
Structurals	19	23¾	Nil
Bars	26	32½	10
Plates	20	25	Nil
Black-sheets	35	43¾	11
Galvanized Sheets	38	53	10
Tin-plate			38
Cast iron pipes			Nil
Bolts, nuts, rivets, etc.			Nil
Continental:			
Structurals	30	37½	43
Bars	37	46¼	39
Plate	36	45	25
Black-sheets	59	73¾	32
Galvanized Sheets	38	83	40
Tin-plate			59
Cast iron pipes			57½
Bolts, nuts, rivets, etc.			1-9 to 4-3

Sailendranath Sen Gupta.

Indian Insurance

Insurance Law Amendment

The decision of the Government of India to amend the Insurance Laws is a move in the right direction. There has long been a demand for such amendments, but for one reason or other it has been shelved until now. The first Law regulating the working of the Indian Insurance Companies was enacted in 1912, and was modified in 1928. But it has been pointed out time and again that the Law as it now stands is quite inadequate to deal with the many and various problems that have cropped up in regard to the Insurance business in India, since then. In 1925, a draft bill covering the whole field of Indian insurance was introduced in the Legislative Assembly but it proved abortive. For, a Committee in England was at the time examining the possible lines of modifying the British Insurance Law and the Bill was kept in abeyance till the proposed modification of the British Law could be effected. There the matter has remained. It is understood that the Government contemplate an amendment of the present Act so as to put a stricter regulation upon the unrestricted and unremunerative competition of companies which have grown like mushrooms and whose unbusinesslike methods of procedure constitute a grave menace to the savings of the middle-classes who so often find their only method of investment in life insurance." This is, indeed, necessary. But will the Government be pleased to introduce provisions to safeguard the Indian Companies from the lure of the strongly entrenched foreign companies which utilize their enormous resources in a manner calculated to place formidable obstacles in the way of the development of our indigenous concerns thereby sapping the foundations of our national economic progress? Such protective legislations obtain everywhere, and for that very reason, and will, therefore, be by no means peculiar to India. The main provision that urgently requires to be made is to require the foreign life offices to submit separate accounts of their Indian business and to make such deposits and render such accounts as Indian companies are compelled to do. We trust that Indian opinion will be duly consulted

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sidered in regard to the possible lines of the posed amendment.

New Business of Indian Life-Offices

"Ours is a business that knows no depression" ully said a leading American Insurance man other day. This is no idle boast. For, ression has an excellent psychological effect this particular business. The worse the itions the greater the desire to save; and type of saving is so free from fluctuations. that the insurance business has been ely untouched by the depression but business figures of our leading Indian life-offices show a record of consistent and satisfactory progress in spite of it. On the one hand, this is an evidence of the popularity of life insurance in general and, on the other, it is an indication of the growing confidence of our people in our own institutions. The Oriental has come out first in the list with a business of more than Rs. 7 crores. The Hindusthan—as yet comparatively much younger,—stands second with a business of over Rs. 2 crores, followed by the National and others. A table is appended below to show the progress of the ten leading Indian life offices :

Name	Year ended	New Business	New Business last Year
		Rs.	Rs.
Oriental ...	31-12-33	7,04,26,203	5,94,00,727
Hindusthan ...	30- 4-34	over 2,50,00,000	over 2,00,00,000
National ...	31-12-33	1,67,15,000	1,55,73,000
Empire ...	28- 2-34	1,38,24,000	1,11,55,000
Bombay Mutual ...	31-12-33	1,29,16,500	75,65,000
New India ...	30- 3-34	1,11,66,800	1,05,26,000
Lakshmi ...	30- 4-34	over 1,00,00,000	over 80,00,000
Bombay Life ...	31-12-33	94,16,500	63,45,500
Industrial and Prudential ...	31-12-33	67,00,000	52,00,000
United India ...	31-12-33	66,40,918	49,65,750

Results of the National

The 'National' is one of the "Big Five" of Indian life-offices, and its twenty-seventh al report reveals that its working in the year has been satisfactory, indeed. During year 11,474 proposals for insurances amounting 2,12,27,035 were received of which 9 058 ed in policies assuring in the aggregate a of Rs 1,67,15,163, inclusive of reassurances. nett annual premium income from New es, after deducting the sums re-assured nted to Rs 8,42,479. The claims presented the year amounted to Rs 6,53,778 by and Rs 8,14,014 became due in respect of ed endowment assurances. The Life rance Fund, inclusive of other Funds, nted to Rs 2,05,38,459 as compared with ,35,046 at the beginning of the year. The interest income, after deduction of income- was Rs. 8,82,895 and the ratio of expenses ous level. The premium income remained almost at the

The Chairman of the Company explained, s presidential address, the causes of the t income being comparatively low, and tally referred to the opinion of Mr. J. M. who had recently foreshadowed that the of interest rates would go still lower in . It may be of interest, however, to note Mr. Keynes' dictum has been challenged Prof. Gustav Cassel of Sweden who does elieve that interest rates anywhere will fall a long period. Whatever may be the tive merits of the rival points of controversy, results of the 'National' in the past year been quite satisfactory. Here are some of nt features in a tabular form :—

		1933	1932
		Rs.	Rs.
New Sums Assured	...	1,67,15,163	1,55,73,782
Funds	...	2,05,38,459	1,83,35,046
Interest income	...	8,14,014	8,94,802
Claims :			
By death	...	6,53,778	5,87,563
By maturity	...	8,14,014	6,91,645
Total of Assets	...	2,23,05,561	1,99,03,160
Expense Ratio	...	27·4 p.c.	27·3 p.c.

Foreign Insurance

An Interesting Analysis

The "Weekly Underwriter" has made a very interesting analysis about the total number of death claims in the first year of insurance in the U. S. A. and the causes and incidence of such deaths. No less than 76,400 claims, totalling about $ 50½ millions were, according to the investigations of this weekly, paid during 1933 on policies that had been in force from one day to 12 months. More than 20,000 of the early claims were in respect of polices which were in force for even less than three months, and this group included policyholders of all ages, classes, and occupations. The causes of death were as varied as they were peculiar. Accidents were responsible for 10 per cent of the total death claims of life companies for all policy years in 1933, and for a much larger proportion—about 28 per cent—of the deaths that occured within a year of assuring. Autmobile casualties took the largest toll while diseases of the heart ranked second. From a sample of 1000 typical ordinary cases, it appeared that the largest number of first-year claims involved the age-group 40-49.

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Undoubtedly such an analysis offers an exceedingly forceful selling argument. The huge number of deaths owing mainly to causes unforeseen, and the timely provsion that the Insurance companies make for the dependents of the deceased, cannot but have an appeal even to those who do not believe in insurance.

M. G

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

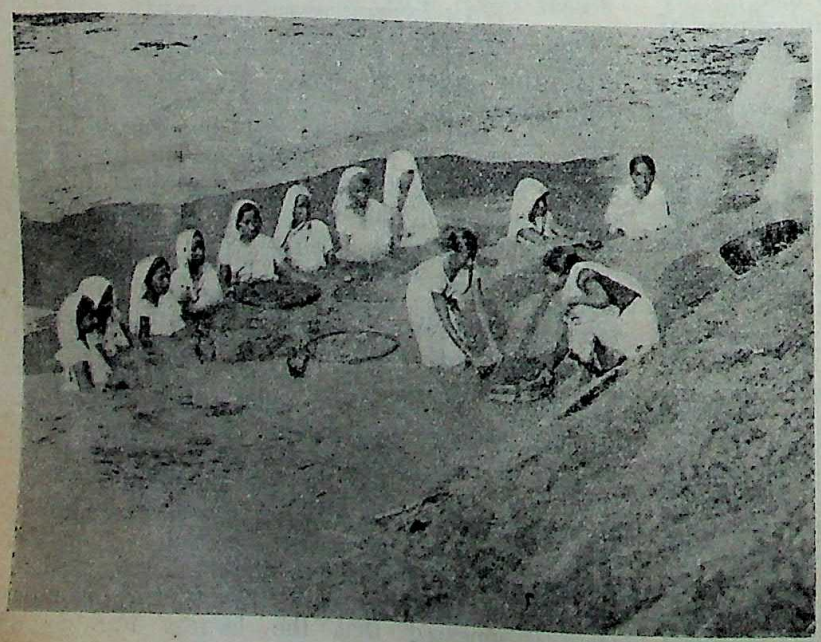
The late Mrs. Prakriti Devi

Mrs. Prakriti Devi, wife of Mr. Mahimohan Chatterji, advocate, died on 2nd June last. She was a lady of remarkable talents. She was an artist and also an expert in lac work, sewing, cooking etc. She was connected with various women's welfare associations.

Senhati is a village in the Khulna district of Bengal. Forty ladies of that village have set a noble example of practical philanthropy by clearing the local reserve tank of the weeds. Details of this appeared in *The Modern Review* for June, 1934, p. 717.

The Begum Saheba of Rampur is an accomplished lady. She is touring Europe with her husband, the Nawab of Rampur. A woman correspondent writes of her in *The Daily Express* of London as follows:

> She writes poetry, but may not talk much in front of the Nawab.
>
> "I visit the Maternity Hospital in Rampur," she told me, "and I started the child welfare there. Sometimes the Nawab's Ministers and his elderly intimate friends call on me, but I never appear with him in public. My rooms are in a wing of the palace facing a little garden."
>
> She has stepped out of that garden for the first time without her veil. She has gone all over Europe during the last two months. Seen Berlin, Vienna, Prague, Rome, Paris; been in theatres, restaurants, shops, and aeroplanes, and enjoyed all with such demure unconcern that no one has guessed she only knew shuttered rooms before.
>
> She meekly follows her husband's lead and laughs happily with a diamond set and twinkling in her nose.



Ladies of Senhati clearing the reserve tank of weeds

The Begum Saheba of Rampur

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INDIAN WOMEN'S UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION

SITTING: (*From the left*) Mrs. Iravati Karve, Registrar of the University (daughter-in-law of Professor D. K. Karve); Mr. Patkar, Chancellor of the University; Mrs. Sarojini Naidu; Professor D. K. Karve, Founder of the University.
Some of those who have graduated this year are standing behind and squatting in front.

NAZIS FALL OUT

By KARUNA MITTER

It is a commonplace in practical politics that the companions of today are the enemies of to-morrow, that is to say, those useful today must be destroyed tomorrow lest they assert their right to dictate or share responsibility. That Herr Adolf Hitler subscribes to this political maxim is evident from the way he made short work of some of his party chiefs recently.

Indeed, it may be said, Herr Hitler owes his present unchallenged supremacy to his inconstancy. If he had been faithful to the Duesseldorff "Belage" then he would only be a puppet today in the hands of those who forced him into that undertaking. For the Hitler-Papen-Hugenberg coalition cabinet was formed on the basis of that agreement with the definite object of keeping the National Socialist forces subdued by having Hitler in reins with merely the semblance of power; the idea being that when the rank and file came to recognize Hitler's incapacity for serious political work they would be prepared to transfer their allegiance to veteran leaders of the old Germany, provided they were above party. The men who thought thus undoubtedly misconceived the nature of the forces they were wrestling with. Their dubious victory in the latest tug-of-war cannot but be short-lived. It is a natural assumption on the part of these men of pre-War Germany who seem to have remained entirely oblivious of the prodigious changes in the *Weltanschauung* of the German masses, which the events of the war and post-war years have effected, that the country could be run on old lines with the help of the Reichswehr and the police. For the time being Herr Adolf Hitler seems to know no better. It may be that Herr Franz von Papen had therefore thought it an opportune moment for his Marburg speech.

It would not be wrong to assume that Herr von Papen's move was meant primarily to

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strengthen Herr Hitler's hands in curbing the extreme or "radical" elements in the National Socialist Party, for not only he spoke in high eulogistic terms of the Fuehrer at Marburg but re-stated his admiration for Herr Hitler's work in 'stopping disintegration' in a speech before 2000 Saar women* on July 23, *i.e.*, six days after his first speech which had been suppressed by Dr. Joseph Goebbels, Reich Minister for Enlightenment and Propaganda. In spite of that he was not allowed to 'get away with it' without a scratch. Perhaps this was necessary as a sop to the Left sections of the Nazi Party among whom the Marburg speech had created a stir and to Dr. Goebbels,—for the diatribe was also addressed to some of the Vice-Chancellor's cabinet colleagues not least among whom was the Propaganda chief who had been acting as leader of the campaign against "carpers and critics."

Unrest Among Nazis

The radicals in the Nazi camp had for sometime past been grumbling at the general state of affairs in the country and the trend of the Administration. Herr von Papen's outburst, which was a direct outcome of this restlessness, instead of checking the disaffection increased it. Forgetful of von Papen's part in helping the National Socialists to power upon which he based his right and duty to criticize Dr. Goebbels made a vigorous counter-attack on him at a Nazi mid-summer nights' festival:

> "These former cavalry officers, club armchair critics, and reactionaries† could not prevent us from assuming power, and now they want to prevent us from using the power." The National Socialists, he said, seized the right to power because nobody laid claim to it—"no Crown Prince, no commercial counsellor (a title even now held by some eminent industrialists) no big banker, and parliamentary chieftain."

"The National Socialist Government" he continued "would have done better to put all these gentlemen under lock and key." He hinted that von Papen had found Hitler satisfactory but objected to his party officials, "little uneducated people," rather than to some of the higher people whose example they were expected to emulate. "These little people have conquered Germany!" People who crept into mouseholes and then reappeared camouflaged as Nazis "have not understood our generosity. Now they shall learn to understand our determination."

On June 23, chief Group Leader Edmund Heines in a mid-summer night speech to his Breslau Storm Troopers said, they must remain alert round the picket fire, for it was more necessary than ever to keep watch. They must see that the movement was not turned into other channels. He introduced a new song entitled: "We are not yet at the end; the fight is not yet fought out," and declared that "this is our wild and fanatical confession of faith."

Dr. Goebbels who was put on his mettle by Herr von Papen delivered several more speeches on the same subject. At Essen, he demanded: 'Is it not about time the people themselves had a word to say and put this company of stink-pots to flight?"

These speeches show that the Storm Troopers (*Sturmabteilungen*) were seething with discontent and might vent their wrath in another outbreak like those witnessed during the counter-revolution of last year. In fact, a few days after the Papen speech, during a mid-summer night festival at Quetzin in Pomerania there was an affray between Storm Troopers and Stahlhelms when an S. A. leader sustained injuries in a scuffle with a Steel Helmet. As a consequence of this the Brown Army command threatened dissolution of the ex-service men's organization.

There was, then, before the incidents of June 30 considerable tension in the country. Notwithstanding the ban on Herr von Papen's Marburg speech, its salient points had rapidly been spreading through the country by word of mouth. The matter was in all conscience serious; the text of the speech had been submitted to President von Hindenburg in advance who had approved of it and had congratulated its author in due course; on the 19th, Hitler met von Papen when the former assured the latter that certain conditions against which the Vice-Chancellor's criticism was directed would be remedied. Von Papen had nevertheless resigned though it was not accepted. Thereafter both had seen the President at his country home at Neudeck who tried to smooth matters out.

But there was yet to be trouble between von Papen and other members of the Cabinet. On the 28th, Herr Jung who was a responsible secretary of Herr von Papen and often inspired or even drafted some of his chief's speeches was arrested. Walter Schotte, another close associate, had his rooms searched.

The Osaf's Stroke

The stage was thus admirably set for Herr Hitler's dramatic move. Following the Quetzin affray, but for reasons more weighty than this quarrel, the S. A. men had been given a month's leave during which they were not to use their uniforms. They were on the eve of their holiday. Ernst Roehm, Chief of Staff of the Brown Army, was on sick-leave. The action began in the early hours of the morning on Saturday, June 30, Herr Hitler himself taking the lead.

Taking advantage of von Papen's speech he had apparently gained the permission of President von Hindenburg to make use of the Reichswehr

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* Herr von Papen is the Special Commissioner for the Saar.

† Franz von Papen was formerly a cavalry officer. He is a reactionary and has been a member of that notorious *Herrenklub*, a resort of reactionaries.

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to crush the leading malcontents in his own camp and strike terror into the heart of others. Resolved to take drastic action" against men the news of whose intention to rebel had reached him, "a visit to Western German labour camps was arranged in order to lull the plotters into a sense of security." Here at 2 a. m. in the dead of night accompanied by some companions (of whom Dr. Goebbel's name has so far been disclosed) he took an aeroplane from the Hangelar aerodrome near Bonn and flew to Munich, the Party centre. The operations were simple enough. The Brown House, headquarters of the party, was surrounded and occupied by the Reichswehr. Ernst Roehm, with most of his staff, Chief Group leaders—Heines and Schneidhuber, Group leader Schmidt and others were among the numerous arrests made. Simultaneous action was taken in other parts of Reich, notably in Berlin and Bremen. At the latter place Group leader Ernst, leader of the Berlin Storm Troops, was arrested. In Berlin itself the raids were conducted mainly by the State Police Detachment Hermann Goering" who wear light green-grey uniforms, and steel helmets which look very similar except at close quarters, to the Reichswehr uniform. Probably this was more than a mere accidental coincidence. The palatial residence of the Storm Troops Chief of Staff, the G. H. Q. of the Brown Army, and H.Q. of the Obergruppe III, Group Leader Ernst's regional command, were among the places surrounded by the police, occupied and searched, while General von Schleicher was sought out at his suburban home at Neu-Babelsberg and shot down at sight with his wife.

Since arrest all the leaders mentioned as well as numerous others have been disposed of by Nazi gunmen. The casualty lists include Herr Gregor Strasser, the one time chief lieutenant of the Fuehrer, Herr von Kahr who as Premier of Bavaria, frustrated the beer-hall putsch of 1923, Count Spreti, the Catholic Action leaders, Klansner, and Father Muhler, Herr von Alvensleven, a friend of Herr von Papen, and Herr von Bose, the Vice-Chancellor's secretary. Also hundreds of others have been taken into custody throughout the Reich. Their names as well as of many who are dead have been withheld. A Berlin correspondent opines that many personal grudges against individuals were satisfied in this affair. But Herr Hitler's explanation that there were plots against the Government does not seem to be untrue.

The Plots

The information available to the Government, it appears, revealed bostile intrigues among three different groups. Two of these groups were definitely connected. These groups were: (1) by some leaders of the Sturmableitungen among whom was General Roehm; (2) General Kurt von Schleicher, Herr Hitler's predecessor at the Chancellery and reputed 'strong man' of Germany having been associated with General Groener from the time of the Spartacist revolt, and his friends; and (3) Herr von Bose and his friends of Herr von Papen's circle were leaders of this group but acted without his knowledge and was connected with Roman Catholic clericals.

The Schleicher group, it is said, got in touch with the Storm Troops group through Gregor Strasser, Ernst and others. Considering the overtures Strasser made to von Schleicher when the latter was Chancellor for a pact between them, this story of Strasser acting as *liaison* man does not seem improbable. But what is not very plausible is the fact that the official story assumes a plot in which radicals and reactionaries are seen to be acting in concert for a common end. For instance, Gregor Strasser had definite Socialistic leanings and after his virtual expulsion from the party he sought consolation in the company of his brother who is an out-and-out Socialist; Heines' political ideas were not different from those of Strasser. On the other hand, Schleicher and Roehm embodied in themselves some of the outstanding traditions of the Junkers.

The explanation offered is that the Roehm group, vain of unrestricted power, spoilt by the sudden turn of fortune and afraid lest they be deprived of their freedom to indulge in utmost licence, had resolved to get rid of certain members of the regime and regain their former influence over the Fuehrer which had been waning since Herr Hitler's assumption of office. The motive for the "second revolution" at which they aimed was not the dethronement of the Osaf but the replacement of the other members of the Government with men more after their heart. The "Shadow Cabinet" list mentioned General von Schleicher and General Roehm.

The Paris cerrespondent of the *Daily Herald* reasons differently. He says General von Ribbentrop, Hitler's Special Disarmament Commissioner, who recently visited the French capital, promised M. Barthou that if France would agree to the German disarmament proposals of April 16, Herr Hitler would disband the auxiliary forces.

The correspondent further asserts that the news of the Paris parleys leaked out in Berlin and the Strom Troop leaders decided to resist disbandment. And upon the information supplied by the secret police, Hitler and Goering forestalled the saboteurs.

It may be both reasons weighed with the would-be insurrectionists, but that there was a definitely revolutionary back-ground can be taken as established. Mid-summer night speeches of Dr. Goebbels and Edmund Heines already quoted give an insight into the prevailing mentality among the rank and file of the party. A leaflet issued by the "Storm Troop Revolutionary Committee," which has been cabled out by the *Daily Telegraph* correspondent, states:

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"Our leaders may be dead, but our work for the second revolution goes on. Ernst and the commanders who have been shot, understood the ideals of the Storm Troops. Those who remain do not. Herr Hitler has become the tool of reaction and of the industrialists who desire to crush the workers."

This means that Hilter is more unsafe than before. It is said that about a third of 3,000,000 Storm Troops have definitely Communist tendencies, and that their weeding out from the force has begun in earnest, that the "purge" of June 30 and the subsequent days is only the beginning of the wholesale "clean-up" which will involve as many as 50 per cent of the total number. Further, care will be taken that these men may not set up new organizations of their own. The claim, therefore, that the recent *coup* has strengthened the hands of Herr Hitler would seem to be idle. He has tried to reckon with extreme elements both of the Right and of the Left. His treatment of von Papen leaves no doubt about that. That he could not go further in dealing with von Papen and other reactionary elements is due to the fact that he had to rely and will continue to rely on the support of the Reichswehr. Now this support, so long as the present President is alive, will depend upon his acquiescence ; his sympathies are definitely with von Papen for whose safety he has made the Reichswehr responsible.

In addition to Herr von Papen, Hitler will have to keep in control two stormy petrels at his side, namely, Drs. Goebbels and Rosenberg, editors of *Der Angriff* and *Voelkischer Beobachter* respectively. Both are "radical" in their views. *Der Augriff* is generally full of slogans culled from the books of the much-maligned Bolshevists and it proclaims itself a newspaper "for the oppressed against the exploiter." Also Dr. Goebbels is by no means unambitious; he only submits to Hitler's leadership because he realizes he has been late on the scene. He loves to dwell in private upon his Socialistic ideas as opposed to Hitler's conservative ones. In 1930, he indirectly helped the Berlin Storm Troops to rebel against the Osaf.

Herr Hitler's seat of power, then, is not at all strong, if not actually shaky. He will henceforward depend upon the support of 100,000 men of the Reichswehr, 12,000 of General Goering's Special Police, and 20,000 of his loyal S. S. men (*Schutzstaffel*). The Stahlhelm organization will continue, as he assured Herr Seldte their chief, on June 29. But their attitude in any emergency must remain an uncertain factor. It is easy to see that Herr Hitler will have greater difficulty than before in steering a middle course which is now the only policy he can follow, though if he decided on breaking away from the Right and making friends with the Left Wing he could do so even now. But as the days go on, he will follow a more and more lonely course.

However, for sometime at least there is little likelihood of the regime crumbling. After the pricked bubble of latent revolution the Nazi ruling chiefs at Wilhelmstrasse gives an impression of strength. Perhaps the party "purge" which has done away with notorious criminals (it is now openly declared by Nazis that many among them were and are criminals) will raise Herr Hitler in the eyes of that section of the German populace which aspires after a strong, orderly, nationalistic government.

Yet, the Government's power would seem to rest not so much on any positive sanctions as on certain negative factors. Even so, any imminent danger to the present regime must be discounted. Not only the Left Wing parties but all opposition was broken last year and the Socialist groups are in disarray, leaderless, despondents and, perhaps, still a divided house. Whether the new elements thrown up by the Brown Army and the Steel Helmets organization will put heart into a demoralized population remains to be seen. But here still in the restricted circle of these discharged men, the diversity of social leanings make for political heterogeneity. Once more, we can hope to see the renewal and intensification of that struggle between the reactionaries and the revolutionaries, *i. e.*, between the bourgeoisie on the one hand and the proletarianized middle class Fascist elements and the Socialist workers on the other. Such alignment of forces would not be surprising nor even unprecedented. Broadly speaking, Herr Hitler's "purge" will drive discontent underground which will thrive there for sometime before some extraordinary situation (for instance, war) brings it up into the open.

KEY TO THE FRONTISPIECE

Punishment of the Sea

Ramchandra, in order to rescue Sita from the clutches of the Rakshasas, reached the sea-shore. He set to think how he could cross the mighty expanse of the deep. Bibhisan who had already become Rama's friend, advised him to wait on the bank in beds of grass in expectation of the diety of the sea. But the latter came not, when Ramchandra took his *mighty* bow in his hand to strike terror into his heart and spread conflagration whereby the water would be dried up.

The incident has been taken from Valmiki's immortal epic, Ramayana.

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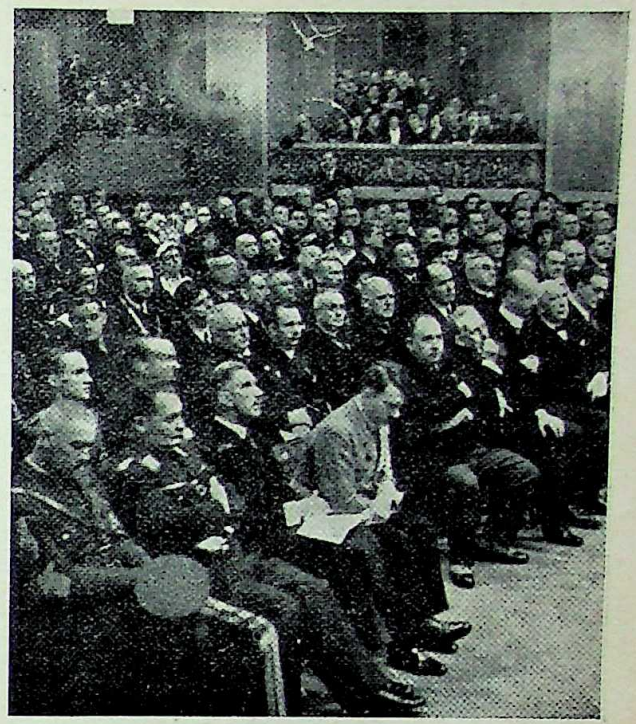
Herr Hitler, President von Hindenburg, and General Goering



Nazi Leaders at the German Folk-culture Association. *Sitting from the left in the front row*: Dr. Frick, General Goering, Herr von Papen, and Herr Hitler

Nazi leaders leading a procession : Adolf Hitler, Hermann Goering and Ernst Roehm among them

Dr. Paul Goebbels

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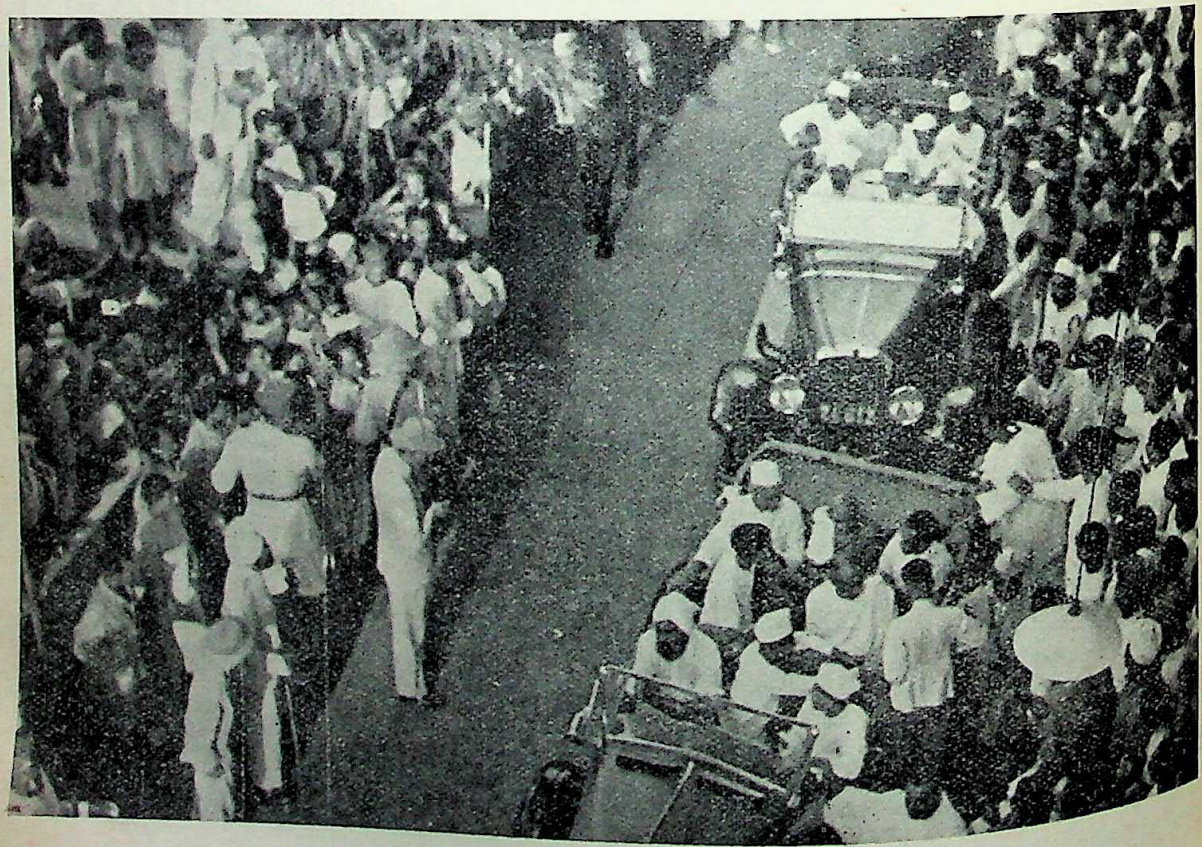
Inauguration meeting of the India Society in Prague (*see page* 217)



Mahatma Gandhi's departure from the Town Hall, Calcutta, after receiving civic address from the Corporation of Calcutta

By the Courtesy of Mr. Amal Hom

Photo by Messrs. Bourne and Shepherd, India

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INDIA AND CZECHO-SLOVAKIA. OPENING OF THE INDIA SOCIETY IN PRAGUE

(From an Indian Correspondent in Prague)

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA is an important and progressive State in Europe. Both economically and politically it assumes a rôle far more significant than what estimate based merely on consideration of its area and population would probably suggest. Czecho-Slovakia is industrially one of the most advanced of the countries in Europe. On the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, no less than four-fifths of its industrial resources fell to the new State of Czecho-Slovakia. Since then industrial development has well kept pace with modern technical progress. Czecho-Slovakian industries, many of them, are built on the basis of wider markets than the present home one. In view of this and the policy of tariffs and other restrictions raised by various neighbouring lands that once formed home markets to present Czecho-Slovakian industries, the latter have since the war been devoting added attention to more distant markets, India being an important one among them. Already there is a significant trade between India and Czecho-Slovakia. Czecho-Slovakia is an important buyer of various Indian products. The extent of the export of Indian goods by Czecho-Slovakia is generally not well realized in India, owing to the imports coming through foreign ports and the statistics generally available not giving the real situation. At present, trade between the two countries shows a great adverse balance to Czecho-Slovakia. In fact, among the countries with which Czecho-Slovakia has an unfavourable or passive trade balance, India assumes leading position. This fact should receive serious attention in India, in view of the general tendency all over to reduce the adverse trade balance with separate units to the practical possible limit, so that such a development in the case of Indo-Czecho-Slovakian trade does not happen to the detriment of India's exports. Owing to the advanced state of Czecho-Slovakian industries in various branches and their being fitted well in accordance with world market, Czecho-Slovakia is in a position to make good contribution to India's import trade in several lines and assume an important rôle in the economic development of India. An improvement in Czecho-Slovakia's adverse trade balance with India, as such, need not involve prejudice to India's exports to Czecho-Slovakia and actually there is scope for the expansion of India's export trade further with Czecho-Slovakia in connection with an improvement of Czecho-Slovakian exports to India. Here it may also be stated that there is a fair amount of scope for Indian students to receive practical training in various lines in Czecho-Slovakia and also marked readiness to extend opportunities for such training as circumstances permit. This is a point the significance of which is not to be overlooked owing to the important and growing difficulties in various lands to such training. The extension of such opportunities as indeed the expansion of India's exports closely connected with the development of Indian exports from Czecho-Slovakia.

Politically, Czecho-Slovakia assumes a dominant role in Europe as the leading factor in the Little Entente. The history of Czecho-Slovakia and its treatment of the problem of minorities offer much of interest and importance to India. Czecho-Slovakia has a well-advanced system of education and social welfare institutions. Prague its capital, an ancient city of great beauty, is one of the most noted of educational centres in Europe. Czecho-Slovakia possesses some of the best known watering stations and health resorts in Europe. It is a country that should prove of interest to students, public men, and visitors from India. There is considerable interest in Indian affairs in Czecho-Slovakia and much valuable work for the development of this has been done by several well-known Indologists like Professors Winternitz, Lesny, and Pertold. Visits of useful nature in recent period from India have also contributed to this. It would probably be not incorrect to say that more is known of India in Czecho-Slovakia than of the latter in India. It is valuable to have knowledge about Czecho-Slovakia extended in India as it would be helpful for India's own development.

An important and useful step in bringing the two countries closer to each other and promoting cultural and direct commercial relations between the two was taken recently by the opening in Prague of the India Society under the auspices of the Oriental Institute in Prague. The inauguration ceremony took place in the main hall of the palatial headquarters of the Oriental Institute before a large gathering composed of professors, business men, and others representing various professions. A number of Indians were also present, including Subhas Chandra Bose, and Erulkar, the representative of Indian Chambers of Commerce in London. Proceedings were formally opened by the President of the Oriental Institute, Minister Hottowetz, who welcomed the idea of the Society and expressed the hope of the Society realizing its purpose. Minister Hottowetz was followed by the Chairman of the new Society, the distinguished Indologist and great friend and good-wisher of India, Professor Dr. Lesny, who in a lengthy speech, elaborated the aims of the Society, emphasized its importance, and declared that its success depended greatly on the interest taken in the Society and furthering of its aims in both lands. He assured keen interest from this side. As the main tasks of the Society, Professor Lesny stated, spreading information of value, extending useful contacts, promoting visits of value, and attending to the requirements of students, visitors and business men. Professor Lesny referred to the work of the Society being supported by a regular supply of Indian papers, periodicals and other publications, which he declared would be kept at public disposal and put to wide use. It is to be hoped that Indian papers and periodicals will support the valuable work undertaken by the Society, at a time when there is much reference in India to extending of interest in India abroad, by supplying regularly copies of their publications to the India Society in Prague. Copies are to be addressed to: The India Society, C.O. Professor Dr. Lesny, Philosoficka Fakulta ; Smetanova nam 12, Prague I, Czecho-Slovakia. On behalf of India, Subhas Chandra Bose, who on the occasion of a previous visit of his to Prague, had pointedly raised the issue of opening of a Society such as now formed, and Erulkar, the experienced representative of Indian trade interests in Europe, spoke, expressing appreciation of the founding of the Society, recording estimation of the friendly spirit in this country for India, underlining the value of the Society, and assuring that Indian opinion would not be wanting to lend it all possible support. It is to be trusted that response from India will well justify the last sentiment expressed by the Indian representatives.

Prague, 16th June, 1934. N.

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MADAME CURIE

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By Prof. S. K. MITRA, D. Sc.

THE importance of a scientific discovery is judged by its applications. The applications might either be in the realm of pure science where the newly discovered truth opens up, as it were, new vistas of investigation leading to unknown and unexplored regions, or it might be in the realm of the so-called applied sciences where the discovery is directed to the service of mankind for enhancing the amenities of every-day life. Judged from either standpoint the scientific discoveries of Madame Curie stand very high indeed. Her discovery of the radio-active elements, Radium and Polonium, towards the end of the last century created what is justly described as a sensation not only in the scientific circle but also amongst the general public.

Madame Curie in the Laboratory

A particle of Radium emits enormous amount of energy in the form of rays of various kinds. The rate with which the energy is emitted is such that the particle can raise its own weight of ice-cold water to boiling temperature within 40 minutes. And yet the particle does not exhibit any measurable decrease either in its weight or in its store of energy. Where does this energy come from? The scientist says that the atoms of radium are undergoing spontaneous disintegration with disruptive violence. And, in doing so they are emitting their nuclear constituents in the form of radiations which are classified technically as alpha-, beta-, and gamma-rays. Of these, the first two are electrically charged matter particles—the positively charged nuclei of the helium atoms and the negatively charged electrons respectively and the third are bundles of pure energy not unlike the x-rays. The atomic nuclei have vast stores of energy, so much so that the decrease in radiating power and consequent loss of mass of a particle of radium due to the continual emission of energy become appreciable only after hundreds of years.

The particles which are shot forth from radium possess tremendous velocity—nearly one-tenth of that of light (velocity of light is 186,000 miles per second). The high speed and the extremely small dimensions of the alpha particles have been of inestimable value in the experimental study of the constitution of the atoms. An alpha particle shot through matter might come close to an atomic nucleus and undergo deviation from its straight course in much the same way as a comet coming from afar is deviated by the gravitational field of the sun when it approaches the latter. (There is a difference; in the case of the atomic nucleus and alpha particle the force is of electrical origin and is one of repulsion, in the case of the sun and the comet it is of gravitational origin and is one of attraction.) These deviations give valuable information to the physicist regarding the structure of the atomic nuclei. Further, not infrequently, the alpha particle in its passage through matter would strike the nucleus itself of the atom disrupting and transmuting it to the atom of some other element. It is not possible to recount here all that has been possible to achieve in the field of atomic physics with the help of the radiations from rodio-active substances; suffice it to say that but for the discovery of radium our progress in the knowledge of atomic physics would have been retarded by at least half a century.

The practical application of radium in the treatment of the fell disease cancer is well known. The growth of the malignant cancerous cells is checked by the gamma-radiations of radium. The suffering humanity—at least a section of it—owes a deep debt of gratitude to Madame Curie for the discovery of a remedy of an otherwise intractable and deadly disease.

Madame Curie's name will be cherished in the memory of all not only as that of a great scientist but also as that of a great benefactress of the human race. Being a woman she could not gain admission into the cotérie of the forty "immortals" who constitute the Academie des Sciences; nevertheless, the greatness of her scientific achievements will rank her amongst those men of science who by their pioneer work create permanent and everlasting memorials for themselves.

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THE REVOLUTION IN SIAM

By LANKA SUNDARAM, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.)

On the 24th June 1932, the *Bangkok Times* issued its small special edition with the following paragraph :

"A revolution has at last broken out in our midst. Perhaps that is inaccurate since we believe the King is still on the Throne : but surprising events have to be recorded. The trouble started at five o'clock this morning, but only the people living up town were for some time aware of anything unusual, as the operations were carried out quietly by most of the Army and Naval units of the city. Machine guns, tanks and other equipment were taken out on the streets, and as the time advanced certain units were despatched to the palaces of high Princes of the Royal Blood and other high Army officials, who were surprised and told to accompany the revolutionists to the Throne Hall of Ananta Samagom, near Dusit Palace, where they were this afternoon being held under arrest, the grounds being well guarded by soldiers and marines in full field outfits and carrying guns with fixed bayonets."

On the same day the *Bangkok Daily Mail* came out with the first real account of the Siamese revolution in the following words :

Bangkok awoke this morning to find that the greatest political sensation of its 150 years of existence had taken place quietly and without forewarning in the early hours before dawn.

By noon today it was generally known that the Army and the Navy had completed a successful *coup* for the purpose of bringing about a radical change in the Government of Siam.

Leading members of the Royal Family including H. R. H. Prince Paribatra of Nagor Svarga, H. R. H. Prince Purachatra of Kambaeng Bejra, H. R. H. Prince Damrong and H. R. H. Prince Narisra, were taken from their homes by armed force and were this afternoon being detained at the Throne Hall.

Phya Adhikarana Prakas, Director General of Local and Provincial Gendarmerie, was also placed under custody in the course of the movement.

The Coast Guard Cutter *Yam Fung*, it is generally believed, was despatched to Hua Hin for the purpose of bringing to the Capital Their Majesties the King and Queen.

As far as could be learned this afternoon, the object of the *coup* was to institute some form of limited monarchy in Siam to take the place of the present form of absolute monarchy.

It is reported that his Majesty the King will, with other members of the Royal Family now in custody, be asked to confer with the leaders of the *coup* at the Throne Hall in the near future with the idea of signing or otherwise affirming a form of constitution which is being drawn up and which will limit the powers of the King and invest certain rights, perhaps including the rights of franchise, in the hands of the people of Siam.

Late this afternoon a *Communique* was issued by the Provisional Government from the Throne Hall stating that the People's Party having taken control of the country for the purpose of instituting a new and better form of Government, H. R. H. Prince Paribatra of Nagor Svarga suggests that all military and civil officials and employees co-operate in preserving law and order so as to avoid unnecessary bloodshed. His Royal Highness, in recognizing the new Provisional Government, also requests all Government Departments to continue to function as usual without interruption.

At the same time a *Communique* addressed to His Majesty the King at Hua Hin was made public in which His Majesty was requested to return to the Capital and assume the Throne under a limited monarchical form of Government approved by the People's Party.

It was stipulated in this *Communique* that if His Majesty objects or refuses to comply with this request, the People's Party would immediately announce the election of one of the members of the Royal Family to the Throne.

The Official *Communique* is signed by Phya Bahol Bola-bayuha Sena, Phya Song Suradej and Phya Riddhi Aganaya, all officers in the Army or Navy.

Army Officers carrying the Constitution Document

Phya Sena Songkram, General Officer Commanding, the First Army Corps, is said to have resisted the leaders of the *coup* and is reported to have been shot and critically wounded at his home in the early hours of today. He was taken to Chulalongkorn Hospital. A police guard in the compound of the Palace of H. R. H. Prince Paribatra of Nagor Svarga is also reported to have been shot when he resisted the armed force that came to take His Royal Highness into custody. Besides these two incidents, no other casualties occurred as far as could be learned.

Except for scattering crowds in the neighbourhood of the Throne Hall and the Grand Palace, there was not the slightest sign of excitement in the city this morning or this afternoon. Police were on duty as usual, Courts functioned, mail collections and deliveries were carried out as usual. It was reported that early this morning telephone wires at various Government Departments and at some official residences were cut, but if they were, somebody had made rapid repairs by ten o'clock. It was also reported that the land telegraph system had been destroyed but the Post and Telegraph Department was accepting both domestic and

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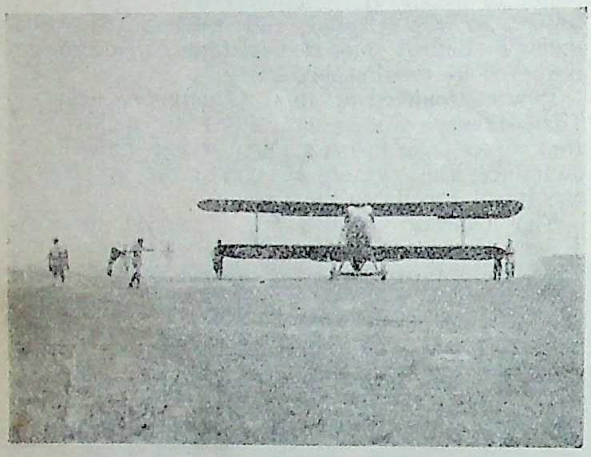
foreign telegrams and radiograms as usual this morning.

Scattering crowds gathered this morning at the roads leading to the Throne Hall, where the members of the Royal Family were under custody. The roads were guarded by sailors with fixed bayonets and none but Army or Navy cars bearing officers or men were admitted closer than two or three blocks to the imposing white palace in which a national drama was taking place.



The Siamese Air Force which is being formed at the Min Don Aerodrome

Now and then a truckload of uniformed men, with a machine gun mounted, would appear from within the compound of the Throne Hall and as they passed the crowds outside loud cheers arose, which the soldiers returned vociferously. There was no hysteria ; no bad feeling anywhere evident. Foreigners who were curious to find out what was going on were politely told that they could not enter the Throne Hall, but that was all.

According to widely circulated reports, H. R. H. Prince Paribatra of Nagor Svarga was the first member of the Royal Family to be placed under custody of other members of the family and of the Director General of Local and Provincial Gendarmerie.

It was also generally reported that H. R. H. Prince Purachatra of Kambaeng Bejra, Minister of Commerce and Communications, had escaped capture but later in the morning it was learned authoritatively that His Royal Highness was among those at the Throne Hall.

Two manifestoes were issued, apparently by the leaders of the movement, but without any signature of any sort. The first of these recited a list of wrongs said to have been committed to His Majesty the King and by members of the Royal Family and stated that the object of the movement now afoot was not to pull down the present reign but to put up a form of limited monarchy which would be 'a Government by the people and for the people.'. The second manifesto simply declared that members of the Royal Family were now under custody 'in the hands of the citizens' and that warning was thereby given that any objection raised to the forces of the movement would jeoparadize the position of the members of the Royal Family.

The foreign diplomatic corps was taken completely by surprise by the *coup*, this morning, as, in fact, was nearly everybody else. Since the Ckahri Celebrations last April all talk of an uprising of any nature had died down entirely. It was generally thought that no action of any kind was contemplated by any of the foreign countries represented here since there had been no violence of any kind and since the lives and property of foreign residents seemed to be as safe as ever. It was generally looked upon in diplomatic circles as a purely domestic matter of internal politics.

On the following day the same paper published the following details :

His Majesty the King at 10-30 o'clock this morning signified by radio from Hua Hin that he was fully prepared to accept the wishes of the People's Party, which acquired control of the Government yesterday morning by a neat and almost bloodless military *coup*.

At the suggestion of Luang Suba Jalasaya, Acting Commander of the H. M. S. *Sukhodaya*, the vessel sent to Hua Hin by the Provisional Government, it was decided that His Majesty should return to the Capital on a special railway train rather than by water as the accommodations on the Navy vessel are not suitable for the Nation's Ruler.

The Provisional Government here accepted this suggestion immediately and before noon today a special train was on its way to the seaside resort to bring His Majesty back to the Capital.

The hour of the arrival in Bangkok of the special train bearing His Majesty was, however, being kept secret in order to insure the safety of the Ruler. The Provisional Government announced :

'Despite wild rumours of yesterday and today it is now authoritatively established that H. R H. Prince Purachatra of Hambaeng Bejra is in Hua Hin and will return to the Capital with His Majesty the King probably late this afternoon.'

His Majesty, in a second radiogram to the Provisional Government today, stated not only that he accepted the wishes of the People's Party but that he had for a long time been considering the institution of a limited monarchy but had found it impossible heretofore to realize his hopes along this line. He was returning to the Capital with high hopes for the nation's future prosperity and peace under the new form of Government suggested by the People's Party, the radiogram said.

The Editor of the *Daily Mail* was present in the Throne Hall, with other members of the Siamese Press, when the momentous news of the King's willingness to accept the wishes of the People's Party was received.

An officer read the radiogram in a voice charged with emotion and as soon as he had finished, the words : 'The King Accepts' in English and in Siamese were shouted triumphantly by a dozen voices. The soldiers and sailors on the lawn outside took up the cry and soon the news spread like wild fire down the crowded avenue toward the Grand Palace and cheer after cheer went up from the throngs of soldiers and civilians.

There were a thousand different rumours and reports this morning as to what the Provisional Government intends to do, and what its immediate

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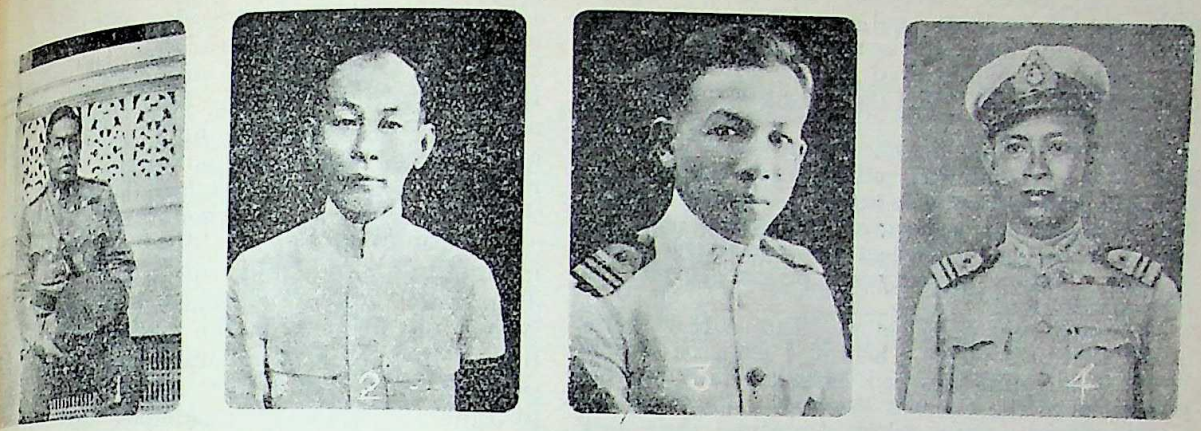

1. Col. Phya Bahol Bola-bayuha Sena, Commander-in-chief. 2. Phya Manopakarma Nitidhada, President of the State Council, virtual dictator, ex-Minister of Justice and Finance. 3. Luang Sindhu Songkram, Royal Siamese Navy, who took a prominent part in the Revolution. 4. Luang Subha Jalasaya who commanded a gunboat and coveyed the revolution group's message to the King at Hua Hin Palace and brought back the Royal acceptance

...ors are. The best answer to all these rumours ...ems to be contained in the words of one of the ...ders of the movement who was questioned by ...e Editor of *The Daily Mail*.

'Nothing is settled' he said, 'nothing can be ...ettled.' We are now waiting to confer with His ...ajesty, the King!'

What was yesterday a rather mystifying military *...p d'état* became today clearly defined as a move-...nt in which both civilians and military men ...e taking part, the express purpose of which is ...unite the country behind His Majesty the King ...d to reduce the power of certain members ... the Royal Family who are believed ...d to have been conducting themselves in ...e best interests of the country. Everywhere ...n the Throne Hall was evident this sentiment of ...solute loyalty to His Majesty the King. And ...gedly, no word was spoken in the presence of this ...ence concerning the alleged shortcomings of any ...mber of the Royal Family. The Princes who ...e in custody are being treated with every respect ...d are being made as comfortable as possible on ...e upper floors of the Throne Hall. It was pointed ...t that the reason the Provisional Government ...se the lower floors of the Throne Hall for its ...ecutive offices was out of respect for His Majesty ...e King, whose throne is on the upper floor.

Phya Bahol Bola-bayuha, the military executive ... the Provisional Government, in which both ...ilians and military men are united, sat today ... an ordinary table on the lower floor of the ...rone Hall and from there directed the work of ...oring peace and order throughout the Kingdom, ...getting the Railways running again, of restrain-... certain elements of the new regime which ...ght be too boisterous in their enthusiasm. He ...ms weary and it is said that he has not slept ... two nights. To the table in an unending ...eam came Government officials needing special ...ections, Army and Navy officers with reports, ...ilians with reports, and newspaper representa-... asking for reports. With a modest and ...fident air the Chao Khun received all callers ...ere, after the frivolous ones had been sifted ...t by a group of hardworking underlings, and ...s interview lasted not more than two minutes.

A press table was set up in a corner of the lower floor of the Throne Hall and newspaper representatives were politely received. Only one or two were able to see the executive of the Provisional Government, and these only on special business regarding censorship, but the others were given what definite news was available. The Editor of the *Daily Mail* seemed to be the only Westerner present but he was extended every courtesy by both minor and major officials of the Provisional Government.

'We would like to tell you more,' one of these officials said to the writer, 'but at the present time it is not deemed wise to do so. We are making every effort to keep peace and order and thus far have been entirely successful. Whatever the rumours may say, we have nothing definite yet to announce regarding the details of the new form of Government proposed, nor can we yet state our plans regarding certain members of the Royal Family who are now in custody. I may only say that whatever is done will be done with liberality and without hysteria. We have no desire to tear down anything or to destroy anything—only to institute a better Government under His Majesty the King.'

And he reported again :

'We are waiting now for our king.'

It was authoritatively learned that there was an important conference last night at which leading Government officials and others were present, including some of the members of the Royal Family. Reports of this conference were broadcast last night over the radio. But it was made clear today after the news of His Majesty's acceptance of the wishes communicated to Him by the Provisional Government, that all decisions would be cancelled or deferred until after His Majesty's arrival today or tomorrow.

The Throne Hall itself presented a military aspect, with machine guns mounted in all the windows of the upper floor and with soldiers and sailors with fixed bayonets crowding the lawn in front. Around the roadway outside were stationed armoured tanks and machine guns. The military guard was continued today on all roads leading to the Throne Hall and none but those

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with special business and special permits were permitted to enter the general area. These however, were politely conveyed by sailors whose, smiles and jovial remarks belied their fixed bayonets.

Late last night the Provisional Government, through the Foreign Office, issued a statement to all foreign Legations and Consulates declaring that all treaties would be strictly adhered to without change and that every effort had been and would be made to prevent any further bloodshed or any loss of property to private citizens or foreign residents.

In a statement issued at the Throne Hall it was stated that at a meeting held at 4 p.m. on Friday heads of all Ministries had agreed to the following provisions of the People's Party :

All officials were asked to continue their work as usual in all departments where ordinary tasks were being carried on. All matters that would ordinarily require the perusal of the King must be submitted to the leaders of the Provisional Government. All matters about which there might be any doubt should likewise be submitted to the Provisional Government leaders.

'Notification is hereby given to all government circles that the coun ry is temporarily under military control and all officials in Government service are asked to continue to serve in their respective capacities just as though nothing had occurred', the statement declared. It was signed by Ministers or Under-Secretaries of all Departments.

I have been obliged to quote extremely from these two papers in order to faithfully and correctly record what actually took place at the time when Siamese revolution became a settled fact with amazing speed and drama. Since this first revolution there were two other developments which have thoroughly reshaped the national polity of Siam during the past two years. A second revolution in the constitutional development of Siam was witnessed during my sojurn in that country in June 1933, perhaps to mark the first anniversary of an earlier *coup d'etat*. Early this year there was again another "breeze" in the shape of administrative and military readjustments. These three events supply us with the delimitation of Siamese politics within our own time. It was after this third attempt on the part of the people of Saim to work out a modern constitution that His Majesty King Prajadhipok and Queen Rambhai Barni left the country on a European tour for purposes of health. The country may now be said to be obtaining a progressive stable Government, for an all-round and extended development in its national economy. A sort of constitutional limited monarchy is the only description which can be applied to this State in the Orient.

In order to appreciate fully these remarkble developments witnessed by modern Siam, the following facts must be remembered.

Siam from times immemorial was accustomed to the traditional absolute monarchy of the Asiatic type. The King was the symposium of all that is good and beneficent in the nation. He was the repository of justice and benevolence. His person was sacrosanct. The people voted to him absolute ungrudging obedience, as a fulfilment of their civic virtues Even the Holy Roman Empire of the early Middle Ages did not enjoy the rights and privileges which a modern Siamese king annexed to himself. He was above law. He was law incarnate. He was the intercessor. He represented the basic principles of the Buddhist *Sangha*. But even this democratic institution could not succeed in evolving a democratic polity for Siam during the historical period. It was within the province and prerogative of the King to harness the economic and political springs of the nation. In fact, prior to June 1932 King Prajadhipok was Siam, and Siam King Prajadhipok, and in this he was only following the precedents set up by his predecessors.

In the previous article we have seen that the agricultural economy of Siam did not give the vast proportion of her people any adequate opportunity for self-expression and civil and political freedom. Pastoral life cannot be institutionalized in a political sense in any part of the world, and without respect of races and colour. An amalgam of races, Aryan and Mongolian, cannot be expected to foster progressive ideas. There is not the slightest doubt that the vast majority of the Siamese people are, even today, irresponsive to progressive ideas. Such being the case, the country was dominated by the Royal family and its numerous court. Marriage laws in Siam must be considered to be lax, and an all-powerful court can easily turn itself into a vast congregation of colateral branches. It was a surprising fact for an Indian visitor that prior to the revolution every department of the administration was fully manned from the lowest to the highest places by persons who can, with a certain amount of exactitude, trace their blood relationship to the Royal family. *Chao Phya* was originally a title exclusively reserved to members of the Royal blood, even though at the present moment it is more or less the highest decoration available even to important lay personages in the administration, and *Chao Phyas* were to be found during the pre-revolution days placed even in the lower ranks of officialdom. In the financial statement for the year 1930-31 provision was made as regards the allowances and supplies to princes and other dignitaries to the extent of six lakhs of rupees annually apart from fiefs and other hereditary emoluments available to most of the members in the higher court officers. There is not the slightest doubt that pre-revolution Siam was dominated by the dogma of Royal Blood. Ability and competence were not the criteria for employment in the State. Naturally Siam was denied the opportunity, for generations together, towards educating the people in the art of Government, and as such denied them fruitful employment in the service of the State.

The people were fully obsessed with the virtues of a simple religious life. Acquiescen-

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established order was the key-note of Siamese national activity. There was very little local responsibility in the affairs of the State. The wheels of absolute monarchy moved joyfully in its policy of slow grinding. There could never have been any scope for a critical attitude on the part of the people towards the Government and certainly there never was such an attitude until the revolution of the 24th June 1932 ushered into existence a new regime of things.

It would be an half truth to say that the Siamese Revolution was a revolution of the people, *qua* people. It was more or less engineered by a group of party leaders, high government officials and the army and the navy. It was a revolution against the absolute authority of a Royal oligarchy. Even the lopping off of Cambodia in 1905, besides other territories by foreign nations, could not wake up popular Siamese national conscience. A corrupt and inefficient court paved the way for a gradual system of extra-territoriality in Siam in which the balance of advantage was with the foreign powers. In the development of foreign jurisdiction in Siam, the people surrendered their rights in regard to the operation of Municipal laws and regulations obtaining in the Kingdom. Article II of the British Treaty of 1855 ran as follows: "Disputes arising between British and Siamese subjects shall be examined by the consul in conjunction with the proper Siamese officers; and criminal offences shall be punished, in the case of English offenders by the consul according to the English Law." Similar provisions were enjoined in the treaties between Siam on the one hand and the U. S. A. and France on the other. These laws continued to be in force for nearly seventy years, simply because the people of the country were unable with their own initiation to uphold their national sovereignty. Extra-territoriality became the hand-maid of foreign aggression into Siam, and the nation was entirely helpless to strengthen the hands of its monarchs in upholding the dignity of the State.

Popular political education in Siam is a matter of recent date. Even today it cannot be said that the entire nation is politically conscious and educated. The aftermath of the Great War, and be it remembered that Siam was in the pay roll of the Allied and Associated Powers, brought about a certain wave of the desire for self-expression all over Asia. What Asia witnessed during the past twenty years was repeated in Siam. In our country the national fight was against foreign rule. In Siam it was against foreign intrusion and coercion. It was only in 1926 that extra-territoriality was finally abolished, and it was after that event that the Siamese people felt the necessity for an assertion of national sovereignty. The process was slow but steady. The story is simple.

Luang Pradit strode across the Siamese horizon during the pre-Revolution days. This high and keen officer of State wanted to bring about a sort of Siamese communist polity to prevail in the country. His imagination was fired by the Russian experiment. He wanted to have a full grip upon the agricultural economy and community-organization of the country, which was dominated, in tin and rubber in particular, by foreign capital. A nation-wide organization of peasant councils was organized and Luang was within an ace of success before the Revolution broke out two years ago. King Prajadhipok realized that menace of communism spreading under the leadership of Luang Pradit and with considerable dexterity sent him to Paris on a pension, to remain a permanent exile abroad. Even as late as 1933, I observed numerous prosecutions against communists and ex-communists filling the records of Siamese courts. This genuine people's movement, if ever any people's movement existed in Siam, was thus nipped in the bud. But foreign-returned Siamese leaders imbued with ideas of democracy stepped into the breach, and the Revolution of 1932 was brought about with the rapidity of a lightning. They were unable to appreciate the perpetuation of Royal prerogative and mis-government in Siam, and wanted to see that the constitution of the State was modelled on modern lines.

The following indictment of Royal absolutism and mis-government in Siam, as contained in a manifesto of the People's Party on the day of the revolution, is an illuminating document:

> "Ever since ascending the throne the King has ruled as an absolute monarch and has bestowed all the important government positions on His relatives and to favourites who are unqualified for their positions.
>
> "Ever since the beginning of the King's reign the public has expected fair play from the Government, but everything came out quite the contrary. The king ruled with an absolute sway without heeding the wishes of the people who had no chance to voice their plight. The favourites were left to do as they wished in their own aristocratic ways, satisfying their greed and desires, accepting bribes in construction undertakings, profiting from the recent rise in pound sterling and spending lavishly from the country's funds.
>
> "The favourites exceeded their power and usurped the rights of the people, forced them into humility, prevented them from getting facts about their country's condition, and prevented them from getting proper education so that they would be in ignorance of what was going on behind the scenes. These favourites played for their own aims, cast everything else to the winds and left the country in turmoil which accounts for the incurable depression.
>
> "This unaccountable depression which has descended upon the people the Ruler found it difficult to control because He did not rule for the people, as is the case in other countries. The government has treated the people as slaves. They were treated as animals, not as human beings. All taxes were collected for the pocket of those in power, which no other country has

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ever done, except Russia when ruled by the Czar and Germany under the Kaiser, and both dethroned their rulers because of these same selfish aims.

"The Government made the people believe it would do its best to cure the present situation, but the statements to this effect were untrue. The people were not allowed a voice in affairs because they, the people, were regarded as fools and incapable of thinking for themselves.

"And what made the people fools? They were prevented from getting better education, better knowledge of government affairs, especially the evil designs that were being carried out in government offices.

"It must be remembered that this country belongs to the people, not to selfish royalty and favourites, as a place for them to achieve their own desires.

"Remember that our ancestors gained freedom for us and therefore the country must be governed by the people and for the people.

"The Royal families are robbing the people of their means of livelihood, filling their own pockets and leaving the people to their own plight. The farmers have no income from their property, retrenchments continue to go on in government offices without pension privileges, scholars who leave schools by the hundreds every year have no work to do, no helping hand is extended to the thousands of unemployed, no sympathy is extended to them by the government. Those at the heads of the government have filled their own purses, some sending their gold to foreign countries so that they could leave the country hurriedly in case of an emergency.

"The people must now know and understand their plight, and instal a government of their own so they can have a voice in it. The aim is not to pull down the present regime but to establish some form of limited monarchy.

The people have already sent an ultimatum to the Ruler and unless He submits to the wishes of the people he will reveal himself as a traitor to His country and the people will act accordingly.

If the people establish a new government of their own, the country will be lifted from its present economic plight. The new rule will be set up with the following aims and principles:

(1) The freedom of the country and especially the freedom of the people must be preserved. This must be so particularly in regard to economic freedom.

(2) There must be better administration in the interests of the people's welfare.

(3) Aid must be given to the people, especially the unemployed.

(4) There must be equal rights and fair play for all citizens.

(5) Freedom must be given to every citizen without conflicting with the four aims above mentioned.

(6) Education and knowledge must be furthered.

Citizens are invited to aid in the important event that has taken place here in the interests of the general welfare and the maintenance of justice and freedom. Relief will be extended to all citizens and everything possible will be done for the country's welfare. A government by the people and for the people will be set up."

But for one casualty near the New Palace, and that too accidentally, the Revolution of 1932 may be said to be bloodless. It is a glowing testimony to the miracle which could only happen in the annals of oriental monarchy, and certainly it is without parallel in any part of Asia. The revolution of June 1933 and the latest political changes do not constitute any further step in the march of popular government in Siam. At best, they indicate domestic changes-over on a modest scale.

The present constitution of Siam must be said to be a limited monarchy, the reins of Government being vested in the hands of a group of high State officials and leaders of the Army and the Navy. There is a State Council and a People's Assembly, and in the constitution document "The People" figured nominally prominent. Actually, there is no basis at all for us to assume that franchise, political and municipal is extended and popular control of state affected.

There was a tentative constitution dated the 27th June, 1932 as signed by King Prajadhipok. But the Assembly of People's Representatives fully discussed its provisions and a final constitution document was presented to His Majesty on 10th December and received his assent. The following are some of the important provisions of the December Constitution and I am quoting from an attested copy supplied to me by the Home Department of the Siamese Government:

General Provisions.

The kingdom of Siam is one and indivisible. The Siamese people of whatever race or religion are all equally entitled to the protection of this Constitution.

The sovereign power emanates from the Siamese nation. The king, who is the Head of the Nation, exercises it in conformity with the provisions of this Constitution.

The King.

The person of the King is sacred and inviolable.

The King shall profess the Buddhist Faith and is the Upholder of Religion.

The King is the Head of the Siamese Forces.

The King exercises the legislative power by and with the advice and consent of the assembly of the People's Representatives.

The King exercises the executive power through the State Council.

The King exercises the Judical power through the Courts duly established by law.

Subject to the approval of the Assembly of the People's Representatives, succession to the Throne shall be in accordance with the Law of Succession B. E, 2467.

Members of the Royal Family from the rank of Mom Chao upwards, whether so born or created, are above politics.

Rights and Duties of the Siamese.

Subject to the provisions of this Constitution all persons are equal before the law. Titles

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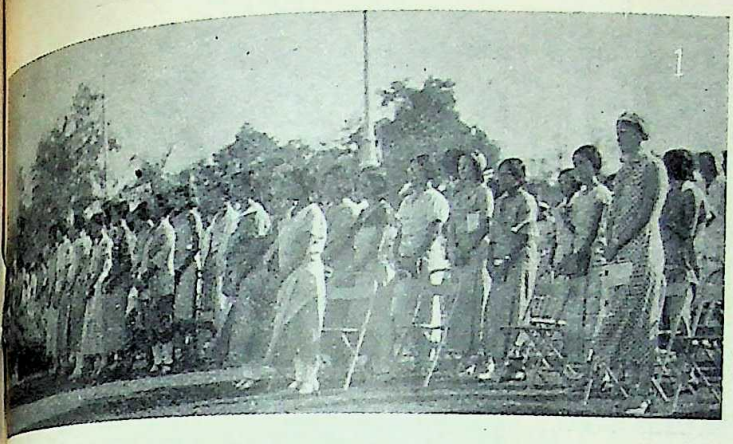

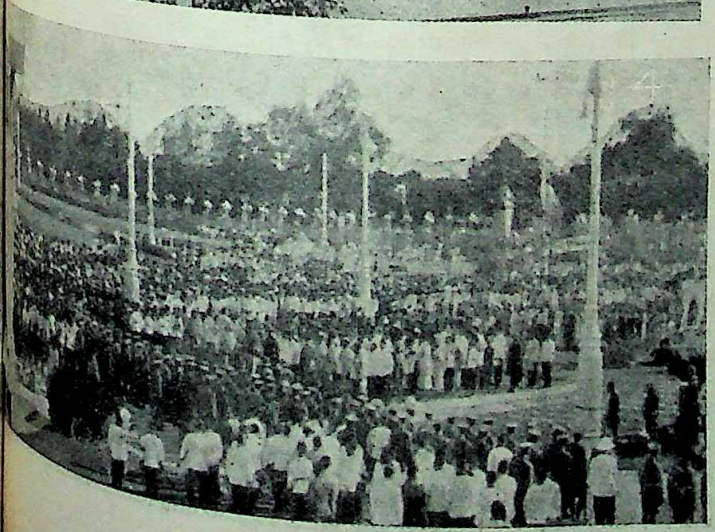

Key to the Pictures

1. Siamese women listening to the Royal Proclamation.
2. Popular rejoicings after the Revolution.
3. Popular rejoicings after the Revolution. The crowd cheering the king after the constitution was signed.
4. Popular rejoicing over the Constitution, in Bangkok. 10th December, 1932.
5. H. M. S. *Suba Jalasaya* which brought back King Prajadhipok to Bangkok from Hua Hin where His Majesty stayed during the 1932 Revolution.
6. H. M. the King giving *Darshan* after signing the Constitution.
7. The King and Queen reviewing a parade of Scouts during the celebration of the Constitution.
8. A group of Siamese Army Officers who brought about the *coup*.
9. King Prajadhipok signing the Constitution declaring Siam to be a democratic monarchy.
10. The Constitution Document as presented to H. M. King Prajadhipok.
11. H. M. the King's Seal and Signature on the Constitution Document.
12. H. E. Chao Phya Bijayanati, Chairman of the Peoples' Assembly, holding the Constitution Document after it was signed by the King, while a court officer read the King's proclamation.

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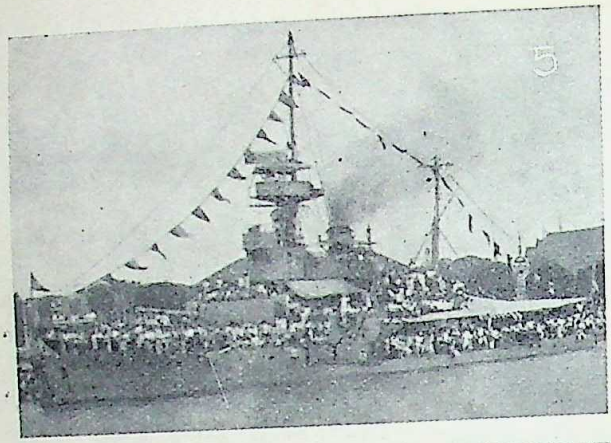

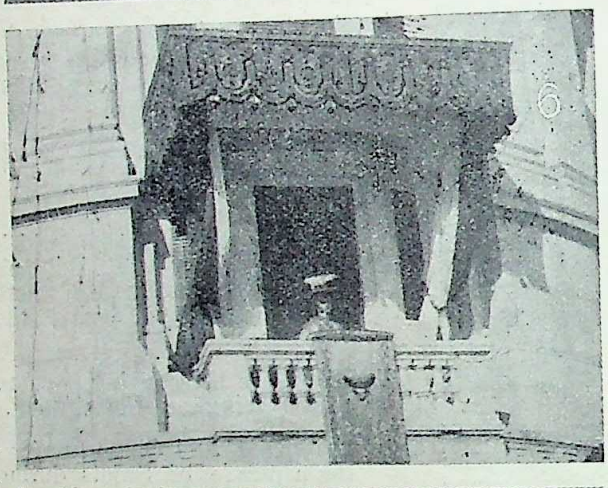

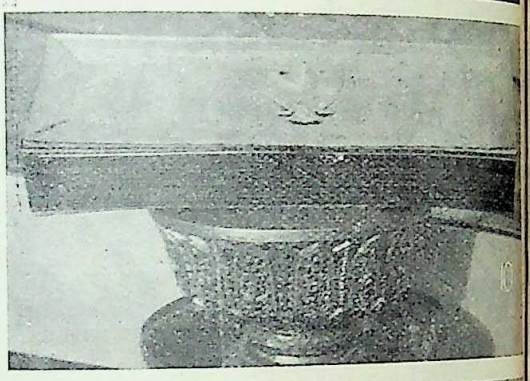

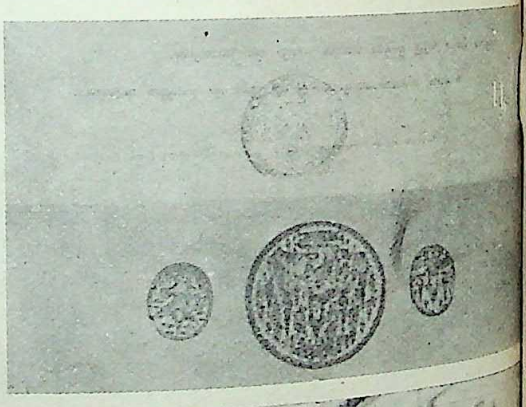

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acquired by birth, by bestowal or in any other way, do not confer any privilege whatever.

Every person is entirely free to profess any religion or creed and to exercise the form of worship in accordance with his own belief, provided that it is not contrary to the duties of a national character or to public order or public morals.

Subject to the provisions of the law, every person enjoys full liberty of person, abode, property, speech, writing, publication, education, public meeting, association or vocation.

The Assembley of the People's Representatives

In the meeting of the Assembly of the People's Representatives words uttered by members whether in making a statement of fact or in expressing an opinion or explaining a vote are absolutely privileged. No legal proceedings whatever can be taken against them.

This privilege extends to the printing and publication of the minutes of the meeting by authority of the Assembly and also to statements of fact and opinions expressed in the Assembly by persons invited by the Assembly to do so.

During the session of the Assembly of the People's Representatives, when a criminal action is brought against any one of its members, the Court must obtain the prior permission of the Assembly before the case can be tried. The proceedings of the Court must not interfere with the liberty of the Member concerned to attend the meeting of the Assembly.

However, the proceedings of the Court prior to the plea of membership remain valid.

During the session of Assembly, none of its members shall be arrested or summoned for detention except when arrested while in the act of committing an offence in which case the matter must be reported without delay to the President of the Assembly. The President may order the release of the prisoner.

All laws can be promulgated only by and with the advice and consent of the Assembly of the People's Representatives.

If the King disapproves of the bill, the Assembly shall, after the lapse of one month from the date when the bill was submitted to the King by the President of the State Council and irrespective of whether or not the bill was returned to the Assembly within the stated period, reconsider the bill by secret voting taken by roll call. If the Assembly reaffirms the bill, it shall once more be submitted to the King. If the King fails to append His signature to it within 15 days it may forthwith be promulgated and published as law.

The Assembly of the People's Representatives has the power of control over the affairs of the State.

The State Council

The King appoints a State Council, composed of one President and from 14 to 24 other State Councillors.

The appointment of the President of the State Council shall be countersigned by the President of the Assembly.

The State Council is charged with the duty of conducting the government of the State.

The President and 14 other State Councillors shall be selected from among the members of the Assembly of the People's Representatives. The remaining State Councillors may be selected from among the persons who possess special knowledge or experience. These persons need not be the members of the Assembly, but they must be persons who are capable of holding a political position.

It is the King's prerogative to declare war, make peace and conclude treaties with foreign states.

A declaration of war will only be made when it is not contrary to the provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Treaties which provide for a change in the territories of Siam or which require the promulgation of a law to enforce their provisions must receive the approval of the Assembly of the People's Representatives.

The Courts

The Judicial power shall be exercised by the Courts according to law in the name of the King.

All Courts can be established only by means of a law.

Judges are independent in holding trials and giving judgments according to law.

Final Provisions

The Provisions of any law which are contrary to or in conflict with this Constitution are null and void.

Absolute right to interpret this Constitution is vested in the Assembly of the People's Representatives.

This Constitution can be amended only under the following conditions.

(1) A motion for an amendment can only be made either by the State Council or by members of the Assembly of the People's Representatives collectively of not less than ⅓ of their total number.

(2) When a motion has once been passed, it should be left in abeyance for a period of one month. On the expiration of this period the motion shall again be submitted to the Assembly.

(3) Voting shall be by roll call, and the number of votes in favour of the amendment must not be less than ¾ of the total number of the Assembly.

When the voting on both occasions has been made in the manner above described, the matter shall be proceeded with in conformity with sections 38 and 39.

We are nowadays hearing much about a constituent assembly and new reforms for India. It is well to remember the moral of the Siamese Revolution and set ourselves towards the fulfilment of our national ambitions. Given time, Siam is bound to progress towards a "Government by the People, for the People" which was loudly canvassed for during June 1932.

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COMMENTS & CRITICISM

"Relative public spirit and enterprise of Hindus and Muhammadans in Bengal"

In the June issue of *The Modern Review*, one Mr. J. M. Datta has contributed an article on the above subject. I would not dare offend good taste by casting any aspersions on the learned writer, but it is clear as daylight that he certainly did not spend so much of his energy out of any generous motive. I give full credit to Mr. Datta for his facts and figures which I unhesitatingly accept. But in doing so, I challenge him to prove that the so-called absence of public spirit and enterprise in Muhammadans of Bengal are due to any inherent incapacity in them.

The spirit of 'enterprise' and 'public spirit' of his community which Mr. Datta has so expatiated is mainly due to their English Education which brought to them a vast amount of wealth and influence, almost exclusively by means of Government service, under the aegis of the British rule. Education, as the Hindus understood it, in my community began to make rapid strides only the other day and I will not be far from right if I say that the greatest impetus was given to it by the partition of Bengal. Long before that, Hindus filled up practically all available Government posts, high or low. By this means as by no other that I can think of, they acquired not only wealth for themselves but also a tremendous influence. The Muhammadan, partly on account of his lack of education and partly due to his want of influence, was jealousy kept out from a very lucrative field where the Hindus were enjoying a sort of unrestricted monopoly. What this monopoly means will be clear from the fact that even today, when adverse comments are heard regarding the undue patronage being extended by Government to my community in the matter of appointments, out of the total provincial revenue of about Rs. twelve crores, six crores roughly go into the pockets of my Hindu brethren in the form of salaries and allowances, while not even a bare crore in the pockets of the Muhammadans. My figures are not imaginary, for I consulted the Government budget figures of 1932-33 and made a rough calculation out of them. If the railway, posts and telegraphs and other private services and the learned professions were taken into account, the 'national wealth' of the Hindus, if I may say so, would be much more.

What I mean to say is that the moral and material gain of the Hindu community secured through Government service and the professions have been immense and the benefits derived from them go down to generations. Out of them grow the enterprise and the public spirit of Mr. Datta's kind.

Let me now pick up a few examples set forth by Mr. Datta, and tell him what we feel about them. Mr. Datta has referred to the number and variety of magazines in Bengali. True the Muhammadans can claim only six as against the eighty of the Hindus. But why it is so? Half truths are sometimes positively dangerous, and here Mr. Datta ought to have given the full truth. I dare say, the Hindu reading-public looks with a sneer to any magazine with a Muhammadan name, and I have yet to know any Hindu who graciously subscribes to any Muhammadan magazine and paper.

Mr. Datta has also cited the example of the Calcutta University Institute, where out of 1466 student members, only 7 are Muhammadans. It's a pity that it is so, but does Mr. Dutta know of the existence of the Muslim Institute of Calcutta which has hundreds of Muhammadan students as members? As regards inter-collegiate recitations, I doubt whether Mr. Datta is quite correct in holding that not a single Muhammadan student was a prize winner, for in 1932, one Muhammadan student, as far as I remember, got the 2nd prize in English.

I will conclude by giving a very specific instance of the public spirit of the Muhammadans. When Mahatmaji issued his momentous 'fiat' directing boycott of all Government institutions, Courts, Schools, Colleges, etc., etc., as a preliminary step, more Muhammadan students came out of their schools and colleges than Hindu students did, and this itself speaks a volume of their public spirit.

G. MURTAZA,

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NOTES

A "Warrior" Chief Justice Designate

According to a contemporary, the new British Chief Justice chosen for the Calcutta High Court served in the last world war. Is it meant that that is a qualification for this high office ?

As Bengal has been for years practically under "martial" law, which is going to be perpetuated, it is perhaps fitting that her Chief Justice should be an ex-soldier.

Law Member's Specious Arguments in Support of Terrorist Bill

In the course of the debate on the Bengal Terrorist Bill in the Legislative Assembly, Sir N. N. Sircar, the Law Member, is reported to have said :

"Arguments have been advanced that these repressive laws should be suspended as they did not succeed in fighting terrorism. Why not suspend repressive laws for non-political murders, dacoities ?"

The Law Member, who is a subtle logician and debater, seems to have lost sight of one important difference between terroristic murders etc., and ordinary murders etc. The latter have been committed up to the present time in all ages and countries and continue to be committed, whereas the former have been confined to certain periods and countries. Therefore laws which are meant to repress the latter class of crimes, which appear to be a permanent feature of human society all over the world—so far as anything mundane and human can be said to be permanent—such laws also must be similarly a permanent part of the statute-book. But as terroristic crimes are not permanent and ubiquitous, there is no case for perpetuating any law intended to repress them which has failed to produce the intended result. On the contrary, as the present Bengal Terrorist Act has been a failure as a device for eradicating terrorism, some other contrivance on altogether new lines ought to be devised and resorted to. This, however, requires more wisdom, humanity and courageous statesmanship than the rulers of India appear to possess.

The implication perhaps underlying the Law Member's question, namely, "why not suspend repressive laws for non-political murders," etc., seems to be that such laws have nowhere been repealed or made less rigorous. But that is not correct.

> "Death was in former times in England the ordinary punishment for all felonies. It would be possible to extend almost indefinitely the list of offences for which men could be legally hanged at the commencement of the 19th century" —*Chambers's Encyclopœdia.*

But both owing to the spread of more humane and civilized views and to the inefficacy of excessively severe laws,

> "the inhumanity and impolicy of the old criminal code ["there were more than 200 offences in the statute-book for which capital punishment might be inflicted"] gave way to a course of legislation which has reduced the application of death as a punishment within its present humane limits." —*Chambers's Encyclopædia.*

Let us confine our attention to the case of murder.

> The Children Act, 1908 (8 Edw. VII. chap. 67), enacts that sentence of death shall not be pronounced against a person under sixteen years of age. This enactment extends to England as well as to Scotland."
>
> "In the United States,...in some states, as Michigan Wisconsin, Rhode Island, and Maine, capital punishment has been done away with."
>
> "In Holland . . . capital punishment was totally abolished by law in 1870. In Rumania it was abolished in 1864, and Portugal has adopted the same course.—*Chambers's Encyclopaedia.*

So it is historically true that even in the case of offences which seem to be a permanent ugly feature of society, laws are changed or repealed or their rigour softened in course of time.

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The Law Member is also reported to have said that compared with what was being done in Germany and Italy to crush rebellion against the powers that be, the repressive laws meant for Bengal were like milk and butter. That is true. But is it not also true that there were and there still are possibilities of the "rebels" in Italy and Germany seizing the supreme power and forming the Government in their respective countries?—possibilities which never existed and do not exist in the case of the Bengal terrorists. Is it not true that in importance and equipment the Bengal terrorists are as "milk and butter"—to use the Law Member's phrase— as compared with the Italian and German "rebels"? In any case, greater severity in one country does not necessarily justify severity of a lesser degree in another. The requirements of each country must be considered independently according to the conditions prevailing in it. The Law Member might also have borne in mind the fact that just as Mussolini's and Hitler's repressive "laws" and "steps" and "measures" are far more severe and drastic than those adopted or intended to be adopted for Bengal, so are the "nation-building" and employment-giving endeavours and activities of these tyrannical Dictators far more extensive than those intended for Bengal by the benign constitutional rulers of India. We do not suggest that the constructive measures of the Dictators justify their tyranny. What we mean is that if there is to be any comparison, it should not be confined to only one aspect.

Caste-creating Endeavours of the British Government

The backward condition of India and many of her miseries are said by Britishers and other Europeans to be due in part to the system of caste which has prevailed here from ancient times. Without discussing the correctness of this view, it may not be unfair to state that the British people consider caste to be an evil. Nevertheless, when it is to their advantage, they like to be caste-ridden. What is the British practice in India? The highest offices in the civil and military administration of the country are held by Britishers. They are the modern Kshatriyas of India. Nay, in the majority of cases they are, or at least until lately they were, the Brahmans of India too; for the highest offices in the education and scientific departments are or were their monopoly. And if the whole truth is to be stated, they are the principal Vaishyas too; for the commerce and industry of the country are chiefly in their hands. The vast majority of Indians have been relegated to the position of the fourth caste of Sudras, and in the British Dominions they are the Panchamas or Pariahs.

But the British nation has not remained satisfied with simply making themselves the three higher Hindu castes, as it were. Among Indian themselves the British Government have created a new system of caste. Take the army. Some Indians are said to belong to a martial race, province, class and caste, and others to unwarlike ones. Recruitment to the army is practically confined to the former to the exclusion of the latter. The former are the British-made neo-Kshatriyas among Indians.

This new caste system is being gradually introduced in the civil administrative departments also, the latest step taken being the communal division of appointments in the services.

If now any Britisher says that Britishers condemn the caste system, an orthodox Hindu may very well reply: "You are either an ignoramus or an unconscious humorist;—you observe caste, have been in fact creating a new caste system and yet you inveigh against it!"

Creating or Propping up Occupational Caste System

The Panjab Land Alienation Act is based on the assumption that, if a man belongs to a certain religious community, it cannot be presumed that he is not an agriculturist—and hence he is not precluded from being or becoming an agriculturist. So he can hold land and purchase more land, and land can be sold to him. But if he is a Hindu, and if he wants to purchase land or if anybody wants to sell him some land, it has to be proved that he belongs to a caste which in the opinion of the Government has agriculture as its hereditary occupation. The result of such a law is that any one, irrespective of his creed and caste, cannot acquire land and become a farmer.

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This is a kind of new caste system. Just according to the old orthodox Hindu theory, a Sudra is not permitted to recite or hear the Vedas, so no one can become a cultivator whose ancestors did not till the soil. Such a rule is the creation of the caste-condemning British raj! It is not, however, necessarily true that those whose ancestors were cultivators must be the fittest for agricultural work, and those whose ancestors were not cultivators cannot become good cultivators.

Favoured "Castes" in the Public Services

The object of the Government of India's Home Department resolution regarding the representation in the public services of some minorities and of Muslims in particular, is said to be "the redress of communal inequalities." Anglo-Indians and Moslems have long been in practice favoured "castes" in Government service. The resolution only gives fixity to and extends the practice. We call them "castes," because one of the harmful features of the caste system is that under it some groups of men are favoured and others are discriminated against, and this feature is present in the rules under discussion.

Appointments in the public services are a kind of remunerative occupation. There are other kinds of remunerative occupation. In the public services in India as a whole Hindus preponderate for two reasons: (1) because in India as a whole they are the majority, (2) because in India as a whole they are the most advanced in education. If non-Hindus had been preponderated in the public services, Government would not perhaps have thought of any redress of communal inequalities."

We are here treating Government service only as a means of making money like other remunerative occupations. If "redress of communal inequalities" in any occupation leads to the disturbance of the occupational character of any caste or class or community, will Government intervene to give the members of that caste or class or community, thrown out of employment, any new source of certain income? By the reservation of 25 per cent posts in public services in general for Muslims, of 8½ per cent for other minorities, and of 9 per cent in the railways and 5 per cent in the posts and telegraphs for Anglo-Indians, in addition to those which these communities can get by competition, Hindus are sure to lose a good many remunerative jobs which they could have otherwise got by their merits. Therefore, there is sure to be greater unemployment among Hindus in the future than there is at present. What remedy will Government provide for this increased unemployment among Hindus?

Among the followers of many callings in many provinces, Muhammadans form a larger proportion than their percentage in the total population. For instance, in Bengal Muhammadans form 54.8, Hindus 43.1, Christians 0.4 and others 1.7 of the population. But of those employed in agriculture Muhammadans form 62.7 per cent, Hindus 34.7 per cent, and Christians and others 2.6 per cent. Will Government "redress communal inequalities" in this occupation? The reply will, of course, be that that is beyond the province of Government to attempt, *laissez-faire* being the best policy. That is really so. But why did not the Panjab Government then follow that policy as regards land alienation?

Similarly, of tailors, book-binders, bricklayers and masons, bakers, meat-sellers, boatmen, lascars, etc., in Bengal, Musalmans form more than 55 per cent. Will Government "redress communal inequalities" here?

Cultivation of the soil and the occupations indicated above are not negligible as sources of income, as many farmers and craftsmen are better off than ordinary clerks and teachers.

If it be said that in the Government service Hindus hold more than 44 per cent of the posts in Bengal and "communal inequalities" should be redressed, our reply is that the Bengal Government has been already doing it. For instance, in the Education Department, among inspectors 54.2 are Muhammadans and among teachers 46.8 are Muhammadans. The Eighth Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bengal for the years 1927-1932 states:

> "It appears that the Moslems are well represented on the inspecting branch, but the number of teachers in secondary schools and specially in high schools is inadequate."

This is a curious observation, seeing that

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of persons literate in English in Bengal Muhammadans are only 24.9 per cent and Hindus 69.6 per cent! Some idea of the proportion of graduates in the two communities in Bengal can be formed from the fact that Hindu post-graduate and research students are 85.7 per cent and Muhammadans 13.

It is not our opinion that it is the business of Government in any country to "redress communal inequalities" in any occupation. On the contrary, we hold that every one ought to be free to follow the occupation he likes and is fit for and that in all occupations there ought not to be any interference with the fittest obtaining the reward of merit. Government's duty is to see that there is as little unemployment as possible. We have made some remarks on and asked some questions relating to "redress of communal inequalities," only because Government wants to do it only in one occupation, namely, Government service in the civil departments. But to be consistent and fair they ought to do it in all occupations. This they cannot and will not do. This can, of course, be attempted, if, as in Russia, all occupations be brought under State control. But the State in Russia does not care for religious creeds and does not recognize separate communal interests.

Representation of Some Minorities in Public Services

The Home Department anti-National resolution of the Government of India regarding the representation in the public services of *some* minorities and of Muslims in particular begins thus :—

> In accordance with the undertaking given in the Legislative Assembly the Government of India have carefully reviewed the results of the policy followed since 1925 of reserving a certain percentage of direct appointments to Government service for the redress of communal inequalities. It has been represented that though this policy was adopted mainly with the object of securing increased representation for the Muslims in the public services it has failed to secure for them a due share of appointments and it has been contended that this position cannot be remedied unless a fixed percentage of vacancies is reserved for the Muslims. In particular, attention has been drawn to the small number of Muslims in the railway services even on those railways which run through the areas in which the Muslims form a high percentage of the total population. A review of the position has shown that these complaints are justified and the Government of India are satisfied by the enquiries they have made that the instructions regarding recruitment must be revised with a view to improving the position of the Muslims in the services.

The "undertaking" referred to ought never to have been given. No State that we know of reserves any percentage of appointments to Government service for particular communities.

What is the meaning of "the redress of communal inequalities"? What is the standard of communal *equality* in the public services? If it be contended that the numerical strength per cent of appointments held by each community should be equal to its numerical strength per cent in the total population, then the resolution does not at all aim at such equality. For, *in addition to* the jobs which *some* minority communities may get by competition, certain percentages of appointments in all or some civil departments are reserved for them; and these percentages of reservations are *greater* than the percentages of numerical strength of these communities in the population of British India. Musalmans are not 25 per cent of the population, but less, Anglo-Indians are not 9 per cent (or even one per cent) of the population, and so on. Hence, even if the resolution had not said that the reservations were in addition to what the favoured communities could capture by competition, the reservations would have meant the certain *creation*, *not* the *redress*, of communal *in*equalities. The reservations being in addition to those which can be got by competition, the resulting inequalities would be all the greater. And the greater the progress made by the favoured minorities, the greater would the inequalities be; for there is no limit set to the proportion of jobs which they may secure by competition, nor is the majority (Hindu) community given any guarantee that their share of appointments would not go below a certain percentage.

For these reasons, instead of the words "for the redress of communal inequalities," the resolution ought to have used the words "for the creation of ever-increasing communal inequalities."

The prefatory paragraph is defective in another respect. The real object of the resolution is "improving the position of Muslims and of the Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans. Therefore, the general reference

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the "redress of communal inequalities" is misleading. For the aborigines, the Buddhists, the Jains, the Indian Christians and the Sikhs are not even mentioned by name. The "depressed classes" are no doubt mentioned, but only to be treated to the very consoling observation that

> In the present state of general education in these classes the Government of India consider that no useful purpose will be served by reserving for them a definite percentage of the vacancies, out of the number available for the Hindus as a whole, but they hope to ensure that duly qualified candidates from the depressed classes are not deprived of fair opportunities of appointment merely because they cannot succeed in open competition.

Verily Dr. Ambedkar has got his reward for being a party to the Minorities Pact !

The paragraph quoted above contains the words "out of the number available for the Hindus as a whole." But this is misleading, as there is no fixed proportion for Hindus. It would gradually decrease as the Muslims and other non-Hindu minorities are able to capture more and more jobs with the progress of education among them.

Moreover, the following paragraph contains a device by means of which Muslims may be given a certain undefined proportion of the 8⅓ per cent reserved for "other minority communities" :

> (III) If members of other minority communities obtain less than their reserved percentage in open competition and if duly qualified candidates are not available for nomination the residue of 8⅓ per cent will be available for Muslims.

It is taken for granted that "duly qualified" Muslims will always be found not only for the jobs reserved for them but also for those reserved for other communities for which duly qualified persons from those communities cannot be found ! In other words, Muslims must be favoured by hook or by crook !

As "duly qualified" does not indicate any fixed standard, it will always be possible for any departmental or sub-departmental head—particularly if he be a Muhammadan—to declare that "duly qualified candidates" for those jobs belonging to "other minority communities" are not availble and therefore they must be given to Muslims.

And why not to Hindus, pray ? The definite provisions made for Muslims are over-generous without the above additional provision, and the lot of the Hindus has been made very precarious. Therefore, windfalls and "residuary jobs" at least ought to have been assigned to them. But Hindus do not deserve any consideration. For have they not clamoured most for Swaraj and suffered and sacrificed most ?

Communal "Award" No. II

The communal division of appointments in the public service has been called Communal "Award" No. II by some Muhammadans. In effect it will nullify, to a greater extent, all efforts to produce national unity and solidarity in India than the Communal Decision of the Premier. The Communal Decision has given fixity to the already existing divisions and dissensions and created more. But it relates only to a few hundred seats in the central and provincial legislatures, not directly to the loaves and fishes of offices, big and small. The communal division of jobs relates to several lakhs of appointments in the whole of British India ; for what the Government of India has done all the provincial governments are sure to do—we mean those which have not done so yet. Therefore, however much we may dislike and discourage and condemn envy and jealousy and scrambling for office, there will be such things all over India, the exhortations of the lovers of India will not be able to kill them, and the mutual relations of different communities will not be what they ought to be. Nevertheless, we must make the utmost effort to counteract the evil effects of the communal decision and the communal division of jobs.

Why No "Redress of Communal Inequalities" in the Army ?

The Government of India's professed object in reserving certain percentage of appointments mainly for Anglo-Indians, domiciled Europeans and Muslims is to redress communal inequalities. Let us assume that this is the real object.

Why should this policy be confined only to the civil departments ? Why should not there be redress of communal and provincial inequalities in the Army, the Navy (such as it is) and the Air Forces ? The official answer will, of course, be that there are some posts in these departments for which Indians in general are not fit, and for the rest only members of some communities in some

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provinces alone are fit, and it is the fittest alone who ought to be appointed.

Without entering into a discussion of the other statements, we unreservedly agree that it is the fittest alone who ought to be appointed. We ask, why in the civil departments of the state the fittest alone should not be appointed? In the resolution it is stated,

> (V) In all cases a minimum standard of qualification will be imposed and the reservations are subject to this condition.

Why should any persons possessed of only a minimum standard of qualification be preferred to any who can satisfy the maximum standard?

Efficiency of the State

Work in the various departments of the state must suffer in efficiency if the rule of appointing the fittest be not followed, as it will not be followed in the case of a considerable proportion of appointments. Efficiency can increase only with securing for all posts, high or low, the ablest persons available. But the Government of India is not going to follow this simple rule.

It is sheer waste of the tax-payer's money to give salaries meant for the fittest to men of minimum qualifications, and it is an infallible prescription for the production of discontent to leave abler men unemployed in order to give jobs to the less able.

Commander-in-Chief's and Law Member's Alleged Opposition to Communal Division of Appointments

It is said that when the question of communal representation of some minorities in the services was under discussion in the Governor-General's executive council, the Commander-in-Chief and the Law Member opposed any such scheme. Perhaps both opposed the communal division of the appointments on the ground that it would make for inefficiency or decreased efficiency and probable corruption, too. The Law Member being an Indian may also have thought that there should not be any addition to the already existing things which set Indians by the ear.

And it is possible that the Commander-in-Chief had some reasons in addition to decreased efficiency for opposing the scheme. He thought perhaps that if there was to be "redress of communal inequalities" in the civil departments, there would inevitably be a clamour for such redress in the Defence Departments of the Government, and that there was no just and logical answer to such clamour;—therefore, let sleeping dogs lie. It is not beyond the range of possibility that while engaged in the discussion he thought that, as the forces commanded by him were meant to defend the country against both internal disturbances and external aggression, it was best not to give any additional avoidable cause for widespread discontent.

A Constitutional Question

The recruitment of the public services was one of the questions discussed by the so-called Round Table Conference. And it is a problem which the Joint Parliamentary Committee is bound to consider. When its report is submitted to the British Parliament, the latter will deal with it.

Such being the case, have the Secretary of State for India and the Government of India any constitutional power to deal with a part of the problem? Have they not usurped functions which do not at present belong to them?

Why This Job Allotment Now?

It is natural to feel some curiosity as to why this allotment of jobs to some communities should have been made at this particular juncture. No definite answer can be given—only guesses can be made.

The genesis of all such measures of favouritism is to be found in the fact that the greater the political self-consciousness in India, the greater must be the efforts made to detach or keep detached considerable groups of men from the national movement and the national struggle. Perhaps the Joint Select Committee has made such changes in the White Paper as to make it still more unacceptable to the people of India—if that is possible, and hence it has been felt that something must be done to keep satisfied some minorities at least among whom National consciousness is undeveloped or confined to a small number. There may be another reason. Government may have felt that by not rejecting the

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Communal Decision outright the Congress has made a bid for Muslim allegiance, and so a higher bid must be made. This is the higher bid. If the Congress now says, "Let the Muslims have the jobs," Government may have to disclose something more up its sleeve. Or the Communal "Award" and the Communal Division of Jobs, etc., may be only parts of the patronage which Government promised in return for the Minorities Pact or something similar. The following "inside story" of the cause of the failure of negotiations between the Aga Khan and Mahatma Gandhi, published in the *Daily Sun* of Bombay, dated the 20th July, 1934, makes this conjecture probable :

It was past midnight. Mahatmaji has just returned from continuous work for the whole day. But he did not stop to take rest. He took his "Charka" and drove straight to the Hotel where the Aga Khan and the Muslim delegation were.

THE MUSLIM PROMISE

The substance of the Muslim talk was "What do we gain by making a common cause with you! You do not accept our 14 points."

Mahatmaji's reply was, "What will you give us if you get your 14 points ? Will you stand by the Congress?"

"But suppose if Muslims remain neutral, will you be satisfied ?" Sir Muhammad Shafi suggested a *via media*.

"No," said Mahatma, "we want your co-operation. We are ready to pay the price for it."

The Muslim delegation was engrossed in thoughts. At last the Aga Khan said, "Our whole delegation is not present here. We need consultation. But be sure that, if you accept our 14 points, we are almost certain to join you in your political demands."

MAHATMA ACCEPTS 14 POINTS

Then Mahatmaji wrote in his own handwriting the draft of the agreement accepting the 14 points of the Muslims on condition of their joining the Congress in its political demands.

The Aga Khan promised to let Gandhiji know the final decision before noon. He asked him to obtain Malaviyaji's consent.

HOARE IN A FIX

In the early morning London was fast asleep. But one Englishman was awake. He was the Secretary of State for India. He had his own intelligence department. He knew about the Gandhiji-Aga Khan Pact. He saw the Indian Empire slipping from his hands. He was waiting for somebody. That somebody came. He saw that the Muslims were in a dilemma. Gandhiji had accepted their demands. They had no way out.

HOARE'S BARGAIN

"Now what is the position," asked Hoare.

"What will you give ? Anything more ?" asked the Muslim member.

"I accept the 14 points and above that the Government's whole-hearted patronage," said the Secretary of State.

MALAVIYAJI UNRECONCILABLE

The *London Times* flashed in the early morning the news of the Gandhi-Aga Khan Agreement.

Jayakar saw Malaviyaji early in the morning. Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas and Mr. Birla were having a hot discussion with Malaviyaji.

Pandit Malaviya said that he would never accept that agreement. "Tell Gandhi Maharaj that I would never concede all that."

VAIN APPEALS

Sir Purshottamdas and Mr. Birla pleaded with the Pandit. They said that it was the master-stroke of Mahatmaji. And if this opportunity is lost Hindus will suffer for ever. Mr. Birla said to him that he was losing the opportunity of a life-time. But Panditji was adamant.

It was 9 in the morning. Newspaper men were coming one by one in the room near the R. T. C. Hall. They were told of the Gandhi-Aga Khan Pact. They were losing heart at the news. They made long faces.

EMPIRE BREAKING

Then came the Secretary of the Press Committee. When he knew it, he exclaimed, "What ! what do you say ?"

He sat down in the chair as if reclining. He sat with eyes closed for a while. When he got up—his face was pale. To him the British Empire was being broken.

After him the Aga Khan's messenger came to Gandhiji and informed him that they could not accept his offer, as all the Muslims did not agree.

If this "inside story" be correct, if not in all its details, at least substantially, then the Division of Jobs must be taken to be the fulfilment in part of Sir Samuel Hoare's promise of whole-hearted patronage. What next ? the curious reader may ask. The answer is, the Aga Khan most probably has asked for a State to govern, with what result, is not definitely known.

Our last guess is that perhaps the Secretary of State and the Government of India had come to know what the Joint Select Committee were going to recommend regarding the recruitment of the services and finding the recommendations not to their liking, they have confronted the Committee with a *fiat accompli*.

Numerical Strength and Proportion of Jobs

Assuming without admitting that all communities should have their fixed share of Government jobs, what should determine the share ? There are some kinds of such work which even illiterate adult persons can perform. These may be divided according to the numerical strength of *adults* in the communities. For other jobs only literate

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persons are fit. These may be divided in proportion to the numbers of *adult* literates in the communities. For another class of jobs *adult* literates in English, or rather *adult* undergraduates, are fit. These may be apportioned according to the numbers of *adult* undergraduates among the communities. Similarly, with regard to offices which can be filled efficiently only by post-graduates, medical graduates, graduates in law, graduates in engineering, etc.

Therefore, even on the aforesaid assumption mere numerical strength cannot entitle any community to a fixed proportion of posts of all or most kinds. But we do not at all admit the soundness of the assumption. All posts should go to the fittest.

The Queen's Proclamation and the Division of Jobs

We always take our stand on human rights, on the elementary sense of justice, on the equal rights of all Nationals in a State to enjoy all opportunities according to their ability. We have never taken our stand on Queen Victoria's Proclamation, because it has been treated by British imperialists practically as a scrap of paper. But in recent times in connection with the White Paper, Sir Samuel Hoare took his stand on it in order to give the citizens of the British Dominions (like South Africa, which was not a British Dominion in 1858 when the Proclamation was issued and which treats Indians like pariahs) equal rights in India with Indians. So it may be allowable to make a passing reference to the Queen's Proclamation. In it the Queen said :

> "We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured....by reason of their religious faith or observance, ...
>
> "And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge."

Is the Government of India Home Department resolution relating to the representation of some minorities in the services, consistent with the passages quoted above ?

The Evil Results of Favouritism

It has been already stated that the evil results of favouritism would be less efficiency in all departments of the Government, and most probably corruption, too. There may also be increase of crime and disease and inadequate collection of revenue. Free and impartial admission to office of the fittest, irrespective of race or creed, gives a great stimulus to progress in all directions. Favouritism takes away this stimulus. As regards education, the favoured feel that they need not strive to surpass or even equal others in intellectual equipment, and those not favoured may feel that, as intellectual achievement does not necessarily count, the pursuit of knowledge has no intrinsic worth. In this way favouritism serves as an obstacle in the way of the progress of education among both the favoured and the not-favoured.

High officers of the Government have declared on various occasions that complete Indianization of the services has not been possible because of the lack of fit Indians for the higher offices. Is favouritism the way to increasing the fitness or the unfitness of Indians ?

Special Pleading for Anglo-Indians

The following passage occurs in the resolution under discussion :

> The Anglo-Indians have always held a large percentage of appointments in certain branches of the public service and it has been recognized that in view of the degree to which the community has been dependent on this employment steps must be taken to prevent in the new conditions anything in the nature of a rapid displacement of the Anglo-Indians from their existing position which might occasion a violent dislocation of the economic structure of the community.

In the above extract, for "The Anglo-Indians," substitute "educated Hindus of the middle class," and you will get an equally cogent, if not more cogent, argument.

Government have done something which will occasion a disturbance of "the economic structure" of the middle classes of the Hindu community. But such an eventuality, being a Hindu affair, can be looked on with unconcern.

Gain and Loss to Muslims

Musalman Indians, like Indians of other religious communities, will suffer from the evil consequences to the State, such as inefficiency and corruption, and to the nation, such as the damping of efforts for educational and cognate

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progress, born of favouritism. Musalman Indians will be particularly affected, as intellectual eminence is never the direct, or even the indirect, product of the patronage of a minimum standard of qualifications.

Let us turn to the gain to the Muslims.

Though the Government of India's resolution relates to posts under that Government, not to those under provincial Governments, we may take into consideration all Government posts, for the provincial Governments are sure to do what the central Government has done.

In British India 2,24,996 men serve in the police and 3,52,563 men are employed in other services of the State (not military). So there are altogether 5,77,559 Government servants in the civil departments. In the whole of British India Musalmans will get 25% of these, or 1,44,389. In the census report of 1931 the average size of the family of police employees is given as 3.7 and of other Government officials as 3.8. Therefore, the average size of a Musalman official's family may be taken as 4, or 5 including himself. So by 1,44,389 jobs going to Musalmans altogether 7,21,945 Musalmans will be made gainers. Now, in the whole of British India there are 6,70,20,443 Musalmans. Deducting 7,21,945 from this total figure, we get 6,62,98,498 as the number of Musalmans who will not be direct gainers from the Government policy of favouritism, though they will suffer as much as, or rather more than, non-Musalmans from the evils of favouritism resulting to the State and nation.

Will there be any countervailing indirect gain to the 6,62,98,498 Musalmans? Not to any appreciable extent, we should think. We do not, of course, say or suggest that Hindu Government servants distribute their income to all and sundry. But from our knowledge of the small number of educational and other public institutions founded and maintained by Musalmans in Bengal and the very small help which they give to their co-religionists suffering from famine, flood, storms, etc., it does not seem probable that the pecuniary gain of the 1,44,389 Musalman officials will be of appreciable advantage to the vast majority of Musalmans.

Competitive Examination For Musalmans Alone

If the generality of Musalmans, as apart from the *Jo-hukums*, want to be gainers by the favour shown to their community by the Government, they should insist on all posts meant for Musalmans being filled by competitive examination confined to Musalmans alone. That will give some stimulus to education in the community.

Non-Muslims and Government Service

There are many men who are on principle against the acceptance of Government service. The new Home Department resolution does not make the range of occupations that may be chosen by them narrower than before. As regards others—we refer particularly to non-Muslims, they can still compete for many posts.

Government service may be looked upon from two points of view, as a means of earning money and as a means of serving the country. For, though Government servants and pensioners are precluded from doing anything directly or indirectly to promote the cause of freedom, they can serve the nation to some extent in other ways by doing their duties faithfully. We do not forget that many Government servants are or have to be hostile to the cause of freedom. We are not referring to them.

All non-Muslims should banish from their minds envy and jealousy of Muslims.

The patronage bestowed on Musalmans and withheld from the Hindus may become to the latter a blessing in disguise, if they turn their attention to industries, including scientific agriculture, and trade more than they have hitherto done.

Indore Meeting of All-India Women's Conference

Excellent progress, both social and educational, formed the keynote of the reports of different constituencies at the half-yearly meeting of the Standing Committee of the All-India Women's Conference held in Indore on the 21st and 22nd July last. No less than 22 out of the 38 members of the Standing Committee attended from all over the country.

The members present were:—Mrs. Rustomji Faridoonji (Hyderabad, Deccan), Rajkumari Amrit Kaur (Jullunder City), Mrs. Hamid Ali

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(Satara), Mrs. Brijlal Nehru (Lahore), Rani Lakshmibai Rajwade (Gwalior), Miss L. M. Naidu (Hyderabad, Deccan), Mrs. S. N. Ray (Social Secy., Calcutta), Mrs. Lakshmi N. Menon (Lucknow), Mrs. S. S. Chitambar (Jubbulpore), Mrs. Hosain Ali Khan (Hyderabad, Deccan), Mrs. D. Subhadra Chenchiah (Madras), Miss G. J. Bahadurji (Bombay), Mrs. S. N. Wadia (Baroda), Mrs. S. C. Roy (Calcutta), Mrs. L. F. Massey (Ajmere-Merwara), Mrs. M. Solomon (Konkan), Mrs. Sorojini Mehta (Bombay), Miss A. Khemchand (Sind), Miss Shoila Bala Das (Orissa), Miss Magda Friedmann (Delhi), Mrs. U. Nagu (Indore), and Mrs. S. C. Mukerjee (Hon. Organizing Secretary, Calcutta).

Through the courtesy of Mrs. Nagu, the members were the guests of H. H. Maharani Sanyogita Bai Saheba Holkar, H. H. Maharani Indira Bai Saheba, H. H. Chandravati Bai Masaheb and Princess Sabitri Bai Saheba.

In welcoming the members at a public meeting in the Town Hall, H. H. Chandravati Bai Masaheb, who presided, said that at present women were in total darkness so far as real education was concerned, and it was indeed very happy to find that some attempt was being made in educating them. She, however, wished the attempt to be more in the direction of the village population, as the large majority of women in India resided in villages and not in big cities, which were awakening to the fact and endeavouring to shoulder their responsibilities themselves as well as with the help of their own governments. Education, if well-directed, was the soul of every reform, and if the soul was purified, the social side must improve in all its aspects.

The reports of the work accomplished showed that all the constituencies contributed towards the relief of the sufferers in the earthquake in Bihar. Harijan work was being carried out most satisfactorily in nearly all the constituencies. An All-India Sarda Committee was formed by the A. I. W. C. for propaganda against child marriage and to conduct prosecutions and to devise ways and means for improving the Act.

An All-India Day was fixed for November 24, 1934, on which date public meetings would be held throughout India and propaganda undertaken regarding the appointment of a Commission to enquire into the legal disabilities of women.

It was decided that a manifesto and questionnaire from the A. I. W. C. should be issued to candidates seeking election to the Assembly eliciting their views on questions affecting women, so that the members of the constituencies should help only those candidates who favoured their claims, to secure election.

It was further resolved to lay special stress on rural reconstruction work, which was already being undertaken intensively in many constituencies.

A memorandum on women and child labour was submitted by the A. I. W. C. to the International Labour Conference at Geneva.

On the Education side, due to the activities of the Conference, a number of women teachers went for training to Whitelands College, London. The adult education movement, with the free schools started by the constituencies, showed considerable progress.

The advisability of making Hindi the common language for the Conference was discussed and it was decided to encourage speeches in Hindi as much as possible.

The next Annual Session of the Conference will be held in Karachi at the end of December next.

Bethune College Register of Old Students

The Principal of the Bethune College has invited the old students of the Institution to communicate to her at their earliest convenience their names, addresses and present occupations, if any, with the years of their stay in the College. This is in view of the compilation of a proposed College Register. The Bethune College being the premier institution for women's education on this side of India, the Register will be an important and useful work and a contribution to the history of female education in Eastern India. The "Old" Girls—not necessarily old in the usual sense!—of the college should heartily co-operate with the Principal in compiling the Register.

"How to Make a Riot"

By an accidental coincidence, we find today an article in *The New Republic* of America (June 27, 1934) with the heading, *"How to Make a Riot,"* and a news item in the dailies relating to the judgment delivered by Mr. Niblett, Magistrate of Ghazipur, in two communal riot cases. The article in the American paper begins :

> On May 26, police attacked a demonstration of unemployed in front of relief headquarters in New York City. The police got the worst of the battle. Headlines screamed of "Red Riots," but the facts peeped here and there from under reports of jobless "whipped into a frenzy by their Communist leaders." As one newspaper let slip, "Wall (the Deputy Inspector in charge) ordered the police into action, *and in two minutes the riot was in full swing.*"

This is one way "to make a riot."

The Ghazipur news item reads :

> Allahabad, July 28.
>
> Mr. Niblett, Magistrate, delivered judgment in the Ghazipur Riot case acquitting one Muslim and sentencing seven Muslims under section 147 I. P. C. (rioting) to 2 years' rigorous imprisonment each with fines and the rest to one year's rigorous imprisonment each. All the accused were further directed to furnish personal bonds of Rs. 200 and sureties of the like amount each to keep peace for one year after their release.
>
> The learned Magistrate acquitted all the nine Hindu accused in the cross-case holding that the charge of rioting against them was "utterly false and frivolous" apparently started by the police and that their prosecution was "merely to maintain a show of impartiality."—*United Press.*

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This is another way "to make a riot," though in a sense different from the first one. The Magistrate has said in his judgment that "the whole trouble had been planned from beforehand," that "the Hindus were not assailants," and that "utterly false and frivolous charges were brought against the Hindus."

"A Search in Secret India" and Visva-bharati"

A book has come to our hands from England for review, named "A Search in Secret India." The author is Paul Brunton, an English journalist, who wandered through the heart of India and won "the confidence of those mysterious men—the *Fakirs* and Yogis."

"He beholds their astonishing feats, learns many closely-guarded secrets, lives in their secluded hermitages and jungle retreats—and returns to write this sensational record."

So the publishers, Rider & Co., ask the reader to—

"Read of the Yogis who can prolong their lives for hundreds of years, stop the heart-beating and put live, move solid objects without touching them, pass at will into trances where they sit like statues for hours or days, accurately reveal the past and future to a complete stranger."

But Sir Francis Younghusband, who has written a foreword to the book, says :

"These are all interesting enough in their way and are well worth study by scientific men interested in psychic phenomena. But they are not the real thing. They are not the springs whence spirituality comes gushing.

"They do not form the secret sacred India that Mr. Brunton was seeking. He saw them. He visited them. He describes them. But he pushed through them. Spirituality at its finest and purest was what he wanted. And this he found at last.

"Remote from the haunts of men, deep in the jungles to which—or to the Himalayas—the holiest men in India always return, Mr. Brunton found the very embodiment of all that India holds most sacred. The Maharishee—the Great Sage—was the man who made most appeal to Mr. Brunton. He was not the only one of his kind. Up and down India others—not many, but a very, very few—may be found. They represent the true genius of India, and it is through them the Mighty Genius of the Universe manifests Himself in peculiar degree. They, therefore, are among the objects most worth searching for on this earth."

We make no comments on these observations of Sir Francis Younghusband. The sages whom the author found may be real and he may have really discovered the secret sacred India he was in search of.

The *Vidyabhavan* or Research Institute of Visva-bharati has been for years engaged, through Professor Kshitimohan Sen Sastri, M.A., in a search for another secret India, the sacred India of the mediaeval age, which existed not merely in forest retreats or in the Himalayas but also, or perhaps mostly in the haunts of men. The mediaeval saints who represented this sacred India did not forsake the world. They were neither society-shunners, nor miracle-mongers and wonder-workers. They are springs whence spirituality still comes gushing. But these fountain-heads of spirituality are, for the most part, not to be found in printed volumes or pamphlets and in many cases not even in *pothis* or manuscript books. Printed books no doubt contain the teachings of such famous saints as Kabir, Dadu, etc., but not *all* their sayings. And there are interpolations and alterations, too. For their unpublished sayings, for their authentic sayings and for the teachings of many less known but not necessarily less spiritually advanced saints and sages one has to make persistent searches along the highways and byways of the country-side, in peasants' huts, in *maths* and temples, in wandering mendicants' retreats—in fact, where not?

Pandit Kishitmohan Sen Sastri, M. A., has been engaged in this kind of very valuable and very difficult *re*-search for years, appreciated and encouraged by Rabindranath Tagore and once in a way by the Calcutta University, which asked him to deliver the Adhar Chandra Mukherjee Lectures in 1929. He delivered them in Bengali, choosing as the general name for his lectures the title, "Bhāratîya Madhyayuge Sādhanār Dhārā," or the Course of Spiritual Endeavour in the Indian Mediaeval Age. When the lectures were published by the Calcutta University in book form, Rabindranath Tagore wrote an illuminating preface to it from which we reproduce only one paragraph in free translation :

> "India has a *sādhanā* (spiritual endeavour) of her own ; that is a possession of her inner being. Its stream has kept flowing in the midst of and through all political vicissitudes. It is a matter for surprise that this stream is not confined within the embankments of shastric conformity and approval ; if there is any influence of scholarship in it, that is very little. In fact, this spiritual

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endeavour is in great measure unshastric, and not governed by social control. Its fountain is in the inmost core of the hearts of the people, it has gushed naturally pushing aside the stony obstacles of injunctions and prohibitions Those in whose hearts there has been a revelation of this spring are mostly men in humble walks of life, and what they have obtained is 'neither by the power of the intellect nor by much listening'."

The treasures which Pandit Kshitimohan has collected in Santiniketan by tramping through the country and mixing with all sorts and conditions of men, of which we do hope he has written a narrative which may hereafter be published, are such as are not perhaps to be found in any other single place or with any other single person in the country. And they are, if we are not mistaken, mostly in Hindi. It is perhaps strange that, though India contains many religious-minded men rich in this world's goods and many *Hindi-premis* (Hindi-lovers) equally wealthy, no one has endowed Visva-bharati with an adequate fund ear-marked for the permanent carrying on of the kind of "*Search in Secret India*" being conducted by a teacher at Visva-bharati. That is perhaps because sufficient publicity has not been given to this side of Visva-bharati's work.

That many do not flock to Pandit Kshitimohan's dilapidated thatched cottage is neither a grievance nor a disadvantage. For he should not be and does not want to be exploited by literary or spiritual or musical adventurers. Real seekers, we believe, have been and are always welcome as students.

Revolutions and Counter-revolutions in Europe

Mussolini seized the supreme power in Italy by a kind of revolution. Whether he will succeed throughout life in preventing a counter-revolution to establish real democracy in his country remains to be seen.

In Germany Hitler became dictator by a revolution, and he has claimed that recently by killing a good many men he has been able to prevent a counter-revolution.

In Austria there have been revolutions and counter-revolutions. And it is just possible that, from a republic, Austria may again become a monarchy.

A sort of revolutionary coup, which failed, was attempted in Lithuania.

In continental Europe some other countries also contain active revolutionaries. There is a struggle going on between the Haves and the Have-nots—call them Fascists and Communists or by any other name that may fit them. Britain is not quite free from this sort of struggle.

In connection with the political occurrences in Germany, we are reminded of the interview which Churchill (junior) had with the ex-Crown Prince of Germany. It was reported that the latter pronounced the opinion that Indians were unfit for self-government. It was a great discovery. When people are not in fact self-governing, it is quite easy, and perhaps not unfair, too, to conclude that they are not fit for self-rule. And when the rulers of these subject people are a powerful nation whom one may not like to offend, it is quite easy, too, to say that these subject people are not fit to rule themselves. For ourselves, long ago, perhaps eighteen years ago, we proved *on paper* to our satisfaction that we were fit for self-rule. But there was a fly in the ointment. We had to conclude our arguments by saying: It may be objected that, if we are fit for self-rule, why are we not self-ruling; that objection can be met only by becoming self-ruling.

There let it rest.

But the ex-Crown Prince may be asked whether his people, the German people, are fit for self-rule. If so, why are they ruled by a despotic dictator?

Similar questions may be asked about the fitness for self-rule of the Italians, the Austrians, etc.

All these peoples are at present not really self-ruling, and *ipso facto* not fit to rule themselves.

Nevertheless, a difference between them and peoples subject to foreign rule must be noted. The struggles in Italy, Germany, Austria, etc., are or were between groups of Nationals of each country. Their tyrants are their own countrymen. Of course, this does not mean that a man enslaved, killed, assailed or despoiled by a countryman of his, is any the less enslaved, killed, assailed or despoiled than if he were enslaved, killed, assailed or despoiled by a foreigner.

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Indian Opinion of the White Paper Not Known, Not Understood, or Misrepresented in Britain

Among the batch of books received by us on the 28th of July last from England for review is one entitled, *Beyond the White Paper*, being a Discussion of the Evidence Presented before the Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform," by Philip Cox. We have not had time yet to read any of the books received. But as this one has a topical interest we opened it and found that it has a "Summary and Conclusion" at the end, of which the very last paragraph begins thus :

"So far as I can estimate currents and forces, the way of the White Paper is the only direction in which one can look hopefully in India today. Through it only is it possible to seek a path out of the bog of suspicion and doubt that has surrounded Indo-British relations and engulfed inter-communal fellowship."

The author is entitled to hold and give expression to any opinion he likes. But the opinion to which he has actually given expression is not the Indian opinion. The Congress, the Indian National Liberal Federation, the Hindu Mahasabha, Nationalist Muslims would not agree with him. Even the communalist Muslims, with the Aga Khan at their head, would have joined the Congress in seeking substantial changes in the White Paper if only the Communal Decision had been left alone untouched. Nationalist Indians, who form the vast majority of politically-minded Indians, agree in considering the White Paper scheme a Black Scheme, through which no ray of hope shines. Instead of dispelling Indians' suspicion of Britishers, it has deepened that suspicion. Instead of helping India to shake off communalism, it has thrown India afresh into whirlpools of communalism.

The author proceeds to mention the evidence on which his opinion, quoted above, is based.

"That this is so is evidenced by a number of recent happenings, which would have been impossible without a growing conviction in India that the White Paper, with all its shortcomings in Indian eyes, has been conceived in sincerity, and represents a genuine attitude on the part of British statesmen towards India's legitimate aspirations."

It is not necessary to doubt that there are Englishmen who *sincerely* believe that India's *legitimate* aspirations should not go beyond a desire to be ruled for ever by practically autocratic Governors-General, Governors, and the steel-frame of the covenanted civil service. But whether British imperialists consider our aspirations legitimate or not, we have aspirations which cannot in the least be satisfied by the White Paper.

But let us come to the author's evidence.

> "The passing of the Reserve Bank Bill by the Indian Legislature during the early months of this year, the recent textile convention between Bombay and Lancashire, the inter-communal unity behind the Memorandum of the British Indian Delegates, and—in a quite separate sphere but no less significant—the enthusiastic reception of the English Test cricketers, are significant pointers to the mood of active co-operation, which is slowly revealing itself in the minds of some at least of India's leading citizens. It will rest with Parliament and the British people, to show by their attitude to the White Paper Scheme—the only concrete scheme with a measure of Indian support behind it that is in the field today—whether they mean to capitalize that mood and turn it to the advantage of both Britain and India, or whether they desire to thrust back this one chance of an honourable and workable settlement."

It is only when one remembers that the British are a nation not only of shopkeepers but of politicians as well that one can refrain from being astonished at the propagandist spirit which can make political capital out of the hospitality and courtesy shown to the English Test cricketers ! We fail to understand what that has got to do with the White Paper or the supposed mood of political co-operation even remotely. Even if Winston Churchill and any of his staunch followers came to India in a really non-political capacity, they would be met as human beings courteously, as Indians have no personal quarrel with Englishmen. Does the author think that even English cricketers ought to have been pelted by Indians with rotten eggs to prove to him that they detested the White Paper ?

The Indian Legislature was unrepresentative even when elected and has now become still more so. No legislature representing nationalist India would have passed the Reserve Bank Bill in the form in which it was passed. Even in the present subservient and effete Legislature there was strong criticism of and opposition to it.

The textile convention "between Bombay and Lancashire" may have pleased Lancashire,

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but it has had a very hot reception in Bombay and throughout India. It was a convention, not between Bombay and Lancashire, but between Lancashire and one Bombay-man who acted in an unrepresentative and unwarranted manner.

The men from British India who appeared before the Joint Select Committee were not "delegates," they were not chosen by any Indian organization. They were nominees of the Government of India chosen by it to serve its own purpose. If the leaders of the Congress, the Indian National Liberal Federation, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Muslim League had been the delegates and if they had drawn up the Memorandum, then one could have rightly spoken of inter-communal unity underlying it.

"*Some at least*" (how many?) of India's inhabitants is delightful! But are they "citizens"? Are they really "leading" citizens?

"A measure of Indian support" is also enjoyable! But it is a microscopic measure.

The author may rest assured that the White Paper does not offer any chance of "settlement" with Indians. Indians do not consider it workable. And they think it would be the reverse of honourable for them to accept it.

British Opponents of the White Paper

Just as there are British supporters of the White Paper, who see or profess to see in it the salvation of Britain and India, so there are Britishers who oppose it, thinking or professing to think that it embodies the policy of "scuttle," of surrender, and of disruption of the British Empire, though it really does nothing of the kind. Both the parties are wrong and are probably acting a part. *The Morning Post* is one of the foremost Tory organs which oppose or profess to oppose the White Paper. Its political correspondent writes under date July 16th last:

> Opposition to the Government's White Paper Indian proposals has become so strong, both within the Joint Select Committee and in the country that the Government are now doubtful whether the Committee will be able to complete its report by the end of the year.
>
> This delay, together with the abandonment of all hope of an unanimous report, is causing serious anxiety among supporters of the White Paper policy.

Seven weeks will have passed to-morrow since the Chairman of the Committee, Lord Linlithgow presented his draft report. The belief in official circles then was that the draft report would have been forced through the Committee and published by the end of this month.

Within a few days it became apparent that the final report could not be expected before the end of October. It is now uncertain whether it will be available before the New Year.

A number of factors are causing delay. The most important is the fact that the draft report is being contested, line by line, from two sides—by the Conservative opponents of surrender and by the Socialists.

The course now being pursued by the Socialists on the Committee is no longer that of friendly co-operation with the Government which they have hitherto adopted in the House of Commons. The Government have, therefore, found themselves deprived of support which they have found valuable in fighting Conservative opposition.

Even without the support of the Socialists, however, the Secretary for India, Sir Samuel Hoare, commands a majority of nearly three to one against the Conservative opposition on the Committee. It is, therefore, clearly within his power to force a majority report through the Committee substantially unamended, should he deem it expedient to do so.

But when the proceedings of the Committee are published, showing the amendments which have been put forward, there is reason to believe that they will disclose two distinct sets of amendments, each amounting, in effect, to a minority report. In addition, it is expected, there will be the amendments of groups less distinctly defined than the Conservative and Socialist oppositions.

Should these anticipations be fulfilled, Mr. Baldwin's task when he consults the Conservative Party in accordance with his pledge, will be even more difficult than it at first appeared. For he will have to admit that the net result of the Select Committee's proceedings has been loss of Socialist support for the White Paper and a corresponding increase in the opposition to it.

It is further recognized in Government circles that the increasing delay of the Select Committee in producing a report in itself constitutes a serious menace to the surrender policy.

The programme of Parliamentary business has already been disturbed, and the Government have been forced to abandon their pledge in the King's Speech to introduce the Indian Constitution Bill in Parliament this session. It is now felt to be doubtful whether it will be possible to pass the Bill next session.

A period of at least four months, it is pointed out, will be necessary for drafting the Bill and subsequent consultation with the Government of India.

In addition, the revolt of the Conservative organizations in the country grows from month to month in strength, despite official attempts to "muzzle" the Party conferences. Every month of delay, it is felt, is increasing the prospect that the surrender policy will be rejected when Mr. Baldwin consults the Party.

It is a ridiculous travesty of truth to say or suggest that the White Paper "surrenders"

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to the people of India a title of real power. Nationalist India will be delighted if it is scrapped lock, stock and barrel at the earliest opportunity.

New Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University

Power without responsibility is as bad an arrangement as responsibility without power. The best arrangement is the combination of responsibility and power in the hands of the same person. From this point of view the nomination of Mr. Syamaprasad Mukherji, M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law, to the Vice-Chancellorship of the Calcutta University deserves commendation. He has been the guiding spirit among the senators and syndics for years past, being the *de facto* head of the ruling party. It was, therefore, desirable that he should be made duly responsible for what the senate and the syndicate do.

But it is not merely from the point of view of the same person being vested with both power and responsibility that his appointment can be supported. He has sufficient intellectual equipment, driving power, leadership and ability, and he can devote, as he has been doing, sufficient time and energy to the work of the University, the details of which he has mastered. He has in him the making of an excellent Vice-chancellor. But beyond that we must not at present go in praise of the appointment.

It would not be right to judge him by his past, which is not of uniform character, one way or the other—for, though he is only 33, he has a past as a senator. Let him rise above his surroundings, whenever necessary.

It is to be regretted that one ominous thing has already happened—whether by chance or as the result of scheming we cannot definitely say. He is the Vice-chancellor and he has also become President of the Council of Post-graduate Studies in Arts. Is this the first step in the harmful process of concentration of all power in one hand? Surely, among the scholarly professors of the University who are eligible and other scholars who are eligible there were several men eminently fit for this office. Let Mr. Mukherjee beware of "vaulting ambition which o'erleaps itself,"—and of the flattery or silence of newspaper men enjoying or seeking patronage.

It is to be hoped that, in order to become Vice-chancellor, he has not committed himself in the matter of the officially proposed board of secondary education, or in the matter of the details of the scheme according to which the vernacular is to be the medium of instruction and examination up to the Matriculation, or in any other matter.

The Late Kaviraj Syamadas Vachaspati

In the late Kaviraj Syamadas Vachaspati Bengal, nay India, has lost an eminent Ayurvedic physician. He was as great a

Kaviraj Syamadas Vachaspati

Sanskrit scholar in some directions as he was a physician. His philanthropy was well known. A staunch and orthodox Hindu, he respected the religious views of other, and had a liberal religious outlook. He was a self-made man, and rose from poverty to opulence by sheer merit. Whatever help and sympathy he

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received in the days of struggle he never forgot, but repaid with abundance of service and gratitude. He founded the Vaidyashastra-Pith for imparting education to students—to many *gratis*—in the Ayurveda, with a hospital attached for the relief and cure of sick men, women and children.

Kapurthala to have a British De Facto Ruler?

It is reported that the task of administering the Kapurthala State is to be entrusted to an officer in British India of the British race. No wonder.

For some reason or other, in recent years such appointments have been made in several States. And the number of Musalman Dewans in Hindu States is not small. British administrators in Muslim States and Hindu Dewans of Muslim States, if any, are not as plentiful.

Is this accidental, or the result of some Anglo-Muslim *entente* necessitated by the proposed federation of British India with the Indian States?

M. L. A.s and Zanzibar Indians

It is known to the public that there is going to be some very effective anti-Indian legislation in Zanzibar which will result either in the Indian settlers there being squeezed out of the country or being practically ruined and reduced to helotage. Most of these settlers are in religion followers of the Aga Khan. He sent a cable to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to organize a nation-wide protest against the above-mentioned anti-Indian legislation. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya telegraphed to the leaders of parties in the Legislative Assembly to wait in deputation on the Viceroy and make a representation to him on the subject. Thereupon Sir Hari Singh Gour and Mr. K. C. Neogy decided to see Sir Fazli Hussain first in the company of some other M. L. A.s. to know the facts. But on the appointed day and hour none of these other gentlemen, Muslim or Hindu, turned up!

Devastating Floods

There have been devastating floods in some districts of Assam, east and north Bengal, and Bihar. There has been loss of many human lives, loss of cattle, great damage to crops and destruction of other property on a large scale. Altogether the sufferings of the people have been and continue to be indescribable. Without in any way suggesting any comparison with the catastrophic earthquake shocks in Bihar, it may be said that the floods too have been very destructive, and the sufferers, whose number is very large, deserve every sympathy and help. But unhappily no adequate effort is being made to help them. The earthquake engaged the attention of the most prominent leaders—from Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya downwards. A good many of them visited the affected areas. Nothing similar has been done by the public for the flood-stricken areas and people, particularly of Bengal. Is it because the areas affected are out of the way and rather inaccessible, not lying along the broad trade route stretching from Peshawar and Kalka to Howrah? Or has the succession of calamities made even our great men callous like us ordinary mortals? Or is political controversy engrossing all attention, leaving nothing to be devoted to human suffering? Or may there be some other cause?

Muhammadan Sporting Club's Achievement

For the first time in its history, an Indian team, the Muhammadan Sporting Club, consisting of players from different provinces of India, has won the Calcutta Football League championship, defeating European and other Indian Clubs. This is a feather in the Muhammadan Club's cap.

Indian Footballers in South Africa

The Indian Football Team which went to South Africa to play with South African Indian Teams has won laurels all along the line. When a South African Indian Team visits India they may have the same good luck. The Indian Team consisted of Praphulla Mukherji (manager), Srish Chakravarti, Naren Guha, Amiya Ganguli, Satya Majumdar, Sati Chaudhury, Manmatha Datta (captain), Karuna Bhattacharya, Prabhas Banerji, Akhil Ahmed, Nasim, Mir Hosain, Mohamed Hosain, Ramana, Lakshmi Narain, and N. Ghosh. They were

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...t, of course, invited or allowed to play with ...ite footballers—because of colour prejudice ...d perhaps also because the whites were ...aid of being defeated. We learn from *...ian Opinion* that when the steamer carrying ...e Indian team reached port, the South-...frican Indians waiting to receive them were ...t allowed to board the steamer, though the ...ite friends of white passengers were allowed ...o so as a matter of course.

...mpic Games in 1936 at Berlin

...lympic Games News Service of Berlin ...s:

...ermany has invited the nations of the world ...participate in the Olympic Games of 1936. The ...rman gymnastic and sport movement knows ...e obligations which it has thus assumed. Not ...s is the task placed upon it of equipping itself ...r the contests with the best of the world, but ...so of demonstrating to the representatives of all ...untries in 1936 that the German nation, as host, ...s conscientiously and whole-heartedly prepared for ...e Olympic Games.

...e countries which have hitherto decided to ...rticipate in the next Olympic Games are: ...rgentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, ...nada, Columbia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, ...onia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, ...land, Hungary, India, Italy, Japan, Latvia, ...exico, New Zealand, Norway, Philippines, Poland, ...rtugal, Roumania, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, ...key, Yugoslavia.

...e International Olympic Committee at its ...eting in Athens recognized the National ...mpic Committees newly established by Egypt ...d Palestine, so that these two countries have ...fulfilled the condition for their participation ...the Olympic Games. They have therefore been ...ended the same invitations as was issued at ...e end of last year to other countries by the ...n and Garmisch-Partenkirchen Organization ...mmittees. Good progress is being made ...especct of the new constructions required for ...e contests. The Berlin municipality has under-...en the task of extending the four main ...ghfares with two bridges, leading to the ...dium. This work will be completed by the ...mmer of 1935. The festive aspect of the ...mpic Games is under preliminary discussion: ...competition for an Olympic hymn, which ...s many poetic minds, has brought in so many ...oses that an exceptional result may be anti-...ted; Richard Strauss in the non-distant ...ure will receive the text to which he will ...t the music.

...e Olympic Art Exhibition, to be held in ...n, on the Fair Grounds, in addition to the ...s of all nations entered for the competitions ...include examples of German art outside the ...petitions. The best works of antiquity will ...be shown, some from German excavations ...in German possession, and others either ...ks or replicas loaned from abroad.

"Cultural Fellowship in India"

Years ago, in the now-defunct magazine *Welfare*, we wrote a note indicating how the appreciation of one another's music, painting, architecture, sculpture, etc., and of one another's ethical and spiritual idealism, by the different communities and races of India would be one of the most potent means of producing real inter-communal unity in the country. Such genuine mutual cultural appreciation should never be lost sight of. So when some two years ago Mr. Atulananda Chakrabarti showed us a paper in which he had brought together passages from the scriptures of different communities embodying similar ethical and spiritual ideals, we commended his endeavour. We are glad to find that he has since elaborated and expanded his theme and published a book on "Cultural Fellowship in India." It ought to find an adequate number of serious readers, and the subject at least a few more earnest researchers.

Tariff Board on Protection of Indian Steel Industry

Indians are unanimous that the Indian steel industry still requires protection. There is a difference of opinion as to how that protection should be given—by bounties or in the way in which it has hitherto been protected. But it is not the business of the Tariff Board of India or of the Indian Legislature to give protection and preference to British steel or steel products under the guise of protecting Indian steel. But if a subservient board and a subservient legislature choose to please their masters, surprise need not be felt.

The Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber has sent the following telegram to the Commerce Department of the Government of India *re* the Tariff Board report on protection to the Indian steel industry:

> "Committee Indian Merchants Chamber deplore the trend of the Tariff Board report on Steel Industry, because it puts forward proposal to reduce level of protection in spite of previous scheme having failed in its objective. They strongly protest against the Tariff Board going below line of revenue duties which will introduce vicious principle. The need for such course is not established and this becomes objectionable because it involves in present depleted state of India's finances direct sacrifice of taxpayers' money in the interests, not of Indian industry, but of the British manufacturer. Committee protest against the pro-

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posal for the introduction of excise duty on Steel for which direct taxation on production there is no justification as a normal expedient in Indian finance. The position of Indian manufacturer in the matter of tested steel is weakened by deliberate preference to Britain, while there is no guarantee that Britain will not dump on to this country untested steel at specially low prices. The proposed reciprocity through free entry of Indian Pig into Britain is unconvincing, as it involves preponderating advantage to British interests in low duty on British sheets. The Committee request Government to stand by this national industry and to devise scheme which will enable the existing company to prosper and induce new works to come into existence so as to make India self-sufficient."

"Protection" to Steel

As we go to press, the text of the Iron and Steel Duties Bill to be introduced in the Legislative Assembly has been published. The publication of the Tariff Board Report had prepared the public and the steel industry for what might otherwise have come as a bombshell. For the Board had shown little compunction in withdrawing at one stroke all the protection which the Tata Iron and Steel Co. had earned by a unique record of service alike to the Government and the people. They have carried a stage further the work of those economic counterparts of Clive and Hastings who gathered at Ottawa to fence the empire as a close preserve for the decadent industries of Great Britain. The Tariff Board has found, by a reasoning which betrays at every stage the anxiety for a specific conclusion, that in all cases of goods sold directly in competition with British products the Indian industry does not require any protection at all, or, if any is needed, not more than what is afforded by the normal rates of revenue duties. And they have gone to the length of specifically recommending that the revenue duties on a wide range of steel products should be removed.

The Government of India have naturally been quick to take action on such findings and recommendations. And it is significant that they have torn off the mask of protection, which the Tariff Board would fain keep to shroud their hideous scheme of Imperial Preference, and have called the new legislation the Iron and Steel Duties Bill. There is no doubt that the Board have emboldened the Government to be ruthless to the Indian Industry. In the place of the revenue duties, which are virtually done away with, come the countervailing duties against an imposition of an excise of Rs. 4 per ton as on all steel ingots produced within the country. The Tariff Board recommended the removal of revenue duties and they also suggested that, in case the Government are not in a position to sacrifice revenue, they might levy an excise and a countervailing customs duty. The result of the Government's adoption of the latter alternative is that the Tata Company would have to pay out in hard cash the excise duty on their total output at quite an early stage of the manufacturing process, while all that the Government has done is to weaken the position of the Company and endanger the prospects of the profitable marketting of the Tatas' products.

It is strange how a protected key industry comes all of a sudden to be denied even the advantage of normal revenue duties. All economists, including those of the Ottawa brand, are agreed that there can be no objection to normal revenue duties. And if India alone should proceed to demolish them and rear excise and countervailing duties in their place, it can be attributed only to the virus of Imperial preference which was injected into her at Ottawa. The poison is spreading every day. Is complete Self-government the only antidote ?

Dr. Hutton's Census Report and "Man in India" Special Number

In the special number (April—June, 1934) of *Man in India*, edited by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., the distinguished anthropologist of Ranchi, the theories of the origin of the *Varna* or caste divisions of Hindus which hold the field have been commented upon. One of the important pre-Aryan theories of caste is that formulated in the last *Census Report of India* by Dr. J. H. Hutton.

> "This theory traces the essential elements in caste to different pre-Aryan peoples,—Proto-Dravidian or as they have been termed 'Proto-Australoid,' Dravidian,—and Mongolian,—and credits the Aryan emigrants with merely describing in terms of an intensive Indo-Aryan society a social system really based on pre-existing conditions."

Mr. Roy has dealt with the supposed Dravidian element in caste in discussing Slater's Dravidian theory. He has subjected

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Dr. Hutton's arguments to a detailed scholarly examination which deserves the attention of anthropologists. We are not anthropologists; but it seems to us a little too original to suggest or assert that the Brahmans are descended from Dravidian witch-doctors. It is still more startlingly original to identify the Vedic *Brahma* with the *mana* of the Polynesian and other primitive races. This latter hypothesis has been subjected by Mr. Roy to very scholarly, able and elaborate criticism. By discussing the *mana* idea of different countries and races, he has attempted to show that even if the interpretation of the Vedic *Brahma* by European Vedic scholars be accepted, it is not the same as the primitive *mana* which Hutton and Pargiter would make it out to be.

Mr. Roy's criticisms ought to be seriously considered at the International Anthropological Congress, to which he was invited but which he could not attend.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's and Mr. M. S. Aney's Resignation

The circumstances under which Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. M. S. Aney have resigned from the Congress Parliamentary Board are much to be deplored. They resigned because of difference in principle between them and the majority in the Board. But of course, their future activities will be strictly nationalistic and in accordance with Congress principles, except in the matter of the communal "award." If they want to form a nationalist party in the next Assembly, their election manifesto may very well be based upon the Hindu Mahasabha's manifesto issued just before the last Karachi session of the Congress.

Congress Parliamentary Board's Election Manifesto

The following is the text of the Congress Parliamentary Board's election manifesto:

The Parliamentary Board appointed by the All-India Congress Committee at its meeting held in Patna on May 29, appeals to the voters of the Legislative Assembly at the ensuing elections to record their votes in favour of the Congress candidates.

CONGRESS POLICY

The Congress policy has been declared and the Board has received its mandate from the Working Committee in the following resolution passed by the latter body in Bombay on June 17:—

[Here follows the Congress Working Committee's resolution, published in our last number.—Ed., *M. R.*]

Though much has been written for and against the part of the resolution regarding the so-called Communal Award the line is absolutely clear so far as the Congress candidates are concerned. By common consent it is intrinsically bad. It is anti-national. But the Congress cannot refuse to take into account the attitude of the Mussalmans in general who seem to want the Award, nor can the Congress accept it as the Hindus and the Sikhs in general reject it. No other policy than that explained above is consistent with the aim and history of the Congress which has throughout stood for peace and unity and founded all its activities on the firm belief that the various communities in India will act justly and honourably towards one another. The only thing, therefore, that the Congress candidates and the Congress can do is to promote and assist in securing an agreed solution. Suffice it to say that we shall never reach such a solution by appealing to a third party or power. Then again those who have confidence about successful opposition to the White Paper proposals need not feel concerned about the Award. They should know that if the White Paper lapses the Award which was framed for the White Paper must automatically lapse. If the Award is bad, the White Paper is worse. The Parliamentary Board has therefore to concentrate the attention of the voters on the rejection of the White Paper and as only alternative to it upon securing the convening of the Constituent Assembly.

The White Paper is in no way designed to secure a complete or even partial independence. It can easily retard the Nation's progress towards it. It proposes a costly pretender of representative institutions in India with all real control retained abroad. The safeguards with which it bristles are not conceived for the protection of the interests in India. If the proposals contained in the White Paper are carried out, there will be no national control over Army or External Affairs and the burden of the military expenditure will remain what it has been and in effect the foreign control will continue over the finance and the economic policy of India. If it is said that the White Paper proposals at least seek to give complete autonomy to the provinces, it is hedged in by restrictions that make it a sham and a shadow. No wonder almost all the parties have more or less condemned the White Paper scheme.

What is the alternative? Though the Congress claims to represent the whole nation, in the opinion of the Government it is only one of the political parties, albeit, very powerful. Time will show what the position of the Congress is in the country. Votes at the ensuing elections may also show it somewhat. But it is clear that the Congress must not frame a constitution only to be rejected by Government. The Working Committee has, therefore, as stated above, suggested an infallible alternative—a Constituent Assembly to be elected on the basis of adult suffrage or as near it as may be. We know that such an Assembly can be convened by an agreement between the governing power and the people. We have this in contemplation. We do not despair of its acceptance, if the electors choose their representa-

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tives in forthcoming elections with a clear mandate that the Constituent Assembly is the only alternative to the White Paper. True, the existing franchise is narrow and, therefore, not truly representative of the masses. The constitution of the Assembly is further such that the members elected by the people cannot play an effective part in it. Nevertheless, if the verdict of the electorate is unequivocal it cannot be flouted.

If the voters reject the White Paper and insist on the Constitutent Assembly, it will no longer be said by the British Bureaucracy that people are quite satisfied with the methods and measures of the British Government and whatever they plan for them. It will be no small gain to have the illusion dispelled. Every vote for the Congress candidate, *i.e.*, for the Constituent Assembly in the place of the White Paper, will help to clear the atmosphere. We hope that all communities will unite on this simple issue.

The rejection of the White Paper and the acceptance of the Constituent Assembly is not all that the Congress representatives will attempt. They cannot be unmindful of the reactionary legislation passed during past few years, unhappily often, with the elected members' votes. Nor can they be unmindful of the way in which the non-violent struggle for liberty was met by ordinances of extraordinary severity or of the greatest sacrifices of the thousands of Congressmen, including many women who went to prison, suffered privations and lathi charges and submitted to heavy fines and confiscation of property. It will be the duty of those Congress candidates who will be elected to press for the restoration of, wherever possible, and repeal of repressive laws and of the ordinances now called Acts of the legislatures. Extraordinary drastic methods adopted towards the Congress organizations in the Frontier Province will also demand their special attention. It will also be their duty to demand an impartial scrutiny of the methods adopted by the Bengal Government to meet Terrorism and to take measures to give effect to public opinion in regard to them.

The Congress Parliamentary Party will miss no opportunity of rendering such national service, be it small or great as is possible through the legislatures. We are fully aware that the powers of the legislatures, provincial and central, are too small for our effort. The Nation must make for the realization of its goal of complete independence.

The constructive programme of the Congress the successful prosecution of which alone can make our demand irresistible, can be most effectively carried on only outside the legislatures. But there are matters which can only be dealt with through legislatures and which will engage the attention of the Congress Party.

Let the voters show unmistakably whether they stand for Congress method and objective, or whether they are satisfied with the bureaucratic rule and its methods.

ECONOMIC PROGRAMME

The manifesto also adumbrates the Party's economic programme on the lines of the Karachi Congress resolution on the Fundamental Rights since included in the Bombay A.I.C.C. resolution of August, 1931, in order to end the exploitation of the masses and providing for the real economic freedom of the starving millions.

The Congress Working Committee's resolution and its attitude towards the Communal Decision having been fully discussed in our last issue, it is not necessary to do so in this number. Other comments may follow.

Council Entry and the Congress

We have been repeatedly contending that the Congress could send some members to the Councils and keep others engaged in outside work—there being plenty of Congresswalas for both fields, and that if Congressmen had been in the Councils throughout they could have prevented certain things happening. Whether anybody supported us or not, we were perfectly right. Confirmation of this view comes from Gandhiji's speech at Benares on the 29th July, in the course of which he is reported to have said :

> Several things in connection with civil disobedience and other matters might not have happened, as they had happened, had there been Congressmen in the Legislatures. Even if civil disobedience had to be restarted, the Congress might not call upon Congress members of the Legislatures to come out, they could easily spare about a thousand Congressmen for work in the Legislatures. To-day the Government were enacting repressive measure after repressive measure, like the Bengal Act recently passed by the Assembly, and claiming before the world that they had the support of the elected members of the Assembly for the purpose. The Congress would be able to deprive the Government of that excuse.

Dr. Sir Upendranath Brahmachari as Bio-chemical Discoverer

At an evening party held by the Calcutta Medical Club Dr. Sir Upendra Nath Brahmachari was congratulated on his knighthood by the president Dr. Sir Nilratan Sircar.

> Referring to his services to the medical world Sir Nilratan said that it was perhaps not generally known that Sir Upendranath was the pioneer in the field of bio-chemical research in India. He recalled the history of the discovery of Urea Stibamina and said that notwithstanding many difficulties and disadvantages Sir Upendra succeeded in discovering a drug which saved millions of lives in India and abroad. He then mentioned how Sir Upendranath began his research work in a small room of the Campbell Hospital under a kerosene light, and said that he will be remembered by posterity as a teacher and research worker. The speaker was sure that his example would serve as a beacon light to young medical practitioners.

Perpetuation of Bengal Terrorist Act

We condemn the perpetuation of the Act for the deportation outside Bengal of Bengalis

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imprisoned for an indefinitely long period without charge and without trial. If there is terrorism in any country, the people concerned are no doubt responsible for it, but its Government is also responsible. And a Government which has to try to fight the evil by the non-legal or extra-legal means adopted in Bengal unintentionally admits its failure and its lack of statesmanship.

Midnapur Allegations

The allegations to which Mr. S. C. Mitra called attention some months ago in the Legislative Assembly, relating to the conduct of some troops and of some other Government servants in the Midnapur district were replied to officially in the Assembly recently. It was stated in effect that on inquiry all the allegations had been found to be false! As such enquiries are *not open* to the enquiries by officials or non-officials or both combined, but are merely like asking the accused parties or their superior officers whether the allegations are true, we do not attach any importance to them, and do not, therefore, feel called upon to examine the official statement in reply in detail.

Division of Jobs on Population Basis

Recently at Noakhali it was declared in fact by His Excellency Sir John Anderson, Governor of Bengal, that the Government had never accepted the principle of giving each community appointments in the public services according to its numerical strength or percentage to the total population. This must be true. So one has to square it with the facts. Perhaps His Excellency was speaking for the Bengal Government, not the Government of India; for the latter *has* actually followed a certain percentage of jobs to certain communities. Or perhaps he was uttering the actual truth; for the allotment of jobs by the Government of India was not for *each and* every community, but only for some communities. In another sense also the Governor is literally right. For the jobs to be given by the Government of India to Muslims, Anglo-Indians, etc., were not in proportion to but in excess of their numerical strength. Even if His Excellency's words were uttered in relation only to Bengal, he was literally right; for the principle of assignment of jobs has been adopted only in the case of Muslims, not in that of each and every community. For example, it is shown in the *Government of Bengal Eighth Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bengal for the Years 1927-1932*, page 83, that Muhammadan teachers form 46.8 per cent and Muhammadan inspecting officers form 54.2 per cent of the total number. And it is observed on page 83:

> "It appears that the Moslems are well represented on the inspecting branch, but the number of teachers in secondary schools and specially in high schools is inadequate. No direct appointment to the general posts of Sub-divisional Inspectors, sub-inspectors, assistant headmasters of Government schools and normal schools, and English and Vernacular teachers, in any division, is ordinarily sanctioned if the strength of the Muhammadan educational officers in the division is below 45 per cent."

Moslems are 54.8 per cent of the population of Bengal. If Government had accepted the principle of division of jobs exactly according to percentage of population, then in the last line of the extract the limit prescribed would have been 54·8 per cent. So His Excellency was quite accurate in his statement.

No doubt at Noakhali His Excellency said that 53 per cent of the ministerial officers of the Collectorate and 41 per cent in the Civil Courts of the district were Moslems, and four out of five Deputy Collectors (80 per cent) and ten out of thirteen Sub-deputy Collectors (77 per cent) were Moslems. But these figures only bear out the correctness of his assertion; for in no case is the percentage exactly 54·8, being in two cases below and two cases above that figure.

Gandhiji on the Housing of Calcutta Harijans

Mahatma Gandhi in replying to the address given to him by the Calcutta Corporation rightly called attention to the disgraceful housing conditions of the Calcutta Harijans. They should be improved as rapidly as possible.

The Proposed Removal of Pusa Institute

We are entirely opposed to the proposed removal of the Pusa Agricultural Institute to

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the neighbourhood of Delhi at a cost of from Rs. 36 to Rs. 50 lakhs. The arguments against Pusa are not cogent. No scientist can say that Delhi is earthquake-proof, storm-proof, drought-proof, etc. Nor can it be said that Delhi is more suitable for agricultural research than Pusa. The inaccessibility of Pusa has been vastly exaggerated. One morning we started from Muzaffarpur after 8 A. M., saw all the kinds of work being done there, returned to Muzaffarpur, had our bath and lunch and started for Calcutta the same day by railway train at noon. Nor does it at all matter that it is not centrally situated—for that matter Delhi, too, is not centrally situated. What matters is whether the researches carried on there about some crops are of advantage to the areas where these crops are grown. And it is well known, *e.g.*, that the improved varieties of wheat produced at Pusa have been of advantage to the Panjab, U. P., etc. Coimbatore is even less centrally situated than Pusa. Yet the superior type of sugarcane obtained at Coimbatore has been widely adopted all over India.

"India's Loyalty"

In a speech at Edinburgh Lord Willingdon paid a warm tribute to the loyalty of the people and princes of India. Whether Indians are spoken of as loyal or as disloyal, in neither case is it of any advantage to them. If they are spoken of as loyal, the average Britisher's conclusion is, "Then our rule must be very good and no change is necessary." If, on the contrary, Indians are spoken of as disloyal, the conclusion is, "Don't grant any boons to the ungrateful wretches."

The Army Bill

We are opposed to the creation of a class of Indian officers for the Indian army whose status and powers are to be inferior to those of British officers having the King's commission, as the Army Bill intends to do.

Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian States' People

Mahatma Gandhi's reply to Mr. N. C. Kelkar regarding the attitude of the Congress to the Indian States has produced discontent among their people. The Working Committee of the Indian States' People's Conference has passed a resolution of which we quote the following portion :

> (*i*) That Mahatmaji's view of the constitutional and legal position of the States is incorrect.
>
> (*ii*) That the States are an integral part of the political India as envisaged in the constitution of the Indian National Congress.
>
> (*iii*) That it is the constitutional duty of the Indian National Congress apart from its moral obligation, to render effective help to the people of the States, in their endeavours to secure freedom for themselves.
>
> (*iv*) That this Committee is of opinion that safeguarding of the interests of the people of the States should be one of the essential conditions to secure the consent of the Congress to any constitutional changes of the country.

In an article published in its issue of the 11th July last, *The Daily Sun*, the organ of the Indian States' People's Conference, stoutly assails the position taken up by Gandhiji, and not at all without success.

"A Bad Decision"

Advance, a Congress paper, says in its issue of the 31st July last that the Congress Working Committee's decision relating to the communal "award" is "a bad decision." It observes :

> "We are convinced that Panditji and Mr. Ane have made out an unanswerable case. All the logic and precedents are on their side and m unfortunately on the side of Mahatma Gandhi an the Working Committee."

We do not know what case the former have made out, but we think we ourselves made out a strong case against the Working Committee's resolution in our last issue.

Census of Overcrowded Houses in Madras

Madras, June, 2

According to the census of the overcrowd houses recently conducted by the corporation, which has just been published, the city has 4,470 house and huts with a total number of 71,380 inmate 2,588 houses are without water taps while 2,2 houses are without latrines. In Mylapore, the leas congested division in park town, 2,771 people a living in 23 houses.

Such a census ought to be taken in other big cities also, and overcrowding should be made a punishable offence.

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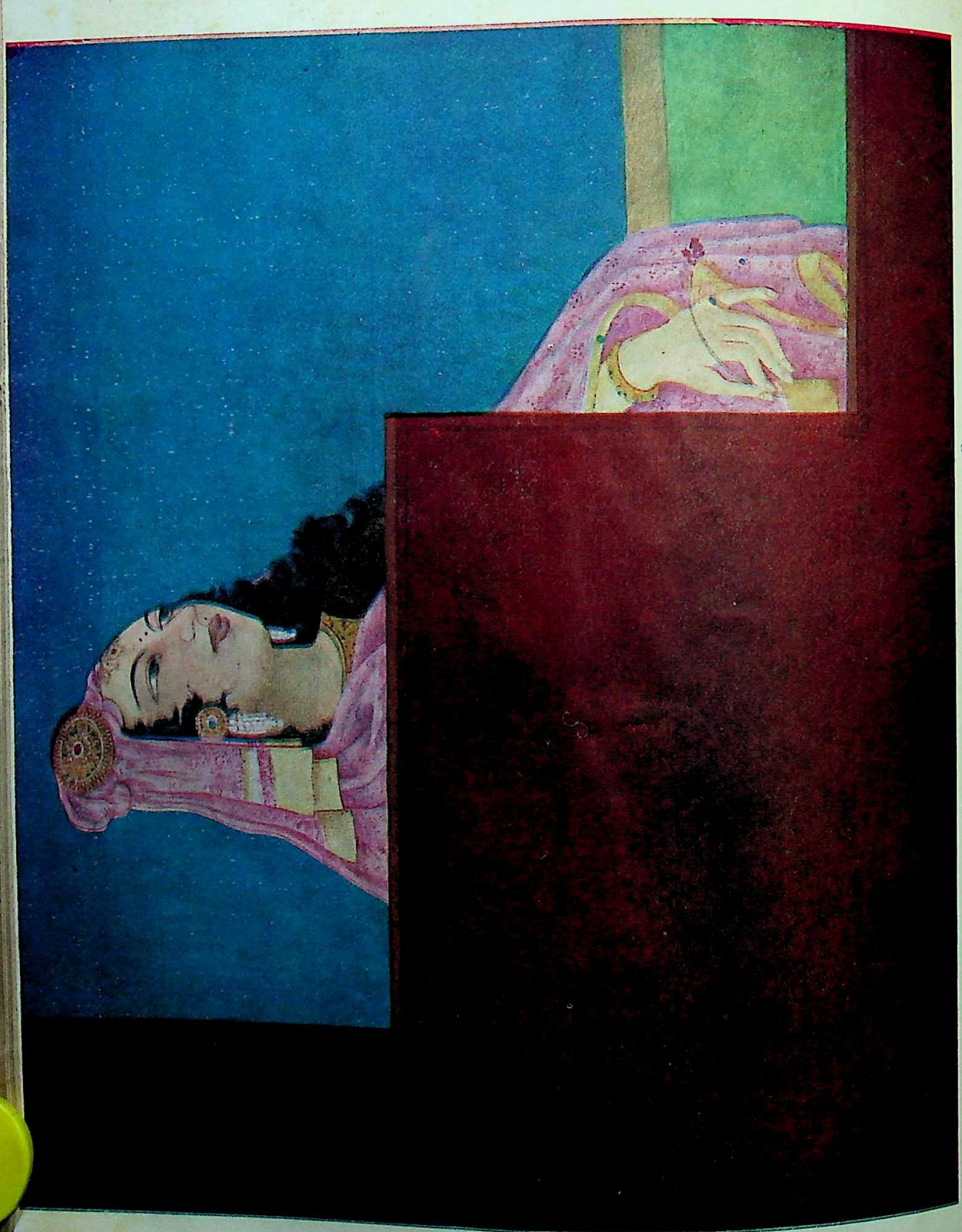

IN EXPECTATION
By Saradindu Sinha

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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"I AM HE"

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

IN the Brihadaranyak Upanishad there is a remarkable verse :

अथ योऽन्यां देवाम् उपास्ते
अन्योऽसौ अन्योऽहम् अस्मीति
न स वेद, अथ पशुरेव स देवतानाम् ।

"A person who worships God as exterior to himself does not know him, he is like an animal belonging to the gods."

This statement may rouse angry remonstrance. Should man then worship his own self? Is it possible to offer oneself in self-devotion? Then the whole process of worship becomes a mere magnification of the ego.

The truth is quite opposite. Glorification of ego is the prerogative even of the animals, but it is only man who can realize *Bhumā*, immensity, within his own soul as detached from his ego. It is easy to place one's God outside and worship him through traditional ceremonies, observance of injunctions and taboos but the difficulty comes when we have to realize and acknowledge the divine man in our own thoughts and actions. Therefore it is said :

नायमात्मा बलहीनेन लभ्यः ।

"They who are weak cannot attain the truth of the Eternal Spirit."

स य आत्मा अपहत पाप्मा विजरो
विमृत्युर्विशोकोऽविजिघित्सोऽपिपासः
सत्यकामः सत्यसङ्कल्पः सोऽन्वेष्टव्यः स विजिज्ञासितव्यः ।

"The great soul who is within me, who is beyond age and death and sorrow, beyond hunger and thirst, He who is true in thought and in action, Him we must seek, Him we must know."

This seeking and knowing him is not seeking and knowing outside oneself. It is knowing through becoming, receiving through being true within.

As man is essentially a spirit this principle of unity holds good in all departments of his life. He must identify himself with his family and then in his service to it there can be no indignity. The mother is spiritually one with her child, otherwise she would become a maidservant. When our government is not foreign to us, when it represents our own will, then we are saved from humiliation in our relation to it. And in our Indian philosophy we realize the dignity of man in our spiritual identification with God himself, for it is truth, and man is never पशुरेव देवतानाम्, "like an animal belonging to the gods." The true freedom is not in isolation, it is in the profound union which is perfect.

I have already said that the knowledge of things which man attains by overcoming personal idiosyncracies and prejudices is called science. It is valuable, because it is acceptable to all men. Similarly, the self in man which transcends his self-interest finds its infinite truth in union with All. Its actions are विश्वकर्म्म, universal actions. The functions

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of the isolated self are a bondage, the functions of the universal self are unfettered. The Upanishad has said :

युक्तात्मानः सर्वमेवाविशन्ति

"The individual souls united with the Supreme Soul enter everywhere."

And this is the freedom of spirit which we must attain.

The truth which has been acknowledged by our scriptures, known as 'I am He'—सोऽहं, sounds like a prodigious egoism but it is not so. It has not exaggerated the small self which is isolated but expressed the great soul which comprehends all. This word सोऽहं carries assurance of the truth of a grand unity which waits to be realized and justified by the individual.

Man's passions come in between and divide the realization of सोऽहं, "I am He", into a duality, and our ego becomes disproportionately augmented. Therefore the Upanishad says मा गृधः, "Covet not". Greed tempts the world-man and turns him into a worldly man. The enjoyment which is fit for human beings is an enjoyment which is shared with all, it is universal. It is expressed in man's art, his literature, it is manifested in his social doings, in the hospitality of his love. Therefore our scripture says अतिथि देवोभवः, the guest is divine. Because into the house of the individual man comes the guest, the representative of the universal man, he extends the limits of the home towards the world. If this invitation is obstructed, then it is penury even for a royal household. In this hospitality lies the philosophy of सोऽहं, that is to say, I am in union with him who is mine and who is more than me. In our country there are some *sanyasis* who translate in their lives the philosophy of सोऽहं into extreme inactivity and callousness. They torture the body in order to cross the boundaries of animal existence, they also discard the independent responsibility of man in their presumption to deny and transcend humanity. They give up the ego which is attached to materials, they also disregard the soul which is united with all souls. That which they call *Bhumā* is not the *Isha* of the Upanishad who dwells in the union of all, their *Bhumā* is divorced from all others and therefore has no responsibilities of action. They do not recognize him who is पौरुषं नृषु, who is humanity in man, who is mahatma and visvakarma, in whom work is not fragmentary work but world-work.

Man was once a barbarian, he lived on the plane of the animal; his mind, his work, then, were confined within the limits of his bare physical existence. And then he was पशुरेव देवतानाम्, "like an animal belonging to the gods"; he was in a servile manner afraid of his gods and tried to appease them with flattery and incantations; the divine in himself remained self-oblivious. When his mind was illumined his awakened consciousness journeyed along widening avenues of life, crossing the frontiers of individual life into the universal life of humanity. From my friend Kshitimohan's rich storehouse of medieval Indian poetry I have got these precious words of the seer Rajjab. He says—

सब साँच मिले सो साँच है ना मिले सो झूँठ;
जन रज्जब साँच कही भावइ रिझि भावइ रूठ।

—"That which conforms to all truth is truth, that which does not conform is false, this is wisdom, says Rajjab, whether it angers or pleases you."

It is evident that Rajjab knew that the majority of men would be angry at his words. Their opinions and customs were at variance with universal truth, yet they could claim them to be true and lie enmeshed in coils of unreality; indeed the very consciousness of an inner disharmony roused their excitement to an aggressive pitch. Trying to refute truth by angry remonstrance is like trying to pierce the flame with a knife. The knife cannot kill truth, it can kill man himself. Yet standing before that fury one has to say.

सब साँच मिले सो साँच है
ना मिले सो झूँठ।

"That which conforms to all truth is truth that which does not conform is false."

When one day a solitary scientist declared that the earth revolves round the sun through his own intellect he revealed the mind of the Universal Man. On that day millions of people were bitterly angry at his words, by the terrorism of force they want

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to make him say that it is the sun itself which revolves round the earth. But however numerous those other people may have been, by denying truth they at once denounced their eternal humanity. On that day alone in the midst of fierce opponents the man of truth declared सोऽहं, "I am He", that is to say, my individual knowledge and that of the eternal man are one.

Even if many millions of men say that because of some special combination of certain stars and planets in the immeasurable distance of space some supernatural force is generated in the river of a particular province of this earth, and that by bathing in its waters sins of the bather along with those of his forefathers are washed away, then we must stand up and say—

सब साँच मिलै सो साँच है
ना मिलै सो झूँठ।

—With the universal mind of man this does not agree, therefore it is untrue.

But where it has been said—

"अद्भिर्गात्राणि शुध्यन्ति मनः सत्येन शुध्यति"

—"by water the body only can be cleansed, the mind can be cleansed only with truth," this conforms to the standard of the universal mind.

Similarly it has been said—

कृत्वा पापं हि सन्तप्य तस्मात् पापात् प्रमुच्यते
नैवं कुर्य्यामि पुनरिति निवृत्या पूयते तु सः।

—"If one is penitent after having committed sin and through that penitence the sin is purified; by resolving never again to repeat the sin man can again be pure."

By saying this man acknowledges in his own mind the truth of the universal mind of man, the God within us whom we know as our soul and who reveals to us our own truth.

One day the Brahmin Ramananda leaving his disciples went and embraced the *chandal* Kabha, the Mahomedan weaver Kabir, the weeper Ruidas. The society of his day made Ramananda an outcast. But he alone really rose to the highest caste, the caste of the universal man. On that day standing in the midst of the curses of his community, Ramananda alone had said सोऽहं, "I am He". By that truth alone he had transgressed the limits of petty conventions and contempt which cruelly dividing man and man in the name of social stability strike at the roots of social morality.

One day Jesus Christ said सोऽहं—"I and my Father are one." For, in the light of love and goodwill for all men, he crossed the boundary of his ego and realized himself as one with the supreme man.

Lord Buddha preached, "Cherish towards the whole universe immeasurable *Maitri* in a spirit devoid of distinctions of hatred, of enmity. While standing, sitting, walking, lying down till you are asleep, remain established in this spirit of *maitri*"—this is called ब्रह्मविहार।

Such great message can be given only to man, for deep in man lies the truth of सोऽहं, "I am He". The Buddha knew this in himself. That is why he has said that it is through immeasurable love that man reveals the immeasurable truth within himself.

The Atharva Veda says—

तस्मात् वै विद्वान् पुरुषमिदं ब्रह्मेति मन्यते

—"He who is wise knows man to be greater than he appears to be."

ये पुरुषे ब्रह्म विदुस्ते विदुः परमेष्ठिनम्

—"They, who know the Great in man know the Supreme Being himself."

It was because he realized the divine man in humanity that Buddha could say—

माता यथा नियं पुत्तं
आयुसा एकपुत्तमनुरक्खे
एवमपि सर्वभूतेसु
मानसम्भावये अपरिमाणं

—"Cultivate the spirit of immeasurable love within you even as the love the mother feels for her one child."

We should not by counting the number of heads try to find out how many men can actually follow this advice. In such computation does not lie the test of truth.

He who realized man's infinitude within himself never had to wait for statistical assurance. Without hesitation he demanded that man may reveal through immeasurable love the divine within himself. By giving this message with perfect faith to all men he offered his true reverence for humanity.

I have already referred to the saying of

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the Atharva Veda that man is spiritually much more than his apparent self, he lives in his infinite surplus. In that surplus is all that is supreme in man, his ऋतं, righteousness, his सत्यं, his truth.

The atmosphere around the earth far transcends its mass in extension. Through that invisible atmosphere comes its light, its colours, flows its life. In this atmosphere gathers its cloud, showers its rain, through its influence the eternal mystery of beauty reveals itself on earth in ever-varied form. From this atmosphere comes that which is most glorious on earth, its loveliness, its life itself. Through the open window of this atmosphere comes every night crossing regions of darkness the messages of radiant kinship from the starry Universe. This atmosphere can be described as the surplus, the soul of the earth, just as the complete man has been described as "त्रिपादस्यामृतं"—in one part he is apparent, in the other three he is infinite. It is because this intangible atmosphere is so intimately an extension of the earth itself that exuberant wealth of life manifests itself on the very dust, a wealth which is immeasurably more precious than the dust itself.

The Upanishad says that when we know united in a completeness असम्भूति, the unmanifested infinite, and सम्भूति, the manifested finite, we know truth, in a reconciliation of the duality. He who is infinite in man must be expressed in the finitude of human life, of human society. Man must translate this idea in his action. So Isha Upanishad says, "You have to live a hundred years, you must act." Fulfil your hundred years of life by work, such work as can truly be claimed through belief and result to express the truth of सोऽहं, "I am He". Not by turning up one's eye-balls and sitting with closed breath and staying far away from man do we gain this Truth.

This work, this toil is not for earning livelihood. In which truth then is the source of its constant energy? What is it that gives man this strength to sacrifice his life, to embrace suffering, to defy ruthless power without material safeguard, to endure without submitting the constant torture of injustice and cruelty with such amazing fortitude? The reason is man has within himself not only life but immensity. From Kshitimohan's priceless collection we get this message of the Bauls "जीवे जीवे चाइया देखि सवइ ये तार अवतार"—"When I see through men I find in them the divine incarnation." Innumerable men in knowledge, in love, in self-giving, in various forms and ways are revealing the immeasurable within them. History does not record their names; from their individual lives they pour into the living stream of humanity the immortal energy of Him—

"यश्चायमस्मिन् तेजोमयोऽमृतमयः पुरुषः सर्व्वानुभूः"

—"Who is the immortal Purusha of inexhaustible light dwelling within our soul, who comprehends the All."

If through the plants the universal energy were not converted into the stuff of life then this living world would have been converted into a desert. Similarly if with or without our knowing men and women had not through the centuries, in different lands, transformed their indwelling, immeasurable energy of the Supreme Man into love and knowledge, work and welfare to be absorbed endlessly into the living texture of human society, their society being devoid of the truth of सोऽहं, "I am He," would have been reduced to the status of the animal world. Not only so, by being severed from its own truth, society would not at all be able to live. Physicians tell us that by infusion of animal-blood into human body we do not increase its life but cause death. Herds of animals can live for ever according to animal laws, but human society cannot live at all like animals. It may be said in contradiction that many brute-like men seem to thrive very well indeed in human society. Boils on the skin also thrive on the body, their growth is indeed more vigorous than the rest of their surroundings. If the power of health in the body does not transcend the boil, then it hurts and in killing the boil kills itself. Society in its normal stage can endure many sins but when its degeneration becomes emphatic, then by absorbing animal blood in its thought, behaviour, literature and art, human society seals its own death.

The greatness born of a vast surplus about which Atharva Veda has spoken is not in any particular kind of fulfilment. The greatness

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comprehends all the efforts of humanity, all the bravery, grace and strength of man. Perhaps there is a deep self-forgetful joy in the ascetic when he succeeds in concentrating the various powers of his mind on one immovable point of his consciousness. But ततः किम्, "what then"? So long as there is any suffering and insult in humanity, no individual man can ever win his escape. Great men who have desired the freedom of humanity, have therefore told us सम्भवामि युगे युगे. From age to age indeed are they born in different lands. Today this very moment they are being born, tomorrow also we will see their birth. The stream of that birth flows through history, bearing this message "सोऽहं"। "सोऽहं" is the mantram of the united evolution of Man, not of one particular individual.

In the midst of the vast nebulae where new worlds are being fashioned appears from time to time a star; it clearly indicates the creative excitement of the vast fires which stir in the heart of the nebulae. Similarly in the firmament of history now and again we see manifestations of the Supreme Man. From them we understand that in the heart of all men is constantly working the urge of evolution. Man in human society is all the while striving to realize himself in the world-man by breaking through the shell of his ego. In fact, it is in this process that the whole cosmic universe seeks its own truth, the supreme truth of the ever-growing, ever-becoming Humanity. After millions of years since the beginning of the world first appeared man. Some scholars are overwhelmed by the mathematics of number and comparing the massiveness of time and space to the smallness of man indulge in the luxury of our humiliation. But it is a mere illusion to consider quantity to be greater than Truth, which cannot be measured at all by quantity. That which we call matter the unrevealed life, lay slumbering for innumbered Ages. But when one day a single cell of life appeared on this earth the whole evolution of the universe reached a great meaning. Amidst the externality of matter appeared the truth which is internal. For life is internal, organic. Who can despise the speck of life because it has been born recently after æons of time and because in comparison to the mass of matter it seems to be small? Man first realized the truth of infinite life when from the heart of the dumb matter comes the Great voice of life, यदिदं किञ्च सर्व्वं प्राण एजति निःसृतम्, "from life is born all-that-is and trembles in the vibrating life." Matter we know as a fact because it is external to us; but life we know as truth from within ourselves. The expression of life is internal, the whole of it is pure movement. Therefore the language of movement is immediately real to us, it is the language of our life. The reality of this endless movement we have known as truth in relation to our own inner self. The urge of incessant movement we may call heat or electricity or something else; yet all these are mere words. If we say that in this movement there is life, then we indicate something which has meaning in our immediate experience. At the same time we realize that this life of mine which is moving is also comprehended in the larger movement of Universal Life. That the urge of life's movement is nowhere else in the universe excepting, accidentally, only in living beings, is a statement which our mind cannot accept because our mind can offer its homage to truth only in its background of wholeness.

The Upanishad says—

"कोह्येवान्यात् कः प्राण्याद् यदेष आकाश आनन्दो न स्यात्"

—with what assurance would a single insect desire for life if the joy of life did not pervade the whole of the infinite space? How can the flame burn for a single moment on the tip of the match-stick if the whole sky did not sustain its truth of ignition? Within life we find an inner meaning of the entire creation—that meaning we call Will. Matter remained dumb—it could not express the language of will,—Life came and expressed its will. That message which was implicit so long found at last its voice.

The student after much effort and time first learns the alphabet, then the spelling, then the grammar; he wastes paper and ink scribbling incomplete and meaningless sentences, he uses and discards much acquisition of materials; at last when as a poet he is able to write his first utterance, that very moment in that composition all his inexpressive

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accumulations of words first find their glimmer of a significance. In the great evolution of the Universe we have found its first significance in a cell of life, then in an animal, then in Man. From the outer universe gradually we come to the inner realm and one by one the gates of freedom are unbarred. When the screen is lifted on the appearance of Man on earth we realize the great and mysterious truth of relatedness, of the supreme unity of all that is. Only can Man declare that those who know Truth can enter into the heart of the All—Only man can open our heart with this aspiration

सब्वे सत्ता सुखिता होन्तु अवेरा होन्तु
अब्यापज्झा होन्तु, सुखी अत्तानं परिहरन्तु।
सब्वे सत्ता दुक्खा पमुञ्चन्तु। सब्वेसत्ता मा
यथालब्धो सम्पत्तितो विगच्छन्तु—

"May all beings be happy, may they have no enemies, may they be indestructible, may they spend time in joyousness. May all living beings be free from suffering and not be denied of their dues."

We can only pray, let sorrow come if it has to come, let there be death, let there be loss, but let Man declare across all space and time सोऽहं, "I am He".

This article is principally based upon my "Religion of Man" and the Kamala lectures delivered at the Calcutta University. In the translation of it, I have been greatly helped by Mr. Amiya Chandra Chakravarty. In the present revised form it was delivered at the Andhra University, Waltair, on the 10th of December, 1933, being the last of a series of three Readership lectures.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

MORAL WARFARE

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

BY segregating ethics to the Kingdom of Heaven and depriving the Kingdom of Earth from its use man has up to now never seriously acknowledged the need of higher ideals in politics or in practical affairs. That is why when disagreements occur between individuals, violence is not encouraged but punished, but when the combatants are nations, barbaric methods are not only not condemned but glorified. The greatest of men like Buddha or Christ have from the dawn of human history stood for the ideal of non-violence, they have dared to love their enemies and defied tyrannism by peace, but we have not yet claimed the responsibility they have offered us.

Fight is necessary in this world, combat we must and relentlessly against the evils that threaten us, for by tolerating untruth we admit their claim to exist. But war on the human plane must be what in India we call Dharma-Yuddha—moral warfare, in it we must array our spiritual powers against the cowardly violence of evils. This is the great ideal which Mahatma Gandhi represents, challenging his people to fearlessly apply man's highest strength not only in our individual dealings but in the clash of nation and nation.

In the barbaric age man's hunger did not impose any limits on its range of food which included even human flesh but with the evolution of society this has been banished from extreme possibility: in a like manner, we await the time when nothing may supposedly justify the use of violence whatever consequences we are led to face. Because, success in a conflict may be terrible defeat from the human point of view, and material gain is not worth the price we pay at spiritual cost. Much rather should we lose all than barter our soul for an evil victory. We honour Mahatma Gandhi because he has brought this ideal into the sphere of politics and under his lead India is proving everyday how aggressive power pitifully fails when human nature in its wakeful majesty bears insult and pain without retaliating. India today inspired by her great leader opens the new chapter of human history which has just begun.

Message to the Society of Friends, Ireland

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WHY INDIA LIVES

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

THERE is a certain unconscious wisdom in some fables according to which the soul, or the vital principle of life, of some giants and magicians, was to be found outside the body. There was a jinnee who could not be killed because his soul dwelt in the body of a bird, but as soon as the bird's neck was wrung the evil spirit fell down dead. Among men the span of individual life is measured; so is that of nations, and just as the length of life varies in the case of individuals, so does it in the case of nations, and yet it would almost seem that there are instances of nations attaining an extraordinary length of life because of some persistent vitality outside of themselves.

Some instances readily occur to the mind. There is India in Asia and there are Greece and Rome in Europe. There can scarcely be any question that the ancient Aryans of India, the ancient Greeks and Romans belonged to the same stock of the human family. Their kinship is undeniable. At one time they might have had a common language; as they divided and went different ways dialectal differences must have sprung up and these ultimately grew into distinct languages. The similarity in the religious belief remained. The Aryan, the Greek and the Roman pantheons had nearly the same gods and goddesses. In India there was no other religion and no other civilization that could challenge the Aryan faith and culture. Near Greece and Rome was Israel with a more ancient civilization and a higher creed, the firm faith in one God. Israel had its period of magnificence and power, and perhaps no crowned monarch has ever had a higher reputation for wisdom than Solomon. The Jews were the chosen people of God but that did not help them when they were subdued successively by other nations who were idol-worshippers or pagans. A higher form of religion is not necessarily associated with political power though the rise of a new religious movement has undoubtedly more than once coincided with territorial expansion. In fact, it has been seriously maintained that the test of the truth of a religion lies in its ability to found and govern an empire. A more absurd theory cannot be advanced, for empires are founded only to be lost and Christian empires have been lost as well as pagan empires.

It is impossible to say whether Greece paid any attention to the Hebrew religion, but Rome took no notice of it. Palestine was part of the Roman Empire and it was a Roman Governor who condemned Jesus Christ to death. The early Christians were inhumanly ill-treated by Rome, and yet Rome was quickly conquered by the new faith. The earliest translation of the Old and New Testaments, it should be remembered, was made in Greek. Next followed a translation in Latin, and later on Hebrew was learned with the sole object of reading the Bible in the original. Although the Old Testament is an integral part of the Bible and forms part of the creed of the Christian religion, Judaism has not spread as a religion, because it carries on no propaganda and neither seeks nor admits converts. To be a Jew one must be born in the fold; there is no other entrance to the Mosaic faith.

Greece and Rome have done wholly away with the past. Not only are the modern Greeks and Italians entirely different from the ancient Greeks and Romans, but they are utterly detached from all past traditions. Greek and Latin are ancient classical languages that are studied in many countries. In the Roman Catholic Church and at the Vatican in Rome Latin is used as an ecclesiastical language and the ancient literature of Greece and Rome cannot perish, but there is no other living link between the ancient and the modern. While the ancient languages and literatures of Greece and Rome are admired and studied the ancient religions of those countries are scoffed at as superstitious paganism. When Mussolini strikes an attitude and thumps his breast declaring himself to be a Roman he is thinking of the Roman legions and the Roman eagles, and not of Roman temples and the gods and goddesses of ancient Rome The past of tradition is completely wiped out; the religion of the ancient Roman is an abomination to the modern Italian.

In India the present inhabitants are as unlike the ancient Aryans as the modern Greeks and Italians differ from the Greeks and Romans of yore. But there is a striking difference. The India of today has not shaken herself free from the past. From the remote past down to the present day there is an unbroken continuity of tradition. Every link in the chain has been tested and it has been found unbreakable. India has refused even under very trying conditions to break away from the past. She has clung fast to her ancient faith in spite of every effort to break her allegiance. In Greece and Rome, and generally throughout Europe Christianity spread only through persuasion. Even in the case of the Jews who were cruelly persecuted, no compulsion was used to convert them to the Christian faith. In India the tide of invasion and conquest was swelled by the zeal of proselytism and a fierce iconoclasm. Thousands of temples were

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razed to the ground, hundreds of thousands of idols and statuaries were smashed or mutilated, and a senseless and wanton vandalism flung thousands of priceless manuscripts into the flames. At an earlier period there had been a grim struggle between Brahmanism and Buddhism. Buddha himself was not rejected in India. He was Sakya Muni and is now universally accepted as an *avatar* of Vishnu. Brahmanism had two serious reasons for a quarrel with the new religion. Buddhism refused to venerate the Veda and the Brahmin and it accepted converts, both utterly abhorrent to the Brahmanical creed. A day came when Buddhist monks in consequence of the decadence of Buddhism disappeared from India. The persecution and wholesale massacres of Buddhist monks at the instigation of Kumaril Bhatta are unfounded calumnies. But although Buddhism ceased to exist in India the teachings of Gautama Buddha have left an indelible stamp upon the Brahmanic religion now in existence in India. Christian missions have carried on an intensive propaganda in India and many converts have been made.

Three great religions of the world have tried, one after another, to uproot the ancient Aryan faith from India and they have failed. Millions have been converted to other religions, but more millions are left, and there is no fear that the Aryan religion will perish for lack of followers. The power of resistance displayed by the people of this country may be attributed to two causes: the Aryan scriptures and traditions of religion. The world is aware of the great literature and philosophy of Greece and Rome, but it has heard nothing about the scriptures, if any, possessed by those great peoples. They had no books like the Old and New Testaments, to say nothing of the extensive and profound scriptures of ancient India. It may be truly said that as mentioned in the fable the soul of India is to be found in her religion, and since that religion has not been destroyed India has not perished but has continued to live while other ancient nations have passed away.

By what name is the religion of India to be designated? As a matter of fact, the religion professed by the ancient Aryans of India had no name. In the case of other religions some are called after the founders, such as Confucianism, named after Confucius, Taoism, called after Lao-tsze, Judaism, named after Judah, a son of Israel, Buddhism called after Buddha, and Christianity named after Christ. Mahomedanism is a name invented by Europeans. The religion founded by the Prophet Muhammad is called Islam and it is so designated in the Koran. It is a beautiful name for Islam signifies complete resignation to the will of God and a man professing this faith is known as a Muslim. Zoroastrianism, which closely resembles the ancient Aryan faith, is named after the prophet Zarathushtra, otherwise known as Zoroaster. But the religions of other great ancient nations, such as the ancient Egyptians, the Greeks and the Romans, had no names. The religion of the ancient Aryans of India might be called the Vedic religion, but that would not exhaust the entire range of the Aryan faith and they themselves gave no special name to their religion.

Has it been ascertained how the word Hinduism came into existence? The notion that it is derived from the word Sindhu, which is the name of a river and a province in India cannot be entertained. If that were so, it would be found in some of the ancient Sanskrit books. The word Hindu or even Sindhu as descriptive of the country or religion of India cannot be discovered in any Sanskrit book. The word Hindustan is a Persian word and corresponds to such words as Beluchistan, Afghanistan, Waziristan, Kaffirstan, etc. All these countries, it will be observed, are named after the people inhabiting them. The word Hind is a Persian word, meaning black. It occurs in a famous poem of Hafiz, in which the poet offers to make a gift of the cities of Samarkand and Bokhara for the sake of a black mole on the skin of a youth of Shiraz. These are the well-known lines:

Agar an Toork Shiraxi badastarad dile mara
Bakhale Hindyush Bukshum Samarkand
Bokhara ra.

The real name of the Hindukush mountains is Hind Koh, the black mountain, *hind* meaning black, and *koh*, a mountain. It will scarcely be contended that the name of a mountain in Afghanistan is derived from a river in India. The early Mussalman invaders of India came from Central Asia and they were a fair-complexioned people. The Aryans in India had largely intermarried with the original inhabitants of the country and had become dark-complexioned, while the Aryan settlers of Kashmir remained a very fair people. The word Hindu marks a distinction of colour, and Hindustan is the land of the dark people. It may be noted that for a considerable period of time the people of north India did not call the new rulers of the country Mussalmans but Toorooks, or Turks. In course of time, the Mussalman conquerors, by large admixture of blood and intermarriage with converts to Islam, lost their original complexion and became indistinguishable from the mixed Aryans. These latter accepted the designation of Hindus without demur and their religion came to be known as Hinduism. The name of the people as well as of their religion is an imposition from outside. If an ancient Aryan were to come back to life and were greeted as a Hindu he would be utterly perplexed. Hinduism is an instance of an ancient religion being known by a modern and misleading name.

In the modern world detached from the distant past there is an air of smug self-complacency

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There is a prevailing belief that in these twenty centuries of the Christan era the world has taken great strides towards the fulfilment of the destiny of the human race. Men have for their servants steam and electricity, djinn more powerful than the slaves of Aladin's lamp. Man has conquered the elements and flies through water and air with equal ease. But behind this incredible material prosperity looms a sinister apparition of terror—the shadow of desolation and extinction. At man's elbow stands the Tempter, whispering into his ears and urging him to invent infernal machines for the destruction of whole nations. Christ may be found in the Church and the cloister, but certainly not in the senates and chancellories of the Western World. Moloch still sits enthroned and claims innumerable human sacrifices.

India has fallen upon evil days. Shorn of her ancient glory she has known many masters and has been subservient to their will. There is a marked decadence in her ideals and institutions. The pristine purity of her ancient faith has been encrusted with the evil growth of many centuries. The ancient scriptures have been smothered under a mass of crude and primitive doctrines of worship and ritual. From the lofty heights of the Upanishads to the Brahmavaivarta Puran, which solemnly sets up the worship of the Salgram stone, it is a lamentable descent and degradation. Religion is ensconced in the kitchen; the priest has superseded the prophet and the philosopher. The right of worship in the temples is denied not only to strangers, but even to Hindus, who, by the accident of birth, belong to the lower strata of society. Rama, a Kshatriya King and an *avatar* of Vishnu, now worshipped by millions, had no hesitation in forgathering with a Chandala, but the caste Hindu of today considers himself polluted by the shadow of a pariah. The incident in the Ramayana of Rama and the Chandala is a parable meaning that Rama, who was God incarnate, treated an untouchable as a friend. It is true that untouchability has been known out of India. The Helots of Sparta, the Etas of Japan, the gypsies of Rumania and Eastern Europe, the Cagots of the French Pyrenees were untouchables. But while in other countries this reproach has disappeared, in India it continues to be an essential part of religion. So long as this canker is permitted to fester in the body-politic of India there can be no hope of the political emancipation of the country and the national well-being of the people. In spite, however, of the undeniable fall of India from her former high estate the past is neither forgotten nor ignored. The authority of the Veda is as absolute as it was thousands of years ago. The hymns of the Rig Veda and the songs of the Sama Veda are chanted on the bank of the Ganges at Benares as sonorously as they were intoned on the shores of the vanished Saraswati. The Upanishads, the Vedanta and the various systems of philosophy are studied as reverently as in the past. The mnemonic method of committing whole books to memory is still retained. Many sects and schisms have appeared, there have been many prophets and *avatars*, many creeds claiming originality, but high above them all stands the ancient teaching, the fountainhead of all spiritual wisdom and the spring of all inspiration. It is idle for any new sect or creed to claim to transcend the knowledge of the ancient Aryans and their exaltation and concentration of spirit. They tower high as Mount Everest, rightly named Gaurishankar, and they dwarf and darken all other claims to be their peers.

This steadfast faith has saved India from extinction. She is like a vessel that has held fast to her moorings in all weathers. She has been wave-tossed and storm-swept, but her cable has not parted, nor has her anchor been dragged about. In the Far East, China and Japan do not present a close analogy to India. Japan is probably the only country in the world that has remained inviolate through the rolling centuries. The foot of the invader has never been planted on her soil, no conqueror has ever deprived her of her sovereign independence. If China and Japan have accepted Buddhism they have done so of their own unfettered will and not because it was at any time the creed of a conquering race. The Buddhist missionaries were humble mendicants, who spoke ill of no other religion, nor boasted that the religion taught by the Buddha was best suited for governing an empire. The ordeal to which India has had to submit, time after time, has not been experienced by any other ancient people. Through all her weakness and degradation she has retained the strength of loyalty—loyalty to the scriptures and teachers of the past, loyalty to the glorious traditions of the past. She has run the gauntlet of conquest and bondage, she has been wrought upon by fear, persuasion and temptation to fling away her old faith and choose another, but she has refused to part with her religion, which is her soul. So long as that religion lives India will live and perhaps win back her self-respect and her old place among the nations of the world. The deep stirring that is moving India from end to end is a sign of returning life. Because India has lived in the past therefore is she living in the present and will live in the future. But before she comes once more into her own she will have to undo many evils of her own making.

Dead is Egypt, dead are her gods. Isis and Osiris are mere names. Hammon, Lord of eternity, has passed away into eternity. Ptah, maker of the world, no longer looks after the world. Thoth, god of wisdom and the inventor of art, science and letters, is forgotton. Where are the gods of the Amenti and the triads of

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the Nomes? Equally remarkable is the fact that of the living magnificence of Egypt, the palaces of the Pharaohs and the pleasure houses of the wanton Cleopatra there are no signs, but the houses of the dead still reveal their treasures to the rummaging curiosity of modern Europeans. Truly are the dead greater than the living. The most valuable finds in the royal tombs are the Books of the Dead, for these are of some importance from a religious point of view. The pyramids, reckoned among the wonders of the world, are also the mausoleums of the dead. Most of the famous ancient races, with all their splendour of achievement, have utterly vanished.

And yet men dream of perpetual power and empires that will defy the ravages of time. They learn nothing from the signposts of the past, they are not discouraged by the wreckages of kingdoms and empires strewn all over the world. No heed is given to the lesson writ large over the history of the world that the thought of men endures longer than his handiwork. What appeals to the senses and eyes of men is objective accomplishment. The eyes are most pleased when they are dazzled; the ears are most gratified when they hear of great deeds of arms and feats of derring-do. The word immortal is bandied about thoughtlessly and used in respect of performances which are far from immortal. What would the ancient Greeks have thought if any one had ventured to assert that Homer was greater than Alexander of Macedon? Is there any difficulty in conceiving of a time when the Parthenon, the splendid temple at Athens dedicated to the goddess Athene, will be levelled with the dust but the teachings of Socrates will not be forgotten?

The human heritage that lasts longest comes from the intellect and the spirit. The least durable are the things fashioned by mere wealth. The pomp of power is no more than a showman's trick. The trappings of royalty are as ephemeral as a child's baubles. Yet men crowd round these trifles as moths buzz round a flame and perish in it. The slower and subtler influence of the mind and the spirit takes longer to make itself felt. Great teachers find disciples slowly; great truths take time to take root in the minds of men. Yet it is marvellous how, in the long run, the gold is separated from the dross and jealously treasured. The sieve of time is perpetually at work and winnows the grain from the chaff. In India there are no traces of any ancient Aryan monuments. European savants are indisposed to assign a great antiquity to Aryan civilization in India. That is a matter of no consequence. Only a few facts need be mentioned. The Aryans founded many kingdoms and many great cities; there is not a vestige of them left. Even the river Saraswati, famous in the Vedic period, has disappeared and no European antiquarian or geologist has ever advanced any theory on this important subject. All that can be traced is part of the dry bed in the Ambala district in the Panjab.

It is admitted that Buddha appeared five hundred years before Christ. At that time, the Vedic religion had established a firm hold over north India and was already recognized as an ancient religion. In Buddhist works it is mentioned that the Buddha met Nathaputra Mahavir the famous Jain Tirthankar, but there is no mention anywhere of any Rishi of the Vedic or a later period. The ancient Vedic Sanskrit had been replaced by a more modern form of that language. Sanskrit was no longer the spoken language of any part of India. The current lauguage was Prakrit of different kinds, derived and corrupted from Sanskrit. Buddha himself was profoundly learned in Sanskrit lore, but he never used that language in his sermons, or while instructing his disciples. He invariably spoke in Pali, a Prakrit dialect derived from Sanskrit and evidently understood by the common people. It is impossible to accept the theory that the Vedas had been revealed only a few hundred, or a thousand years before the birth of Buddha. The Vedas are not an isolated or a solitary proof of the antiquity of Aryan civilization in India. Between the promulgation of the Vedic religion and the preachings of the Buddha intervene several cycles of spiritual and intellectual evolution. Round about the Vedas grew up the multiple teachings of the Vedanga-lexicons of the Vedas, the intonation and singing of the hymns, the Vedic metres or *chhandas*, grammar, astronomy and astrology. The concluding parts of the Vedas, or the Brahmans, were condensed into *sutras* or aphorisms. The six great systems of philosophy were founded and elaborated. The unrivalled epics of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata were composed. In temporal affairs illustrious reigning dynasties had been founded and flourishing kingdoms and cities had been established. Of these there was no trace when Buddha appeared. And yet the world is seriously asked to believe that between the Vedic and the Buddhistic periods there was a space of only a thousand or fifteen hundred years.

Though there are no material relics of the Vedic era the monolithic edict pillars of Asoka are still standing, some of them as good as when they were chiselled by the sculptors. According to the computation of European antiquarians they are over twenty-two centuries old. The Aryan monarchs of an earlier period either did not raise monuments in stone, or they were of such an unsubstantial character that they have been obliterated in the course of time. The Aryans raised monuments of thought, they built on the foundations of spirit, and these cannot be effaced by time. Egypt embalmed the bodies of the dead, for whom they built houses more durable than the tenements of the living, but to the living spirit they gave little thought. As a distinguished writer* has said, Egypt had only

* Joseph Haleny.

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a 'funereal mythology' and she 'perished without having attempted to rise from her coarse animal-worship.' In India it is perfectly true that from the exalted monotheism of the Upanishads and the subtle and intricate pantheism of the Vedanta —there is no English word corresponding precisely to *Advaita*—to the diffuse image worship and widespread superstition of the present time there has been a marked decline of spiritual thought, but still there has been no complete rupture with the past. For instance, the Hindu marriage ceremony is essentially a Vedic rite, barring the fact that in many parts of the country the Salgram stone is introduced, though the *mantras* have no connection with it. The *Homa* is the essence of Vedic sacrifice and no Hindu religious ceremony can be performed without the sacred fire of the *Homa*. The past overshadows the present and holds it with grapnels which cannot be broken.

Today Hinduism has banged its door in the face of the stranger and the seeker. The temples will not admit even a lowly Hindu ; the priests will not admit a newcomer to the faith. It was not so in ancient times. The Aryans must have converted millions of people to their religion. The bulk of the indigenous population of India must have been assimilated with the Aryan conquerors and colonists. There is nothing suggestive of exclusiveness in the early Indian scriptures. The Aryans were an extraordinarily fine race, large of limb and keen of brain, large-hearted and liberal-minded, partaking freely of animal food, noted hunters and doughty warriors. They never claimed that they were the chosen people of God, or had a monopoly of wisdom. The Rishis were not all hermits, or recluses of the forest. How entirely free were the holiest and wisest Rishis from all prejudice is strikingly demonstrated by the story of the Rishi Gautama and the boy Satyakama in the Chandogya Upanishad. Satyakama wanted to become a disciple of Gautama and presented himself before the Rishi. As only Brahmin youths could be admitted as disciples Gautama asked the boy his father's *gotra*. This Satyakama did not know and he replied he would ask his mother and inform Gautama. Javala, Satyakama's mother, lived outside the village and when Satyakama wanted to know his father's name she replied she could not tell him, because as a newly-wedded wife she was busy in serving guests and forgot to ask her husband his *gotra*. And she became a widow while quite young. Satyakama went back to Gautama and faithfully told him what he had heard from his mother. Instead of turning him away the Rishi embraced the boy and accepted him as a disciple, remarking that since he had told the truth he must be a Brahmin. A much later instance is the reconversion of Indian Buddhists to the Vedic religion. After the decadence of Buddhism the Buddhist monks left India. There were, however, many thousands of Buddhist converts and these renounced Buddhism and were readmitted to the Brahmanic faith. There can be no question, therefore, that down to a time later than the appearance of Buddhism the number of the followers of the Aryan religion was augmented by conversion and readmission of those who had strayed from the fold. At some later period—it is impossible to fix the date even approximately—Hinduism barred its gates against all newcomers, and the sin of apostasy entailed permanent exclusion from the Hindu ritual and Hindu society. There is no evidence that the Aryans ever introduced mission work or carried on a religious propaganda. This was first introduced by the Buddha and the missionary monks of his Order of Bhikkhus carried the new gospel to the banks of the Oxus in the West and to China and Japan in the Far East.

Of the six principal religions of the world three, namely, Zoroastrianism, Judaism and Hinduism admit no converts. The only entrance to any of these religions is the doorway of birth. For the rest, they are fenced round by stone-walls which cannot be scaled or penetrated. If an outsider believes in any of these religions he may call himself a Zoroastrian, a Judaist or a Hindu, but he will not be permitted to enter the fire-temple, the synagogue, or the Hindu temple, nor admitted to the right of worship. The other three religions, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam, freely admit converts. Buddhism has ceased carrying on active propaganda, but the other two religions are zealously engaged in mission work. Every religion believes, more or less, that it is the only true religion in the world. The witty definition that orthodoxy is my doxy and heterodoxy is your doxy is perfectly true. Baldly and somewhat summarily put every religion claims a privilege denied to others. Every religion based upon revelation insists that its scriptures alone were revealed. It rejects the claims of all other revealed scriptures. Inside each particular religion is salvation ; outside, damnation. The prophet of every religion, every little sect, is the greatest that the world has ever known. If religion is truth it may be revealed in many ways and there can be no monopoly of truth. Alas, religions have died as well as races. There were great nations in the past as there are in the present. They had their own religions and these were believed to be as true as the present religions of the world. These have not only disappeared but the world knows scarcely anything about them, and it is only by patient and prolonged research that fragmentary knowledge about them has been obtained. Phoenicia, Babylonia, Assyria were all great in their time and famous world-centres. They have completely disappeared, leaving no heritage for the world and no legacy that has added to the knowledge of the world.

How is it that India has survived while other

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nations that were her contemporaries in the past have been submerged in the unfathomed depth of oblivion? The only answer to this question is to be found in the unparalleled spiritual advancement of ancient India. She was not content with material prosperity, the accumulation of wealth and treasure, or even the cultivation of the graces and arts. Of her it may be truthfully said that she plunged in thought while the legions thundered past. While other nations contended keenly for the prizes that life has to offer the sages and thinkers of ancient India intently fixed their gaze beyond life and sought to distinguish the eternal from the ephemeral. Even the intellect alone does not ensure the longevity of a nation, for there were few nations among the ancients so intellectual as Greece, but in religion they made no advance beyond 'their castes of irresponsible gods', and hence Greece, perished. India built her house of life upon the rock of the spirit. 'And the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell not: for it was founded upon a rock.' This parable points the moral of the fable of the giant and his soul.

In the clash of creeds and contending claims to the sole possession of the truth it must be remembered that there can be no such thing as a chosen people of God, a solitary revelation of the truth, or a single path to salvation. There are many mansions of faith and many roads leading to them. There is no privilege and no disability anywhere. God's truth is for all, to be revealed to the seeker in various ways. There are no distinctions, no exclusiveness in the laws of nature. Under Providence there are no favours and no frowns. The sun, the *Ra* of the Egyptians and the *Savita* of the Aryans, gives heat and warmth to priest and pariah alike. The rain falls impartially upon the lands of the Christian and the heathen. Zoroastrian and Hindu, Israelite, and Gentile, Buddhist and Taoist, Muslim and Kaffir are all creatures of the same God and they are all equal before His throne.

CHINA'S RED ARMY

BY SURESH VAIDYA

[The following *Reuter's* telegram raises curiosity relating to the "Red" forces in China:

"HONKONG, Aug. 3.

The British destroyer *Witch*, a Japanese cruiser and an American gunboat have been despatched to Foochow, in the Fu-Kien province, to protect foreign nationals against a threatened invasion by Communist troops from the interior.

The 'Red' forces, estimated at 5,000, are advancing in an attempt to break the prolonged blockade of their strongholds in South Kiangsi enforced by Chinese troops.

It is reported that they have already captured Paisha which is only twelve miles from Foochow."

The article printed below gives some information. We have, besides, received a book, *viz.*, *Suppressing Communist-Banditry in China*, for review in which the Communists in China are described as "bandits."

—Editor, *M. R.*]

SURPRISINGLY little is known of the territory called Soviet China, its Red Army, its young commanders, and its people.

The size of the Chinese Soviet territory cannot be properly determined, its boundaries shifting with the fortunes of war. Roughly it can be estimated to be twice the size of England and Wales put together. On the whole, its boundaries rather expand than shrink.

The reason why the National Government at Nanking always seems to be busy to attend to other matters is because of the existence of a menacing neighbour like Soviet China. Only recently the exiled Chinese war-lord General Chiang Hsueh Liang was hastily summoned from his place of recluse at Brighton to help the National Government forces to organize a campaign for the purpose of crushing Soviet China. Chiang Kai Sheik is fully aware of the difficulties that lie in the way of his undertaking. The chances of failure are greater for the national forces than the hope of success. The reason is obvious: in matters of tactics, discipline, courage and determination the soldiers of the Red Army are unsurpassable.

Its regular forces number approximately 10,000. But as military training is prescribed for every citizen as a measure of self-defence the forces can be augmented at any given notice. Besides these, there are other irregulars organized of women soldiers which have so far proved no less efficient.

The equipment of the Red Army is, however, meagre. For it has mostly to rely for its supplies on the loot of the ammunition stores of the Nanking Army. The Soviet Army has no artillery, no tanks, no Air Force, only a few thousand rifles and hundred and fifty machine guns.

As against them the National Government have

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all the latest equipment, including an Air Force manned by foreign experts.

The man supreme in command of the Red Army is the young President of the Soviet Republic Mao Tse-tung. Mao is a former Peking University man who on leaving college organized the coal-miners of central China and carried on a ceaseless war against the rule of the war-lords. When the present Nanking Government came into power Chiang Kai Sheik held high opinion of Mao. But when the latter attempted to stabilize the power of the workers in Kiangsi district he was declared an outlaw and a price placed on his head. Mao is in his early thirties.

His two commanders are Ho Lung and Chu Teh both of whom are well known all over China for their capableness as shrewd and valiant fighters. It is mainly due to the untiring efforts of these two men that the Red Army has been able to hold its own against an overpowering antagonist.

The tactics pursued by the Generals of the Red Army might sound peculiar to one accustomed to seeing wars in their European fashionableness. The instructions for the rank-and-file soldiers contain amusing clauses such as:

"Separate the Government (National) forces by making them pursue you, then turn and strike on the flank or rear.

"Utilize the population to harass the Government forces, for example, by displaying red flags on the hill sides or by continually repeating bugle-calls.

"Do not attack permanent defence works or be drawn into planned engagements...Undermine the morale of the Government forces with propaganda."

With these instructions to follow the Red Army never comes in violent conflict with the National forces. Thus the Air Force, the tank equipment, and other latest devices of warfare prove futile for the purpose.

Last summer the Nanking Government despatched 500,000 troops and 100 bombing planes to fight the Red Army. The expedition, however, was unable to achieve any success. Fighting took place on a front extending from Nanchang to the north of Kwantung, several thousand miles in length. In all, fifty-six battles were fought. Four divisions of the National army were killed, besides four brigades and a number of regiments having been wiped out. The Red Army captured 41,000 rifles, 50 machine guns, 82 light machine guns, 200 automatic rifles, 12 wireless sets, 3 aeroplanes and 3 field guns. 40,000 soldiers were taken war prisoners many of whom have now become subjects of the Soviet Government, land being given to them on basis of equality with other citizens. A Nanking Divisional Commander, 5 brigadier-generals, 9 regimental commanders and 20 captains, were also taken prisoners during the war. The Nanking forces captured or killed a divisional commander, four brigadier-generals, and thirty captains of the Red Army. Those who were captured were immediately shot.

The most important factor which accounts for the growing popularity and success of the Red Army is the support it receives from the Chinese peasants in general. At the beginning of the current year a big conference of workers and peasants was held in Soviet territory which was attended by delegates from all over China. Even Manchuria sent her representatives. Many of the elections of the delegates were carried out under adverse circumstances. How the elections were organized and the way the delegates reached the Soviet territory, is a story that has baffled the Nanking Government.

The fact is that Soviet China is a country having a stable Government and ruling over people who do not seem disposed for a change. The Lytton Commission which investigated Chinese affairs, says in its report:

> "The programme of action (of Soviet China) consisted of the cancellation of debts, the distribution among landless peasants and small farmers of land forcibly siezed from large private owners or from temples, monasteries and churches. Taxation is simplified: the peasants have to contribute a certain part of the produce of their lands. With a view to improvement of agriculture, steps are taken to develop irrigation, rural credit systems and co-operatives. Public schools, hospitals and dispensaries may also be established."

"Communication of life can only be through living agency. And culture, which is the life of mind, can only be imparted through man to man. Book learning, or scriptural texts, may merely make us pedants. They are static and quantitative; they accumulate and are hoarded up under strict guards. Culture grows and moves and multiplies itself in life."

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

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THE SAAR AND ITS PLEBISCITE

By SANTOSH KUMAR GHATAK

THE peace of the world hangs today on a slender cord which may any moment be snapped by the slightest shock. One of the impending dangers that threaten Europe in the near future is the Saar and its plebiscite. Europe is ready for a combustion and only a slight spark is needed for a European conflagration. That spark might come in the shape of the Saar concussion. According to the Treaty of Versailles the fate of the Saar will be decided next year. The entire inhabitants of the Saar will decide by their votes whether they will remain with France or Germany or as an independent political entity. As there is no love lost between France and Germany in the present, there can be no doubt that there will be much heart-burning about the affair, and who knows it might end in a European Armageddon. "We look back in order to look forward" (Burns). The past is so entangled with the present that we cannot understand the political situation in civilized countries without continual reference to situations no longer in existence. The Saar has the root of its history buried deep down in the time-worn ages.

The Saar is a small buffer-region (to put it more correctly a buffer district) between the frontiers of Germany and France. It lies to the north-east of Lorraine (Lat. 49°-50½°, Long. 6°-7½°) approximately. It is bounded on the west by the Moselle River, a branch of the Rhine, on the east by the Rhine; and the Vosges forms its southern boundary. Saar with its surrounding countries, Alsace and Lorraine, had played an important part in the past history of Europe. It is, so to say, a pawn on the European chess-board that is moved to and fro by the victorious powers.

Terribly fond of war as he was, Louis XIV, the Great Monarch of France (1643-1715 A. D.), propounded a theory of "natural boundaries" to justify his aggressive actions. He maintained that every country should have such frontiers as nature had provided—mountains, lakes, rivers or oceans, and France was naturally provided with the frontiers of ancient Gaul—the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Rhine river, and the Ocean. All throughout his reign Louis XIV tried to reach the Rhine. By the Treaty of Westphalia (1648 A. D.) France received Alsace, and by the Peace of Pyrenees she was recognized as a protector of the Duchy of Lorraine. After the Dutch War Louis continued to occupy Lorraine. But by the Treaty of Ryswick (1697) he had to restore Lorraine to its duke. If the annexation of Lorraine had been a hard nut for Louis XIV to crack, it was however solved by Louis XV (1715-1774). It was formally annexed by the latter in 1766.

What was beyond the dream of monarchical France was achieved by Republican France. Eight decades elapsed after Louis XIV's demise before his ideal to reach the Rhine was realized in a manner which was beyond his fondest hopes. By the Treaty of Basel (1795) Prussia gave France a free-hand on the left bank of the Rhine. Almost the whole of modern Belgium, together with what is known as the Saar valley up to the Rhine river, came under the suzerainty of France.

The French Revolution, which had been raging at that time in Europe, brought about new ideas and new institutions. It turned over a new leaf in the European history. Alsace and Lorraine were imbued with a new spirit of national conciousness after the Revolution. They had become a part of the French body-politic. In 1871 Bismarck had unified Germany and had annexed the two above-mentioned countries (Alsace and Lorraine). The French had always regarded this anexation as a crime—"the brutal dismemberment of a nation", "the tearing of children from their mother". "History shows that it was worse than a crime,—it was a blunder". As it has been said, "Bismarck had mutilated

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a living body and the wound would not heal; it was to remain an awful open sore, threatening the peace for forty years". It did threaten the peace of Europe in 1914. France had only one ambition from 1871 onwards, it was to take revenge on Germany. This desire for "revanche" was one of the main causes of the Great War. France actually paid back Germany in its coin in the Treaty of Versailles. If Germany had mutilated France in 1871, the latter also mutilated the former (Germany) in 1919. France compelled Germany to separate the Saar Basin, which is overwhelmingly German in thought, culture and nationality, from the German body-politic.

The Saar had played an important part in the industrial life of Germany. Her coal (for Saar is rich in coal mines) had helped the growth of German industries. By the Treaty of Versailles France recovered Alsace and Lorraine, but she wanted to occupy the Saar Basin. It would be an important acquisition, for the Saar coal would give an impetus to the French industries. And bereft of it the German industries would suffer greatly. But the annexation of the Saar valley was most vigorously resisted by the United States. When President Wilson declared that he could not agree either to the separation of the left bank of the Rhine or to the annexation of Saar, the French statesman, Clemenceau, dubbed him a pro-German, and melo-dramatically left the hall. The French claim to the district was vehemently opposed both by Great Britain and the United States, and was withdrawn. All acquiesced that France should have the Saar coal while her own mines were out of action; but while Mr. Lloyd George was willing to create an autonomous state under French protection, the President would at first approve nothing but a tribute of coal equal to the losses of France. The French showed their political foresight by renouncing the claim for the annexation of a German population. But they demanded a special political organization for the district which included the people of the mining area. A compromise was finally reached in an Administrative Commission of five, of which three were to be appointed by the League of Nations, one by the inhabitants and one by France. A plebiscite was to be held after 15 years, to determine whether the district should be annexed to France or to continue the existing regime or return to Germany. In the latter event Germany was to pay France the estimated value of coal mines at that date.

Fifteen years have elapsad since 1919. The proposed plebiscite will be held next year. The pelbiscite is one "in which a certain question is submitted to popular vote, the decision, while having no binding force, is intended as a guide to the policy of the government". In the present case the Saar people will be given the opportunity of expressing their opinion about the future course of their land, as to whether they would remain as they are, or they would like to join Germany or France. In anticipation of the plebiscite the Saar people are very much agitated, but more excited are the Great Powers, specially Germany and France. The Saar people, Germans as they are, are more intensely German in their culture and outlook. Wronged by the injustice of being separated under compulsion from their father-land, they are more anxious than ever to be again united with Germany. They leave no stone unturned to show their appreciation of Germany and demonstrate their willingness to go over to it. *Reuter* reports that on the afternoon of May 6, 1934 over 800,000 people crossed the frontier from the Saar into Germany at Zweibrucken to demonstrate their intention to vote for the return of the Saar to Germany next year, when the Saar plebiscite will be held. Dr. Goebbels, in a speech amid cheers, declared that the Saar would remain German despite terror and treachery. At the end of the speech a blonde girl presented Dr. Goebbels with a bowl of earth from the Saar. According to the version of Dr. Goebbels' speech published in Paris, he declared that Germany could now resist France and the League of Nations, come what might. He denounced the German "emigres" and Jews as traitors, and said that when the Saar was re-united with Germany, "they would be beaten by their co-religionists". The leader of the German Front is reported to have informed the League that 93 per cent of the Saar electorate are pro-Germans. Undoubtedly, the inflammatory speech of Dr. Goebbels

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has created a flutter in the French dove-cot. The French can never brook the idea of the Saar being united with Germany. The union of the Saar with Germany will mean firstly an increase in the German population, secondly the extension of the German frontiers, and thirdly the economic prosperity of Germany. The first would give Germany increased man-power, the second would extend the German frontiers and bring Germany nearer to Paris, the heart of France, and the third means the greatest advantage to Germany and therefore the greatest menace to France. The Saar, when unified with the German body-politic, would undoubtedly place her coal at Germany's disposal; and the Geman industries would increase by leaps and bounds. The growth of German industries would mean her economic prosperity, which is concomitant to the strengthening of the power of the German nation. Germany has been bled white by the unjust war debts and reparations. If she can pay off all her debts and regain her economic prosperity, her power would certainly increase. The increase of the power of the German nation is the greatest danger to France. France would try her best to see that Germany ever remains weak. That is why she never agrees to give Germany equality with regard to armaments and that is why also France will prove a veritable stumbling-block in the way of Germany's acquisition of the Saar. That there will be great bickerings among Germany & France about the Saar affair is certain. One is oppressed with a vague fear now-a-days—when in the twentieth century one often hears of deadlocks and when nations talk with one another with "pistols bulging out from their pockets"—that the Saar affair might lead to a war.

Another problem, which confronts the League of Nations, is that many Germans and Jews, who have fled away from the Hitler regime have taken refuge in the Saar. If Germany occupies the Saar, the fate that awaits these refugees is neither promising nor rosy. The League of Nations wants a guarantee from the German Government—in case they occupy the Saar—that they will not maltreat these refugees.

The League of Nations is considering the problem of the Saar plebiscite. The League is also occupied in planning a method for conducting the Saar plebiscite in the coming year. The Rhinelands with Alsace, Lorraine, Saar etc. have always been a difficult problem for the European statesmen to solve. They are an open sore which had threatened the peace of Europe from the 17th century onwards and which is still threatening the peace of Europe. Let us see how the Doumergues, Roosevelts and MacDonalds cut the Gordian knot of Europe. The Saar problem will prove a veritable test to the efficacy of the League and also to the veracity—if there is any—in the vociferous declarations of the nations to maintain world peace. If it is settled smoothly it will justify the existence of the League and attest that the nations today are sincerely eager for the maintenance of the peace of the world.

HAGGARD SEEMING

By VERRIER ELWIN

Forgotten by the greater world,
The leper sits beside his fire;
The fragile smoke that upward curled
Is sign of his desire.
His hut is like the broken shell
His body has become, and well
It is for him his eyes are blind.
Stern nature can be sometimes kind.

His swollen limbs he cannot see;
The hideous sores, the filthy dress,
The ruin and the misery,
His sorrow's ugliness.
But he his wife's dear hand can feel
In his, and tastes his scanty meal;
While in the darkness every pain
He conquers to our human gain.

Son of an old noble race,
What dignity still rests in thee,
The patience in thy gentle face
Transforms thy poverty.
Thy wretched hut enlarges now
Into a palace; on thy brow
I see a crown; and thy poor dress
Becomes a king's for loveliness.

What secret elemental dream
Dost watch, what do those sightless eyes
Behold of sorrow's lofty scene,
What mystery surprise?
Perhaps the hands of Christ in thine
Thrill thee with ecstasy divine;
The kiss of Francis, or the arm
Of Damien shelters thee from harm.

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RURAL INDIA,

THE NEST OF SINGING BIRDS

By Prof. DEVENDRA SATYARTHI

[The poet Rabindranath Tagore writes :

"I have been delighted to listen to Professor Devendra Satyarthi reciting and singing some of the folk-poems and songs which he has been collecting from all parts of India. It is a valuable work requiring delicate sensibility for the exploration of an obscure region of literature which is a spontaneous creation of the sub-conscious mind of the people. Prof. Devendra Satyarthi has evidently the gift of a sensitive imagination that has enabled him to do his work so thoroughly because he has enjoyed doing it.

"The creative aspect of the popular mind has its revelation which is of immense interest and I feel deeply thankful to Prof. Satyarthi for helping us to realize it."

Prof. Devendra Satyarthi has been very usefully occupied for some years in collecting the folk-songs of different parts of India in the languages spoken there. His collection is already rich, and I hope it will be richer as time passes. The work he has been doing is very important.

Folk-songs enable us to understand the mind and heart of the people. From similarities in the folk-songs of different regions we perceive the unity in diversity of human nature throughout India. And if the folk-songs of all countries could be collected and compared, it would be seen that there was one mind and heart, underlying there, common to all mankind.

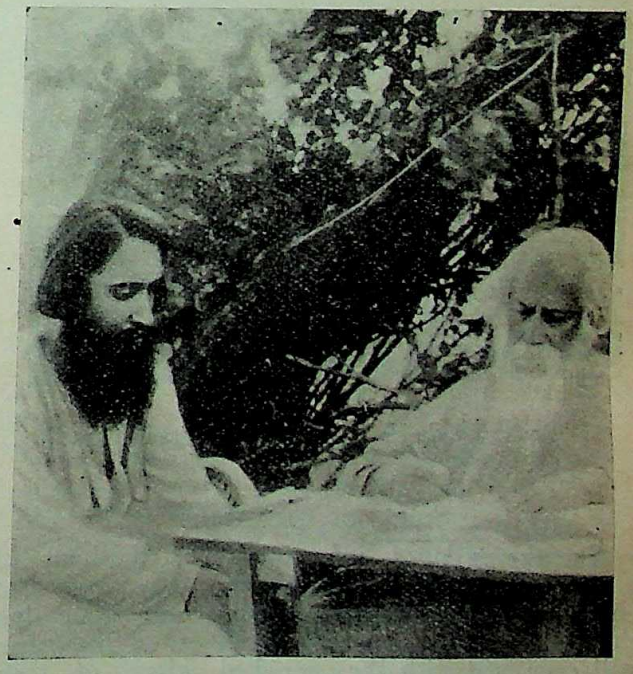
Prof. Satyarthi's collection, properly trans-literated and translated, should be of considerable use to philologists, anthropologists and educational psychologists, in addition to bringing a source of pleasure to ordinary listeners and readers.—Editor, *M. R.*]

LIFE is like a spontaneous and perennial song in Rural India, the nest of singing birds. Folk-songs pervade all walks of life; are deeply associated with various religious social ceremonies and all festivities of joy glee. All classes, all forms of occupation, and women, young or old, all alike, have s of numerous tones and tunes.

Since the very first dawn of the folk-songs of innumerable songs might have been born disappeared, as none cared to preserve them eautiful anthologies. Who can say that there no folk-songs in Vedic India and again in ays of the Ramayana and the Mahabharat ? ere are they all now ? Most probably many ose songs which disappeared from the living of the masses, might have been re-born at ous times again and again in different uages and dialects.

We must not forget that the folk-songs which come down to us breathe the life of the when they were composed. But it is very lt to throw upon them any light from e to fix the dates of their composition. ast possible that the origin of some of these ngs, inspite of all alterations and additions, at various times, goes back to the 10th 11th century. And who knows if many of ngs, current among the primitive tribes of country, go far beyond the above-said es, as life sings amongst them, moved little by time.

folk-songs of India are to be compared only songs of the birds ; they come as easy to country Muse as sweet coo-ings to the doves. of them are as beautiful and fragrant as the lotus flowers, most natural in their form and colour,—and most natural is their fragrance. They are of numerous variety ; as in expression so in substance they are simple and direct and



Author at Santiniketan with Poet Tagore

bring before us vivid pictures of the open-air country-life. There is scarcely any place in them for the day-dreams of intellect and convention. We are impressed by their spontaneity, freshness, and originality.

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There are songs of Love, Beauty and Youth, of the glories of the past and of the dreams of the future. The tears and smiles of the masses that are nourished in the country-atmosphere, their hopes and despairs, their joys and sorrows are all enshrined in these songs.

We hear in these folk-songs the very heart-beats of India ; through them vibrates the life-lit music of India's soul. No picture of India can convey more forcibly and clearly to our mind the manners, habits and the psychological depths of her inner life, than an insight into these songs.

Here we give a short study of the English renderings of some selected folk-songs of India.

An old lady sings in the Chakrota valley

Songs of Chivalry.

In the villages of Rajasthan, the land of heroes, the people still sing the songs of chivalry. Partaps and Sangas are gone but the hearts of the sons and daughters of Rajasthan will ever beat with the cherished glory of their heroic deeds.

The following are some specimens of these songs—

A Rajput hero is just ready to go to the battle-field. His sweet-heart instils courage into his heart and bids him farewell in the following vein :

Three things only will be in the field of battle,
A (stout) heart, a (sharp) sword, and a hand (to wield the weapon).
Which of them, O which of them, will be at thy side?
There, there, in the field of battle, my love.

Again she asks him to make haste :

Thy horse neighs at thy door,
Brave soldiers are waiting for thee, my love,
Here is the hero's bracelet, wear it and go to the war,
Dost not thou hear, the war-drum they are beating, my love.

In the following song, which may aptly be named 'desiderata', we come to know that Rajput damsels wanted to marry none but the heroes ;

The shell awaits the fall of the heavenly dew*
The bird 'Chakoi' † awaits the rising sun
The hero awaits the advent of battle
The damsel, O the damsel, awaits the hero.

Heroes are compared to lions in the following song :

No distinction have the lions
Between their own and others' land.
Any jungle where roams a lion
Becomes his own land.

Singing while Spinning
Inset : Grand-mother and grand-child singing in tune

The wounded hero lies on sick-bed. Suddenly a minstrel comes to him and begins to sing a life-lit song. The Rajput wife seeks entry in her hero's room and asks the minstrel to stop his song :

Wounded by swords, here lies my brave love,
Innumerable close stitches there are on his limbs,
Stop, stop, thy song of chivalry, O minstrel!
Lest my hero runs to the war with his green wounds.

* It is popularly believed that the heavenly dew deposited in shells form themselves into pearls.

† The masses suppose that a particular bird known as 'chakoi' is attracted by ties of love to the rising sun.

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Very pathetic are the references to the lost ...ory of old Rajasthan in Nopla, a famous bard ...f the land. Thus in one of his songs we find :

The Rajputs of today, O the Rajputs of today
Have the same houses, which once their ancestors had,
Live in the same villages, where once their ancestors lived,
Eat the same food, which once their ancestors ate,
Worship the same God, whom once their ancestors worshipped,
But, alas ! what a pity, says Nopla, the bard,
No spirit, O no heroic spirit, have they today.

Songs of Pathos

Pathos pervades a large ...ber of Indian folk-songs. ...re are many human ...ings such as a childless ...her hankering to have an ...spring, an orphan shedding ...s, calling, 'mother, O ...ther, so dear,' a widow ...ping for her love with ...r bleeding heart, etc., but ...e most pathetic songs are ...se which are full of ...mpathy for the mute ...atures, who cannot speak ...themselves. This pathetic ...mpathy is time-old in India. ...e first poetic utterance of ...almiki, the primeval poet ...f the land, is traditionally ...d to have been due to the ...ght of a wounded and ...ng *Krauncha* bird.

In the villages of Tippera ...rict in Bengal, the ...queen of the peasantry sing ...song full of warm tears ...m beginning to end. The spontaneous flow ...Pathos makes it exceptionally tender and ...pressive. It runs as follows :

Lo ! there grazes the doe and the archer seeks for game,
Suddenly he hits her with his sharp arrow
Forth breaks forth the poor innocent doe—
What a deep wound, brother archer, thy arrow has given me !

I am but a forest-doe and owe to none
But my delicious flesh and blood
From the whole world against me,
What a deep wound, brother archer, thy arrow has given me !

Never have I trespassed into thy meadow to partake of its grass
Nor have I ever drunk the sweet water of thy pool
For no fault of mine am I struck !
What a deep wound, brother archer, thy arrow has given me !

My child remains unfed by my milk !
Never will his moon-like face be seen any more by me !
No words of endearment from me shall please him any more !
What a deep wound, brother archer, thy arrow has given me !

For my own death I am not at all sorry
But what answer, O brother archer,
Wilst thou render to the gods above
What a deep wound, brother archer, thy arrow has given me !

Whenever my child, aflame with hunger,
Will cry calling, 'O mother, mother dear !'
That cry will surely strike at the heart of the gods
What a deep wound, brother archer, thy arrow has given me !

Pastoral life near Missouri

O ye my comrades, tell my mate, my love,
To nurse my suckling child with love and care,
Tell him that we will not see each other any more in this life.
The archer's shot ends all my hopes and dreams
What a deep wound, brother archer, thy arrow has given me !

Who is that smith, O who is that smith—
Who manufactured this arrow that kills me !
Extinct, O extinct from the world,
May his whole family be !
What a deep wound, brother archer, thy arrow has given me !

(*A Bengali folk-song.*)

Again, in the United Provinces of India we come across a folk-song which well illustrates the pathetic tale of an innocent doe. Her mate is killed at the altar of sacrifice, but like a faithful wife she does not forget him at all. The village poet has very successfully given it a thoroughly human setting. We do not know why Queen Kaushalya's name is associated here. She represents a human figure whom the composer of

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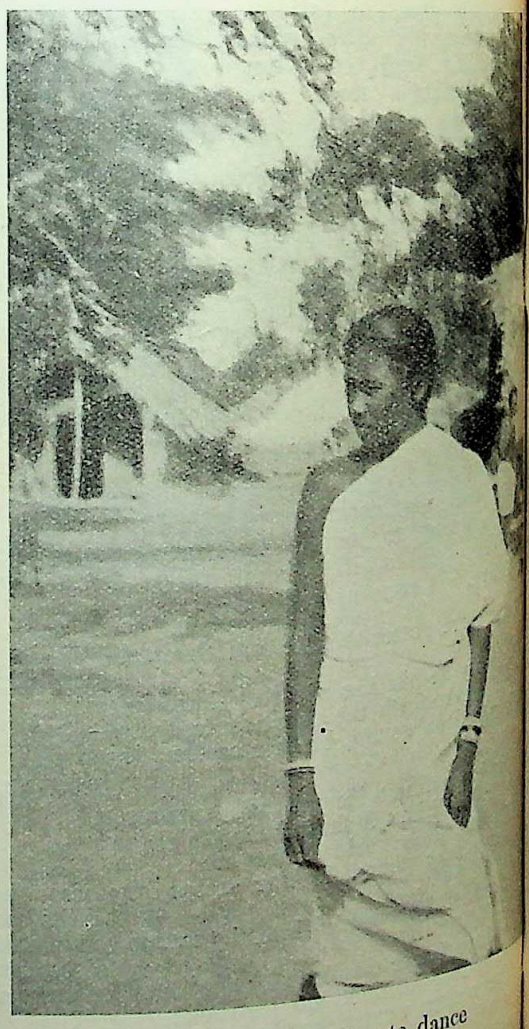
In the author's village. Peasant women singing while returning home after day's work

of the song has given this particular name. While the doe's request to get the deer's skin shows her extreme love for her mate, Queen Kaushalya's refusal to give it shows the intensity of human cruelty. The song runs as follows :

So small in size but full of leaves
Lo ! there we see a *Dhak* tree !
Beneath it stands an innocent doe
O see how sad is she.
Seeing her sad asks the grazing deer
So low in spirits, O what makes thee,
my doe !
Is it for thy meadow has dried up—
Or for that water is so rare, my doe ?
My meadow, O my meadow is green
And water too not rare, my love !
Today is the sixth day of the prince's birth
Alas ! they will take thy life, my love !
Here we see Queen Kaushalya,
On her *Machia* * sits she
Standing near her prays the doe :
'Hear me, O Queen, hear me.
'The flesh of the deer—my mate, O Queen
They are cooking in thy Kitchen :
Do give them order, O kind Queen,
To hand over to me his skin.
'On the *Dhak* tree will I hang it
Circling around, towards it will I always see
Some solace will I get and feel :
Here is the deer—my mate and that still
lives he.
'Skin of the deer', says the Queen
I will not give thee, O doe,
With it will I prepare a *Khanjri* † for my Rama
Go away, O go away poor doe,
Beneath the *Dhak* tree stands the doe
O, see how sad is she !
Whenever sounds the *Khanjri*, high or low,
For the deer longs the she.

(*A folk-song from U.P.*)

Those who sing and hear the above song melt into tears and their sympathy undoubtedly goes to the poor doe whose mate is no more on earth, and whose bleeding heart passion-



A Santhal girl going to dance

* A particular seat.
† A particular musical instrument.

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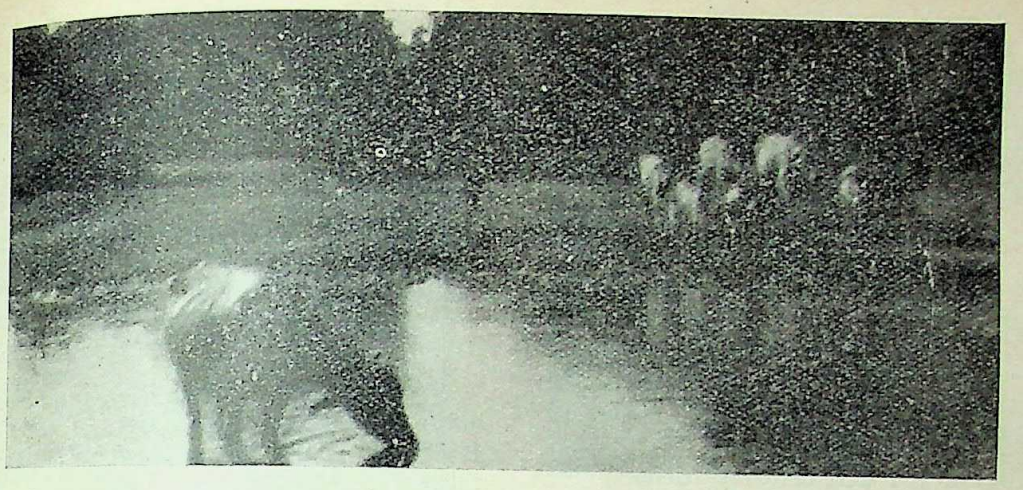

Pasture-land in the author's village, Bhadour, Patiala State. Cow-boys sing while cows and buffaloes graze and drink water. Similar scenes charmed the author in his boyhood

A Garhwali ploughman singing in the field
Photo by an esteemed friend of the author.

A coolie, though sufficiently loaded, sings

yearns at the vibrations of the *Khanjri* made of the skin of her dear mate.

It may not be irrelevant to note here that this sympathy for the mute creatures who cannot speak for themselves is also a particular note of the English romantic poetry of the early nineteenth century and is heralded in the following lines of W. Blake:

'Each outcry of the hunted hare
A fibre from the brain doth tear
A skylark wounded on the wing
Doth make a cherub cease to sing.'

Comic Songs

Inspite of the many sorrows to which the villager may be said to be born, there are moments of joy and gladness when life becomes as rippling as a laughing brook. 'No man who has once wholly and heartily laughed,' says Carlyle, 'can be altogether irreclaimably bad. In cheerful souls there is no evil.'

There is a large number of comic-songs in Rural India, sung at times of festal mirth. People sing and hear them and laugh to their heart's content. If the Italian saying, *viz.*, that 'Laughter makes good blood' be right, the gain to the people by these songs is not inconsiderable.

Here is a comic-song:

Very kind of you that you have come
But no room for you have I, friend.
Return, O return to your home
By the same way, you came to me, friend.
A drop of water I would have offered you
Sorry, no water in my cracked jar
Don't sit, make haste and see your way,
How long will you stand, O friend so dear.

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A fine seat I would have offered you
And could allow you to sit and take rest
Alas! some child has taken it for a while away,
It was the only seat I ever had, my friend,
Some Oil certainly I would have given you
On your body you could have rubbed it
It is your ill luck that some pepper is mixed in it
Your eyes will burn, friend, if you use it.
The tale of my joys and sorrows I could have told you
But, sorry, friend, from fever am I suffering
Don't sit, O don't sit near a sick person,
Make haste, friend, and reach your home.
A *pan** I would have prepared for you, friend.
But, sorry, no betel-nut is available
See, their lies the empty *pan-dan*, friend,
Nothing but stray tobacco leaves are in it.
With a sweet dish I would have entertained you
Yesterday if you were here, my friend
Its taste you could ever remember
So delicious was the dish, my friend.
So late it is turning, O friend so dear
At a long distance is your home from here
Make haste, stay no more and go away
With a happy heart will I welcome thee, some other day.

(*An Oriya folk-song from Puri District.*)

Numerous such songs are current in different parts of India. Amongst the primitive tribes, lovers serenade their lady-loves with such songs in which the untranslatable humour of the rustic folks finds an adequate expression.

Marriage-Songs

Songs are indispensable accompaniments of marriage-festivities. Women sing innumerable songs as they perform different rites of the ceremony. These songs are supposed to have an auspicious influence over the marital life of the couple.

Here is a song which the maidens sing in chorus on behalf of the bride:

The earth and the sky were the only things
At the dawn of our world, so pretty.
Sweet showers from the sky came
The earth received them with a dear embrace,
Hour of blessings there came. o maidens,
Hour of blessings there came.

A cow and a mare were the only creatures
At the dawn of our world so pretty
The cow gave birth to a bullock to serve in our fields
And the mare to her son to take us to far-off lands
Hour of blessings there came, o maidens
Hour of blessings there came.

A mother and father were the only living beings
At the dawn of our world so pretty,
The mother gave birth to me, o maidens
And the mother-in-law to my groom
Hour of blessings there came, O maidens,
Hour of blessings there came.

A father and a father-in-law were the only living beings
At the dawn of our world so pretty
The father brought me up with love and care
And the father-in-law blessed me with modesty
Hour of blessings there came, O maidens,
Hour of blessings there came.

The red spot of vermilion on the parting of hair is considered as a sign of married girl in Hindu life. When the proper marriage ceremony takes place the groom is asked by the priest to put some vermilion in the bride's hair in the presence of the sacred fire. Here is a song which pictures the pathetic mood of the girl who is nervous when her groom adorns her hair with vermilion as she thinks that now she will have to leave her mother's house, where she had lived so happily:

At Sreerampur, Bengal. Bengali fishermen singing while plying their boats

Photo by an esteemed frien of the author.

'Father, father,' do I cry
Ah, my father hears me not!
See, O see father, my groom by force
Puts vermilion on the parting of my hair!
Vermilion's price is rising in the market
And the bridal veil is beyond price
Ah me, father, the dear vermilion, put in my hair.
Makes me bid adieu to thy land, so good.

(*A folk-song from Bihar.*)

In the following song we find a bride at her toilet:

Most beautifully shall I comb and arrange my hair
And will adorn it with vermilion so auspicious
Today my Krishna comes to me, they say,
O let me dress myself just like Rukmini.

(*An Assamese folk-song from Shibsagar District.*)

* A typical preparation of betel leaf and nut for chewing.

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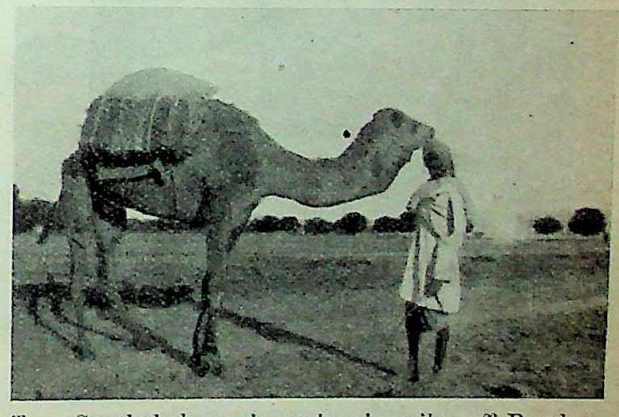
A rural Bard



Top : Santhal dance in *mela*, six miles off Barakar Bridge, Giridihi. *Middle* : Peasants singing while reaping harvest. *Bottom* : Near Benares, A camel-driver taking rest and singing.

As in the above song, Krishna is Beau-Ideal in many marriage-songs of India. We can see it in the following song, too, which is a beautiful colloquy between a father and a daughter about the choice of a groom for the latter :

'What makes thee stand thus dear daughter
What makes thee stand thus ?
Behind thy father's sandal-pillar, dear daughter
What makes thee stand thus ?'
'To knock at my father's door do I stand
(Make me a bride), father, and find me groom'
'What sort of groom dost thou wish to have,
dear daughter,
What sort of groom dost thou wish to have ?'
'Fair as the moon amongst the stars, dear father,
And lovely as Krishna amongst men
To knock at my father's door do I stand
(Make me a bride), father, and find me a groom.'
(*A Punjabi folk-song.*)

Deep and lasting is the pathos, created by the songs, sung to give a farewell to the bride when she accompanies the groom's party to reach her father-in-law's house.

Here is a song, sung to wipe the tears of the weeping bride :

Weep not, O weep not,
My darling, weep not.
They do not seize thee to tie thy hands and feet
My darling, weep not,
Nor do they seize thee to wound thy body,
My darling, weep not.
(*A Kachari folk-song from Assam.*)

In the following song the name of Rama, the great hero of the Ramayana, becomes typical for that of a bridegroom. The closing lines show how the bride, instead of rejoicing at her happy marriage, is sad at heart with the moving pathos of departure from her parental nest.

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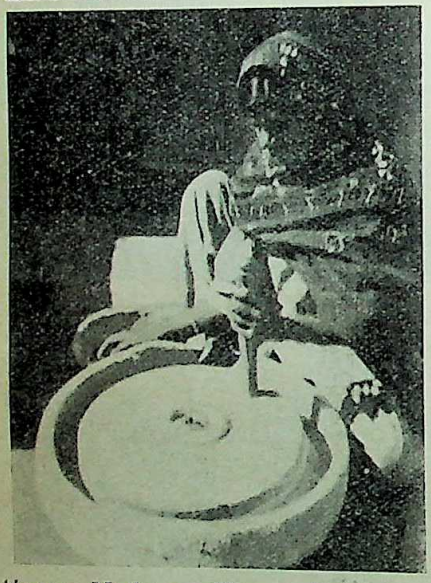

Above: Mother smiling and singing at the marriage ceremony of her daughter. *Below*: Author's wife. She sings as she grinds. She has supplied the author with folk-songs of various kinds current among Panjabi women. She has also toured many places with him.

Why did the betel-nut grow,
And why did blossom the saffron-flower ?
Why was my little daughter born !
Perform thy marriage-rite, my son.*
Run ye barbers and ye leaf-dish makers
Run and bring us the happy news
Search ye, the East, the West and Gujrat
O make a thorough search and bring us the news.

'Eighty on foot and a hundred on horse-back
Numerous in the marriage-party,' they say
It makes my father tremble and thus says he :
'A virgin wilst thou remain, daughter, what more should I say !'†

'Fear not, father, and grieve not at all.
Go and just lodge the marriage-party,
With sweets will entertain them my mother's brother
And my uncle will give me away in marriage.'‡
Rama, the son of Dasharatha, starts in his chariot
With the bride's palanquin by his side,
On the high-roads goes the bride's palanquin
And beside it go so many riders,
The nightingale gives out a sweet note
As the palanquin passes out of the garden.
'What singest thou, O nightingale, so dear,
To my father's sweet land and mother's sacred lap I bid adieu
Farewel, O ye the sweets prepared by my brother's sweet-heart.
Farewell, O brother so dear, ever-sad my heart will be for thee.
(*A folk-song from U. P.*)

In the following song of the departing bride there is a mixed feeling of gratitude for her mother's care and love, as well as a fling at her apparent cruelty in giving her away to the strangers :

To beautify the branches of their own trees
The birds bring their children up :
Ah me, with cherished love and care my mother brought me up
To adorn, O to adorn others' home.
(*An Assamese folk-song*)

These old old coo-ings of Rural India, the nest of singing birds, are fast fading out of the memory of the young ; their place is being taken by new folk-songs. Old men and women who often sing these traditional songs are being quietly removed from the stage and these gems of India's literature are also disappearing with them. Let us awaken to the duty of preserving these relics of the past, which have not merely intrinsic worth as being beautiful in themselves, but have a further historic value as the precursers of later literature. Let us learn to love them, to admire them and to preserve them in beautiful anthologies.

* Here it means a son-in-law.

† The father is afraid that if the groom's party, unsatisfied by his poor entertainment, returns away before the proper marriage-ceremony takes place, it will be a great insult to his family and moreover his daughter will remain a virgin.

‡ It is the function of the guardian of the bride to make a gift of her to the groom.

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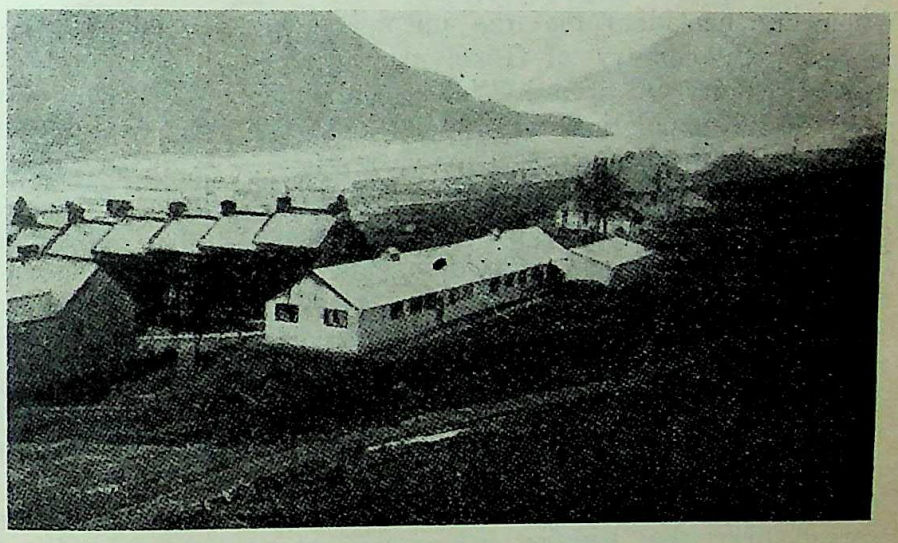
MAES-YR-HAF

By AMIYA C. CHAKRAVARTY

To a stranger passing by motor-car through the Rhondda Valley, the prospect that lies around seems to be one of great peace, beauty and plenitude. The idea that behind this screen of Nature's loveliness, poverty and extreme misery may lie hidden, would not occur to one unversed in the lore of modern industrial conditions. I have just been on a short visit to the unemployment centre in Rhondda Valley at Dinas in South Wales. As I said, I was struck with the extreme beauty of the scenery. As one left Cardiff, the rolling Downs, the shimmering trees along the winding roads and the groups of attractive cottages dotting the hill-sides conjured up an atmosphere of quietly gracious existence. Gradually one encountered more smoke in the atmosphere of the valley, and occasional aggregations of dwelling sites, but the effect of picturesque content remained undisturbed. It was when I had been for some time in the Maes-yr-haf Educational Settlement that I began to realize what depths of discontent and distress existed amongst the unemployed miners in that district. In the settlement of Maes-yr-haf itself I found tangible evidence of the most splendid constructive and educational work being done to relieve the minds of people who suddenly, through no fault of their own, discovered that not only had they lost all their resources but that evidently they were not wanted by anybody in the present arrangement of society. Here are people not only from the dales, but from parts of England, drawn to the coal district by the prospect of dependable work and good working conditions supplied at the beginning with high wages (up to £7 or £8 a week). In the days of industrial prosperity the big magnates found their labour useful and lucrative and so the arrangement seemed to work perfectly well; but as soon as the economic crisis began to make itself felt, down went the wages and gradually out went the workers so that the industrialists who had made great profits could save themselves from further loss. The real crash seems to have come a few years after the War, and it was then when almost overnight thousands of workers were disbanded and left to the mercies of unemployment, that the Maes-yr-haf Settlement itself came into existence. It was started by Mr. and Mrs. Noble, who felt that even if they could not solve the whole problem of the unemployed, they could perhaps create a little centre from which to radiate new hope, friendliness and means of providing people who had no work to do, with interesting and useful forms of occupation.



Treherbert Unemployed Clubhouse, opened February 1934.
The surrounding land is cultivated as a Communal Garden by the men

There are now thirty unemployed clubs with a total membership of between five and six thousand. The co-operation in the main-

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tenance of these clubs which is shown by the unemployed men themselves is remarkable and encouraging, and the activities of the clubs are flourishing and of great benefit. Both formal and informal educational work is carried on in them, including classes in biology, English literature, social philosophy, local government, ethics, psychology, political geography, and short courses and lectures on other varied subjects. Most of the clubs have libraries and facilities for distribution of useful books, while discussion classes are held revealing much debating talent. A successful singing festival has been held, also a football competition, and an inter-club paper launched and circulated. Handicrafts and women's and boys' interests receive full consideration, while holiday camps have proved a great success. When one considers that the unemployment figures for the country of Glamargan, the industrial county of South Wales (containing most of its population) are 84,500 of whom 4,500 are eighteen to twenty-one years of age. It is a matter of great congratulation to all concerned that so many of these clubs have been started and are developing in such an encouraging way.

Now, coming from the East, I must confess that even the spectacle of appalling poverty as it appears in this country does not seem so tragic or so extreme to an Indian eye as in a country where things are unorganized, where even the rudiments of industrial life have not spread over the country at large, and where poverty means complete helplessness and dependence on the vagaries of Nature or on charity, and on any chance developments that may occur to relieve distress. We have been for a very long time dependent (and still are almost wholly dependent) on agriculture. The system of our civilization is built on the village as the unit—unlike that in industrial Europe where the towns are like the brain-centres and are really the vital points of the whole of the social and industrial life of the race. So that when times of war and crisis occur, the first effort of each country is to get at these brain-centres—the big cities—and to attempt to crush them because by crushing them the whole nation—the whole country—can be completely ruined. India, however, has had its full share of natural and national calamities, invasions, pestilence, and exploitation of every kind; and yet—due to the diffusedly spread life of India's millions,—the amount of distress seems to have succeeded in completely paralysing our civilization. There is much to be said for basing one's civilization on the candid recognition of the soil, of the simple life, as the primary sources of human existence, and yet India is increasingly recognizing today that unless she benefits by the development of science, for bettering the conditions of human life through the application of modern systems of drainage and irrigation, and through electricity and so on,—we have no chance either of developing or of preserving our civilization in harmony with the modern age. The experiments that have been made in big cities like Bombay, Karachi and Amedabad have been indiscriminately imitative of the worst forms of industrialization in the West with the whole paraphernalia of slums and exploitation of labour, appalling working hours and completely inadequate methods of helping the workers in the amenities of insurance and medical help, and other essential needs of human welfare.

But fortunately, these experiments have not been, speaking generally from the point of view of India, either very significant or of great importance. They have hurt us by their power of mal-adjustment, but their evils have not penetrated the depths of our social texture. We are beginning now to realize that we have to adapt Western methods of production and distribution, the machinery of industrialization to the essential genius of India's agriculture civilization. As to how this adjustment best be made, we are not at all clear in mind; but it may well be (as Mr. Wells to me the other day) that India and other Eastern countries are in one way more favourably situated for making industrial experiments because of the fact that they can profit by the experiments, failures and the achievements, of the industrial technique in the West. India may proceed directly from the hand-loom to the electrified machine without having at to go through the coal and smoke stage with all the indignity and almost sub-human conditions that industrialization in Europe has more or less meant up to this day. There has been little to choose between primitive agrarian

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conditions and the highly modern life of the slums. And yet it must be said that in Europe even evil has to reckon with movement so that there is always the prospect of better possibilities though these must be illusive and impermanent when they occur because of the unreality of their foundation in a disharmonious fabric of class inequality; while in the East, evils often take root and attain the dignity of fate immobility, which is hardly an attribute of life. The former explodes in wars, the latter revolves in an interminable round of misery and habitual chaos of petty contention. This is a larger aspect of the problem which we can now barely touch upon, but what is abundantly evident is that humanity has nowhere an exclusive monopoly of geographically isolated suffering or evils. One can only hope that the rich variety of common human misery may help us in better dealing with the problem of their eradication.

Looking at the conditions of the distressed areas, I often wondered whether the path to a rural solution of their problem did not lie in an understanding of the need of adjusting human life to the essential claims of kinship and co-operation with the soil. Here again, evidently, is a case for a better adjustment of life to industrial and agricultural conditions which cannot with impunity be maintained in their separateness. While the East has to master the movement of the machine, the West must learn to live closer to the durable basis of the earth, and come back to it for a new security of prosperity.

When I looked at the rolling Downs and the virgin fields, untilled and unused, whether belonging to the State or to individual landowners, I wondered why there was not that much-needed control over ownership of land which would make it possible immediately for the thousands of unemployed people in the valley to devote themselves to production of living wealth through intensive working up of the land. To a certain extent, I know, the land is used for the purpose of cattle-raising, and one hears increasingly of schemes of allotments. It seems to an Easterner that the path of sanity and well-being must evidently lie in that direction. Here are people with keen intelligence, with active minds and hands, waiting for a chance to be used. Here are families somehow maintaining their barest human needs of living through the dole, passionately looking forward to any opening that they can find of establishing their homes with security, and yet being unable to do so because of overwhelming social conditions and the tyranny of a dislocated industrial system. Overcrowding in houses, the feeling of complete despondency mixed with that very laudable spirit of pride and dignity which prevents the unemployed from airing his or her grivances, combine to produce acute tensions in the distressed homes, in the miserable minds of these humble and lovable people, which seem to be almost incurable if we have to depend purely on the maintenance of the present regime of the industrially mechanized civilization for a solution.

One comes up against such extraordinarily

A "Santa Claus" Workshop.
Putting the finishing touches to toys for X'mas at the Pentre Unemployment Centre

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tragic facts as that of people with more families being compelled to live in smaller houses. It is only when the family is very small that they can afford a larger house, whereas when the family is large and really needs a bigger home, they have to go into even smaller houses in order to make it possible for them to pay the necessary rent. There is a complete lack of skilled occupations which would utilize the well-marked abilities of these workers. The industrial owners who reaped a rich harvest from an intense and short-lived prosperity have left these people after the flow of wealth had ebbed away, high and dry on the unworked soil, and retreated to their own offices in London and Sheffield and Mammon knows where else. There are one or two garden houses one finds where occasionally those profiteers who still have enough money to spare come with their friends for a week-end's revelry without dreaming of giving back some of the wealth which they had gained through the help of these thousands of honest workers who, through no fault of their own, are now left to the vagaries of circumstance.

I do not pretend for a moment that there is an easy solution for the complicated problems of industrialization and unemployment. Keen and able minds are tackling them in the most helpful and constructive manner all over the land, and the public conscience is awake to some of the inevitable evils of industrialization and of centralization of life in the cities and the wholly wrong emphasis that has been placed in recent times on the highly elaborated mechanism of life in Western cities. If the thinkers and sufferers direct their brains a little more to the reverse side of the problem, so to say, of agricultural civilizations trying to adapt their needs to modern possibilities and to the harnessing of Science for raising their standard of life, perhaps some indication of the happy golden medium can be found which may yet stabilize life more or less on the same kind of principles in the West and in the East. The Nazi movement has on its credit side an attempt to reach the soil in a scientific spirit of humanism; Italy has got some way towards the solution of the needs of earth-adjustments of their social structure; Russia, a blend of the East and the West, is a seething laboratory of experiments on every level, but being more Siberian than European, their civilization has first swung over to the imitative extreme of industrialization for hope of power and prosperity. All over the world today experiments, costing life and wealth and sanity, are being made unabated to the limits of ardour and ingenuity, to evolve a new technique of human existence harmonized with the foundations of earth-life. The solution, however, cannot be attained by zealous or militant exclusiveness of nations. Human civilization must solve its fundamental problems in the knowledge of basic unities and in co-operation. At each point, wherever we turn, in our agricultural and industrial problems, again and again we are faced with this inescapably interlinked background of our present human civilization.

The Maes-yr-haf Colony has tackled the local problems of unemployment from all the immediately necessary points of view. As already described, they have opened clubs or rather, inspired the workers to open their own clubs, all over the Valley. There are many other settlements which have done good work for a very long time. The Maes-yr-haf Settlement which is comparatively new, is providing first-class trained workers to explore the possibilities and the problems of the unemployed, and while dealing with their social life they are in a great measure providing skilled training in handicrafts, (the Weaving Department of Maes-yr-haf, with its fine success in reviving Welsh and Celtic designs is especially impressive), in carpentry, and other forms of skilled work which would enable many men and women in the neighbourhood to utilize their talents. Above all, the settlement is providing these simple and suffering people with that faith in life, that hopefulness of better prospects in the future, and that understanding of some of the abiding truths of human existence, which no circumstances of material world can affect. This goes beyond the immediate necessities of the people and yet there can indeed be no solution of any even our daily problems unless we have learnt to know them in the light of deeper humanity and with the clarity of sympathetic and precise intellectual cognition.

I have come back with a sense of de-

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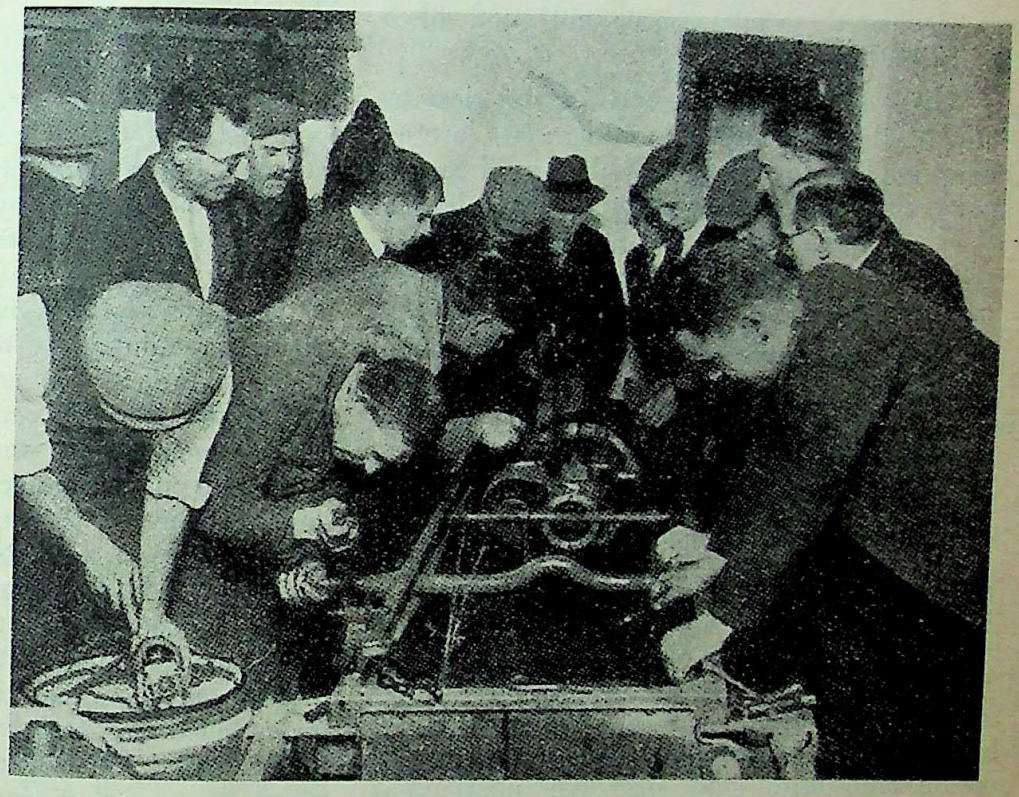
happiness and inspiration from this Settlement, having seen with my own eyes what splendid work is being done there. Mr. Miles Davies and other friends of the Settlement took care to acquiant me with the varied activities of that area and provided me with a wealth of economic facts and knowledge of local social conditions. I was able to come in close touch with unemployed homes. The unemployed, as usual, are men who are used to honest work and have a commonsense way of dealing with facts. Dire distress has widened their range of sympathies even more, so that they begin to feel today that their distress is not something special and peculiar to themselves, but is a part of the general effect of disintegration of the social, political and industrial machinery which prevails all over the modern world. The lack of control over distribution and production, the possibility of exploitation and profit, the attitude of somehow "muddling through things" in the hope that some good results will somehow ensue, have landed them in a state of living burial, just as it has brought complete cessation of life to millions at one stroke during the War. These are all the inevitable effects ef an unorganized scheme of industrial and social life: lack of control, lack of sympathy, and dependence on mere technique and machinery to do the things which can be done by them only when it is the mind which is using the machinery and not *vice versa*.

I found in talking to members of the local "Dom Club" (one of the best-known clubs of the neighbourhood) how sympathetic they were towards the starving peasants in India. We all realized in a short time that, whether it was a foreign race exploiting a weaker one, or people in power exploiting labour at home, the results were very much the same; and the nature of the evil is not very different in either case. What we are up against, therefore, are evils which are a menace to humanity in the East as well as in the West. It is our common fight against exploitation, lack of sympathy, and the relentless greed and possessiveness of the powerful.



Unemployed's New Venture

After a term of tuition under a local engineer the members of the Ystrad Unemployed Club are putting their theory into practice and building a motor-car. The photograph shows members at work

At the end of our Sunday evening gathering the unemployed miners spontaneously gave me a message to carry home to my own people in India. Here are some lines from it:

"We would like you to know that our expressions are accepted and shared by all the thinking section of the working class of the country. It can be said that we, whilst sharing in the proceeds of world plunder, were

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guilty of thoughtlessness regarding the conditions of those people whom we, with our Imperialist education, accepted as subject races. Altered conditions have forced us to think from a different angle; we have rid ourselves of the 19th century ideology—we can no longer be described as unstable and mob-minded in our attitude to our fellow-beings. Our minds have been disabused of the real mission of our national heroes of that period; they were conjured up to be all that was chivalrous, and whose whole lives we believed were dedicated to take peace and goodwill to all mankind.

"We are no longer dazzled by the glorious picture of mere Empire-building; we are no longer deluded by race prejudice, and cannot be depended upon to assist in the exploitation of any people in any part of the world.

"The name of Mahatma Gandhi is revered by all decent people in this country. His policy has perhaps not been understood, but he should know that which is best for India under the circumstances.

"The working class of Britain have everything in common with you; they are also being called upon to make sacrifices for greed by the same forces that have caused such suffering all over the world.

"There are developments to indicate tremendous changes in the character of Society; it must be, it shall be based on humanity and brotherhood, where nation with nation, land with land shall live unarmed as comrades, when every race shall be liberated to work out their own destinies in co-operation.

"Our message concludes by bidding the people to have patience and courage a while longer. The realization of their ambitions cannot possibly be delayed much longer. God speed the day—is the sincerest wish of,

Yours fraternally,
THE DON CLUB."

I shall certainly feel happy to tell my countrymen of this deep love which English men and women, so many of them, cherish in their hearts for their brothers and sisters in the East. Let us realize very clearly that it is not the peoples of the world who have anything against each other; given the proper opportunities, the normal possibilities of contact, it would be inevitable that they should discover their affinities and respect their differences. But between the peoples of the world stands the formidable machinery of national Governments who build walls between man and man and drive the peoples of the world into wars and into sub-human conditions of living. It is the nations which seize hold of the minds and the bodies of the people and whether a country is technically free or not, the lot of the citizens under such conditions is that bordering on slavery and serfdom.

The memory of the beautiful woods and green hill-sides glimmering in a summer afternoon remains with me, blended with the beautiful experiences of my contact with the members of the Settlement at Maes-yr-haf and the Malthouse: and at the very heart of all this remains imperishably in my mind the kindly and sympathetic faces of the many unemployed men and women with whom I had the honour to associate during my stay in South Wales. Suffering shared together, I felt, is one of the strongest of human bonds, but surely our pain is a prelude to that greater fellowship of freedom which humanity will create through the growth of knowledge and consequent readjustment of human and natural resources.

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HOW MANY MUHAMMADANS PAY INCOME-TAX IN BENGAL

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M. SC., B. L.

THE Muhammadans form 55 per cent of the population of Bengal. On that ground they demand 55 per cent of services under the Government or under the Calcutta Corporation and other local bodies; they demand 55 per cent representation on the local bodies, in the University, assuming that the population strength is the only criterion. Let us see how many of them put anything into the coffers of the State for the general well-being by way of Income-Tax.

In the Bengal Census Report for 1911 subsidiary Table XI, castes of income-tax assessees are given at p. 586. We give below so much of it as is relevent for our enquiry

Income from—

Castes	Profession	Manufactures	Commerce & Trade	Owners of Property	Total
Maha Mussalman (unspecified)	—	—	25	—	25
Sayed	209	59	2,373	121	2,762
Sheikh	6	—	13	5	24
Total of all Mussalman groups	8	17	323	18	366
"Others"	223	76	2,734	144	3,177
Hindu Castes	124	137	1,111	208	1,580
Grand Total	(figures not given in this extract)				
	3,146	588	17,761	1,359	22,872

That the "others" do not include any Mussalmans will appear from a perusal of the Table, and from the context. Thus in 1911, the Muhammadans formed some 13 or 14 per cent of the income-tax payers. At that time Rs. 1000 was the taxable minimum.

In the Bengal Census Reports of 1921 and 1931 no such comparative figures of income-tax payers are given. But an estimate of the relative proportion is possible from the 1921 figures. In Table XX showing the distribution by Religion of Workers and dependents in different occupations, at p. 368 of the 1921 Report we find the number of "Persons living on their incomes" by communities. We give below the relative entries:

Distribution by Religion

Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Buddhists	Animists	Others
30,633	4,643	1,784	84	21	255

Total number of workers and dependents 37,420

All persons living on their incomes are not assessed to income-tax. Only these who have an income of Rs. 2000 or over are taxed (the minimum is now temporarily reduced to Rs. 1000). Further, agricultural incomes are not charged. Hence the figures quoted above give the upper limit of the possible number of assessees; and the Muhammadans form 12·4 per cent of such persons.

In the Census Report of 1931, the corresponding Table has been omitted—why? Sir Abdel Karim Ghuznavi, who was in charge of the Census Department and whose son has contributed paragraphs to the Census Report, can best answer the question.

The territorial distribution of these 37,420 persons is in Calcutta 11,450 and in the rest of the province 25,970.

From the Bengal Administration Report of 1920-21, we find that

> "the number of persons assessed to income-tax during the year was 37,598". "Only one person in 2,779 of the population outside Calcutta paid income-tax, and the average amount paid by each assessee was Rs. 174. In Calcutta, which for income-tax purposes includes the town of Howrah, the proportion was one person in 57 of the population and the average tax paid by each assessee was Rs. 2,139".

The population of Calcutta and Howrah was in 1921, 9,07,851 and 1,95,301 respectively. So the number of the income-tax assessees works out to 19,353. Having regard to the fact that many persons, who live in the metropolitan districts of 24-Parganas, Hooghly and Howrah, such as daily passengers &c., are assessed at Calcutta, there is sufficient correspondence between these figures and the territorial distribution according to the Census of 1921 to warrant the assumption that all those who live on their incomes generally pay income-tax.

We may, therefore, accept the relative proportion of the Muhammadan to the non-Muhammadan income-tax payers as that of the number of the Muhammadans "living principally on their incomes" to the rest of such persons under that head i. e., 4,643: (37,420-4,643)=32,777 or some 12 per cent of the total.

In 1927 the number of the Muhammadan and the non-Muhammadan (over 95 p. c. Hindu) Municipal voters of Calcutta was 9,586 and 57,493 respectively. In 1926, the respective numbers of Council voters were 4,446 and 32,619; and those of the Assembly voters 1,700 (an estimate) and 13,761. The estimate is based on a proportionate reduction in the number, as in the case of the non-Muhammadans

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(for whom alone the absolute figures are available) an assumption greatly in favour of the Muhammadans, it being generally admitted that the curve showing the distribution of wealth, is steeper among them. (See *Mysore Economic Journal*, April 1934, p. 199.)

The respective main qualifications for a Municipal, Council and Assembly voter are payment of Rs. 12, Rs. 24 and Rs. 60 as taxes. Those who pay Rs. 60 as Municipal taxes must be the owner of premises of an annual value of over Rs. 300. Such an owner may be expected to have a gross income of over Rs. 2000 from all sources, taking the notional value of the house occupied by him to be some 15 per cent of his total income, as is usually done in demographical calculations.

So the respective number of income-tax payers in Calcutta may be taken to be proportional to the number of the Assembly voters, *i. e.*, 1600 Muhammadans to 13,761 non-Muhammadans.

In the mofussil of Bengal, all the income-tax payers may be taken to be congregated in the urban areas, especially as income-tax is not levied on agricultural incomes.

The number of the Muhammadan and non-Muhammadan urban Council voters outside Calcutta are 37,848 and 121,335 respectively. (The figures given in the Command Papers showing the Results of Election are generally smaller, and against the Muhammadans, for very many urban voters are included in rural constituencies.) In the absence of better materials, if we assume that the number of the Muhammadan and the non-Muhammadan urban Council voters is reduced in the same proportion as the number of the respective Council voters to the Assembly voters, the estimated numbers of urban Assembly voters become 4,700 Muhammadans, and 30,500 non-Muhummadans. (This again is greatly in favour of the Muhammadan, as the curve of wealth is steeper in his case.)

The main qualification of an urban Assembly voter is payment of Rs. 5 as taxes. In 1926, 76 out of 114 municipalities levied a "Tax on Persons" *i. e.*, an indirect income-tax on circumstances and means. At the usual rate it means a gross annual income of Rs. 500 and a tax of Rs. 20 would mean an income of Rs. 2,000—the ordinary taxable minimum of income. At this level, the estimated numbers of Muhammadan and non-Muhammadan income-tax payers become 2,500 and 21,250,

The respective totals of the estimated Muhammadan and non-Muhammadan assessees are 4,100 and 35,000. The grand total is 39,100. In 1926-27, the number of income-tax assessees in Bengal was 42,036. As we have made several assumptions, we find sufficient correspondence between the two figures to warrant us in thinking that we are right. The Muhammadans are some 10 per cent of the total of income-tax assessees.

In 1911, the Muhammadan income-tax payees formed 14 per cent of the total by actual count. (Then the taxable income was Rs. 1,000.) In 1921, they were estimated to be 12 per cent; and in 1926-27 they were estimated to be 10 per cent. As all these percentages sufficiently agree with each other we are not far from the truth. Taking the mean we take the percentage of the Muhammadan income-tax payers in Bengal to be 12 per cent.

TO MY MOTHERLAND

Blessed am I that I am born to this land
and that I had the luck to love her.
What care I if queenly treasure is not in her store
but enough is for me the living wealth of her love.

The best gift of fragrance to my heart
comes from her own flowers
and I know not where else shines the moon
that can flood my being with such loveliness.
The first light revealed to my eyes
was from her own sky
and let the same light kiss them
before they are closed for ever.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

A Translation by himself of Rabindranath's famous Song "सार्थक जनम आमार जन्मेछि एइ देशे" published in *Visva Bharati News*.

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A PEEP INTO THE EARLY HINDU ARCHITECTURE

By Prof. P. K. ACHARYA, I. E. S., M. A. (Calcutta), Ph. D. (Leiden), D. Litt. (London),
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THE idea of architecture in all countries and in all historical times has been associated, somehow, with public buildings, especially churches, mosques, temples and in some cases with forts and palaces of certain artistic shape known as style. In histories of architecture no special reference is found either to the internal arrangement of these public buildings of infrequent use or to the residential buildings and their internal arrangement of rooms where the most part of life is spent. When we speak of the Saracenic, Gothic, or English architecture of different periods the picture which arises in our mind is not of a residential house of the Muslims or Christians, but of the Mosques and Churches of certain external shapes and doors, windows, and arches of certain styles in palaces of Kings and chiefs and nobles. To exclude from the purview of architecture the dwelling houses, especially their internal arrangement, where we are born and brought up, where we get the joy and sorrow of living, and where we ultimately die, would be to reduce architecture to a mere study of comparatively little practical utility and importance for a vast majority of civilized people. This was, however, not the case with the Hindu architecture, which is known by the significant title of *Vāstu-Śāstra* or science of dwelling houses. The historians of Hindu architecture, on the analogy of Muslim and Christian architecture, have confined themselves to the description and discussion of the recent Hindu, Buddhist and Jain temples and the scanty remains of some dilapidated forts and palaces. In fact, no archaeological remains of dwelling houses are available for those historians who depend mostly upon such remains and do not consider seriously such evidences as can be gathered together from general literature and purely architectural texts numbering a few hundreds. The details in those architectural treatises as well as in Hindu and Buddhist Scriptures, epics, Puranas, Agamas and other literature are of such a nature as can hardly be expected from mere fanciful imagination.

The long controversy between Fergusson and Rajendralala Mitra on the existence of burnt brick edifices in the Vedic period is a matter of little worth in presence of the discoveries of cities and buildings built of stone and burnt brick at Mohenjodaro and Harappa, which must be placed long before the Vedic period. These discoveries have fully justified the conclusion (of Rajendralala Mitra) that the Vedic people were not ignorant of stone forts, walled cities, stone houses and brick edifices. At the period of Buddhist scripture the subject of domestic architecture became of such popular importance that Buddha found it necessary to conclude a religious discourse with a long lecture on architecture stating,

> "I allow you O Bhikkhus, abodes of five kinds—Vihara (monastery), Ardharyoga or Suvarna-Vangagriha (gold coloured Bengal house or Bungalow), Prasāda (long-storied mansion), Harmya (storied edifices), and Guhā" (cave houses)."*

These are expressly stated to be 'abodes' or dwelling houses, not temples. And the residence of a mere devotee (upasaka) contains a sleeping room, a stable, a tower, a one-peaked building, a shop, a *boutique*, a storeyed house, an attic, a cave, a cell, a store room, a refactory, a fire room, a kitchen, a privy, a place to walk in, a house to walk in, a well, a well house, a weapons-room (yantragriha), a lotus pond, a pavilion, and a bathing place for hot sitting baths. (Mahavagga III. 5. 6. 9.)

These hot-air baths are fully described in the Vinaya texts (III. 105-110, 297):

> "They were built on an elevated basement faced with brick or stone, with stone stairs leading up to it, and a railing round the verandah. The roof and walls were of wood, covered first with skins, and then with plaster; the lower part only of the wall being faced with bricks. There was an ante-chamber and a hot room, and a pool to bathe in. Seats were arranged round a fire place in the middle of the hot room; and to induce perspiration hot water was poured over the bathers. ...After the bath there was shampooing and then a plunge into the pool."

This advanced state of modern scientific achievements at such an early time in India has naturally puzzled the wit of those who can hardly believe in the ingenuity of early Indians. Thus Mr. Rhys Davids observes that "it is very curious to find at this very early age at the Ganges valley a sort of bathing so closely resembling our modern Turkish bath." "Did the Turks," he asks in utter confusion, "derive this custom from India?" (P. 74).

> "In the King's palace there was accommodation also for all the business of the state, and for the numerous retinue and the extensive harem."
>
> "The entrance to the great houses was through a large gateway. The gateway led into an inner

* Vinaya texts, Mahavagga 1. 30. 4, pp. 173-174, Chullavagga, VI. 1. 2, p. 158.

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courtyard round which were chambers on the ground floor. And above these chambers were a flat roof...where the owner sat usually under a pavilion, which answered the purpose at once of a drawing-room, an office, and a dining hall."

"The inner chambers of larger house were divided into three classes called Sivika-garbha (square halls), Nālikāgarbha (rectangular halls) and Harmya-garbha (state-rooms or round halls). The blessed Buddha says, 'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, covered terraces, inner verandahs, and over-hanging eaves.' Storeyed buildings were supplied with verandahs supported on pillars with capitals of elephant heads. There were stairs built of brick, stone and wood. They were furnished with balustrades. Each of the flights of stairs is stated to have posts or banisters attached to it, cross bars let into these banisters, and either a head-line running along the top of the banisters or a figure-head at the lower end of such a head line."

Doors were furnished with

"door-post and lintel, with hollows like a mortar for the door to revolve in, with projections to revolve in those hollows, with rings on the door for the bolt to work along in, with a block of wood fixed into the edge of the door-post, and containing a cavity for the bolt to go into what is called monkey's head, with a pin to secure the bolt by, with a connecting bolt, with a key-hole, with a hole for a string with which the door may be closed, and with a string for the purpose." (Chullavagga VI. 3.:8 ; 2. 1 and 17.)

"Windows of three kinds were made with railings, lattices and slips of wood as in Venetian blinds. The shutters were adjustable and could be closed or opened whenever required."

Five kinds of roofing are mentioned—brick roofing, stone-roofing, cement-roofing, straw-roofing, and roofing of leaves. The roof was first covered over with skins and plastered within and without; then follow white-wash, blocking, red-colouring, wreath-work, and creeper work.

The floor was coloured and with a view to removing dampness gravel was spread over it.

The epics also refer to dwelling houses in addition to temples and palaces. It is stated in the Rāmāyana (1. 5. 10-15) that

"The temples in the city of Ayodhya were as resplendent as the sky. Its assembly halls, gardens and alms-houses were most elegant ; and everywhere were arranged extensive buildings. The steeples of houses were as resplendent as the crests of mountains and bore hundred of pavilions... The rooms were...exquisitely gilt and decorated and seemed as charming as pictures ; and they were so arranged that men could pass from one room to another without perceiving any inequality (in the floor)."

The guest houses built in connection with the royal sacrifice (Rājasuya) are described in the Mahābhārata (B. II. c 34, A. S. rd. I. p. 354) :

"Those houses were lofty...most charming in appearance, and provided with excellent furniture. They were surrounded on all sides by well-built high walls of a white colour. The windows were protected by golden lattices and decorated with a profusion of jewellery. The stairs were easy of ascent...The houses were white as the swan, bright as the moon, and looked most picturesque even from a distance of four miles. They were free from obstructions, provided with doors of uniform height, but of various quality, and inlaid with numerous metal ornaments. They had by them charming lakes and ranges or ornamental plants."

"In the cities described in the epics special palaces existed for the King, the princes, the chief priests, ministers and military officers. Besides these and humble dwellings, the larger houses being divided into various courts, there were various assembly halls, courts of justice, and the booths of small traders with goldsmith's shops, and the work-places of other artisans."

Apart from such casual references found in all the Puranas, nine of them have treated the subject of arthitecture more systematically and have dealt with the technical details of plans, measures, classifications, pavilions, halls, storeys, steeples, etc. In the Matsya-Purāna pillars are divided into five orders, as in the western system and their component parts into eight mouldings exactly like those of the Greco-Roman orders. In this Purāna pavilions are divided into twenty-seven classes according to the number of pillars they are furnished with and may be triangular, quadrangular, octagonal, sixteen-sided, crescent-shaped, and round or circular. Buildings proper are divided into forty-five types under five plans, quadrangular, rectangular, round, oval and octagonal in the Agni and Garuda Purānas. In the Matsya and Bhavishya Purānas as well as in the Brihat Samhita buildings are divided into twenty types and described with minute details. Thus a type of building called *Meru* is stated to be fifty cubits broad, and is furnished with a hundred cupolas (Sringa), sixteen storeys, and many variegated steeples.

Similarly the extensive literature known as the Agamas deals with the subject in greater and more technical details. The Kāmikāgama devotes sixty chapters out of a total of seventy-five to architecture and its treatment of the subjects can hardly be surpassed by that of an architectural treatise. Just like a Vāstu-sāstra it begins systematically with the preliminary matters, such as testing and preparation of soil, selection of site, scheme of measurement, and orientation of buildings. Buildings are classified under twenty types and described with highly technical details of styles, shapes, genders, materials, situation and ultility.

The great popularity of the subject has induced the authors of other classes of literature also to deal with the subject. Thus we find a more or less detailed account of it but without technical details in the Arthsāstra, the Sukranīti, the Harsha-charita, the Rajatarangini, even in the astronomical works (as the Garga-sambhita, Lilavati, Suryasiddhanta, etc.), poetical works

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(e.g. Vikramorvasi, Uttara-Rama-charita), romances, dramas and medical works.

So far as the avowedly architectural works are concerned it would be impossible to refer here to all matters discussed therein for the benefit and direction of the practical builders. The standard work, Mānasāra, deals with the subject of architecture and its hand-maid sculpture exhaustively in seventy chapters. The first eight chapters are introductory wherein full accounts are given of the system of measurements, the necessary training and qualifications of the different classes of architects, the testing of soil, the selection of site, planning, designing and staking, finding out of cardinal points for orientation of architectural objects, and astronomical and astrological calculations. In the next forty chapters are given all the architectural details of various kinds of villages, towns and forts; joinery, dimensions, and foundations not only of buildings but also of the villages, towns, tanks, etc.; pillars and their component parts such as pedestals, bases, shafts, capitals, and entablatures; storeys varying from one to twelve in ordinary buildings and to seventeen in gatehouses; the artistic arrangement of mansions in as many as ten rows; compounds and courts of edifices, their gatehouses, their attached and detached buildings; the doors, windows and other openings; the stairs and staircases for buildings, hills, rivers, etc.; the courtyards, quadrangles and arches; royal courts, palaces, thrones, and crowns; cars, chariots and other conveyances; articles of furniture such as bedsteads, couches, tables, chairs, wardrobes, baskets, cages, mills, lamps, various dresses and garments; and the personal ornaments such as various chains, armlets, bracelets, head-gears and foot-wears. In the concluding twenty chapters are given the sculptural details of idols of deities of the Hindus, the Buddhists and the Jains, statues of great personages, and images of animals and birds.

No proper elucidation of all these various subjects is possible here. The plates may give some idea. Of the preliminary matters attention may be invited to two things which have been specially emphasized in Hindu architecture. In the thirty-two illustrative site-plans, the area of the site selected for a village, town, fort, harbour, and residential buildings, after a thorough examination of the soil, the wind-direction, the humidity, salubrity of the air, and the sloping, e.g. for drainage, and the general aspect, is divided into as many as 1024 quarters (each one of which are named after the quarter lords numbering some forty-five). The importance of this device is that the exact situation of a particular spot where a certain structure is to be built can be most accurately ascertained. No other method can point to a spot with so much accuracy. The sites admit of all possible shapes, quadrangular, triangular, circular, semi-circular, etc. Before referring to the other preliminary matters, namely, the aspect and orientation which together with the scheme of arrangement of rooms in dwelling houses will be briefly elucidated in conclusion, it is proposed to refer here to the foundation to which the modern builders do not seem to have paid sufficient attention.

In the Mānasāra the foundation is classified under three heads, namely, for buildings; for villages, towns, cities, forts, etc.; and for cisterns, wells and tanks. So far as the modern Indian villages and towns are concerned, there is no trace of any proper foundation being ever laid. The recent earthquake areas in North Bihar where many villages and towns have been demolished do not show that in those settlements any foundation was ever laid for the whole areas. In the same areas the destroyed cisterns, wells and tanks also do not show any proper foundation. In fact, it is almost a general practice to dig the well and complete it by a sort of wall for the sides only, leaving the bottom more or less unattended to for supply of water like the tube-wells. In case of tanks there is no side-wall even. The Mānasāra has prescribed foundation for wells and tanks as deep as the joined palm of man (narāñjali). For villages, etc. that is for *grāma, nagara, pura, pattana, kharvata, Koshtha, Kola, etc.* foundations are stated to be of five kinds, and vary according to the size of the construction. The foundation of buildings is divided into two classes, as it belongs to human dwellings and to temples and other public buildings, for the latter of which a stronger foundation is prescribed. This would account for the lesser destruction of Hindu temples in North Bihar by the earthquake.

> "The best ground selected for foundations is excavated to the depth of man's height with uplifted arms. The bottom of the pit thus excavated is stated to end in rock or water. The depth of the excavation should be equal to the height of the basement. The four corners and sides, built of brick or stone, are stated to be equal. The pit is first filled with sand and water, which are closely pressed and hardened by means of (wooden) hammers shaped like the elephant's foot. From the bottom should be removed all water if there remains any. The floor of the excavation should be consolidated with seven kinds of earth, namely, from rivers, mountains, anthills, crab-holes, sea-shores, tops of trees, and cow's hoofs. Upon this earth deposit should be further deposited the roots of white lotuses, blue lotuses, water-lily, *saugandhi* grass, and Kākali (ganja) plant. Upon this should be placed in order the eight sorts of corn, namely, Sāli, brihi, kodrava (paspalum scorbi cultum), Kangu (panic seed), mudga (phaseolus mungo), Māsha (bean, phaseolustradiatus), Kulattha (dolichos uniflarus), and tila (sesamum indicum). Upon this finally depositing the other usual materials (concrete etc.) the foundation should be raised up to the upper surface of the excavation. The twelve kinds of dimensions of excavation to suit buildings of

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one to twelve storeys are specified with various alternatives."

The plinth proper is also stated to vary in accordance with the number of storeys and size of the building. Pillars of five main orders are erected in suitable places. Halls of a thousand columns are also described. Walls which admit of various thickness and shapes are stated to be both solid and hollow, and external and internal containing paintings, doors, windows, lattices dormer windows, sky-lights and other openings are specified with details of measurement and designs even for the kitchens and privies. Steps and staircases of various designs including circumambulating ones are stated to be both fixed and movable. The floor is stated to be solid all over and coloured and decorated.

The roofing needs more than a passing reference. This is a matter like the foundation which distinguishes a cave-house from a free-building. The primitive people living in caves like animals to protect themselves from the inclemency of weather did not concern themselves either with the stability based on foundation and roofing or for the proper situation and thickness of the walls. The natural rocks supplied the models of all the three kinds of roof, namely, flat, pent and spherical. A scientific calculation of the strength of foundations, supports and walls, and roofs became unavoidable as soon as a free-standing building after the model of the caves at first was attempted by skilled men. The natural cementing of the layers of rocks must have supplied the idea of erecting walls by placing stones at first and bricks later on, one layer upon another, joining by concrete as was the case with the rocks. Thus, incidentally, stone and brick-built dwellings must have preceded the wooden and straw buildings.

Although the spherical roofing is the highest development in architecture both from the scientific and artistic point of view yet flat-roofing for the tropical countries like India is the most popular both in congested cities like Calcutta and in the country-side as it supplies an open-air space. The corrugated iron sheet which has been manufactured and introduced by greedy merchants for the roofing of dwelling houses fits in both for flat and pent roofs. The poor people of Bengal, who live on diets on which, it has been authoritatively stated, even rats cannot live long, have found it very convenient to build their houses with corrugated iron sheets both for roofing and walling upon wet earthen floor. The inside of these houses, the surroundings of which spread unbearable smell of jute-plants, and corns, and cow sheds, is like hell: it is sweltering in summer, leaks in rainy season and bitterly cold in winter. Who is responsible for this criminal device? Who should remove this widely spread practice and the appalling ignorance of its baneful effect?

The Mānasāra has described the roofing in great detail. It is stated to be built in flat, pent or spherical shape, not with corrugated iron sheets, but with wood, brick or stone. The Buddhist literature has suggested straw-roofing also, which is certainly much more salubrious than the corrugated iron sheets, which however last longer and are less ignitable. The Mānasāra has suggested paintings for the ceiling also.

The houses thus built comprise rooms which are luxuriously furnished* and are stated in all architectural treatises on Hindu architecture to be arranged in accordance with a definite principle. The Mānasāra has devoted a large number of chapters to articles of furniture and a detailed account of thrones, etc. The following particulars are supplied by the Buddhist canonical texts. . . .

> "Articles of furniture, which form an important part of the architectural subjects are also described elaborately in the Buddhist list. Benches were made long enough to accommodate three persons. The bedstead (pallanka) or divan was a separate piece of furniture. Large couches (Asandi) or chairs seem to have been important articles of furniture. Couches covered with canopies are also mentioned. Mention is made of a large variety of chairs, namely, rectangular chair (asandaka), armchair, sofa or sattango, sofa with arms to it, state chair (bhaddapitham), cushioned chair (pithika), chair with many legs (amalaka-vanika pitham), leaning board (phatakam), cane-bottomed chair (kochchham) and straw-bottomed chair. Mention is also made of the litter or the sedan chair."

Valuable carpets, rugs, pillows, curtains and such other luxurious decorations also are elaborately described. Thus mention is made of

> "coverlets with long fleece, conterpanes of many colours, woolen coverlets, white or marked with thick flowers. Mattresses, cotton coverlets dyed with figures of animals, rugs with long hair on one or both sides, carpets inwrought with gold or with silk, large woolen carpets such as the nauch girls dance upon, rich elephant housings, horse rugs or carriage rugs, panther or antelope skins, large cushions and crimson cushions."

Pillows are of various kinds; they are stated to be of both "the size of a man's head" and half "the size of a man's body." The Buddha allows the Bhikkus "to comb out the cotton, make the cotton up into pillows if it is of any of these three kinds—cotton produced from trees, cotton produced on creepers and cotton produced from potaki grass." The bolsters made for the use of high officials were of five kinds, as they were stuffed with wool, cotton cloth, bark, grass or leaves. There were also coverlets for them. The smaller articles like the floor-cloth, mosquito curtains, handkerchiefs and the spittoon did not escape the notice of the then house-decorators.†

Two small texts, the *Vāstutatva* (published

* See the writer's *Indian Architecture*, pp. 15-16.

† For detailed references see the writer's "*Indian Architecture*" according to the Mānasāra. Pp. 15-16.

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from Lahore) and the *Grihavāstu-pradipa* (published from Lucknow), which have apparently drawn upon a larger and more comprehensive treatise like the Mānasāra supply the plan and arrangement of a sixteen-roomed dwelling house with the courtyard in the middle, which is typical and admirably suited to a middle-class family. According to this plan there should be in the north-east (1) the family chapel; in the east (2) the room for keeping all things, (3) the bath-room, and (4) the room for churning milk in; in the south-east corner (5) the kitchen; in the south (6) the Britashagriha (? washing room), and (7) the lavatory or latrine; in the south-west corner (8) the library room; in the west (9) the room for private study, (10) dining hall, and (11) the weeping room for receiving by the ladies the newly arrived relations; in the north-west corner (12) the granary; in the north (13) the bed room, (14) the store-room and (15) the room for the invalids (lit. Medicine).

It should be noted that in this plan the house faces the north, where the best residential rooms are located. The rooms in the south and the east are those which are not frequently required for residence. Here north is the best direction and the west is the next best, the east being the third in order and the south the worst. This plan is suitable for places in western and northern India, as indicated by Lahore and Lucknow wherefrom these texts are published, and where the northern and western wind from the Himalayas is the most salubrious.

Another similar text, the *Vāstu-prabandha* (II. 25-26) stated to be a compilation supplies the plan and arrangement of a smaller house with eight rooms. According to this plan there should be in the east (1) the bath-room; in the south-east (2) the kitchen; in the south (3) the bed room; in the south-west (4) the library; in the west (5) the dining hall; in the north-west (6) the room for the domestic animals; in the north (7) the store-room; and in the north-east (8) the family chapel.

In this plan the lavatory is missing, and apparently some public latrine, closed or open, is intended to be used. Here the bedroom is located in the south, indicating the southern aspect of the house, which is suitable for southern and eastern provinces where the healthy south wind blows from the southern seas and the Malay hills. The Matsya-Purana (Chap. 256, vs. 33-36) supplies a curious plan, which is also adopted in an architectural compilation, *Silpa-śastra Sara-Samgraha* (II. 24-28). According to this rooms are all built in the corners, the four main directions, north, east, south and west being left entirely vacant. Thus there should be built in the north-east corner (1) the family chapel, and (2) the bedroom; in the south-east corner (3) the kitchen, close to it (4) the room for storing water; in the south-west corner (5) the room for collecting the rubbish, beyond that and outside the house (6) the slaughter house (or confinement room) and (7) the bath-room; in the north-west corner (8) the granary and the store-room combined, and beyond that and outside the house (9) the workshop or the office room.

This plan is specially stated to bring peace, prosperity and health for the house-holders. This house faces the north-east where the bedroom is situated.

The Agni-purāna (Chap. 106, vs. 1-12, 18-20) makes provision for residential houses in cities in particular and recommends the four typical plans, namely, rooms being built covering the four sides with the courtyard in the middle, rooms being built on three sides and the fourth side in continuation of the courtyard being left free for the passage of light and air; rooms being built on two sides only, leaving the other two sides vacant, and the rooms being built on one side only, apparently without any courtyard, the purpose of which is supplied by verandahs and balconies both in the frontside and backside. The arrangement of rooms is illustrated by the plan of an eight-roomed house. According to this plan there should be in the east (1) the library or strong room (lit. for sree, learning or wealth); in the south-east (2) the kitchen; in the south (3) the bedroom; in the south-west (4) the room for weapons; in the west (5) the dining hall; in the north-west (6) the granary: in the north (7) the room for storing all things; and in the north-east (8) the family chapel.

This is also a plan with the southern aspect. The *Kāmikāgama* (XXXV. 177-191) also describes a house with southern aspect, but comprising some thirty rooms. This Agama which is directly indebted to the Mānasāra prescribes like its original alternative quarters for the same room. The Mānasāra appears to be an all-India work and does not prescribe any one aspect either for a house, or a village or town. It has, however, divided India into ten architectural provinces for which special directions have been given.

So far as the aspect and orientation are concerned the Mānasāra has discussed in great detail the exact situation of residential and public quarters in eight village schemes, eight town plans and fifteen fortified military establishments. The plates may supply an idea. A matter which deserves notice of the modern builders is the caste or sectwise partition of residential quarters. It cannot be denied that there is a special advantage of housing the people of the same caste, rank, profession, means and taste in the same quarter. Another important point to note is that in shopping centres it is directed that the houses should be built on one side of the road only, like the Calcutta Chowringhee Road. The object is to avoid congestion. The free passage of air is provided for by the straight and broad

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streets and lanes running from one end to the other.

The internal arrangement of rooms in small dwelling houses is essentially like those described above. In the large edifices, palaces and mansions the buildings of various storeys are artistically arranged. There are stated to be one to seven enclosures in palaces of Kings of nine orders. These enclosures are surrounded by walls each of which is furnished with a large gateway known as the *Gopuram*. In the innermost court (antarmandala with the gateway called the Dvārasobhā) are erected the residential palaces of the King, queens and princesses, and would be analogous to the Muslim harem. In the second circle (antanihara, with the gateway called Dvāra-sālā) are built the edifices for the crown prince and other princes, royal priests, ministers and such other people. In the middle court (madhyamāhārā, with the gateway Dvāra-prāsāda) are built mansions for council halls, office rooms, and quarters for the resident members of the council, high civil and military officers, resident clerks and others. Within this enclosure in some properly secured lanes are built secret residences for the King. In the fourth enclosure (Prākāra, with gateway Dvāra-harmya) are quartered the foreign offices, for negotiating war peace and such other matters. In the fifth court (Mahāmaryāda, with the gateway called the great gate-house) are erected military quarters, barracks, and offices of smaller importance. The sixth and the seventh encloures, which are not included in the smaller palaces, are reserved for the defence forces, guards, royal stables, houses for domestic animals, zoological gardens, etc. which are sometimes accommodated in the fifth court also. Prisons, cemeteries, cremation grounds and temples of certain fearful deities are quartered beyond the palace compounds. Temples are built within each court. The pleasure gardens, orchards, tanks, etc. are suitably built within all the enclosures. In each of the enclosures mansions of one to twelve storeys are artistically arranged in rows varying from one to ten, while the gate houses are furnished with one to seventeen storeys.

The exact situation of particular private and public buildings is specified. Thus it is stated that the main royal chapel should be built in the central plot known as the Brahmapitha, and the public audience hall in the quarter of Yama, Soma, Vayu, or Nairrita in accordance with the situation of the palace in a particular province or city, and so forth.

These descriptions may make it clear that what the early authorities wanted most is to give a proper aspect to villages and towns and orientation of dwelling houses therein in order to supply abundantly salubrious air, light and sun for the rich and poor alike. It was also directed that in bed the head should be kept towards a certain direction in order to get the maximum benefit of pure air in sleep also. The Roman architect Vitruvius also emphasized the absolute need of keeping the proper aspect for Italian cities.

> "A city on the seaside," it is stated (BK. I. Chap. III, IV), "exposed to the south or west will be insalubrious; for in summer mornings, a city thus placed will be hot, at noon it would be scorched. A city also with a western aspect would even at sunrise be warm, at noon hot, and in the evening of a burning temperature. Hence the constitution of the inhabitants of such places, from such continual and excessive changes of air, would be much vitiated."

After citing opinions of physicians and historians and supporting by illustrations it is further stated

> "When, therefore, a city is built in a marshy situation near the sea coast with a northern, north-eastern, or eastern aspect...the site is not altogether improper, for, by means of sewers the waters may be discharged into the sea."

In other words, the errors other than those of the aspect, concerning equally villages, towns, and dwelling houses, can be corrected, while those of the aspect are incorrigible. A house at Puri facing the direction other than the sea wherefrom the pleasant breeze blows may serve as an illustration. The dwelling houses in Calcutta facing the north are extremely hot in summer in all hours of day and night, and bitterly cold in winter, while the houses in towns of the United Provinces, like Agra, Allahabad, Lucknow, Benares, etc. facing the west and the south are unpleasantly hot in summer and bitingly cold in winter.

Considering the present condition of our dwelling houses not only in modern towns, cities, ports, business centres, mill areas and factory quarters but also in villages, nobody can easily imagine that there were times in India when it was almost obligatory on the part of those who control public health and revenues not to be callous to the extent of denying even pure air to the poor and uneducated and reserve for the rich and those in power the healthier civil lines and cantonment areas.

It is, however, not difficult to follow the present state of things in the layout of our villages and towns and the orientation and arrangement of our dwelling houses therein. Following the break-up and disappearance of Hindu culture, not by bodily removal or modification for the better but by superimposition, first by the Persian, Grecian, Scythian, Kushan, and Hun invaders, and later by the Pathans, and Mughals and lastly by the European powers, the Hindu Sastras (or guide books) were all but lost, the Hindu traditions were forgotten, and the essentially Hindu habits and customs were materially changed. Thus a purely Hindu village, town, and house was built upon by a Buddhist one, upon which was imposed by turn a Persian, Grecian, Central Asian, lower Asian and modern European ones. The result

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has been that in the orientation and internal arrangement of our houses we do not find the scientific principles of any one country or climate. A casual inspection of houses in cities like Bombay, the Panjab cities, U. P. cities, Bengal and Madras may serve convincing illustrations. Even the so-called business, and European and aristocratic quarters contain purely European style of houses in an entirely different soil, climate and weather. Not only certain quarters of Lahore, Delhi, Meerut, Lucknow, Benares, Patna, Calcutta are named after the Pathans and the Mughals, but there are actually houses with all the characteristic features of the Arabian deserts and the colder regions wherefrom the Mughals emerged. This inexplicable state of things seems to have been due partly to the natural desire of the conquerors to firmly establish their domination and culture by removing the custom, habit, and tradition of the conquered as far as possible, and partly due to the ignorance of the scientific methods of Indian architecture or to dislike to apply them in preference to their own.

Then in the times of certain invaders and rulers the protection of women and wealth became extremely difficult. Thus not only in towns but also in villages houses had to be built like dungeons removing all openings, windows, and verandahs, retaining only a single entrance and in some cases a small dormer window high up in the wall, not with a view to provide for the passage of requisite air and light, but rather to enable the inhabitants to listen to the noise of a passer-by, who might often turn to be an officer in search of young women and gold ornaments. In fact, in western and northern India where such state of things obtained for a long time, villages still exist which look like prisons, and in the cities like Lahore, Delhi, Agra, Allahabad, Lucknow and Patna, etc., even the parapets on the roof of storeyed houses are like the high solid walls and represent the tower of silence of the Parsees.

Since the establishment of the British government through a company of traders the security of life and property began to improve from the beginning because trade in a foreign country could never prosper except in peaceful conditions. But although our gold could be kept with more security in a British Bank and our womenfolk might be safer in the custody of a British family, yet in the meantime, in consequence of the experience of some seven hundred years, we have become slave to the habit of personal *purdah* and domestic seclusion, and have entirely forgotten the sanitary need and the principles of Hindu architecture. Unfortunately, however, the commercial feature of the British rule is responsible for criminally insanitary things like the corrugated iron sheets for the roofing and walling of our dwelling houses, waiting rooms in Railway stations, and sheds in mill quarters and factory areas. Moreover, we ourselves have developed, as the result of the mental or cultural conquest, an eagerness for blind imitation of everything western. The habit of using commode in the bed chamber by the educated rich may serve as an illustration. The Commode itself is an insanitary device to replace the water closet wherefrom the discharges are carried off by the flow of water, thus preventing the vitiation of the air of the surrounding places. This blind imitation is responsible for the introduction of dry commode in our villages and towns, where no flushing system is possible, and thus an unfortunate class of people had to be allured to take to the profession of carrying away nightsoil and helping some upcountry municipal boards in filling up pits and caves whereupon the so-called town Improvement Trusts supply so-called improved quarters for our residence. But either owing to the scarcity of this human career, or due to the desire of practical economy in many of our houses, the unclean commode placed in bed chamber or in a room close to it is used again and again. In most instances this commode room known as the bath-room is the place where we actually wash and bathe, and thus we gather together in one place the internal and external discharges of our body, and live the life of studied economy and purity.

Owing to economic difficulties and social habits the necessary food and clothes are not available for a large majority of our people. In addition to this pure air and water, the free gifts of God, are also denied to us as a result of the unscientific layout of our dwelling houses and the insanitary aspect of most of our villages, towns and cities. Due to our ignorance, indifference and reluctance we are unaware of the extent to which we have been sacrificing our national health and individual comfort and convenience.

Cinema shows, popular lectures, and architectural exhibitions of houses of all civilized countries with the latest improvements may possibly remove our appaling ignorance and rouse a public desire to improve the conditions of our dwelling houses.

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THE WATERS OF DESTINY

By SITA DEVI

XI

OLD Delhi has been replaced by New Delhi, as the capital of British India. But the older city is still the capital of the land of romance. Its dead and gone emperors are still reigning supreme in that kingdom. There time has made no change.

A party of Bengalis had just got down from carriages and was about to enter one of Delhi's most picturesque old shrines, *viz.*, the tomb of the sage Nizamuddin Aulia. A private motor-car and a hackney carriage had conveyed the party thither. "Thank God, we have actually arrived," said a young girl, getting out of the car, "the way the carriage behaved scarcely left any hope in that direction."

"Really," said another girl. "I thought we, too, would have to take our last rest here, in the midst of this royal Moghul family. Our guide Kashinath prides himself on being a very good conductor; he was going to achieve supreme success by leading us to the doors of heaven."

The guide Kashinath was a real Delhiwallah. He was the descendant of a long line of guides and very proud of it. He felt himself insulted at this jest, and began a long explanation in faultless Urdu. He could not help it, if the horse of the hackney carriage suddenly went lame. Neither could he help the wheel coming off, and rolling away.

An elderly lady now intervened. "Please, Amitâ," she said, rather vexed, "tell your guide to cut short his peroration. It is already getting late. When do you propose to return? Remember that your aunt's bones are not as young as yours."

"Kashinath, stop at once," said Amitâ peremptorily. You can talk, all you want, when we are once inside. Why do you waste your words needlessly? Am I not right, Su? A person who lives by selling his words need not waste them unnecessarily."

"Well, as he canot talk when he is inside, he is doing his best to impress us outside," said Su, who was none else than our old friend Suparnâ. "You know this place has got its own guides and none from outside is allowed to act."

Nobody would now recognize Suparnâ as the oppressed and ignorant village girl Subarna. This was a slender and beautiful young woman, extremely well-dressed and self-possessed. Her talk, her manners, her appearance, everything had changed, and not a trace remained of the Subarna of old times. She had emerged a new being, during the course of these few years. She had tried her best to forget the cruel and fearful past, and had succeeded fairly well. Nothing here reminded her of those awful days. Her father, Pratul Chandra, came once a year to see her, and this annual visit was the sole link with her past life.

Amitâ's aunt had come here with all her children on a visit. They were going about all day visiting the show places of old Delhi. The party was a fairly big one, so their own car had not been enough and they had to hire a hackney carriage.

Nothing of the glorious architectural beauties of Nizamuddin could be seen from the outside. From here, you can only see only a few blackened domes. The party had to walk through knee-deep dust to reach the main gate. They all had to take off their shoes here, as to enter a shrine with shoes on was prohibited. A guide now approached them. He was so handsome and well dressed and his manners were so grand that he could easily be mistaken for a Moghul prince.

"But where is Sudarshan Babu?" suddenly asked Amitâ.

A young man came forward. He was rather dark, but very well-built and strong. "I am all right," he said, "I did not fall out of the carriage. I was looking out for another carriage to take us back. If we go back in the same carriage we came in, we won't get back before twelve o'clock at night.'

"Have you been able to secure another carriage?" asked Suparnâ.

"Not yet," said Sudarshan. "But I met a friend of mine here and asked him to get one for us. Let us go on now."

The party advanced. They came up to a well, which had a flight of stairs, leading down to the water. The water possessed the power of healing diseases, the guide informed them. It looked greenish in colour. Many people stood here bathing in that water.

"I don't know how certain places come to possess such reputation," said Suparnâ. "Sudarshan Babu, you are nearly a full-fledged doctor, can you tells us how it happens?"

"This is something outside medical science," said Sudarshan. But faith-healing had been practised in all climes and in all ages. The water, too, might possess some healing properties, I don't deny that. There are many springs of mineral waters in France and Germany which really do heal certain maladies."

"But you know how and why these cures are effected in those cases. Here you don't under-

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stand anything at all. In my childhood, I saw some cures effected in the villages, with water on which mantras had been muttered. The patients were really cured, though. How, I don't know to this day."

"I like to hear about your childhood. I have heard very little though. I am a Bengali, yet I have never seen Bengal properly speaking," said Sudarshan.

Suparnâ began to look a bit serious now. "But why?" she asked. "Did you not live in Calcutta for years?"

"But Calcutta is not Bengal", said Sudarshan. "You can find a city like that in any country. Only in its villages could a country be really recognized."

"I don't think so," said Suparnâ.

"Why?" asked Sudarshan.

"Those who have achieved eminence through education, wealth or success in any form, have all left the villages. Only those are left in the villages who have no option. They would die, if they tried to go away. Are these the real representatives of a nation?" asked Suparnâ.

Sudarshan was about to reply, but was interrupted by Amitâ, who cried out, "Su, what are you about? Are you discussing medical science or something else? See that you don't stumble."

They were just then entering a tunnel-like passage, which had scarcely any light. So Amitâ might have really cautioned her against a literal stumble. But Suparnâ evidently thought otherwise and blushed fiery red. She left Sudarshan and caught up with the rest of the party with a few rapid steps. Sudarshan smiled rather crestfallen, but he was himself again within a few minutes. He, too, joined the others and began to talk normally.

Sudarshan was the only son of an old resident of Delhi. He had just appeared for his final M.B. examination and had returned from Calcutta only a few days ago. The 'results' had not yet been published, but neither Sudarshan nor anybody else had any doubts about his success. He had always stood first in all the preliminary examinations.

It took a good few minutes for them to emerge out of the tunnel. "What a passage!" said Amitâ. "One never knows where one is being led to."

Suparnâ tried to smile and said, "Yes, really. If someone gives you a tap on the head here, you would not know who the culprit is, when you get out in the light."

"What if it is not a tap, but something nicer?" whispered Amitâ mischievously in Suparnâ's ear. "Would you be sure about the culprit then?"

Suparnâ pinched her hard and pushed her away. Sudarshan had heard only Suparnâ's words and he guessed that Amitâ was saying something witty. But he did not know at whose expense the young lady was waxing humorous.

As they came out of the tunnel, Amitâ's aunt said, "Thank God, we see the light of day again. I felt as if we were going down to the nether regions. What is this place?"

The guide began to explain. It was the family cemetery of the Moghul princes. Those who were buried here had not left their marks in history like their more glorious kinsmen. For them, huge edifices of marble had not been built. Like members of the same household, they had laid themselves down for their last rest, all close together. The guide went on enumerating, "This is the tomb of the last emperor of Delhi, this, of his brother, prince Jahangir and so on." There were innumerable small court-yards, enclosed by walls of marble and profusely decorated with mosaic. Each tomb stood within one such enclosure. Sometimes one courtyard held the tombs of an entire family. In death, too, they had not been divided. Everything was very neat and clean and time had not been able to tarnish their pristine beauty. The marble shone as white now, as when it was first used.

They came to the tomb of the famous poet Amir Khusru. Its royal magnificence seemed to mock at death. A dazzling white sheet was spread on the tomb and a mass of flowers were arranged on it. The air was heavy with the scent of flowers and of other perfumes. A chandelier of gold hung from the ceiling. The tomb of the holy sage Nizamuddin was decorated in like manner. The keepers here were generally rather troublesome. They pestered visitors for money. A few of these money-grabbers now closed round the party asking them to contribute something in the name of the holy sage. "Is not there any religion which is free from this taint?" asked Suparnâ.

"There are", answered Sudarshan. "But those religions have few followers. What is the good of a religion which does not enable you to make some worldly profit out of it?"

"So a religion is only necessary for the sake of profits?" asked Amitâ.

"What else?" said Sudarshan. "What shall a man do with a religion which does not help him to live? How many people can find strength enough to take to a religion which does not do so?"

"But does money alone help you to live, my dear boy?" asked Amitâ's aunt, smiling. "There come certain trials in a man's life, when money is not of the slightest help."

Before Sudarshan could answer, Suparnâ said, "Here lies one who found no consolation in wealth." They had arrived before the tomb of princess Jahan Ara, the daughter of Shah Jahan. Like the other enclosures, it, too, had walls of white marble round it. The tomb was of the same stone, and had a covering of grass on top. The grass was no longer green, but had dried up with the passage of time. There were no keepers here to tend

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this bit of grass, perhaps because no money could be made here.

"Only the few who have enjoyed a superabundance of wealth, know that wealth cannot achieve everything in this world", said Sudarshan, "but these people are very rare. Jahan Ara knew the futility of wealth, because she was the daughter of a mighty emperor. If she had been the daughter of a common man, she would have thought that her life had become so barren on account of poverty."

"But some persons can understand that wealth is not everything, even if they are not princesses." said Suparnâ.

She uttered these words, in so low a voice, that only Amitâ and Sudarshan heard her. Sudarshan looked at her, trying to see through to her heart but made no remarks. The sun was about to go down and they had only finished seeing Nizamuddin's shrine. Everyone was now anxious to return home. "We shall go to see Humayun's tomb tomorrow," said Taran Babu.

"It would have been better, if we could have finished that also today," said Amitâ's aunt. "They ask too much for carriage hire here."

"Tomorrow, you won't have to hire a carriage at all," said Amitâ. "You can take our car. We are a big party today, because it is Sunday, but tomorrow, we two won't have any energy left for sight-seeing, after having attended college for five hours. I am sure I wont have, I cannot tell about Su."

"Have you ever seen me more addicted to pleasure of any sort, than yourself?" asked Suparnâ.

"Oh, I am a candid sort of a person, and I blurt out loudly anything I ever happen to feel; but you, being the wiser of us two, keep it locked up in your heart. That does not prove that you are less pleasure-loving than I am," said Amitâ.

"Your logic is marvellous, you can prove anything you want to, with its help", said Suparnâ.

They had come out in the open by this time. Sudarshan cried out, "Here is Ramrup, he is a real good fellow. You won't have to get into that marvel of a car again."

The driver of the car, referred to, started a row. But as he received nearly the same amount of money he was expecting and as he saw that none of the audience was prepared to take his part, he drove off at last. Sudarshan did not accompany them this time. "What would be the use?" he asked. "I shall walk a bit, then take the tram."

"You had better come with us," said Amitâ. "What would be the good of wading through knee-deep dust?"

"It is good to walk," said Sudarshan. Then turning to Suparnâ, he asked, "Shall I bring the notes to-morrow evening?"

Though he asked the question of Suparnâ, it was Amitâ who replied. "You had better come in the morning," she said. "Su returns very late from college. But she has got a few 'Tenchi' friends, who sometimes give her a lift, then she comes much earlier. It is a hard job, qualifying for a doctor."

"What is a 'Tenchi,' if one may ask?" said Sudharshan.

"Goodness, don't you know even that?" said Amitâ. "It is short for Feringhee."

Suparnâ now spoke. "Please come when it suits you best," she said. "I come home generally at five, unless something extraordinary happens."

"Amitâ is a happy young person," said Taran Babu. "Going to college is nothing but a recreation to her. She enjoys more leisure periods than she has to attend classes."

"That is very unjust of you, father," said Amitâ, "don't I have to work for my classes? Whatever the subject you study, you must spend time and energy on it, even if it is not medical science."

"That is true," said Sudarshan; "but we are given a thorough breaking-in, as we must work hard in after life, and make no distinction of day and night."

"Oh, that's merely a pose," said Amitâ. "The real fact is, doctors eat, drink and make merry like every other person."

"It might seem so to you from a cursory view," said Sudarshan. "But have you ever looked at a doctor's life, from close quarters? Successful medical men never have any time of their own. They become excessively addicted to money-making on the one hand, and, on the other, their friends and relatives never give them any respite."

"I think, a doctor is a very fortunate man," said Suparnâ.

"In what sense?" asked Sudarshan.

"He is of the greatest help to his fellow beings," said Suparnâ. "And he does not have to spend anything to be so. In some other professions you can but spend money for others, if you want to help them; you cannot be of service directly."

Their car started now. So the discussion was cut short. Sudarshan walked back slowly to his own home.

XII

The room in which Suparnâ lived, always struck the eyes of the beholder on account of its scrupulous cleanliness and neatness. The room was middling in size and full of light and air. It had two large windows and two doors, one of which led into Amitâ's room. It contained very little furniture and nothing decorative. There were only an iron bedstead, a dwarf wardrobe, a table and a chair and a clothshorse. The walls had no pictures hanging on them and the curtains were all of spotless white cloth. The

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counterpane was white and most of her dresses on the clothshorse were white, though not cheap. Though white, they gave evidence to the wearer's artistic taste and love of dressing well. Everything, beginning from the roof to the floor, was spotlessly clean, and shone like polished marble. Not a speck of dust or dirt anywhere. You would know at once, that the occupant of the room had a distinctive individuality of her own.

After the party reached home everyone retired to his or her room to change and rest. Amitâ's aunt came in to Suparnâ's room and sat down in the chair. "Anybody would know that you are determined to be a doctor, from the sight of this room," she said.

"Of course, anybody would," said Suparnâ. "The number of medical books and medical charts are evidence enough."

"Not only for that," said Amitâ's aunt. "I don't know English, and I would not know whether all these books are fiction or medical books. There is only one medical chart. Still as soon as one enters this room, one feels that such scrupulous cleanliness can only be learnt at hospitals. The room is just what it should be, neither over-crowded nor over-empty, and everything in its place."

"No one ever noticed these things before," said Suparnâ.

"Youthful eyes overlook most things", said Amitâ's aunt. "Only those whose eyes have been looking at the world for years, can see beneath appearances. I don't think, many besides myself would know that this room belonged to a devotee."

"What a thing to say, aunt !" said Suparnâ, with a shy laugh. "If a room is not overcrowded and overdecorated, it does not necessarily mean that the occupant is a devotee. Why do you think, I am anything of that kind ? What is the difference between Amitâ and myself ?"

Just as she finished speaking, Amitâ ran into the room, with the end of her Kashmere silk Sari trailing behind her and her hands busy with the brooch on her shoulder. She had heard only the last words of Suparnâ and now began to comment on them, "Oh, isn't there any difference though ?" she asked, "Ask anyone and he will tell you that there is a good deal of difference."

"Well, I am asking, am I not ?" said Suparnâ.

"Very well", said Amitâ ? "I shall try to enlighten you, as far as I can. I have come to this world merely to enjoy myself, while you have come with a definite mission. Isn't it a great difference ? The world is for me, while you are for the world."

Suparnâ gave her a playful blow on the back and said, "Don't try to be clever for the benefit of aunt. In which way am I enjoying the world less than you are ? I am eating, dressing and going about just as you are. Then where does my likeness to a devotee come in ?"

"You may try to laugh away the whole matter," said Amit'âs aunt, "but there is some truth in it. We shall talk about it on some other day. Today I am extremely tired. All my bones are aching. Come along, my dear niece, and look after your old aunt for a while."

Taran Babu's house was not a big one, every room being occupied. So if guests arrived, they had to be accommodated in the rooms belonging to Taran Babu and the two girls. Amitâ's aunt had been put into Amitâ's room. Her sons spent the day in Taran Babu's bedroom and the night, in the drawing room. As Taran Babu remained out nearly the whole of the day, this arrangement was proving quite satisfactory.

Amitâ's aunt went and laid herself down in her niece's room. Amitâ had given up her own luxurious bed to the honoured guest, and now slept on a makeshift bed on a camp bedstead. "Why aunt ?" she cried out, "you have not changed your dress yet."

"I am too tired, my dear," her aunt replied, "I shall change after dinner. You have dinner quite early, so I won't have to wait long, I suppose ?"

"You won't have to wait at all," said Amitâ. "It is ready, and the servants are eagerly waiting to serve it.

"Your servants are lucky," said her aunt. "I have seen many households where they are never free before three in the afternoon and before eleven at night. No amount of scolding would make them expedite matters."

"Our servants are not built of superior stuff," said Amitâ. "But Bhaju is an old servant, he manages the rest. We have our dinner as soon as we get back from college and father also likes it. Nobody takes anything at night save a cup of milk or ovaltine. So they have to finish their work by the evening. Because you are here, they serve dinner a bit late."

Suparnâ now came in after changing and announced, "The dinner is served. Let us go."

Everyone proceeded to the dining-room. The family was rather westernized in manners, as is sometimes the case with Bengalis who live outside Bengal. How to remain a Bengali and at the same time modern, is a thing which is known only to Calcutta people. As Amitâ's aunt sat down, she began to push away the knives and forks from before her and said, "Why do you place these things before me, every day ? I can only cut myself with these."

"I, too, used to get very much frightened, when I first saw these," said Suparnâ, "I was so afraid of hurting myself !"

"But Su can learn things so quick, it is really amazing," said Amitâ. "During these few years, she has become a far greater Memsahib than I am. I like very much to eat with my

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fingers. I enjoy it quite. But let Su once use her fingers, she will wash and wash her hands and never be satisfied till the skin is off."

"That is not because I like being a Memsahib," said Suparnâ. "I think it quite natural not to want to eat with fingers that had recently been dissecting dead bodies.'

"Good gracious!" said Amitâ, "I really fail to understand how people do these sickening things. Father wanted to put me, too, in the medical college. I told him plainly that it would not suit me at all. Amazons like Su alone find these things suitable."

Her aunt laughed and said to her brother, "Whoever else becomes a doctor, brother, your daughter will never become one. She is too fastidious and nervous. You should have seen her face when she accidentally crushed a cockroach to death."

"Her mother, too, was just as nervous," said Taran Babu. "I wanted to put her in the medical college, with Suparnâ, because I wanted to cure her of it. But she refused."

"Did you not feel any objection to becoming a doctor ?" Amitâ's aunt asked Suparnâ.

"No," said Suparnâ, "it was settled from the first that I was to study medicine. Don't you remember, it was settled in your house in Calcutta ?"

"So it was, said the lady. "Now I remember, your father first suggested it. Lord! who would guess that you are the same Suparnâ ? Even your appearance has changed. We believe you to be the same girl, because we know. No one else would believe it".

Suparnâ became a bit grave. Amitâ laughed and asked, "Why was your name too changed, Su ?"

"My father did not like my old name," said Suparnâ. Amitâ's aunt was about to say something, but she stopped, on hearing Suparnâ's reply. Perhaps the girl did not want to discuss her past.

As soon as the dinner was finished, all retired to their rooms. The sound of conversation was heard from Amitâ's room for a while, but the light in Suparnâ's room was put out almost at once. She was feeling very tired, both in body and mind and was in no mood for further conversation.

So she put out the light and laid herself down on her bed. The stars looked down upon her, through the open window, like so many bright eyes. What was she thinking ? Why were her eyes filling with tears ? Some pain, which she never felt in the daytime, had perhaps come out of the hidden depths of her being and was now standing face to face with her. Nobody would think that there was any sorrow or disappointment in her life. She lived like the daughter of a rich man and enjoyed life in every way. She was fully immersed in her studies and seemed to like it too. But why these tears, during the dark hours of the night ? Whence came this sorrow and pain in her life ?

After a while she wiped her eyes and turned round. She wanted to thrust away all these painful thoughts from her and to sleep. She fell asleep soon afterwards.

Except on holidays, the girls were busy from morning till evening. Supurnâ specially had not a moment to spare, as her studies took up far more of her time, than Amitâ's did. She rose nearly an hour earlier than Amitâ and finished her toilette and cleaned up her room, before the other members of the family were awake. Then either she sat down to her studies or gave orders for the day to the servants. As Taran Babu's wife was dead, the two girls took turns in managing the household. Amitâ supervised everything for one week, next week it was Suparnâ who took charge.

The whole family assembled together for tea. Then they went their respective ways and met one another next, at dinner time. They lunched separately, as each had his or her own hour. Suparnâ and Amitâ went out together, but returned separately.

Suparnâ was free this week. So she sat down to her studies. But she could not concentrate on it, she did not know why. She stared fixedly at the eastern sky, which had begun to glow in anticipation of sunrise. She tried again and again to fix her attention on the book before her, but her mind wandered constantly. She was eagerly expecting something or someone, perhaps unconsciously. One of the servants came up and announced, "The young doctor Babu has come."

Sudarshan was called the young doctor Babu here, in order to distinguish him from old Ramkamal Babu, the family physician.

Suparnâ hesitated for a moment, then she said, "Show him to the drawing-room, downstairs."

The drawing-room, the dining-room and Taran Babu's office room stood on the ground-floor. But the girls did not like to go down so many times for their meals, so they had converted the landing upstairs into a small dining-room, with the help of four chairs and a small table. Unless guests were present, they took all their meals up here.

As soon as the servant had gone down, Suparnâ pushed away her books and got up. She started to go down, but came back again. She went up to Amitâ's door and knocked loudly, crying, "Are you never going to get up today?"

"Why this unwarranted intrusion ?" said Amitâ from inside, in a drowsy voice. "I have given out the stores last night."

"But there might be other duties", said Suparnâ. "There is a caller, you must get up at once."

The sound of suppressed laughter was heard from within. Next moment the door was opened an inch and Amitâ peeped out. "You see the state I am in," she said. "You go down and

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receive the guest. I shall be down within ten or fifteen minutes."

"But don't be later" said Suparnâ.

"Don't pretend to be so innocent," said Amitâ, as if I don't know that you want me to be as late as possible."

Suparnâ had actually advanced a few steps towards the stairs. She stopped dead on hearing Amitâ's remark. Her face became flushed with excitement and her eyes had a glint of anger. "Do you really think so ?" she said. "All right, I shall sit tight here, till you come out of your room."

Amitâ put out her face again. "Don't be silly", she said. "He will think we have all gone mad. We asked him to call, and we cannot all pretend to be asleep. Go down, I shall join you as soon as possible."

Suparnâ showed no sign of moving. Amitâ looked a bit alarmed now and cried out, "Please go there's a dear. I won't jest with you again, I promise you that. But all the same, you are overdoing the thing."

"Oh indeed," said Suparnâ. "You might say whatever you like, but one must not object." Saying this, she went down.

Sudarshan was pacing to and fro in the drawing-room. "I have come too early, I am afraid," he said on seeing Suparnâ. "I get up so very early myself, that I can never remember that other peoples' day begins much later."

"I, too, get up very early," said Suparnâ. "So however early you may arrive, you can never take me unawares. But Amitâ is not fully awake yet. I have called her. Please take a seat."

Sudarshan sat down and pushed a few books towards her. "These are the notes, we talked about."

Suparnâ drew them towards her and began to turn over the pages. "You write a very neat hand," she said after a while. "Most doctors write so clumsily that none but the compounder at the dispensary can decipher it."

Sudarshan smiled. "Let's wait and see," he said. "Perhaps when I am a full-fledged doctor, my handwriting also may change."

Amitâ came in with his last words. "That can never happen," she said. "A man can change everything, but not his handwriting."

"Don't talk nonsense," said Suparnâ. "I have kept a specimen of your handwriting of the period when I first met you. Do you mean to say, you write the same hand now ? Don't libel yourself, to that extent."

"You know very well that I did not mean that," said Amitâ. "A grown-up person cannot have the same handwriting as a child. But you will see that my handwriting will not change during the coming twenty years."

"I may not have the good fortune to see your handwriting fifteen years hence," said Suparnâ.

"You are very witty today," said Amitâ. "It remains to be seen who is fortunate and who is not."

"You are too busy discussing your future luck to listen to a bit of luck that has befallen me at present," said Sudarshan.

"Have you got the wire from Calcutta ?" cried out Amitâ.

"Yes," said Sudarshan, "I found it awaiting me last night, when I went home."

(To be continued)

CORRECTIONS

In the last July number, page 28, column two, lines 17 and 18 from the bottom, *for* "non-concentration" *read* "concentration."

In the last August, number page 228, column one, lines 5 and 14, *for* "milk and butter," *read* "milk and water."

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

CAPITALISM, COMMUNISM, AND THE TRANSITION—*Emile Burns Pub. Gollancz. Pp. 287. Price 5s.*

Book-publishers are not philanthropists, and if publishers think that it is worth while publishing such a book it suggests clearly enough that though the Communist Party in Great Britain may be numerically small, yet there are a number of people who want to know what exactly Communism would mean. Mr. Burns is himself a Communist, and in this book he writes of the practical difficulties which would be experienced in transforming a Capitalist State into a Communist State. In this connection the words of Marx, written in 1848, are of interest.

"Finally in times when the class struggle nears the decisive hour, the process of dissolution going on within the ruling class, in fact, within the whole range of old society, assumes such a violent, glaring character that a small section of the ruling class cuts itself adrift and joins the revolutionary class, the class that holds the future in its hands. Just as, therefore, at an earlier period, a section of the nobility went over to the bourgeoisie, so now a portion of the bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat, and in particular a portion of the bourgeois ideologists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movement as a whole".

Today in Europe the inability of Parliamentary Democracy to deal with the depression is becoming increasingly obvious, as is also the fact that Reformism is apt to fail at the decisive moment. On the one hand, there is growth of Fascism, first in Italy, and then as the depression has increased, and the weakness of the Social Democratic parties advocating Parliamentary Democracy in the face of ever increasing unemployment, becomes more obvious, in Germany, and also in other countries, people therefore are being forced to think out for themselves what solution is possible, and therefore books such as the above are to be welcomed even though one may not agree with the writer, since it is calm thinking, not sentimental emotionalism that is needed.

The book is intended primarily for that section of the British bourgeoisie who are inclined to study the theories of Communism seriously, and is divided into three parts. In the first part the present position of Capitalism is examined, and it is pointed out that the money power of the Capitalist class, especially the big industrialists and the bankers, enables them to become increasingly richer, and more powerful, and also to exercise greater and greater control over the State. There is a distinct tendency for such people to think that their prosperity is essential to society, and therefore they use the power of the State for their own advantage. In this connection one might mention in support of this contention such books as "*Upton Sinclair presents William Fox*", or "*They told Barron*", two books of fact, not fiction, which tell way in which such power is used. The recent revelations of the ways of bankers before the American Senate have led the Americans to coin a new word "bankster" or one who controls a bank. The second section of the book deals with the Communist ideal in which the prosperity of the individual will depend on his efforts to make society prosperous, and in which economic power will be vested in the society not as at present in the hands of individuals. The third section, which deals more especially with the peculiar problems of establishing Communism in Great Britain, discusses the Transitional Period when the Communists will try to take power from the Capitalists.

The Times Literary Supplement in reviewing this book remarked that it is easy to dogmatize about the benefits that will be enjoyed in a Communist Society, but it is also easy to doubt whether such benefits will materialize. It cannot be too often emphasized that Communism does not promise that the overthrow of Capitalism will establish a new heaven and a new earth. Before that can come about society must pass "through a long and painful process of transition" in the course of which "human nature has to be transformed". Some people therefore suggest that this "long and painful process" might be avoided by various reforms by which wealth might be better distributed, and until recently such people used to point to Vienna as an example of what can be done

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these lines. Unfortunately, recent events suggest that such reforms cannot be permanent, and will disappear in the event of a severe economic crisis like the present depression.

CHRISTOPHER ACKROYD

RUSSIA TO-DAY : *By Nityanarayan Banerjee : with a Foreword by Dr. Kalidas Nag ; Published by J. N. Chatterjee, 120-2 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. Pp. 173, illustrated, price Three Rupees.*

This is a pleasantly written book on Russia by a young Indian, a scion of one of the best known families in Bengal, who while touring on the Continent as a student of science of technology undertook a short journey to Russia last year. His stay in Russia, rather a short one, was made under the auspices of the Russian State Tourist Bureau, and it was a "personally conducted" tour, Russian lady officials of the Bureau, ardent and enthusiastic supporters of the prevailing political situation, acting as his guides. Russia because of big social experiment that is going on there has become almost a land of heart's desire for a good many of our young men, and as in all other countries there is a great deal of curiosity about the mysterious land of the Reds. Even Russia with her officially directed tours reacted upon two prominent Indians we know from the lips by Rabindranath Tagore and Jawaharlal Nehru. But in Mr. Banerji's book we have a plain, matter-of-fact narration. Mr. Benerji is a clever enough observer, and although we note in him plenty of admiration, there is no absolute surrender. His introspection, his knowledge of human frailities and limitations, and his acquaintance with some aspects of the life of his own country, enables him to see many a flaw in pictures held before him to admire and does not make him give himself away entirely at the shrine of Sovietdom. Yet he is receptive enough to all the redeeming features of the Russian experiment. The book should be widely read in our country, as it gives an idea of how Russia with her Five-Year Plans and her Socialism in practice strikes a commonsense observer from India who has the openness of youth and at the same time is keenly alive to the special problems of his own country.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

DEVELOPMENT OF JOHN STUART MILL'S SYSTEM OF LOGIC: *By Oscar Alfred Kubitz. University of Illinois. Price $ 2.*

The present work forms Nos. 1-2 of Vol. XVIII of the series *Illinois Studies in Social Sciences* and is written not for the lay reader so much as for the specialist. The writer is to be congratulated on an excellent piece of research work and those teachers who have to teach Mill's famous book will have to refer to this work in future for understanding the position of Mill's position in his famous Logic. He has with commendable zeal collected materials for the present work from sources some of which are inaccessible to the ordinary reader. Mill may be said in one sense to have summed up all previous thinking on the subject and to have started a new era of logical thinking in his *System of Logic*. But the ordinary teacher of Logic has very imperfect knowledge of the forces at work at the time when he wrote his book. He has more often looked at his work with the eye of a critic than with that of a historian. The present book will serve as a helpful corrective to that attitude, for while it does not ignore the weak points in the synthesis which Mill sought to achieve it points out at the same time the circumstances under which Mill developed this or that aspect of his theory or modified his statements in the light of fuller knowledge.

The genius of Mill consisted in absorbing the current culture of the time not only in philosophical and logical matters but also in scientific and politico-economic thought. His father was a psychologist of no mean repute and some of the most famous Scottish philosophers who are now considered back-numbers in philosophical and psychological literature were either the immediate predecessors or the contemporaries of Mill, and were forces to be reckoned with at the time. Scientific discoveries on a scale unknown before were being made in the realm of both inorganic and organic things and theories propounded to assimilate them in a logical fashion. A careful study of Mill's book shows that he stood at the parting of the ways—it is enough to refer to his doctrine of natural kinds in this connection. The writer has very skilfully marshalled his materials and drawn out the significance of Mill's position in relation to the various scientific and philosophical theories of the time. In an investigation of this kind a certain amount of conjecture is unavoidable but the author has shown a commendable restraint in forming hypotheses.

The reviewer has no hesitation in recommending the book warmly to the teachers of Mill's difficult book as a specimen of sober thinking and wide reading in relevant literature. They will enjoy the light thrown by the author upon many obscure points in Mill's Logic from contemporary documents.

H. D. BHATTACHARYYA

SELECTIONS FROM INGERSOLL : *Vols. 1 and 2 : By Ramgopal.*

These selections from the speeches and writings of Ingersoll reveal a keen mind equally at home in the provinces of literature, sociology and politics. The observations are almost invariably striking and original and have been couched in terse and epigrammatic forms which tend to cling to the memory. The writings show the author as one of the keenest and most energetic minds of the age, fired as much by humanitarian zeal as by the ardour for scientific progress. The editor, Mr. Ramgopal, is to be congratulated on the taste and judgment with which the extracts have been selected and the fulness of light which he has managed to shed upon the character and personality of the author.

FLUTE TUNES : *By B. N. Bhushan.*

This is a book of short lyrics which have been managed with a pretty turn and a creditable command over language and metre. The writer shows a happy knack of versification and seems possessed of a genuine, if somewhat thin, lyrical vein.

SRIKUMAR BANERJEE

EUGENICS AND BIRTH-CONTROL: *By Mercia Heynes-Wood, Assisted by Cedric Dover. Price Rs. 3. Pp. 119.*

Miss Mercia Heynes-Wood who is now Mrs. Cedric Dover is a distinguished graduate of the Calcutta University. In writing the present volume the author has shown remarkable clearness of thought and a perfect grasp of facts. The book is an excellent guide to those who are interested in the problems of birth-control and eugenics. The author writes with practical

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knowledge and has given illustrations of the different preventive appliances. She is all along conscious of the difficulties to be encountered in introducing contraception amongst the poorer classes in India. She has considered the different indigenous methods and has given useful formulæ for contraceptive ointments She has done a service to the public in warning them against quacks and charlatans. The book is an excellent one.

BEACON LIGHTS OF NEW INDIA—*Vol. I The "Sunday Times" Bookshop, Madras. Price As.* 8.

This little book belongs to "My Motherland" series, and it deals with biographies of eight eminent men, namely, Mahatma Gandhi, Sri Ramana Maharshi, Sri Arabindo Ghose, Ramdas and Shivaji, Ramkrishna Paramahamsa, Swami Vivekanda, Dayananda Saraswati and Swami Tirath. The main principles of teachings of these reformers have been included in this book. There are interesting anecdotes and quotations from newspapers.

THE EVOLUTION OF SEX AND INTER-SEXUAL CONDITIONS: *By Dr. Gregorio Maranon. Translated by Warre B. Wells—George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London. Pp. 344.*

Dr. Maranon is a professor at the University of Madrid. The original book is in Spanish and the present volume is a translation of the original by Mr. Warre B. Wells. The author is a distinguished worker in the domain of sexology and his views on sex and inter-sexual conditions have now been made available to English readers. They will no doubt be read with great interest by sexologists all over the world. The book is of a technical nature and is not meant for the lay person. The author has laid stress on the concept that the sex functions develop in every human being in the same direction "from the feminine towards the masculine—naturally with a rhythm, a duration, and an intensity which vary in the different phases of evolution in the case of the man and in the case of the woman." The author is quite right in believing that there is no sharp line of demarcation in nature between the faminine and the masculine. The different types of inter-sexual conditions have been very ably discussed by the author, who has confined himself mainly to morphology. Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld who is the greatest authority on inter-sexuality holds views similar to those of the author. The modern school of Psycho-analysis has proved that in the psychological sphere also there is an inter-mixture of male and female sexuality in every individual. One must, however, distinguish between functional homo-sexuality and morphological inter-sexuality. It is interesting to note that inter-sexuality, which has only recently been recognized as a distinct sexual state in Europe, was known to Indian sexologists as early as the third century B. C. It has been called the *Tritiya Prakriti* or the '3rd sex'. The book is bound to be appreciated by all serious students of sexology. There is a fairly complete bibliography.

THE EVOLUTION OF MODERN MARRIAGE: *By F. Muller-Lyer. Translated by Isabella C. Wigglesworth, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, price 12s 6d net. Pp. 248.*

At the present time when the whole question of marriage has gone into the melting pot, and when the general impression seems to be that modern marriage has been a failure it is refreshing to find the distinguished author, who is now unfortunately dead, discussing the evolution of modern marriage from sociological and sexual standpoints and coming to the conclusion that the "new marriage in process of becoming evolved today is the ordered outcome of past and present conditions, and that in the future it may become a fuller and more beautiful relationship than it has ever been before." The author has laid down for himself a systematic plan of investigation which includes the questions of sexual relationship between man and woman, the relations between the old and younger generation and the relations prevailing in a particular clan. The author has indicated three phases in the evolutionary history of these relationships. The present volume is closely connected with two other books of the author published previously in which the three phases, namely, the clan epoch, the family epoch, and the individual epoch have been reviewed. The different sub-divisions of the three phases have been taken up for discussion in this book. There is a wealth of detail rarely to be found in other books of a similar type. The author has throughout discussed the problems of sex and marriage as well as the position of women in society in an unbiased manner. The author believes that militant feminism is a passing phase in the evolution of women's life and is soon to be replaced by a healthier and a saner view when the woman achieves complete economic independence and "feels the responsibility of contributing to the marriage not wages in the best economic sense." The work is a fascinating study and will appeal both to lay and to technical readers.

LIGHT ON THE ANAND-YOG: *By Maharishi Shew Bhart Lal Ji, M. A., The Maihotra Printing Press, Lahore. Price Rs. 2. Pp. 233.*

The book is an exposition of the Radhaswami faith which aims at the attainment of the Kingdom of God in this very life. The Radhaswami teacher believes in "yoga" but not of the usual type. Pranayama according to his view is unnatural. "Mental recollection, mental meditation, mental audition of the holy name, form and sound" are the different parts of the "yoga" recommended by the author. The Radhaswami sect holds peculiar views on the doctrine of sound. The book will be useful to believers.

THE ANAND GITA: *By Gagandus H. Jasinghani, 1933. Pp. 333.*

This is a collection of poetical thoughts on the eternal problems of life. Arthur Young in his preface says, "The Anand Gita or, as we would call it "The Song of Joy" is really the music of understanding soaring with Omar Khayyam, Tagore and the Indian nightingale, Sarojini Naidu, all rolled in one". There is genuine poetry and philosophy in some of the pieces although the book is a little bit heavy reading.

GITA SANDESH: *By Ramdas, First Edition 1933. Price As. 12. Pp. 222.*

This little book is an excellent running commentary on the Gita. The style is lucid and clear and the author except for his great faith in "yogic acrobatics" does not hold any sectarian view on the Gita.

THE KATHOPANISHAD AND THE GITA: *By D. S. Sarma, M. A. Publisher: M. R. Seshachari, Triplicane, Madras. Pp. 99. Price Re. 1.*

Prof. Sarma as usual has done his task very creditably and he has given us a comparative study of the Kathopanishad and the Gita. The translation of the Kathopanishad is excellent. The notes at the end of the book will be found useful to the reader. Prof. Sarma has the rare gift of clear expression.

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THE MYSTERY OF THE MAHABHARATA: *Vol. II: By N. V. Thadani. Bharat Publishing House, Poona; Price Rs. 8. Pp. 371.*

I had an occasion to review the first volume of this book in this journal. To quote the Bengali comic ... D. L. Roy, the book is a curious hotchpotch of ... Sankhar, Huxley and the goose." There is plenty ... pseudo-science to be found in this book. The ... philosophical interpretation of the Mahabharata is throughout fanciful. I wonder which class of readers this book appeals to.

G. BOSE

CITY OF BIRMINGHAM HANDBOOK, 1934. *Compiled and edited by W. S. Body, Chief Clerk, Town Clerk's office, Birmingham. Published for the Corporation by the City of the Birmingham Information Bureau by direction of the General Purposes Committee. Royal 8vo., pp. 304. Ninety-eight illustrations. Price not mentioned.*

This review of the civic administration of England's second and most prosperous city is interesting reading and has an educative value for all municipal authorities and dwellers within municipal areas. It is divided into 19 sections: History and Civic Administration; The Amenities of Life, such as Museum and Art Gallery, Public Libraries, Parks and Recreation Grounds, The Town Hall and City of Birmingham Orchestra; The Social Services, such as Public Works and Sewage Disposal; Town Planning; Public Health Service, Public Assistance, Mental Hospitals, Mental Deficiency; The Education Service (Nursery Schools and Elementary Education. The Critical School-leaving Age, Physical Training, Organized Games, Playing Fields, School Medical Service and Dental Responsibility, Provision of Meals, Provision for the Blind, Deaf and Physically Defective, Open-air Schools for Weakly Children and Special Schools, Residential Homes, The Shawbury Approved School, Facilities for Higher Education, A Comprehensive Education Process, Secondary School Accommodation, Junior Technical, Art, and Commercial Schools, Senior Elementary Schools, Continued Education, Technical and Commercial Colleges and Schools of Art, School-Leaving Conference on Future Employment, Vocational Guidance Tests, Voluntary Care Committees, Evening Schools, Evening Play Centres and other Social Activities, Secondary Schools, University Education, Junior Commercial Schools, Birmingham Municipal Technical College, Aston Technical College, Handsworth Technical College, City of Birmingham Commercial College, Evening Institutes, Central School of Arts and Crafts, and other educational Facilities (those offered by the university of Birmingham); The City Estates, Small Holdings and Allotments; The Fire Protection; The Salvage Service; Weights and Measures, Motor Car Parking Places; Public Baths; Finance; Gas Light, Heating and Power. Water supply; Electricity—Light, Heating and Power. The Transport Service; The City Markets: The Municipal Bank; Other Points of Interest, The British Industries Fair, Hotel Accommodation.

The above list will give an idea of the range of activities of the Birmingham Corporation. There is no space to give details. Considering that neither Calcutta nor Bombay, the two biggest cities in India can claim rival, if not surpass, Birmingham in population has made only slight, if any, satisfactory progress to house the poorer section of the public, I read with pleasure that "Seven years ago Birmingham broke all records with the erection of 18,433 houses for its artisan population. By 1934 the number has increased to no less than 40,000."

GOD—OR NO GOD? (*A Rationalist Looks at Life*). *By Herbert Devas Everington, M. B. (Lond.), M. R. C. S. (Eng.), L. R. C. P. (Lond.), with a foreword by Sir Oliver Lodge. Williams & Norgate Ltd., 28-30 Little Russell Street, London, W. C. 1. 2s. 6d. Net.*

The publishers say that this book is not meant for those who have what is called the "Religious experience". "They have already made up their minds upon this subject. Mainly it concerns those who frankly say they do not know but are perplexed by the problem. The Religionist has his own sufficient reasons for being convinced of the Reality of a God. The reasons here given for the belief in a God are for the Rationalist."

Sir Oliver Lodge writes in his Foreword: "It is sometimes said that to prove the existence of a God is logically impossible. I know that it is difficult; but contemplating all the beauty and adaptation by which we are surrounded, especially in organic nature, we feel impressed with the idea of some controlling power, some mind, at the back of it all; while at the same time we feel that any mind of which we have knowledge, any human mind, is pitifully incompetent even to understaud, and entirely impotent to manage and arrange, the details of the growth of a flower or an insect. So let the attempt be made." And the author has made an attempt on rationalistic lines—quite a laudable attempt.

He is convinced that the more the Rationalist studies what Science is able to reveal in the superlative Beauty and Excellence of Nature and the Exquisite Harmony of the Universe as a whole; and the more he thinks upon that intuitive urge which Man ever has, impelling him towards the attainment of Ultimate Truth, and upon those other Wonders which the author has inadequately attempted to describe—the more acutely will he (the Rationalist) feel that by no other means can all this be explained than by postulating a Controlling Mind.

THE ENGLISH WORKS OF RAJA RAM MOHUN ROY (*Social and Educational*). *Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, 211 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. For subscribers, Re. 1 and 1-4; for others, Re. 1-8. Pp. xiv+186+30.*

This volume of the Raja's works contains all his writings on "Suttee," and on matters educational. and his "Bengali Grammar in the English Language". It is prefaced by a critical study and estimate of his works by Dr. Sir Brajendranath Seal, M. A., PH. D. The "Notes" at the end consist of four papers: (1) "Rajah Rammohun Roy's Tracts on Sati, I," by Rai Ramaprasad Chanda Bahadur, B. A.; (2) "Rajah Rammohun Roy's Tracts on Sati, II," by Mr. A. K. Sen, M. A. and Dr. J. T. Majumdar, M. A., PH. D.; (3) "Rammohun Roy's Letter on English Education," by Mr. A. K. Sen, M. A.; and (4) "Rammohun Roy as a Grammarian," by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, M. A., D. Litt.

It is not necessary to commend these writings of the Raja to the reader. Apart from their historical value, they have their own intrinsic worth. Dr. Seal's introductory "study and estimate" is a scholarly and thoughtful piece of work worthy of its writer. The four papers appended to the volume have been carefully written. The get-up of the volume is neat and the price moderate.

C.

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INDIAN CURRENCY AND EXCHANGE: *By S. B. Sen Gupta, Esqr., M. A., B. L., Principal, Khalsa College, Lyallpur. Pp. 306. Price Rs. 3.*

This book like a few others of its kind affords a historical and partially critical study of Indian currency and exchange, principally as a guide to university students. Although in the preface the author claims to have traced the history "chronologically from 1835" to the year 1932, the book deals with the period 1893 to 1931 when Great Britain went off the gold standard and the rupee was linked to sterling. The author has faithfully recorded the various stages in the development of Indian Currency and Exchange policy and has noted the controversies on the subject from time to time. In this respect, it must be admitted to his credit, the author has maintained an impartial and non-partisan attitude.

It is a happy sign that scholars in different parts of India have begun to take active interest in our currency and exchange questions. Although Mr. Sen Gupta's book does not provide all that an advanced student requires, it may well serve as a compendium of events in connection with India's Currency and Exchange.

INLAND TRANSPORT COSTS: *By Dr. F. P. Antia, M. Com. (Bombay), Ph. D. Econ. (Lond.), pp. 304. Price Rs. 3. only.*

This is a very useful publication demonstrating with the help of carefully collected figures of costs of transport in different parts of India at different periods the close relation between them and economic development. The remarkable expansion in India's foreign as well as home trade during the last three quarters of a century has to no small degree been due to the reduction in transport costs, the index number of which in 1930-31 was as low as 6 only, taking that in 1830 at 100, within the railway era itself, *i.e.*, from 1871, when railways were sufficiently extended as to get closely identified with the trade of the country and 1930-31, the average ton-mile receipt on the E. I. Rly. was brought down from about 1·24d to ·50d, a reduction in proportion of 100 to 40. The increase in the total traffic originating only over class I Railways during the same period was by about 2,500 per cent, and the progress achieved in the economic life of the masses was reflected in larger production of exportable crops and in rising prices, these facts are very suggestive and the railway administrations today have much to learn therefrom. Dr. Antia's thesis unmistakably goes to prove that at the present moment of general economic depression it is a wrong policy of the railways to try to balance their budget by enhancement of rates and fares. The short-sightedness of such a policy is self-evident and it is bound sooner or later to have adverse effects not only on the finances of the railways but also on the entire economic life of the country. "The cost of transport being a certain proportion of the price," says the author, "it is obvious that a change in the price-level would disturb that proportion." "Broadly speaking—other things being equal, and the prevalent cost of transport having been found eminently suitable to the traffic the railway manager would feel justified in increasing his rate when the price rose and decreasing it when the price fell, so as to maintain the ratio at an even level." Nay, "each fall in prices," that the railway manager "omits to adjust his rates to, by means of a decrease, contracts the margin for the businessman, to that extent curtailing the inducement towards production or exchange of commodities."

With reference to the influence of transport costs on industrial development, Dr. Antia controverts the belief that reduced transport costs were responsible for the decay of many of the country's industries. "It is obvious," says the author, "that such decay must necessarily occur before development in the modern sense can take place." But, in the making of railway rates in the past, greater attention has been paid to the movement of agricultural and mineral produce to the ports, and "this seems principally accountable for the tardy industrial growth of the interior, which was not only neglected but even hampered." With recent developments after the report of the Acworth Committee, however, the author confidently looks forward to a better policy towards industry."

The book is replete with a number of graphs and statistical tables, many of whom may provide good material for further study of the subject. In fact among the literature on Indian transport problems Dr. Antia's book will occupy a place of abounding interest for all time to come.

NALINAKSHA SANYAL

BUSINESS ORGANISATION AND PRACTICE OF COMMERCE: *By Messrs. Sourindra Mohan Sen and Ananta Kamar Banerji. Publishers The Book Company Ltd., Calcutta. Price Rs. 4.*

Of late our students have become attracted to various examinations on commercial subjects, and the absence of a suitable book from the point of view of Indian conditions was a great handicap. This new publication will, we believe, remove the difficulty in the way of such examinees. The authors have comprehensively dealt with all important subjects that may come under the syllabus of a commercial examination. We would suggest to the authors to make the book more useful by recasting it to suit the requirements of the General Commercial Knowledge Paper of the R. A. Examination.

S. C. RAY

WORLD - CRISIS — UNDER ORIENTAL SEARCHLIGHT: *By M. J. Kanetkar, B.A., Nagpur. Pp. 90.*

If anyone thinks that it is a scientific study of the present crisis he will be sadly disappointed. The author no doubt trots out Malthus and other doctrines here and there, but all the same it is only a common sense criticism of the modern civilization. Multiplication of wants is the root cause of all our troubles and in renunciation as preached by the Rishis of old, in our salvation—is the sumtotal of his philosophy revealed by his oriental searchlight. The author and those of his way of thinking should not forget the wonderful achievements of the West cannot be pooh-poohed so cheaply and that the remedy for the present serious maladjustment does not lie simply in dream of the golden age.

The author, however, has an easy good style and though his views are highly amusing at places his advice of little or no value to the Modern Economists of Economics who are trying to pull the machine out of the quagmire, his chastisement of the present selfishness and individualistic tendency of the present day civilization is well-deserved and we can endorse much of what he says in this connection.

ANATH GOPAL SEN

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THE METAPHYSICS OF BERKELEY: *by W. Kameshwar, M.A.. Published by Mrs. Ashavati Kameshwar, C-o. Mr. M. K. Bakshi, B. A., Headmaster, Government High School, Khandwa, C. P. Pp. 360 (with Appendices & Index.)*

The author is not always careful in his statements. For instance, on page 27, we have: "As Spinoza's extreme Monism resulted in an equally onesided extreme Rationalism of the Rationalism of Leibniz, the extreme Rationalism of the latter was followed by a strong revival of Empiricism which was followed by the famous Essay on Human Understanding by John Locke." Is it quite correct to say that Locke *revived* Empiricism as a *reaction* against the extreme Rationalism of Leibniz?

The arrangement of chapters and topics in the book is also somewhat cumbrous. And in a book of 360 pp. three Appendices alone take up nearly 30 pages, or just one-twelfth of the whole book.

But for these defects, the book would have been a good introduction for College students to the study of Berkeley.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

THE A. B. C. OF CIVICS: *By Prof. Beni Prasad. The Indian Press, Allahabad. Pp 157. Price* [illegible]

Professor Prasad should be congratulated on a simple and helpful treatise he has brought out on an important subject. It is evidently intended to be a text book for the beginners. The style is easy and the exposition clear and lucid. Boys of the Inter-College classes will profit by going through the book. The printing and get-up are most attractive. The bibliography attached to the work will be of great use to those who would like to go into details in respect of the subjects which have been tackled in the book.

TEXT BOOK OF MODERN INDIAN HISTORY: *Part III and II, Part I. By Prof. S. C. Sarkar M.A., K. K. Dutt. Bihar Publishing House, Patna. Rs. 4-8.*

Some time ago we reviewed in these columns the first volume of this Text book which has been written jointly by the two professors named above of the Patna College. The quality which was evinced in the first volume has been maintained in these subsequent volumes as well. The book is sufficiently elaborate to be useful to the advanced students but at the same time it is not infested with those technical details which make a work uninteresting and dull to the general reader. The distinguished authors have taken advantage of all the recent researches on the subjects that are dealt with but have steered clear of those unnecessary controversies that make a book heavy and unreadable except by specialists. Vol. I, Part III deals concerned with the system of administration during Moghul times and the social life and the art and culture of India during this period. Within a space of 112 pages the authors have done ample justice to these important topics. Vol. II, Part 1 gives a survey of the political history of India from the beginning of the Governor-Generalship of Warren Hastings to the present day. The treatment is the same as in the Volume which dealt with the Moghul period. This volume should be read not only by all students of history but it should be read and digested by all our public men as well. The historical background of many of the important problems of the country has been carefully and exhaustively delineated. We congratulate the authors upon the production of this painstaking as well as truly helpful book.

NARESH CHANDRA ROY

THE INDIAN FOLK-DANCE AND FOLK-SONG MOVEMENT: *By G. S. Dutt, I.C.S., Founder-President: Rural Heritage Preservation Society of Bengal, Indian Folk Dance Society, Delhi. Double Crown, pp. i-vi+1-18. Chukerverty. Chatterjee & Co. Ltd., 15, College Square, Calcutta. Price Four Annas.*

The folk-dances and folk-songs which even in their present moribund condition are found to enjoy not little popularity among people still not so familiar with modern culture and civilization have been carefully studied and minutely observed by Mr. G. S. Dutt for a pretty long time. It is not only their scholarly anthropological interest that has attracted his attention but he has been struck by their immense aesthetic value and educational importance. This latter aspect of the thing has led Mr. Dutt to set on foot a movement for the revival of these songs and dances among the student community of the country. The booklet under review traces the history of the movement and refers to the hearty appreciation it has met with from different and important quarters. The short descriptive notes on some of these songs and dances of Bengal given at the end of the book are expected to rouse the interest of the public. Besides the dances described here there are many more which are well known and interesting. I should draw the attention of Mr. Dutt to at least one *e.g.* the vivid war-dance of Faridpur—the *paik dance* which is still displayed and highly appreciated on festive occasions like marriage ceremonies.

We hope Mr. Dutt will soon come out with a bigger and a comprehensive book giving detailed description of all known dances with illustration and satisfy the curiosity of the people roused by a perusal of this booklet.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

HAND-BOOK ON INDIAN COMPANY LAW: *By Indrasen Verma, M.A., LL.B. Kotah Rajputana. Pp. CXXVII+272. Price Rs. 3-8.*

This is a small book on a great subject, which may be useful to students and lay-readers, but whether it will be of any great help to the "promoters under-writers, commission agents, share-holders, secretaries, managers and directors and debenture holders etc." for whom the author has intended it. is doubtful.

J. M. DATTA.

THE GHOST CITY: *G. K. Chettur, Basel Mission Bookshop. Mangalore, S. K.*

A Collection of ten short stories previously published in some Annuals. The reprint has been amply justified by the delightful way in which the stories have been told, containing good humour with a certain graceful manner which never fails to please.

THE CURSE OF SOCIETY: *Umrao Bahadur. Printing and Stationery Department, 375, Jama Masjid, Delhi.*

This is a novel of widow re-marriage. Saraswati, a girl of exquisite beauty, is married to a dissolute young man who neglects her, but she goes on loving

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him according to Hindu custom. Her love and loyalty meet with no response and she suffers shipwreck in the sudden death of her husband brought on by a reckless course of debauchery. Hari, a distant relative, loves her and, what is more, wins her love, but she does not like to break away from her people. The intense suffering during indefinite waiting results in a sudden illness for Hari and his parents, learning the secret by chance, manage to bring her to the sick bed. Her nursing soothes and cures Hari, but Saraswati is not taken back by her father whose mind has been poisoned meanwhile by interested gossip. She feels herself to be "the curse of society" but Hari marries her. More stress has been laid on events than on ideas, but in a psychological novel, as this pretends to be, in this the author has not been well advised.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

GERMAN

GOETHE UND SEINE AUSLAENDISCHEN BESUCHER: *By Hugo Landgraf. Publication of the Deutsche Akademie, Munich, 1932.*

On the occasion of the hundredth death anniversary of Goethe the Deutsche Akademie of Munich, which needs no introduction to the Indian public today, published this beautiful volume and carried the gratitude of all lovers of Goethe. At the side of Eckermann's immortal work the present volume will certainly prove to be indispensable to those who want to understand the great personality of Goethe.

Goethe spent all his life at Weimar. Although an ardent admirer of French civilization and culture he had never visited Paris. Neither had he seen Vienna. Goethe crossed the frontier of Germany only once in his life for his "Italienische Reise" which he has immortalized. And yet Goethe in his days was undoubtedly the centre of cultural activities all over the world: if a true history of mankind is ever written, the first three decades of the nineteenth century will be called in it "the age of Goethe". The greatest creative artist of the modern world, Goethe was an internationalist in the truest sense of the word. To him internationalism was a sublimated form of nationalism, and the real problem for him was to achieve a higher synthesis of the two. That is why Goethe refused to condemn French culture even when his fatherland was devastated by the French and that is why Goethe at the same time encouraged national culture in every country.

This aspect of Goethe's personality is however not so well known as it should be and Herr Landgraf in the volume under review has undertaken the arduous task of setting forth in details particularly this side of the character of the sage of Weimar. After a thorough sifting and detailed study of the whole Goethe literature our author gives here an estimate of the number of foreigners who came to visit Goethe in his old age and brought to this ever inquisitive child of the Muses information about various subjects from every part of the world. We find here that an Italian professor brought to him rare specimen of small reptiles all the way from Padua: the professor put his specimen in a glass of water and held the glass in his hands all the way to Weimar so that the reptile might not die on account of the jerking of the road! All his visitors were equally devout in their homage to Goethe, and Goethe too was equally gracious and kind to his visitors. Rude Australian settlers who had something to say on the primitive conditions of life on a distant continent were as much welcome to his table as the most brilliant scholars of Europe. Characteristically enough Goethe, as a rule, does not mention the names of his visitors in his diary but regularly notes down what he heard from them. Thus when the Governor of Dutch East Indies, aged with experience, entertained him with interesting cenversations on those distant regions Goethe did not consider it necessary even to note in his diary that a high official had been at his table that day. On the other hand, Goethe cannot repress his childlike joy when the widow of General Reynier brought to him the autograph of Napoleon from Paris.

Goethe had to sacrifice much valuable time to his visitors, and yet, in drawing up the balance, Goethe declared that not his visitors but he himself had been the gainer. In a letter to the Baroness of Chassey Goethe writes, in spite of the evident danger of being misunderstood and misrepresented, there is always a positive gain on his side, so that unless it is physically impossible for him to receive, he cannot deny an interview to his callers. And towards the end of his life he wrote to Soret: "I collected and turned to account all that I perceived through my eyes and ears and intelligence. Thousands of individuals have contributed their shares to my works,—fools and sages, intellectuals and block-heads, children and grown-up people: they all came to me and brought me their thoughts, their powers and their experience, their life and their being."

Dr. Franz Thierfelder has appended to the volume a short account of the Goethe celebration all over the world on the occasion of the hundredth death anniversary of the poet.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

SANSKRIT

SAMSKRITABHASAPARICCHEDA, OR NAYA-YASAHASRI: *By Pandit Rajendranath Ghosh, 6, Parsibagan Lane, Calcutta. Published by Babu Kshetrapal Ghosh, 6, Parsibagan Lane, Calcutta.*

It is a new venture in the field of Nyaya-Vaisesika philosophy. It is an enlarged edition of the well-known manual of Logic, Bhasapariccheda by Visvanatha. Mr. Ghosh has incorporated a large amount of information into the body of the fact, placed within crockets, which he has collected from various sources. The original Bhasapariccheda consists of 168 verses, whereas the present work comprises 1066 verses. This will give an idea of Mr. Ghosh's achievement. It is a matter of felicitation that not a single line has been added which can be deemed unessential. Bhasapariccheda is a book of universal interest and has attracted commentaries from all parts of India and though an excellent introduction to the study of Navya-Nyaya, it can be hardly regarded as a comprehensive survey as it leaves out much that is essential and usetul. The result has been that students of Navya-Nyaya, who have neither time nor faculty to carry their studies further into the old classics remain ignorant of a large portion of Nyaya-Vaisesika philosophy. The present venture of Mr. Ghosh is calculated to remove this desideratum. We would request the author to bring out a fresh edition in Devanagari Script with a commentary, which will make it accessible to students of Nyaya all over the country. The Bengali Script of the present edition would

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are afraid, tend to shut it out from the wide world, which will be regrettable for its universal interest.

SATKARI MUKERJEE

INDEX TO SRIMAD BHAGAVATAM : *By Pandit T. R. Krishnacharya. Published by T. K. Venkobacharya, Madhva Vilas Book Depot, Kumbakonam. Pp. 187.*

The author has laid all serious students of the Puranas under a great obligation by the publication of this very useful volume. In the first part of the index the author deals with the different stories in the Bhagavata. This will enable readers to locate and identify any tale in reference to "skandha" and "adhyaya", that is, cantos and chapters. The second part is an alphabetical index. It will be of the greatest use to scholars. The work has been very ably executed and the printing is in bold and clear Devanagri type. I wish the author would attempt a similar indexing of the other Puranas.

G. BOSE

SANSKRIT—ENGLISH

RĀMĀMĀTYA'S SVARAMĒLAKALĀNIDHI : *(a work on Music) edited with an introduction and translation by M. S. Ramaswami Aiyar, B. A., B. L., L. T. Published by the Annamalai University. Pp. lxiii—66.*

The classical forms of music in every country have definite technique behind it. This is established after a fair amount of development and stability of the various forms. The technique is to maintain the beauty and dignity of the style. The musicians have to refer to the standard forms. This does not mean that the books of reference hamper in any way the beauty and retard the progress and culture but on the other hand, they help to retain the previous acquisitions. The controversies and various styles supported by different teachers show the tendency towards progress.

A full appreciation depends upon a certain amount of technical knowledge on the part of the audience. Music has at least twofold aspects, the technical side—the grammar, as well as the artistic side—the development of emotion in the individual. A harmonious combination of both the aspects seems to be the proper aim of the artist. An extra tendency to show the technique prominently seems to depreciate the effect of the *raga* while one-sided tendency to show the variations in the intonations does not seem to please trained audiences.

In South India the connoisseurs of Indian music are keen in their enquiries into the history of classical music, and this publication bears a testimony to that. Rāmāmātya lived in the middle of the 16th century in Vijaynagar and was associated with Rāma Raja who belonged to the royal family of Vijayanagar and as is apparent from the text itself Rāmāmātya composed this treatise on music at the latter's request. Rāmāmātya was eminently fitted for the task for the following reasons : (*i*) He had studied the secret of music, (*ii*) he alone of all others knew both the theory and art of music, (*iii*) the traditional lore of music inherited from his grandfather, Kallapadesika, evidently Kallinatha—the commentator of *Sangitaratnakara*, palpitated in his pulse.

The treatise is a short one and contains besides the Introduction, a chapter on *svara*, a chapter on *mela* and a chapter on *rāga*. The learned editor has fully discussed the theories of Rāmāmātya in the Introduction and has noted their differences with the ancient theories as expounded in the *Sangitaratnakara*.

The editor in his Introduction gives a clear exposition of the definition of 'Mārga and Gandharba sangita' as distinct from the 'Desi' *i. e.*, the modern forms of music. There is the recognition of the different methods and systems of expansion or elaboration prevalent in different part of the country. The South Indian music (carnatic music) has its peculiar charm and is appreciated by the followers of Hindustani music. He naturally puts a stress to the methods of classification of the melodies (*rāgas* or *melas*) prevalent in South India and does not state the corresponding music intervals with their nomenclatures that are current in North India.

The fore-part of the Introduction is not very clear with respect to the proper position of the different tones although there has been used certain terms to indicate their position. The conception of the '*srutis*' is really useful in the theoretic understanding of the *ragas* but there seems to be no gurantee of the perfect exposition of the specified forms of the '*srutis*' during the actual performance of the music. So it is not out of place to draw attention to the fact that a simpler conception of '*srutis*' and tonal intervals helps a great deal to understand the *rāgas* properly.

The musical public ought to be thankful to the editor for his bringing into light views of old and famous musicians and writers that are apt to be ignored or forgotten by the rising set of youthful musicians and lovers of music in general.

It is doubtful whether the book can be safely recommended to all those concerned in music because it contains the exposition of the classical problems and the difficult technique of music but it may be pointed out that the book will be of immense help to those who want to use it as a book of reference.

M. GANGULY

UNIVERSAL PRAYERS : *Selected and Translated from Sanskrit Religious literature. Published by Sri Ramkrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras. Price One rupee and four annas only.*

This is a collection of Hindu hymns and prayers of non-sectarian character gleaned from various Sanskrit Scriptures and their English translation. In addition, there is a valuable introduction dealing briefly with the Hindu philosophy of *bhakti* and love and of prayer and meditation. The anthology is well prepared, the texts are well chosen and the translation carefully done. It will be of help to the lay reader as well as the devotee who wants to understand some of the deeper and universal aspects of Hinduism. We congratulate the editor and the publisher for bringing out this beautiful collection. The printing and the get-up leave nothing to be desired.

ANATH NATH BASU

SRI GITAHRIDAYAM

The book is a selection from the Gita consisting of 78 verses. There is an English translation of these slokas at the end of the book. The author says that Miss Lilian Edgar, M. A, has looked over the translation but I am sorry to say that the English rendering has not always been faithful. The word "adhikara," for instance, has been translated as "concern". The meaning of certain slokas has been considerably altered by taking them out of their context, for instance, the first sloka which is the 32nd sloka of the

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first chapter of the Gita contains a passage "what need have we, Oh, Govinda, of kingdom, of enjoyment, nay, even of life itself". The next line in the original which has been omitted from the selection says "when those for whose sake we desire all these are arrayed in battle here wanting to sacrifice their lives". Without this missing portion there is a chance of misinterpretation of the text. There is the usual picture of the serpent "Om".

BENGALI

KALIDASER PAKHI: (*'The Birds of Kaliadsa'*) *By Satyacharan Laha, M. A., Ph. D., F. Z. S., M. B. O. U. Gurudas Chattopadhyay and Sons, Calcutta. Pp. X+291. Foolscap Quarto. Cloth-bound, with pictures of birds, printed in black and silver, on the front cover. Thirteen illustrations, two of them in colours.*

This is a book in which the author has given an account of the passages, in which various kinds of birds have been mentioned, in the poetical and dramatic works of the poet Kalidasa. Dr. Laha is the greatest authority on birds and bird-life on our side and has an excellent aviary of his own. The subject treated of in this book he has made his own. More than fifteen years ago he contributed four articles to the Bengali monthly *Prabasi* on the birds of Meghaduta and Ritusamhara. The work under notice is a more extensive survey. Dr. Laha has shown therein from his own knowledge and by quoting from European scientific writers, how accurate was the observation of Kalidasa of the appearance and habits of the birds referred to in his works. The book is written in elegant Bengali in an interesting manner. The paper, printing, illustrations and binding are excellent. The detailed index has added to the usefulness of the volume.

VIDYASAGAR-CHARIT: *a biography of Pandit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar. By Sarat Chandra Roy. Ray and Co. 220 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Pp. 134. Six Illustrations. Price Re. 1. Cloth-bound.*

The author has written several handy lives of other celebrities. This, like his other books, is on the whole written in chaste literary Bengali. It gives an account of the great Pandit's life and his achievements as an educationist, author, social reformer and philanthropist. The manhood of the hero stands out in clear outline. The get-up of the book is commendable.

C.

HINDI

RUBAIYAT UMAR KHAYYAM: *Translated by Maithili Sharan Gupta. Published by the Prakas Pustakalay, Cawnpore. Pp. XXVI+56. Price Rs. 3.*

The old poet of Persia stirred up the heart of Europe in the last century and he has come to do the same in India in the present one. There have already appeared Bengali, Gujrati and Hindi versions of his poems. Mr. Gupta, the celebrated Hindi poet, has now translated 75 pieces and the publishers have produced them in a sumptuous edition with 12 illustrations in colour. The translator has followed the English version of Fitz-Gerald and his rendering is generally happy. We hope his attempt will be valued by the Hindi-knowing public. The introduction discusses about the original and translations. The illustrations are by the well-known artist of Benares, Mr. Ramprasad, who comes of an old family of painters of the Mughal School, and the appreciation by Rai Krishnadas is quite justified in most of the cases.

RAMES BASU

MANGAL-MOD: *By Sjt. Annapurnanand. Published by 'Rachana-Niket', Benares. Price Re. 1-4. Pages 128.*

It is gratifying to learn that after a spell of silence Sjt. Annapurnanand has again started his literary activities. By his three previous books Mr. Annapurnanand has already secured a very high position among the humour-writers of Hindi. 'Mangal-Mod' is his latest contribution to our light literature.

The present volume is a collection of ten short stories and sketches, written in a witty and charming style. The most praiseworthy thing in Mr. Annapurnanand's humour is this that it is absolutely free from any kind of vulgarity. He can make the reader laugh without appealing to his lower tastes. The illustrations given in the book add more to the charm of the stories. A perusal of the book will give the reader perfect enjoyment for an hour or two.

B. M. VARMA

GUJRATI

(1) VANTHELĀNANE BIJI NĀTIKĀO, (2) JAIL OFFICE NI BĀRI: *By Jhaverchand Meghani,* (3) JALIANVALA, *by "Darshak:" All three published by Amratlal D. Sheth of the Saurashtra Karyalay, Ranpur, Kathiawad, pp. 172: 166: 110. Cloth bound. Price Re. 1-0-0, Re. 1-0-0, As. 8 (1934).*

The first book contains the first attempts from Mr. Meghani's pen in the writing of plays. The title means, Villains and other plays. One of these "other plays" portrays the miseries of the wife of a pseudo-social reformer, who, though at heart is a tyrant, wants to show to his friends that he believes in the freedom of women. This particular one as well as the others are written with an eye to their being put on the stage. The language used is homely and the setting is familiar to Gujaratis. The plays therefore are likely to succeed. The second book, which means "the window of the prison office" tells in the most effective and therefore pathetic way the experiences of those who come to interview their relations interned behind the prison-bars, the tribulations of the interviewer and the interviewed, the oppression practised by the prison martinets and similar other distressful items. The author has had personal experience of everything he writes and therefore the exposures are not imaginary. As usual Mr. Meghani has succeeded in making his characters living and vivid, the third book dramatizes the sad Jallianvala Bag incident of 1919 at Amritsar in a series of twenty "scenes." They are so arranged as to cover all the different phases of the event, and make it live over again. The pictures on the jackets of this as well as the Prison-window Book are very suggestive.

K. M. J.

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TWENTY YEARS AFTER

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

THE Divinity that shapes our ends seems to be determined that 1934—the twentieth anniversary of the outbreak of the Great War—shall not pass without its lesson. History is repeating itself or stirring up echoes in the most uncanny and unmistakable fashion.

The war began in Austria with Germany as the attendant evil genius and Russia watching Germany. This year war has very nearly begun again in Austria and again Germany is lurking in the slips. The only change in the scene is that Austria is no longer the great unconsolidated Austro-Hungarian Empire. Some of her territories and peoples have been lopped off to form the countries of Jugo-Slavia and Czecho-Slovakia or have been added to Italy and Roumania. And from this it arises that Russia is no longer interested in the scene—and the "mighty opposite" to Germany is not Russia but Italy.

As if this were not enough to remind us, this twentieth year since the War is also the year in which its two outstanding figures have died. Early in the year died King Albert of the Belgians, a moral victor for all time. Now, on the very anniversary of his country's declaration of War (August 3rd) has died Field-Marshal von Hindenburg, the greatest general the War produced.

The Great War was a war of waiting and wearing down and attrition. There was but one sensational victory in the old style and that was won by von Hindenburg. In 1914, he was a sixty-seven year old nonentity who had made a hobby of the strategical problems of East Prussia. In 1914 the Russian Armies began to roll over East Prussia and he was sent for and given his chance. For years he had studied the marshes in that district and planned the doom they could be to men and guns. Now that study bore its terrible fruit. The result was the slaughter of (1,000,000) Russians—the "famous victory" of Tannenberg.

The victor of Tannenberg became the hero of Germany and, unlike our own Duke of Wellington, showed himself as good and better a man in peace as ever he was in war. Although he was a monarchist he put his duty to his country above his personal predilections, and for years he did stand for something stable and good in German life. Unfortunately, in his old age, there was a falling off in his grasp of public affairs. Dr. Bruning, the last German Chancellor before the Nazi deluge, had a scheme which would have shown up a public scandal in which the Prussian landlords were involved. These landlords got at their old chief, played on his fears and loyalties, and persuaded him to get rid of Dr. Bruning. Accordingly the president appointed instead his friend von Papen. But von Papen could not stand up to the Nazis and became their prisoner—which he was never more so than at the present day.

Well, Hindenburg is dead and Herr Hitler rules, in his place. While the President lay dying it was bad taste to discuss the succession and one Nazi newspaper that did so was suspended for a week. The same considerations of taste, however, did not obtain amongst the more exalted. Twelve hours before the President died the Hitler Cabinet passed a law, to "enter into force from the moment of the death of President von Hindenburg", combining the offices of President and Chancellor and conferring them upon Herr Hitler. The old title of *Reich President* is to go and he will be known as *Leader* (Fuhrer) *and Chancellor* or more probably, by the short title *People's Leader*. Thus he becomes both head of the Executive and head of the State. And perhaps it is worth noting in passing that there is only one other European Dictator who has done this: Mustapha Kemal.

Of course, if the ordinary procedure had been followed, the President of the Supreme Court would have become President until a new election should have been held. But in March of last year the Reichstag passed an enactment giving the Hitler government "full power" to do anything on earth it liked. Accordingly true to type, and regardless of wider considerations, the Nazi regime decided to use the death of the President as an opportunity for a Hitler holiday. The Fuhrer became the Head of the State all right without waiting for an election—without waiting, indeed, until after the dead President's funeral. Germany was told to go into a fortnight's mourning and the poor musicians were told not to play during that time in the cafés. But again there was one law for them and another for the Nazi leaders. For on August 19th the German people are to be asked to endorse what has been done: to say "yes" all together and give yet another demonstration of their solidarity. And to work them up to the required pitch they are to suffer eleven days of intensive propaganda from 200,000 loud-speakers!

The reason for all this is that the Nazi regime never stood in greater need of boosting. Though the German people cannot read in their censored Press what is happening at home or thought of them abroad, they must be aware that Hitlerism has a lot to explain away. In the first place there are the political murders of the

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week-end of June 30th. They must have disillusioned many and especially the young people who thought of the Nazi movement as one of national regeneration. With them it is probably a case of "Never glad confident morning again."

Then there is the plight of Germany's trade with its background of unemployment and misery. There is a general shortage of foreign currencies and raw materials. Only today it is reported in the Press here that German importers are at a loss to know how to pay for their orders of Lancashire yarns. It is said that Germany cannot get through the winter without the aid of foreign loans.

Some idea of the shrinkage in Germany's exports can be gleaned from the figures published in respect of her trade with the Baltic countries. With this, incidentally, our going off the gold standard has had much to do. In 1929, Germany's exports to the seven Baltic countries (Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania) totalled 1,563 million marks. In 1933 they had dropped to 507 million marks !

But the worst blow to the Nazi regime is, of course, the miserable failure with Austria. It set out with the declared intention of uniting the two German-speaking peoples. All it has achieved is the murder of Dr. Dollfuss—a murder the full story of which, to quote the *Times*, "is making the name of Nazi to stink in the nostrils of the world."

It is indeed a well-nigh incredible story ! Nothing more reveals the weak and clumsiness of Herr Hitler as a Dictator. And when one reflects that this bungler in Austrian affairs is himself an Austrian by birth it passes all understanding. No wonder he has been called a Mussolini out of the bargain basement.

The story of the Austrian plot is being unravelled and when it is completed there will be an indictment of Germany. Already the Austrian Government claim that they have proof that, in its main outlines, it was known in Germany.

The plot was a simple one. One band of Austrian Nazis was to seize the Chancellery and the members of the Dollfuss Government. Another to seize the Vienna Broadcasting Station and announce that the Dollfuss Government had fallen and Dr. Rintelen taken over. The broadcast was to be the pre-arranged signal for a rising of the Austrian Nazis all over the country. Following the lead in Vienna, they also were to rise and take over the local government buildings. It failed, of course, because although there was a serious situation in some of the outlying provinces, and especially in Styria and Carinthia, there was no general rising—and above all not in Vienna.

At this point it is necessary to say a word about the moment chosen for the Nazi putsch. For some reason which it is hard to understand all the apologists for Dr. Dollfuss speak of his being *forced* to adopt harsh methods of repression. He first adopted these harsh methods in February when he suddenly swooped on the Social Democrats, forced them to give up their arms, battered down their homes with machine guns, and put all their leaders in prison and concentration camps.

The excuse given was that the Social Democrats were armed. But the answer to that was that all Parties in Austria were armed: the Social Democrats, the Fascists and the Nazis. And the Social Democrats, in any event, had agreed to support Dr. Dollfuss against the Nazis. Moreover, Dr. Dollfuss put himself out of court so far as that argument was concerned, because he himself employed a private army, that of the Fascists, to destroy the Socialists.

Why did he do that ? Who "forced" him to employ harsh methods against the Socialists? It was noticed at the time that the Fascist forces were wearing Italian steel helmets. Ever since February Dr. Dollfuss has been acting in close association with Signor Mussolini. At the time of his murder, his wife was the guest of Signora Mussolini. It thus became ever increasingly clear that the price of Italian support against Nazi-ism was the repression of the Austrian Social Democrats.

Austria might have struggled on against the Nazis without playing Italy's game. Perhaps, if the League of Nations had given her more support she would have. But unfortunately it has to be remembered that last winter, when Austria wished to make an appeal to the League, we and Italy refused to support it.

Our "National" Government never will move a finger to assist the League of Nations, except to use our "commitments" thereunder as an excuse for increasing armaments ! And, as usual, such timidity only resulted in a worsening of the situation. Not until February of this year, not until Austria had thrown herself into the arms of Italy, would we make a statement of policy. And then we made it not through the League but as a Great Power acting in conjunction with other Great Powers—with France and Italy.

"The Three Powers," it was stated, "take a common view as to the necessity of maintaining Austria's independence and integrity in accordance with the relevant treaties." No wonder, Germany, however much she deserved the reproof, felt she was returning to the old pre-War isolation.

The inevitable result, of course, of Dr. Dollfuss's calling in Italy to aid her against the Nazis was that the Nazis grew desperate. Gun-running from Germany and acts of terrorism were intensified until, in the middle of July of this year, Dr. Dollfuss decided that the time had come to try conclusions with them once and for all. A Commission for Security was set up and thereforward "political acts of violence were to be

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punishable *exclusively by death.*" And it was ...ing out of this, because several of their ...ers were awaiting trial and probably death, ...ers the Nazis retaliated with their putsch. ...the impending trial of Nazis, the plan to seize ...Dollfuss Government, the pre-arranged signal ...the broadcast—all these were essential features ...the Austrian rebellion and all were known ...beforehand in Germany. But the amazing part ...it all is the total lack of discretion, the utter ...incompetent bungling, with which Germany con...trolled the situation she had helped and hoped to ...bring about. It reads more like a Russian novel ...than a chronicle of contemporary happenings.

First of all the German Ambassador in Vienna, ...Herr Rieth, actually tried to negotiate a safe ...conduct for the rebels. For this he has been ...censured by the German Government. But it ...must only be said that, unlike the German ...Government, he did not desert his confederates ...merely because they had failed—and, in any event, ...his indiscretion has been totally eclipsed by ...German officials across the border.

The principal indiscretion was on the part of ...the official German news agency in Berlin. On ...the very evening of the murder of Dr Dollfuss, ...Wednesday 25th July, it published a "report" ...of the rebellion. But it was not a report of ...events as they had really happened. It was a ...report of what would have happened had the plot ...succeeded. So they revealed to everyone that ...Germany was in the know . . . What a clumsy ...indiscretion.

It is even stated by Strasbourg newspaper, the ...*Dernier*, that on July 22nd, three days ...before the rising, they received from a Berlin ...news photo agency five pictures which could be ...published after the impending revolt. And all ...these five pictures were wish-fulfilments of the ...rebels of the rebels! They were of the Vienna ...Broadcasting Station "which has been blown up." ...the Chancellery "which has been occupied by the ...insurrectionaries." Major Fey "who has been placed ...under arrest." Dr. Rintelen (the hope of the Nazi ...Party) who is now under arrest and who attempted ...Chancellor Dollfuss "forming a new Government." And ...Chancellor Dollfuss "who received fatal injuries." ...even that murder was a foregone conclusion.

How thorough and how German to try to have ...pictures all ready. How clumsy not to realize ...the shock of such prevision to the world outside ...that has no part in the Nazi murder club. No ...wonder Herr Hitler dare not let the German ...people read the foreign press comments. No ...wonder he is trying to give them a new ...version.

But Germany cannot escape indictment. The ...Fatherland Front in Austria (the party created by ...Dr Dollfuss to combat the Nazis) has plackarded ...Austria with the poster: "We indict the real ...murderers across the frontier." And the Vienna ...Government is busy collecting all the evidence. ...It is said that Dr. Rintelen, the Nazi rebels ...Chancellor-designate, has threatened "to tell all he knows." But already the Government has enough to establish Germany's guilt. On July 28th, they arrested a Nazi courier trying to cross the Bavarian frontier. On him they found documents, partly in cipher, in which the whole course of the rebellion was mapped out. Everything was provided for leading up to the formation of a new Government under Dr. Rintelen. And these documents, it is said, "remove any doubts as to the putsch in Austria being directed and prepared by the Nazi leaders in Germany, and particularly in Munich.

It is useless for Germany, now, to try to wash her hands of the Austrian murder and rebellion. It is too late now for such measures as the dismissal of the head of the Munich broadcasting station or punitive action against indiscreet Ambassadors and Press Agencies. These do not convince anyone. They only inspire contempt for a regime that tries to save itself by throwing its servants to the wolves. Why did Herr Hitler allow the long months of provocative broadcasting from the Munich station? Why did he ever appoint an "Inspector for Austria"? Why did he allow an Austrian Nazi Legion to grow up on the German side of the frontier? As the Austrian Home Front says in its poster: Germany threw oil on the flames. Germany put arms in the hands of youths who did not know any better. (In this last connection, of course, Switzerland has recently sent a Note to Germany protesting against the smuggling of German arms to Austria *via* Lake Constance.)

But what emerges from all this? Surely the conclusion that Austria must look neither to Italy nor to Germany for her independence—nor to a Hapsburg restoration—but to the League of Nations. Critics in this country may scoff at the League, but the fact remains that if the League won't support Austria, Italy will. And Italian intervention means uneasiness in Jugoslavia and a return to the old Balkan tension. In the recent rebellion, for instance, it is believed in Germany, and probably with truth, that if the Austrian Legion had marched across the frontier into Austria, the Italian troops would have done so also. And if Italy had taken this action, Jugo-Slavia would have followed suit. In other words —War.

Jugo-Slavia was profoundly agitated by Italy massing her troops on the Austrian border. A dispatch from Zagreb in Croatia, dated 29th July, reported: "There is considerable excitement throughout Jugo-Slavia and much military activity near the frontier. The Italian troop movements have caused irritation in Croatia, where the newspapers accuse Italy of arrogance in interfering in Austrian affairs, and claim there was no need for it. The Italian actions are described as 'provocative'."

As to the possibilities of a Hapsburg Restoration, it can only be said that Austria

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which cannot support itself can hardly support a Restoration. And as to the suggestion that Austria and Hungary should unite and make it feasible, the Little Entente—Roumania, Czecho-Slovakia, and Jugo-Slavia—will go in fear for their territories should that come about.

In the words of an official communiqué issued by the Jugo-Slav Legation in Berlin, ". . . the Jugo-Slav Government is of the view that the League of Nations solely and exclusively has the right in case of special complications to make decisions upon the Austrian question as an international problem. Every other unilateral measure, such as intervention, would be an infringement of the peace treaties and *could bring about other consequences.*"

But let those nations who imposed the Peace Treaties remember that they condemned Austria to an impossible existence, to an existence in which she can never be self-supporting—and the outward and visible signs of which are beggars at every street corner and, indeed, these terrible political conflagrations. Same day perhaps, when the present tyranny in Germany is overpast, and Europe has lost its fears of Germany, Austria may unite with the rest of the German-speaking peoples. But the insane tactics of the Nazis have put that clock back for generations and meanwhile Austria cannot wait. If and when the Austrian question comes before the League of Nations, efforts must be made to break down economic barriers amongst the Danube countries —to free her trade and find her markets.

It is something to be thankful for that the new Austrian Chancellor, Herr Schuschnigg, shows some signs of seeking to return to the situation before February, before Dr. Dollfuss attacked the Socialists and threw Austria on the protection of Italy. Nothing can be said in condonation of the treatment which the Austrian Government meted out to the rebels. There is no getting away from the fact that safe-conducts were promised and the promise was broken. At the trial both Dr. Fey and Herr Neustaedter-Stuermer admitted that the safe-conducts were promised irrespective of the fact Dr. Dollfuss had been killed. "It was only on receiving this promise on behalf of the German Government that we surrendered, and Fey twice gave me his word of honour as an officer in spite of the fact that Dollfuss was dead"—said one of the rebels at the trial. But since that trial, there are signs that the Austrian Government may be more anxious to conciliate than to punish. After all, as history teaches us, there is no such thing as treason really. Treason is only treason when it is unsuccessful! When it succeeds, it is the new government—and the supporters of the old one are the traitors. Personal loyalties there certainly are but they belong to a different plane. At all events, to return to the new Austrian regime, they have, since Thursday, released Herr Seitz, the former and much-loved Socialist Burgo-master of Vienna, and also other Social Democrat leaders. They had been in prison since the events in February—and, as a report from Vienna states, "this is regarded as a clear attempt to end the fight with the Socialists and conciliate the working classes."

Will the new Austrian Government, can the new Austrian Government, make any similar attempt to end the fight with Germany? It seems impossible, since, if they are going to forgive their own hotheads, it can only be because they realize that Germany was more than half the instigator. And the tactless Germans, if they continue in their present mood, will doubtless only interpret any attempt at a new understanding as signs of weakness.

But something must be done about Germany. Her enemies may rejoice that she has so utterly put herself in the wrong, may take comfort from the reflection that she has scarcely a friend in Europe or the world. But, if they don't do something about it, they may soon find themselves trying to derive comfort from a Germany in a state of revolution.

Decent people, everywhere, cannot rejoice at that prospect. What, for instance, will be the plight of the workers? The International Labour Office last month published an article on the effects of the Depression in Germany. It analysed the German "dole" and its purchasing power. Since the investigations were made in Germany that dole has been reduced. Yet even on the former figure the conclusion reached was that "there is therefore every justification for asserting that a great number of the unemployed in Germany are exposed to the danger of underfeeding."

What can the winter hold in store for Austria and Germany and all of us?

Parliament has just adjourned for the summer holidays and the only thing for which the past session will be remembered is the National Government's re-armament programme and Mr. Baldwin's extraordinary speech in support of it. In it he went back on all his peace on earth sentiments and warnings to the younger generation.

The outstanding passage in that speech was that in which he said:

"When you think of the defence of England you no longer think of the chalk cliffs of Dover but of the Rhine."

Such a remark can only be a calculated indiscretion. It has been described as the most sensational statement on British foreign policy made by any British statesman since Mr. Asquith twenty years ago made his historic announcement of our entry into the War. What does it mean?

Germany, naturally, takes it to mean that England is expecting another war and that in that war she will be fighting against Germany. Not for a moment does she imagine that Mr. Baldwin was thinking of Locarno—and

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sibility of England fighting either on the side France or on the side of Germany, according which of the parties was the aggressor.

Mr. Baldwin's remark", says the *Berliner Tageblatt*, "lets the cat out of the bag . . . The Commons debate was aimed at Germany Britain's potential enemy." And another Berlin paper, the *Boersen Zeitung*, pointedly adds that the speech shows "to what extent Britain is subjected to the influence of the French General Staff."

There is, indeed, more in that remark than at first meets the eye. Let us turn, for instance, to the current issue of *The Fighting Forces*. There the point of view is adumbrated, and there can be little doubt that it is the War Office view, that our new air defence policy must begin on the Continent. There an understanding is negotiated with France and the Low Countries with the object of securing facilities for British aeroplanes in aerodromes in those regions! (We went into the last War, officially, to preserve the neutrality of Belgium . . .)

In this article Germany, as in Mr. Baldwin's speech, is envisaged as the enemy. And "To fly from Germany to London," writes the Editor, Lt.-Col. R. M. Raynsford, D. S. O., "if one takes anything in the nature of a direct course, it is necessary to cross Dutch, French or Belgian territory . . . Our real air defence must inevitably be situated in France and the Low Countries"!

Sinister support to this outrageous proposal is to be found in a *Reuter* message published on 1st August. That message states: "It is recalled that at the London Economic Conference the British plan for establishing neutral (!) zones in Belgium and the Netherlands to prevent air attack on the British Isles was explained to Mr. Cordell Hull, the American Secretary of State."

The truth of that *Reuter* cable is denied in British official circles, but it all hangs together with Mr. Baldwin's remark about the Rhine frontier and with the article in *The Fighting Forces*.

In any event, it is deplorable that a British statesman should have in peace-time named an enemy. Deplorable that he should in that irresponsible fashion give colour and support to the jingoists and alarmists who delight in playing to the tunes piped by the armament manufacturers. It is incredible, for instance, that the Air Defence League should be allowed to issue, as they are at the present time, leaflets urging the creation of *A New Winged Army Of Long-Range British Bombers to Smash Foreign Hornets in their Nests*, and that on the back of this leaflet they state who the "enemies" are in the following screamer:

"Why wait for a bomber to leave Berlin at 4 o'clock and wipe out London at 8 ?"

But beneath all this scaremongering the National Government may be hatching some scheme and all lovers of peace should keep their eyes open. There has been general surprise, for instance, that Mr. Baldwin has never said anything more about his famous promise, should disarmament have to be abandoned, to get to work next morning to secure some kind of an Air Convention.

Is the truth of the matter— the explanation —that the National Government's idea of an Air "convention" is an Air alliance directed against Germany? Are we in for a military alliance with France and the Low Countries, an alliance masquerading as a Convention?

The strangest feature about our new re-armament programme is that the National Government has no mandate for it whatever. The only mandate they have received is from the Conservative Party Conference. The so-called National Government is being driven by the Tories and the Service Members. No one, says the *Manchester Guardian*, can read Mr. Baldwin's speeches on armaments since the Conservative Conference at Birmingham last October without feeling convinced that if left to himself he would have deferred re-arming until the Disarmament Conference was a proved failure or there was demonstrable external justification for it.

The least ingenuous part of Mr. Baldwin's speech was the attempt which he made to justify re-armament on the grounds that our stronger arms would assist in the cause of "collective security". As one critic observed, if his Tory colleagues had taken him seriously they would have called for an immediate Cabinet meeting!

It is not too much to say that the British Government's determination to have nothing to do with collective security has been the principal cause of the failure to date of the Disarmament Conference. They would not give any definition, as the *Manchester Guardian* points out, of even the mildest guarantees of a Disarmament Convention. And it adds: "If there is one thing that can be confidently asserted about the foreign policy of this Government from China to the Rhine, it is that it has been resolutely determined to avoid any and every situation in which the idea of 'collective' security' could be put to any sort of test."

The one thing that is certain about that famous re-armament speech is that Germany thinks we are in France's pocket and America is going to follow our bad example and join in the Air Race also. A report from the United States, following on Mr. Baldwin's speech, stated: Britain's expanded air plans, it is believed, will stimulate the United States Government's determination to have Congress approve the Baker report recommending that "2,320 aeroplanes is the minimum considered necessary to meet peace-time army requirements."

Peace-time?

10th August, 1934

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AN INDIAN COLONEL IN ROUMANIA

By SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

DURING my recent visit to Roumania I came across in Bucharest a very interesting personality. He is Dr. Narsing Mulgund, a Lt.-Col. in the medical department of the Roumanian army. I became so interested in him that I obtained from him the particulars of his early life which I am now writing for the information of my countrymen.

A Maharashtrian by birth, his home was in Taluka Bhuvanagir, sixty miles from Hyderabad city in Deccan. He had his early education in Bombay and after matriculating, he went over to Calcutta.

Lt.-Col. Narsing Mulgund

In Calcutta he joined the Scottish Churches College and studied for the F. A. Examination. Simultaneously, he studied at the National Medical College of Dr. S. K. Mullick. Among his teachers at the latter College were Dr. S. K. Mullick, Dr. Y. M. Bose, Dr. B. C. Ghosh and Dr. M. D. Das. He duly passed the F. A. Examination from the Scottish Churches College and the M. C. P. S. Examination from the National Medical College. In 1912, he went over to London and took the M. R. C. S. Diploma. About this time the Turko-Balkan War broke out and Dr. Mulgund volunteered for service in the Red Crescent Mission in Turkey. There were two medical missions, one led by Dr. Ansari and the other by Dr. Abdul Hossain and Dr. Mulgund joined the latter. He worked for six months as a surgeon with the Turkish army at Shatalja. There he got the Order of Commander of Majidia from the Turkish Government. In the Turko-Balkan War Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria fought against Turkey. This war came to an end soon, but a fresh war broke out in which Serbia and Greece attacked Bulgaria. Roumania also joined in the fray. Since Bulgaria had grabbed a lot of territory from Turkey during the Turko-Balkan War, Turkey took this opportunity of regaining some of her lost territories. When Roumania declared war against Bulgaria, the mission went over to Roumania. In Roumania Dr. Mulgund worked in Zimnica, where there was a field-hospital. Cholera then broke out in the Roumanian army and the medical mission proved to be of great assistance. As a reward for his services, Dr. Mulgund got the Order of Military Virtue from the Roumanian Government. This was in August 1913. At the end of the second Balkan War the other members of the medical mission returned to India, but Dr. Mulgund stayed on. He felt a strong impulse to carve out for himself a career in Roumania.

But who would help him was the problem. Fortunately, about this time Dr. Lupu, a well-known politician, and Professor Stanculeanu took a fancy for him. His future career depended on his becoming a naturalized subject. With the help of his two friends and through the strength of his war-services, he was able to become a naturalized subject long before the usual term. Soon after this he obtained a job as an assistant in the Eye-clinic, attached to the University Hospital. He then passed the State Examination in Roumania. After passing his examination he was able to obtain an appointment as a Sub-lieutenant in the medical department of the Roumanian army.

This was in April 1915. On August 15, 1916 Roumania declared war against Germany. In 1917 Dr. Mulgund became a Lieutenant and in 1918 a Captain. In 1926 he became a Major and in May 1934 a few days before I came to Bucharest, he became a Lt.-Colonel.

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From the left: Elder daughter, Mrs. Mulgund, younger daughter, Lt.-Col. Mulgund, a girl friend of the daughter

Dr. Mulgund, or rather Lt.-Col. Mulgund, is one of the best Eye-specialists in Roumania. From 1919 to 1922 he was chief of the Eye-Hospital in Oradia and from 1922 to 1928 he was an Eye-specialist, attached to the military hospital in Bucharest. During my stay in Bucharest he was asked by the War Minister to open a new Eye Hospital for the benefit of the army.

Lt.-Col. Mulgund married a Roumanian lady and they have two children, both of them girls. They are a happy family. He is quite well known in Bucharest and even before I met him I came to hear of him from several Roumanian friends. During my stay in Bucharest I had the pleasure of spending much of my time with him. From the way he used to be accosted by the Roumanian gentry and by military officers whenever we went out together, one could see, that he was not only well-known there, but much esteemed also.

Though he has been away from India and though he is now a Roumanian subject, he has not forgotton his own language. Besides Marathi, he can speak Hindi fairly well and still retains a fair knowledge of Sanskrit. He is very fond of quoting Sanskrit maxims and verses from the Gita. It was a very great pleasure and honour to meet Lt.-Col. Mulgund in Bucharest. And I have no doubt that those of my countrymen who read this, will be equally pleased and interested. Lt.-Col. Mulgund lives at Strada Canzasi 14, Bucharest.

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Mrs. JAYASHRI NAISHAD Raiji has been elected a member of the Senate of the Bombay University to represent the registered graduates constituency.

Mrs. AMRIT KAUR of Bombay resolved and actually began to fast unto death if her fellow-patriots in Bombay failed to come to the relief of the Assamese in their distress caused by devastating floods. She, however, postponed her fast on the persuasion of leaders. The *United Press* reported from Bombay on August 21 last:

"Tears rolled down the eyes of Srimati Amrit Kaur this evening when she was informed that Bombay contributed Rs. 20,000 in cash and kind for Assam flood relief, thus fulfilling her vow of providing clothing for 20,000 women. Ten thousand *saris*, each costing Re. 1 and 10,000 clothing, each costing 4 as., and Rs. 9,000 cash were collected from Bombay. Practically all clothing was despatched to Assam and the cash was remitted to various relief agencies.

Mrs. Jayashri Naishad Raiji Mrs. Amrit Kaur

The most remarkable fact of the collection is that not a single volunteer was engaged for

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it and not one person was personally approached to contribute.

Mrs. Amrit Kaur has also appealed to the Panjab to contribute at least Rs. 2,000 to clothe 2,000 Assam sisters."

MRS. PRABHAMAYI MITRA is an artist of considerable merit. Her paintings were exhibited in Calcutta early this year along with those of others of her own sex and highly spoken of by experts. She has introduced new techniques in the village domestic arts, such as, *alpana* painting (painting the floor with the rice-powder mixed with water), etc. She also knows photography.

Mrs. Prabhamayi Mitra

Miss. Sita Bai More

MISS SITA BAI More won many prizes in sword and *lathi* play in Bombay.

NEPAL AND ITS RULER

BY S. P. THAPA, B. SC.

THERE are times in the history of a nation when great souls are born to guide its destiny on its onward march. The canvas of time paints many a towering personality who acts as a beacon light to guide and to inspire his generation with the light of faith and hope. Verily, His Highness Projjwala Nepaltara Atiprabala Gorkhadakshinabahu Prithuladhisa Maharaja Sir Judha Sham Shere Jung Bahadur Rana Grand Croix De La Legion de honneur, G. C., Santi Marijio Elaro. G. C. I. E., Hon. Lt.-General British Army, Hon. Colonel of all the Gurkha forces (Indian Army), Prime Minister and Supreme Commander-in-chief of Nepal, belongs to this small band of supermen. Even during the brief span of a year-and-a-half's administration of his he has shown that catholic liberality and broad-mindedness which in themselves go a great way to evidence what stuff his heroic soul is made of. A little pen-picture of this great man would be illuminating as a setting and a mould in which this heroic soul is cast.

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Maharaja Sir Judha Sham Shere Jung Bahadur Rana

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The one fact that comes out prominently in his life is that he came under the stimulating influence of his mother under whose strict discipline his early life was moulded.

Born in 1875 he was brought up in strictest discipline along with his brother Maharaja Sir Chandra Sham Shere by his father General Dhir Sham Shere, the then Commander-in-chief of the Army. The morning shows the day and even in his early life His Highness exhibited those signs and capacities which were the precursor of his future greatness.

It was in his capacity as a senior Commanding General under the rule of Maharaja Sir Chandra Sham Shere that his high talents and organizing capacity were put to the test and he was found equal to every great task that was entrusted to him. It was during the Terai shooting of H. M. King George in the year 1911 that he showed his capacity for efficient organization that marked in his later life. He was in charge of the whole arrangement in connection with the shoot. It may be said to his credit that every thing passed off as it should have, and his work received the highest approbation of his brother.

The European tour of Maharaja Sir Chandra Sham Shere in the year 1908 whom he accompanied as chief of the staff was more than anything else a real eye-opener to this great mind and the great ideas he imbibed then have borne fruits of far-reaching possibilities now.

It was during the Great War in which almost all the European Powers were involved that His Highness was in charge of the Nepalese war office, being Senior Commanding General of the Army. He played his part well and with ability. During those critical times he worked indefatigably day and night so that the Government of Nepal might be in a pasition to render the highest service to the British Government with whom the Government of Nepal is connected with the indissoluble tie of staunch friendship. It was through the effort of the late Maharaja Sir Chandra and His Highness that the British Government could get so many Gurkha recruits during the War. Several trained Nepalese regiments were sent to guard the Indian forntier.

During the Prince of Wales's visit to Nepal Terai also His Highness was in charge of the whole arrangement of the shooting camp.

Since the accession of H. H. to the Prime Ministership of Nepal he has introduced several reforms which go to show that His Highness' one supreme object in life is the amelioration of the condition of his subjects and the improvement of his country.

His Highness is always untiring in his attempts to introduce reforms in any shape which would be likely to be conducive to the general well-being of the people. Agricultural indebtedness has been the one problem the solution of which has been taxing the ingenuity of many a ruler. With that end in view His Highness has risen to the height of the occasion by making a beginning in the way of establishing co-operative credit societies at the very commencement of his rule whereby it is hoped the material condition of the poor cultivating classes would be much altered for the better.

His Highness is always keenly alive to the need of industry and its organization without which no nation can hope for material prosperity. Industrial improvement has been the one absorbing passion of His Highness. He has been trying to find out possibilities of developing trade and industry. The establishment of the Nepal Trading Company with Nepalese capital is a move towards the same end. Many a contemplated reform in this direction, such as the establishment of a bank in Nepal and carrying out of an industrial survey, will soon be taken up and before long reforms in the direction of trade would be accomplished facts.

The question of good roads and hospitals and municipalities is also engaging His Highness' attention. There have been several reforms in the military and civil offices. His Highness has opened a provident fund for military officers and soldiers who now in the evening of their life would have sufficient provision to make their life of retirement one of ease and comfort. An additional new electrical power house is being constructed at Sunderjal for the purpose of facilitating trade and manufacture and Lt. General Krishna Sham Shere Jang Bahadur Rana who is in charge of the work is working very hard to complete it at an early date. The whole code

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of the law is being revised so that it may be made up-to-date having in view the immemorial traditions and custom of the country.

Two recent happenings in Nepal have still more immortalized His Highness' name. Certain administrative changes have also been necessary and the following principal promotions have been made by His Highness in consequence of the removal of the third category from the roll of succesion. H. E. Supradipta Manyabar Commander-in-chief General Sir Padma Sham Shere Jang Bahadur Rana, G.B.E., K.C.I.E., Supradipta Manyabar Senior Commanding General Sir Mohan Sham Shere Jang Bahadur Rana, K.C.I.E., Supradipta Manyabar Commanding General Sir Baber Sham Shere Jang Bahadur Rana, G.B.E., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Hon. Colonel British Army, Nepal Pratapbardhak, Supradipta Manyabar Nepal Tara Prasidha Prabala Gurkhadakshinbahu Commanding General Sir Kaisar Sham Shere Jang Bahadur Rana, K.B.E. Grande officier de la legion de honneur, Supradipta Manyabar Prasidha Prabala Gurkhadakshinbahu Commanding General Bahadur Sham Shere Jang Bahadur Rana, Supradipta Manyabar General Singha Sham Shere Jang Bahadur Rana are all highly educated and experienced Officers and as they have been given charge of important departments so the country's prosperity is further assured under His Highness' benign rule.

But unfortunately Nepal suffered irreparable loss and damage by the recent earthquake of January 15, 1934. At that time His Highness the Maharaja was away from the capital at Nepalganj where His Highness was busy looking after the welfare of his subjects. Immediately on receipt of the news of the damage done by the earthquake in Katmandu and in many districts of hill and Terai His Highness sent long telegraphic messages to all the officers giving them strict order to spend necessary money to help the distressed people.

On the opening of the railway line His Highness hurried to the capital and immediately on reaching there made a provisional grant of four lakhs of rupees. His Highness also opened a relief fund with a capital of rupees fifty lakhs to be given free of interest for four years. Nowadays in the work of relief His Highness' time and attention are so much occupied that he has hardly breathing time. Daily on horse-back he is visiting the devastated town and makes personal enquiries into the conditions of his beloved subjects.

Another landmark in Nepal's history is the establishment of an Embassy in London and His Majesty the King Emperor of India has received one newly created highest Nepalese title. His Highness the Maharaja's eldest son, Commanding General Bahadur Sham Shere Jang Bahadur Rana, is now in London as the head of the Nepalese mission.

In conclusion, we hope his life would be long and prosperous so that His Highness may see the fruition of his efforts.

THE MESSAGE OF LIFE*

An Appreciation

By R. C. SEN, I. C. S.

In social maladies as well as those that are physical, diagnosis is often half the cure. Yet in the various forms in which the demand for happiness is finding expression in the present-day world, this aspect of things does not always receive the attention it deserves. A growing awareness of this situation has perplexed the modern world. There is too much disparity between the practice and the knowledge of life. Not indeed there are who, like ostriches burying their heads in sand, think of annihilating the facts by refusing to see them. Some build utopias with their foundations in the air. Some again repeat the jest of Pilate and show the thinness of the line between the apparently profound and the extremely shallow. Life with all its manifold urgencies is there to be lived. It can neither be ignored, nor explained away.

In the community of Sciences, Sociology is the latest arrived. As a pure science it has got the same detachment and the same ethical neutrality as the other sciences. But, as has been well said, 'a scientific method of sociological analysis may serve the same purpose for society as a psychic analysis may accomplish for the individual by unveiling the causes of latest conflicts and repressions and by making society conscious of its real ends and motives of

* Jiban-vani: By B. C. Mazumdar. Pp. 10 and 200. Price Rs. 2. Published by Messrs. Gurudas Chatterjee & Sons, Calcutta.

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action,' and this attitude is also adopted by the author of the book under review. A life-long student of anthropology in which he has made many notable original contributions, he brings to the study of the social problems of the age a mind rich in the wide knowledge of biology and kindred sciences, and in the passion for truth that follows the logic of facts without fear or prejudice; and in spite of the intricate nature of the questions that are discussed, the book has a literary grace rarely found in this class of writing.

The book is written for the young—the young in whose hands lies the salvation of each age and in whom humanity renews its hope in each generation. The author assumes no previous training on the part of the public he addresses and is careful to present the data he bases his conclusions on, however elementary some of them may seem to advanced students of science. For the same reason he avoids those results of scientific investigation that are still highly controversial. Yet the book is not written down to the level of the casual student of social phenomena who is not prepared to undergo the effort of hard thinking. It is in no sense a popularization of currently accepted views. Nor is it a mere study of origins, for the author shows what lines of approach to the problems before him emerge from that study. For much of his scientific data the author is necessarily indebted to others, although in those that relate to anthropology there is a good deal that is original. But he has co-ordinated them in his own way and made out a position for his own. This is not the less so because in many of his conclusions he is supported by other prominent thinkers throughout the world. It would have been surprising if it was the other way. Taken as a whole, it is probably the first book of its kind in Bengali.

Throughout the essays that make up this book the author wages a relentless battle against slovenly thinking and the habit of making fetishes of tall words. To those unused to the sense of the new horizons revealed by the progress of science, some of his conclusions may seem unpalatable. The author realizes this risk and relies on the love of freedom of thought which has been a characteristic of the Indian mind throughout the ages. It is to be hoped that he does not rely in vain. In three essays the author discusses the problems of life, immortality, mythological morality and the origin of the moral sense. Their main argument is based on two leading ideas, which to use metaphysical terms, are those of continuity and immanence. It is not glorifying God to conceive of Him as a *deus ex machina*, constantly intervening to set things right, or as a mason busy repairing his architectural faults. If He is, He is active in the processes of the Universe. There is thus an unending continuity between the electron and the proton, and man in whom evolution at last becomes partly conscious. There are indeed gaps that have not yet been bridged by science, but to explain them by miracle or cataclysm is only to indulge in intellectual indulgence.

The author briefly describes the atomic theory and postulates that given this cosmic dust with its inherent properties, the rest of inorganic nature is a matter of development. Following the same line of thought he opines that somewhere in the course of the history of the earth, under a convergence or suitable conditions, life originated from the inorganic. Then began the course of evolution wherein mutations and variations were the raw material and the agent Natural Selection, until the process culminated in man when matter flowered in mind. Science describes the process, but does not explain it. Neither matter nor mind can be thought of without its inherent laws of development. Creation, if that term may be used, is, therefore, eternal.

The above view has certain important implications which are developed by the author.

1. The popular idea about matter which is found to be the source of life has to undergo important modifications; life with its properties of self-reproduction and self-regulation may be qualitatively different from matter. But there is an organic relationship between the two. Every single thing in the universe has its mystery but life is no more mysterious than matter.

2. The particular configuration of matter which yields self-consciousness in man also gives him a sense of free choice of alternatives but consistently with the theory of immanence, the correct lines of man's development are to be found in his nature, although he is at liberty to ignore them and make a wrong choice to his cost.

3. The structure of the human mind sets certain limits to its capacity for investigation. The mind which cannot get out of itself, can never be equal to explaining itself. The laws that prevail in the inorganic domain also obtain in the realm of life, and a time may come when it will be possible to describe all human activities in physico-chemical terms, but this will not explain life. Material processes and consciousness, though they are two different aspects of the same reality, are yet different qualities of being.

The author then takes up the question of immortality, and finds the basis for a widespread belief in it in the will to live that dominates Animate Nature. The meanest amoeba has its reaction to stimuli that are injurious to it. The normal man in his search for things that death may end for ever for him, faces all the miseries and trials that life brings in its train. Nature, as Goethe said, is continually taking advantage of her children's 'capacity for forgetfulness'. The author notices the same phenomenon and he urges the practice of this forgetfulness in which, according to him, lie the springs of life.

If death is inevitable, the problem of immortality is scientifically insoluble, and will remain so for ever. But the author believes that personality survives death. Matter and energy are never destroyed, and the author's argument about the conservation of personality is the converse form of this scientific argument. In a universe where nothing ever goes to waste, it is hardly likely that self-consciousness, its highest product, is alone doomed to extinction. While he holds this belief, he is careful to add that any dogmatic representation of after-life can only provoke ridicule.

The theory of rebirth raises more difficulties than it solves. As an explanation of differences found amongst men, it is uncalled for, as similar differences are found in the animal and plant worlds where there are no souls. In some ways it is also a mischievous theory, for philanthropy, according to its strict logic, is immoral interference with the moral justice of the universe.

It will thus appear that the above view has nothing unspiritual in it. To call evolution the method by which God works, is only to substitute orderliness for the catastrophic theories of divine activity which are still extant in some circles. Then again whatever criticism the idea of emergence may be open to, very few serious thinkers now believe in a 'supernatural hiatus

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between the organic and the inorganic. Then again without denying continuity between man and the rest of the animal world and some kind of mental activity to the latter, it is possible to hold that man with his conceptual reason, his language and social tradition has his differences also. As Pringle-Pettison says, 'it is a case of the little more and how much it is and the little less and what worlds away.' Matter with its potencies takes on a new meaning. But such a view does not destroy any values. As Lloyd Morgan says, "Of protoplasm we may likewise say that under certain conditions at present unknown it appeared." Those who would concentrate the mystery of existence on the pin-point of the genesis of protoplasm do violence alike to philosophy and religion. Those who would single out from among the multitudinous differentiations of an evolving universe this alone for special interposition would seem to do little honour to the Divinity they profess to serve. Theodore Parker gave expression to a broader and more reverent theology when he said, "The Universe broad, deep and high is a handful of dust which God enchants. He is the mysterious magic which possesses" not protoplasm merely but "the world."

The author's conception of self-consciousness takes us point out of the age-long antithesis between the body and the mind. Man may be a machine, but he will himself never realize that it is so. His awareness of himself is inseparable from his sense of free will. The author then distinguishes the question of the survival of personality, which may be held as a reasonable belief, from detailed presentations of after-life which involving, as they do, the difficulties of translating eternal life into terms of duration, are found to be full of absurdities and he shows that in popular pictures of the life beyond the grave there is much that belongs to the infancy of mankind.

Flaubert in his 'Temptation of St. Anthony' shows the procession of the gods made by man, and Rhys Davids in his American Lectures on Buddhism conceived of a book on 'The Birth Days of the Gods'. This is the task which the author accomplishes on a small scale in the essay on mythological morality. The first reaction of the early man to the universe consisted in a sense of wonder and awe. It may be noted that some writers have described the feeling as 'theoplasm', the stuff out of which gods are made. From his dream-experiences and his observation of his own shadow the early man has the idea of a detachable ego with which he ultimately connects the phenomenon of death. This ego is invested with supernatural powers from the analogy of freedom of movement possessed by the ego in dreams. Thus are born spirits which are later believed to be capable of introducing themselves into anybody. This gives rise to fetishism which through polydemonism develops into polytheism. The power of a body receptive of spirit-influence becomes a natural intermediary between the spirit-world and man. Thus arises the priestly class. The idea of possessing a spirit leads to the construction of the first amulet.

But there are other sources of the origin of gods. The only source of activity known to the early man was his own will. All unusual material objects and phenomena are thus endowed with will and personality. Later the material object is not itself considered as alive, but its controlling force alone is believed. At this level of culture there also grow up magic and fetishism of a different sort, e. g., talisman or amulet which owes its efficacy to power transmitted from without.

In the contact of early religions is to be found another cause of the birth of gods. The problem arising from a clash of the gods is solved either by syncretism or the creation of a pantheon. The author then explains what is now described as monolatry, a phase in the development of the early monotheistic systems.

The description of this development the author supports with a wealth of facts, some of them being observations of his own. It, however, seems that these different stages of development are more logical than chronological. The two main points that the author makes as a result of the above study are the following:

Early religion consists in propitiating, cajoling or deceiving the deities. It discloses no evolution of the ideals of conduct. There is no real communion between the worshipper and the worshipped, or the joy that is born of such communion. It may, however, be argued that, relative to the age, this was the development that was to be expected. The human conception of the Deity cannot transcend the current ideals of moral excellence and in these primitive conceptions of the life and the world are to be found the first beginnings of religion, philosophy and science. This lends special weight to the author's second point, *viz.*, many of these superstitions are to be found in the present civilizations filling life with unnecessary gloom. He refers to the present agitation for temple-entry and shows that the concession of this right to certain classes is worse than useless until they have been educated out of some notions that have survived from primitive times.

The author then shows that the idea of a Supreme Being behind the universe is not of late appearance in culture. He himself found it among the Kols and other anthropological investigators have found it among many tribes throughout the world. Some of them are democratic, so that the idea is not borrowed from monarchy. According to the indications of the myths it does not appear to be a later development either. The author then explains why the development of religious thought did not take the line of monotheism from the start. This Supreme Being was remote and not localized. He did not intervene in human affairs. The spirits and the gods did intervene, and were accessible through gifts and prayers. It is they who, therefore, came to be sought after.

The question that now suggests itself is where then is to be found the basis of true religion and true morality. The author asks man to look inside himself. The individual is in a certain sense an abstraction. There is no 'I' without a 'Thou'. The individual cannot be conceived of except as a member of a species. The motive-power behind all his activities is the supreme desire to live, to have more life both in quantity and quality, and early in the history of life it is found that in the higher reaches the interests of the organism and the species it belongs to are identical. In the love for the mate, in the parental care for the young and in the mutual aid among the members of the same species, are to be found the rudiments of the moral sense. The individuality of all animals thus completes itself in the larger life of the race. Moral sense is thus innate in man although moral codes may vary in space and time. It is on what Nature has bestowed her greatest approval, *viz.*, survival value. The author then points out that no philanthropy, no social endeavour is genuine until it is realized that man is organically

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interested in working for his species. Morality is both difficult and unsatisfying so long as it is taken as an imposition from without.

It may, however, be argued that the biological argument is based on selected facts. What about the race being to the swift and the battle to the strong, the picture that is associated with the idea of Struggle for Existence? The author does not touch the point probably because to a great extent it is an obsolete picture. The competitions that is in Nature is chiefly amongst different species. Further, competition and mutual aid are alternative responses of the organism to the environment. Progress in biology has confirmed Herbert Spencer when he said, 'Self-Sacrifice is no less primordial than self-preservation'.

But man is also organically connected with the Infinite. He is not a finite being in any ultimate sense. The processes of his mind, his ideals and aspirations, his sense of incompleteness that carries him forward are inexplicable except for the felt presence of the filaments that bind him to the Infinite. This Supreme Reality, God of Religion, whose existence is neither proved or disproved by science, is the 'Beyond that is also Within'. It is in his longing for the Infinite that one finds the true sources of religion, literature and art. The latter aspect of this view the author develops in a beautifully written essay entitled 'The Ideals of Literature'.

The universe is, however, governed by laws. No development of the individual could take place in a world ruled by caprice. Prayer is thus of value as submission of desires to God for purification, and repentance as the sign of a moral rebirth. Goodness is conquered evil, and power is transmuted pain. The meaning of life cannot be reached by a refusal to face it. Systems that rely on esoteric practices or seek escape in the belief that the world is an illusion, are thus fundamentally misconceived.

The author thus does not formulate any creed. There are enough creeds in the world; Religion has survived and will survive many creeds, and the ultimate facts pointed out by the author will probably remain true for ever.

In a set of three essays the author then takes up the question of heredity, caste and marriage. In the space at my disposal it is difficult to give even a bare outline of these essays, written as they are with a rare insight into the fundamentals of the problems. He explains the chromosome theory of inheritance and points out that it is the germplasm that binds the generations. Somatic changes that do not affect the germplasm are not inherited. But although acquired characters are not inherited in man, the situation is complicated by the existence of the social tradition which Thomson describes as the 'Eternal Heritage' So far as mental qualities are concerned, what is inherited is capacity or general intelligence, its development being directed by the social tradition. He refers to the case of the Gonda tribe near Sambalpur which has been found to be extremely criminal. Researches into their early history disclosed that they were at one time the frontier guards of aboriginal kingdoms, and the successful commission of crimes against their enemies brought credit to them and not disgrace. Conditions have changed, but the tradition has persisted and every Gonda child is born into it. It is impossible to reclaim them unless children can be separated from their parents at a very early age, but this has its difficulties. Their only hope of salvation, therefore, lies in their being absorbed by people with a different external heritage.

From the above facts the author formulates two general laws: (1) Every human being is born into a social tradition in which is included the traditions of his family and this has important effects on his development. (2) The more isolated, the more inelastic a society is, the greater is its chance of degeneration. This he attributes to two causes: (a) the intellectual stagnation that results from lack of cultural contact with other peoples and (b) the evil effects of interbreeding.

He also refers to the growth and decay of elect castes and points out that the decay is usually the result of some social vices that almost inevitably spring up in such stocks. Among the factors that make for this result, the author emphasizes the enforced sexual union with people to whom, from early familiarity, the whole emotional attitude is different. Thomson is inclined to think that the failure in reproductive power which characterizes such stock is 'an expression of Nature's verdict against dis-social isolation of privileged classes, against every self-contradictory denial of the solidarity of the social organism''.

The author accordingly advocates out-breeding, but points out that its usefulness also has a limit. Too great a difference in the external heritage between husband and wife does not conduce to a happy marriage or the successful rearing of children.

He then turns to Hindu Society. Caste, as is well known, is both an exogamous and endogamous group, the caste as a whole being endogamous, the *gotras* inside the caste being exogamous. The author then points out an important fact which is likely to escape observation. This compulsory marriage outside the *gotra* leads to inbreeding and thereby defeats the very purpose for which the system was consciously or unconsciously adopted. The *gotra* does not really indicate common descent. As marriage has to be contracted outside the *gotra*, it often takes place among closely inter-related families and thereby results in inbreeding.

There is a good deal of free social intercourse among the higher castes of India but that they do not yet show the evil effects of inbreeding is due to the fact that the rigidity of the caste system is of recent origin. The author is inclined to think that they are high-mortality groups. He accordingly advocates inter-marriage among them as they have more or less the same social background.

As regards caste he points out that it is a growth and not an imposition either by the Brahmins or anybody else. He also points out the factors responsible for social grouping and makes the interesting observation that there is lack of commensality among the different aboriginal tribes also. It is the belief in the hereditary transmission of qualities which is the earliest factor in producing social rigidity. The Indian system is, however, peculiar and for this peculiarity the author advances a theory which is original and instructive, although it is reasonable to hold that so complex a phenomenon cannot admit of any one explanation. The author points out that life in India has always been easy and that Indians, unlike the nations of the West, had never engaged in any commercial enterprises. Those who emigrated, left India for ever. Few of the wars that took place were wars between nations. The sense of solidarity was therefore never strong enough to overcome

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tendencies that went to the formation of the caste system. He also points out that during the rise of the Marhattas, whose activities were chiefly directed against the Muhammadans, caste restrictions were, as a matter of fact, relaxed. It may be noted that a similar phenomenon due to similar causes is observable in Japan.

As regards the future of caste the author does not think that any serious disintegrating tendency can be detected now. The agitation against it is largely conducted by people who had never been really within it. The social aspirations in the lower castes, their desire for a higher status, is in essence an acceptance of the system. Yet the author is of opinion that its ultimate disappearance is now largely a question of time. The whole world has gone back on the apotheosis of the Nation-State which resulted in the last Great War, and which is the logical development of the ideas underlying the caste system. And although in the idea of Nation there is probably something that is too precious to be wholly sacrificed, the forces making for human unity are too strong to leave it or caste unaffected.

The desire to avoid technicalities has made the author omit all reference to the Mendelian Laws of inheritance, in the section on heredity. Yet a short description of them and the subsequent work on those lines would probably have been useful. A reference to Mendel's Laws would also have explained why inbreeding, not an evil *per se*, has usually such undesirable results. The human race at large is of such mixed origin, that inbreeding sooner or later ensures the release of undesirable recessives.

Turning to marriage, the author is of opinion, which he supports by a wealth of facts, that the earliest form of marriage was exogamous monogamy. Anthropologists are not agreed on this subject, but the balance of authority appears to be in favour of the author; for in the earliest stage which is the selecting stage, families must needs have been small and mates must have been sought outside their limits. Later variations such as polyandry were either perversions or adaptations to particular circumstances. While it may be argued that the earliest form is not necessarily the best, the author refers to the prevalence of monogamy in the animal world and urges that there are in human nature innate forces that make for this form of union (exogamous monogamy). They are :

1. An almost instinctive repugnance to incest. There is, however, something to be said for the view that this repugnance and the severe taboos prevalent in savage society against this kind of union are the effects of an original attraction.
2. The need for prolonged parental co-operation for the rearing of the offspring which can be best achieved by persons in love with each other.
3. The needs of the emotional life which demand this kind of union, and the author in a separate essay advances certain psychological and physiological reasons in favour of this argument.
4. The fact that man is not handicapped by a sexual periodicity. The author points out that in animals with mating seasons, sexual union often lasts beyond the period of the needs of the offspring. The argument would, therefore, apply with greater force to human beings who have no such season.

To these it is possible to add the fact that normally the sexes are approximately equal in number.

The author emphasizes the essential necessity of the child being brought up by the parents, and doubts if these nurseries can ever replace the home. It may also be reasonably urged that parents need the society of children, as much as the latter need the society of the parents. The author admits that the present marriage systems may be unsatisfactory in many ways, but all that he is anxious to establish is that there are in this matter certain permanent factors that cannot be ignored. Even where the marriage has not turned out what it was expected to be, he advises restraint.

It would be mistaking the intention of the author to think that he advocates any particular legal system of monogamy nor do I understand him to mean anything beyond the fact that monogamy is the norm round which there are the oscillations. But his general conclusions are beyond dispute and are welcome in an age when there is so much slipshod thinking about sexual morality. There is no promiscuity anywhere among the savages. In societies where group-marriage or some forms of sexual communism obtains, the limits within which such relations can take place are rigidly fixed. The psychic and the physiological barriers of personality cannot be thrown down at random without damage to the finer expressions of sexual life. As has been said by Julian Huxley—"To love one woman fully is to wish not to love any other woman fully. If a philosopher existed who was both purely rational and had also never fallen in love, this would doubtless seem to him very absurd—how could one limited human female, when so many and such diverse types exist, satisfy the mind's craving for variety? The answer is that it is so; but also that as a matter of fact this complete giving of the self in one way to one person makes it possible, so is the mind constructed, to give and receive more freely, but in a different way, to and from other beings; whereas an attempt to love many completely is impossible in practice, and with no single one does the love attain fullness."

Yet it may have been necessary to reprove the old, for the old system contained much that was cruel and unjust and suffering beyond a certain point may be sterile or degrading. The form was exalted at the expense of the spirit. As has been well said by Havelock Ellis, "it is the reality of the marriage which sanctifies the form." The author has wisely refrained from telling us how such marriage is to be achieved. The happily-married have not left us their secrets. Such secrets cannot be told.

It is not my intention to exhaust the contents of the book. The teaching that is to be found there, cannot be given in a summary. In the discussion of every problem that the author takes up, he preserves an admirable detachment and uses his wide vision of the solid biological facts of life and his consummate grasp of the streams of tradition in finding out the true lines of advance. He is no scientific Chauvinist or a despiser of social tradition. Again and again he emphasizes the need of both knowledge, without which emotion is pregnant with mischief, and emition, without which knowledge is sterile, in studying social problems. God to him is not a theological mystery. He is to be found in the very texture of human experience. He is not remote and unfriendly, but His ways have to be understood. He may be inexhaustible but He is not unknowable. In a certain sense nothing in the world, says the author, is fully known, a view that reminds one of Tennyson's famous lines on the "flower in the crannied wall". For man to try to understand the ways of God is to realize his own potentialities, and that realization has its own inspiration. It is, therefore, not for man to retreat before the complications of the world that science reveals.

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The author's combination of scientific knowledge with expository and literary ability equips him eminently for the task he has undertaken in the book. In an appreciation written in English, it is difficult to do justice to its style, its illustrative brilliance, clearness of exposition and lack of special pleading The book is easy reading, but the very simplicity of its style conceals its strength. Although the book is primarily intended for the young, every class of reader will find in it a very valuable intellectual discipline. For lucidity of exposition, the tone that is adopted is sometimes of the class-room, yet he will have read the book in vain, who does not realize that the aim of the author is to provoke thought and inspire the reader 'to learn what none may teach, to seek what none may reach.'

COMMENTS AND CRITICISM

"Relative public spirit and enterprise of Hindus and Muhammadans in Bengal"

The number of Muhammadan magazines in Bengal is not six, as stated by Mr. J. M. Datta, and that of Hindu ones eighty. In *the Calcutta Gazette* of 2nd August 1934, ninety-four Bengali periodicals have been noticed of which only four are conducted by the Muhammadans. The maximum circulation of a Muhammadan magazine is 1,000, while that of some conducted by Hindus is 15,000.

Sukchar P.O.
24 Parganas — HARI DHAN GANGULY

"Relative public spirit . . ."—Mr. J. M. Datta's Reply

Please allow me to reply to Mr. G. Murtaza's comments on my article "Relative Public Spirit and Enterprise of the Hindus and the Muhammadans of Bengal". He has accepted my facts and figures, but he imputes me motive and challenges me to prove something else. The real facts and figures bear rather hard against Mr. Murtaza's community; so he has invented facts and based his arguments on them.

Let us test the truth or otherwise of his facts. He says that of the Rs. 12 crores of provincial revenue, Rs. 6 crores goes to the Hindus and about Rs. 1 crore to the Muhammadans in salaries. It is not a fact that the Government spends as much as Rs. 7 crores in salaries. It is well known that the Government effected 10 per cent cut on all salaries of over Rs. 40 per month. This cut included H. E. the Governor, the Members and Ministers of the Bengal Cabinet, and the I. C. S; I. P. S; I. E. S; I. M. S. &c. The net annual saving was less than Rs. 37 lakhs The Hon'ble Mr. A. Marr in presenting the Budget for 1932-33 before the Legislative Council on the 22nd Feb., 1932 said:

"The savings due to the 10 per cent cut in pay during the 3 months in which this was effective in 1931-32 are estimated at Rs. 9,10,000 while the savings anticipated on this account during the next 12 months are estimated at Rs. 36,98,000." [*Bengal Council Proceedings* Vol. 38, no.2 p. 31.] Therefore the total of all salaries over Rs. 40 comes to Rs. 370 lakhs. Let us calculate the total of all salaries below Rs. 40. The actual number of workers including working dependants of all religions in services under the state is 38,769; and that of those who serve the state as a subsidiary occupation is 1,658. These two total 40,427; deducting therefrom the number of persons working in the Post and Telegraph Departments, numbering 23,843 we get the maximum possible Bengal Government servants to be 16,584—maximum because we have not deducted the number of government employees in the customs etc. for example. If we assume every one of them including the peons and chaprassies getting Rs. 40 p. m. the total of their salaries do not exceed Rs. 80 lakhs. So the Governments' salary bill cannot exceed Rs. 450 lakhs; but Mr. Murtaza makes the Hindus alone get Rs. 600 lakhs!

Mr. Murtaza says his figures are not imaginary, for he has consulted the Government budget of 1932-33, and has made a rough calculation out of them. I too have gone carefully page by page through its 321 pages, but nowhere have I found any mention anywhere of the religion of the government servants. If Mr. Murtaza ever publishes the bases of his calculation, I shall try to meet him.

As for the proportion of the Hindus and the Muhammadans, it is generally conceded that in the lower ranks the Muhammadans predominate, and the higher you go, the less the number of Muhammadans. The proportion of Muhammadan to Hindu Deputies and Sub-deputies (in spite of the fact that many Hindus joined service before 1912 and the Muhammadans cannot compete freely with the Hindus) is 42:100 and 41:100 respectively. If there is any preponderance of Hindus, it is because of their superior merit and in spite of the favour shown to the 'favourite wife' by the British Government.

The Hindus took to English education, but that is no fault of theirs. And it is not true that the Hindus acquired wealth and influence by means of Government service alone. Keshub Ch. Sen had influence over Queen Victoria herself, but he was not a government servant. Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea acquired wealth and influence not as a Government servant, but as a public man. Both Sir Rash Behary Ghosh and Sir Tarak Nath Palit whose munificence goes to benefit the Hindus as well as the Muhammadans, were never Govertment servants. To give one example from among the living, Sir Rajendra Nath Mukherjea's vast wealth and still greater influence is not due to any Government service. But Mr. Murtaza in his prejudice cannot think of any other means by which the Hindus have acquired wealth and influence. Will he kindly explain why almost all the endowments and charities of the Muhammadans are communal in character? Why in cases of floods and famine relief, there is a dearth of Muhammadan volunteers—to be a volunteer does not require much money. The same causes—one of which is narrow selfishness, which encourge the Muhammadan to make his charities communal, often

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vent him from making any even when financially
e is able to do so.

Assuming for argument's sake that the Hindus get
Rs. 6 crores in Government service, may we not retort
that they get Rs. 6 crores, because they pay at least
per cent of Rs. 12 crores *i. e.* Rs. 960 lakhs in
overnment-revenue and taxes, while the Muhammadans
do at most pay Rs. 2 crores, (leaving bare 40 lakhs
for the Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Buddhists and
Parsists &c.) get back about Rs 1 crore in salaries,
and another 30 or 40 lakhs in special educational
facilities?

Mr. Murtaza's facts are of the same order of truth.

J. M. Datta

[As we could not give more space to Mr. Datta, we have cut out the remainder. Ed. *M. R.*]

Mr. Shyam Sundar Misra, M. A., writes :

"Perhaps unknowingly you have committed a mistake in your Notes on 'Oriya Poets Honoured' in the last May issue of your *Modern Review*. There, while speaking regarding the akinity of the Oriya and the Bengali language, you have mentioned that though you delivered all your speeches except one in Bengali, none objected to your doing so except a young man who you say is a Telugu-speaking gentleman from Ganjam. But the young man who objected to your speaking in Bengali is not a Telugu-speaking gentleman. He is—myself—a genuine Oriya and a resident of political Orissa."

DR. HIRALAL

By K. P. JAYASWAL

THE death of Rai Bahadur Dr. Hiralal, which occurred at Nagpur on the 20th August last, causes a gap in the ranks of Indologists. Rai Bahadur Hiralal was a great figure amongst Indian scholars. He was the leading authority on the ethnology of the Central Provinces and Berar, and on the various dialects of Hindi prevalent in the former. He was similarly one of the foremost epigraphists, and the Kalachuri period of Hindu history was largely elucidated by him from inscriptions and other sources. At the same time he made very useful contributions to Hindi literature in the form of a number of books of the nature of scientific Gazetteers on the Central Provinces. In addition to being one of the leading Indologists he was one of the ablest writers in Hindi, noted for his chaste style. He conducted searches for manuscripts in Sanskrit for the Benares Nagari Pracharini Sabha, of which he was president for a number of years. His catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in the Central Provinces brought to light a new class of Prakrit literature of the ninth and tenth centuries, which is written in proto-Hindi.

By profession the late Rai Bahadur was an executive officer. In the Executive Service of his province he rose from the humble post of a Naib Tahsildar to the highest open to men of his generation, namely, that of a District Magistrate and Collector. He had started life as a sub-inspector of schools. Census operations of the Central Provinces were carried on more than once under his superintendence.

He was a silent worker, and of retiring nature. For over three decades he had silently worked in the field of original research when the late Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri proposed him to be elected as the President of the Oriental Conference, the highest office of honour open to an Indologist. He presided over the sixth Oriental Conference held at Patna in 1930.

For his scholarship and services the University of Nagpur conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters last year. Dr. Hiralal was 70. He always enjoyed good health, walked erect in his seventieth year and looked about twenty years younger than his age. A short ordinary illness, causing his removal from his home at Katni to Nagpur, ended his earthy career.

Dr. Hiralal was always a pleasant and popular man in every walk of life, and earned the highest respect of all who knew him for purity of character and devotion to duty.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Seeing God

Of Beatific Vision we have no knowledge, though some of the ancients experienced this phenomenon. But the writings of the Basil King show a departure from the traditional way of seeing the Almighty Father face to face. We quote the following extracts from the philosophic contemplations of the Basil King published in the *Message of the East* :

We see God by what we understand of Him ; we understand Him by His attributes, and we measure His attributes by their beauty and goodness and practicality. Whenever there has been a blessing for you to enjoy ; you have seen God. Whenever love has cheered you or kindness helped, you have seen God. In sunrise and sunset and moonlight and starlight and trees and fields and harvests and flowers and ice and snow and air and health and beauty and generosity and friendship and all that gives pleasure to existence, *you've seen God.* He hasn't been invisible. There is not one world in which God is seen and another world in which He is not. There is not a life with God and another life away from Him. There is only *one* world and God fills it ; there is only *one* life to which God is All-in-all. There is no beyond ; there is only a universal *Here.* There is only an ever-present *Now.*

To the true Son of man who is also the true Son of God, heaven is not another world or an afterworld ; it's the only world. It's a state of consciousness He never leaves and of which He never loses assurances. He has the highest authority for knowing that in it His angels do always behold the face of His Father.

Angels are messengers and messages. In yearnings and prayers and aspirations and hopes, and a thousand other impulses of your being, what have you been doing but sending troops of your angels to see His face?

Abandon the inverted reflection on the mortal retina as a necessity for sight, and you see him at once. Jesus has said, "To know God is eternal life" and that they who possess even the rudiments of that knowledge, can never die. What the end of that knowledge will be surpasses our capacity to guess at, as God Himself surpasses it.

For the present, we are the inheritors of love, joy and peace, and in proportion as we have them—whatever the stage of our progress out of material beliefs—we see at least the fringe of the robe of Him whose qualities they are.

—

Menace of German Cæsarism

The following editorial comment on Hitler's Germany appears in *The Inquirer*, a British weekly journal :

Germany is losing one by one the support and respect of doughty champions who for fifteen years have unflaggingly espoused her cause. Men like J. L. Garvin, Robert Dell, and others who for years have exposed the injustice of the Versailles Treaty, have been moved by recent events to set their faces against this people whose soul is ravaged by a venomous poison—the poison of a febrile racialism fostered and enfiamed by a malefic dictatorship.

This new Germany is not the nation which they and we have loved of old, to whose genius in religion, philosophy, science and art all the world is debtor ; it is not the authentic Germany of Lessing, Kant, Goethe and Beethoven that forever glorifies the human race, but a Faustian Germany whose soul has been given to Mephistopheles. Myrmidons of the Prince of Darkness hold in terrible thrall this fairest of lands that gave Luther to the world : almost everything that is creatively lovely in the Commonwealth of Man writhes and dies under the blight of their policy and creed.

Man, says Oswald Spengler (Nazidom's dominant philosopher) is "a beast of prey." And one cannot nourish beasts of prey on the milk and water of Christian romance and sentimentalism! What nonsense is this—this morbid idea of reforming society! Only Cæsar can conquer the world—only a cæsaric, "prussianised" Germany, fettled in iron and nourished on other men's blood. That is Spengler. Lesser men, even Hitler himself, may quail at the vociferous metallism of this gospel but they cannot deny its logic. Not Hitler's Reichstag speech, prepared for a listening world, but Spengler and his like reveal the inner nature of the Nazi creed—and the impending clash of arms to which it inevitably leads.

Explain how we will this dehumanising of the spirit of man—this renascent Medievalism equipped in the technological accoutrements of the modern age—as explanation in psychological terms (over-compensation of a national inferiority complex consequent upon defeat ?) can minimise the brutal facts. The German spirit, twisted and torn, is betrayed for a mess of pottage to pagan, blood-lusting gods. Germany has put the clock back.

Germany's present mood—her revival of the gospel of Might—constitutes the world's direst peril—and warning. Either Cæsar will prevail, or Christ. Cæsarism means war. The way of Christ means international and peace, a peace founded upon the collective security of the solidarity of the nations. It is for the world to choose ere it be too late.

—

Britain's Colonial Trade-War With Japan

British Government imposed import quotas on Japan's export trade in cotton and rayon to British Crown Colonies. This drastic order will cut Nippon's textile exports to English Crown Possessions and may also have effect of reducing Oriental Power's American cotton purchases. The following extracts are quoted from *Literary Digest* :

This new policy was announced in the House of Commons by Walter Runciman, President of the Board

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of Trade. Previously Mr. Runciman had handed what was called a "commercial ultimatum" to Tsuneo Matsudaira, Japan's Ambassador to England. He waited for a few days in the hope that some word would come from Tokyo which would make restricted action unnecessary. But Japan stood pat.

In the House of Commons Mr. Runciman explained that the basis for apportioning the quotas would be the average of the foreign textile exports to the Colonies from 1927 to 1931 inclusive, Japan's average for that period was 87,670,000 yards of piece-goods, but in 1932 Japan's exports to the Colonies amounted to 205,000,000 yards and last year they were considerably more.

In England *The Manchester Guardian*, as shown in an editorial cabled to "The Literary Digest", seemed distrustful of the effect of the Runciman order. It supposed the Government had concluded that Great Britain had pursued a conciliatory policy toward Japan long enough, and now must try other methods but it warned against indulging illusions as to where trade discrimination might lead Britain. The measure, the paper said, was "hardly a crippling blow to Japan." The loss of 100,000,000 yards would mean about 5 per cent of her trade of last year, but *The Guardian* could not assume that what "Japan lost, Lancashire would gain."

In Japan the powerful Osaka *Mainichi*, whose Tokyo edition is the *Nichi Nichi*, declared that, "in view of Great Britain's favorable trade balance with Japan the British people should consider deeply before imposing quotas on Japanese goods." Tokyo United Press dispatches reported that the Japanese Government and textile leaders maintained an attitude of watchful waiting and hinted that the United States might be a sufferer from Britain's procedure. If Japanese exports are confined under import quotas in the British Colonies, it was pointed out, the first effect would be a reduction in mill orders and a consequent reduction in purchases of raw cotton—most of which came from the United States.

The Japanese Government held that the British Dominions, which mostly enjoyed favorable trade balances with Japan, would only hurt themselves by cutting down their Japanese imports. Japanese textile leaders said they would seek an outlet for their products at Canton for the southern Chinese trade if import quotas were imposed at Hongkong. Hongkong's important importations of Japanese goods were mostly for re-export to China, it was said, and the result of quotas would be to reduce Hongkong's trade, not China's.

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Is Religion a Private Matter?

It is often whispered that religion is an individual's private affair. Mr. Kenneth C. Walker's bold challenge to this age-old doctrine, and his expression in an editorial article in *The Christian Register*, part of which we quote before:—

We often hear it expressed, when we challenge some specific religious doctrine, that religion is a private affair. Until we learned more of the true nature of social life this may have been true, or appeared to be true. Today the facts reveal that there is no longer any such thing as a strictly private life. This holds fully as much for faith and morals as it does for economics, politics, and other aspects of our societal life. We are beginning to see now that we have not had a sufficiently adequate social morality. That we have been so long in discovering this is due very largely to the fact that we have thought religion was a private affair, something between an individual and his God, or a sect and its God. What an individual thinks and does, or *does not think and does*, sooner or later has consequences beyond his own private life.

This being true, the time is fast approaching, if indeed it is not already here, when the community has a right to challenge the private beliefs of its members on matters concerning faith and morals, if it is discernible that the carrying out of these beliefs will result either in the lack of a complete and satisfying life in that individual, or will obstruct the highest spiritual and cultural development of the community.

Just as we are beginning to socialize other aspects of our common life, *e. g.*, industry and politics, we must socialize religion. Religion is no longer, in this modern day of ours where human life is so interdependent in every aspect, an affair solely between a man and his God. It can never cease being an affair between ourselves and our fellow men. The day has come when the individual or the sect can no longer hide behind the flag of religious freedom in order that it may continue to propagate and maintain its own private, obsolete, anti-social, irreligious teachings. Every sect must serve humanity first, last and always, or be challenged as to the propriety of its existence.

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Bulgaria's New Dictator

The following editorial comment appears in *The New Republic*:—

A Correspondent in Bulgaria sends us some news of the new dictatorship there, which indicates that Prime Minister Kimon Georgieff is a skillful politician as well as the ruthless engineer of a *coup d' etat*. One of his first acts was to intervene in a strike of 3,000 workers at Plovna, who were asking that their wages be increased from 40 to 45 cents in the case of men, and from 25 to 30 cents in the case of women. Georgieff ordered the industrialists to accede in full to the demands of the workers. He went on to appoint several "former" Communists—there has been no recognized Communist party in Bulgaria since 1924—as mayors of cities. While these developments are not important in themselves, they constitute the only victories labor has had in the Balkans in several years, and have been received with proportionate acclaim. At the same time, Georgieff is popular at the moment with the bourgeoisie, largely because they hope he will settle the perpetual problem of the Macedonians. If he does so, it will be at the expense of the Michailovists, the Bulgarian branch of the Imro, the International Macedonian Revolutionary Organization. Suppression of the Imro would mean better feeling between Jugoslavia and Bulgaria which, in the complicated politics of the Balkans, would be a diplomatic defeat for Italy. Cafe gossip in Sofia suggests that with these developments, Italy may turn for a new ally to Greece. Of politics in this part of the world it is true, as it is of so many other things, that the more it changes, the more it remains the same.

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The Balkan States

Mr. Max Fischer takes a prospective view of the situations of the Balkan Territories, which, in the near future, will bring forward some

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political changes of considerable importance. A keen-eyed political observer of South-eastern Europe will, in the mean time, find a delicacy to appease his intellectual appetite in Mr. Fischer's article, published in *The Commonweal*, a portion of which is quoted below :

The Macedonian question has been the lever used by interested parties in trying to undermine the preponderance of Belgrade influence in the Balkans. A glance at the map will show how difficult it would be to defend the territory involved, lying as it does like a narrow wedge between an Albania controlled by Italy and a Bulgaria strategically dominating it, if the greater part of the Macedonian people really detested Belgrade and loved Sofia.

Today the chief political difficulties of Jugoslavia grow out of conditions in the Slovene and Croatian districts of the country. The political evolution of the Jugoslavian nation was for a long time a matter of the mind, even as was the German effort toward unity or the Italian *Risorgimento*. But when the time came to proceed from the realm of idealistic vision to that of plain, ordinary *Realpolitik*, there presented themselves a row of problems growing out of regional differences still sharper and more complex than those which sundered the various provinces of Germany and Italy Granted that the Slavs who joined hands to create a new state were a single people, there was nevertheless an important difference between those sections of the population which had for centuries enjoyed self-rule and those which had lived either under the yoke of the Turks or inside a modern culture nation such as Austria-Hungary was. The resultant situation showered the government of Belgrade with tasks the difficulty of which has not been sufficiently appreciated by the world at large. Take one example : as a result of the various cultural and political influences under which the people had lived, there existed in Jugoslavia until 1930 (when Minister Srskic instituted a reform) no fewer than six different codes of law, each in force in a given district. Since standardization always results in an average product, the result has been that regions formerly belonging to Turkey have profited, while those once incorporated in Austria-Hungary have suffered. The older generation in Croatia or Slovenia nurses its resentment of what is defined as a triumph of the "barbarian East" over a western civilization and is often also unjustly proud of its own traditions.

Yet in spite of everything a large part of the younger generation has come to understand the fact that there is now a Jugoslavic nation, the tasks and problems confronting which are the concern of all. "One people and one state" is a slogan which today has a very real significance for the regions which look to Belgrade for leadership. Some are not content with thinking of the nation as now defined, but dream of the union of all Slavs in the Balkans through the union of Bulgaria and Jugoslavia - an ideal the realization of which is hindered not only by the bitterness which has grown out of the World War but also by the irreconcilability of the two reigning dynasties. At least there is no doubting that a desire to bury the hatchet and to achieve some measure of political and economic co-operation is present in influential circles. Unquestionably the fruition of this wish would be a good thing. It would mitigate the dangers of conflict in the Balkans, and would gradually serve to emancipate the entire region from subservience to French and Italian ambitions. The Macedonian problem would thereby also be definitively settled. Of course all this may seem to belong to a far-distant future, but the political observer must note the probable weather of tomorrow as carefully as he observes the winds and storms of today.

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Don't trust the honest

We are inclined to believe that giving certain modes of conduct sanction, whether it be moral, religious or scientific, makes them light. But it is the consequence of our acts that are really important than the phantom symbols we use to give them proper moral sanction. The following extracts, from the pen of Mr. Swan Hartley published in *The Modern Thinker* may be interesting to our readers :

What is right ? It is most difficult to determine and it is no wonder that most people have recourse to phantom morality and set up symbols to indicate the righteousness of their intents and motives. If no indication given, that Sabbath decorum observed, we bother also to do what is right. Man hates responsibility anyway. He is always looking for ulterior sanctions, exterior to himself, to determine his conduct; he is always fashioning symbols to indicate to others that what he does is right. It thus saves time, thought, and uncertainty. Thus he erects any method or form into an independent value and the concept or mental picture of right behavior begins vicariously to do the work of real behavior in ordinary life.

It is forbidden for Mohammedans to drink intoxicating liquors. It is therefore neither right nor moral for them to do so. But Persian Mullahs drink arrack which is ferociously authoritative, out of tea pots and in tea cups. It thus becomes cold tea; they get the drink and the gesture preserves their moral integrity. Other Mohammedans heat wine ever so slightly, but not enough to drive off any of the alcohol, and then after imbibe it freely on the assumption that it has thus become another substance. The proper decorum is again preserved. Pious Dutchmen chew the coca bush in the East Indies, so that native labor may be debauched with cocaine for the enrichment of revenue coffers, but they call the bush an ornamental hedge and thus preserve the moral values.

In a certain primitive community a certain man added his stone to a pile of stones dedicated to a local big-shot spirit, took out the jawbone of an ass, mumbled a few incoherent but mystical words over it, ate the hind leg of a porcupine which happened to be his totem animal, and then went home and kicked his wife's teeth out one by one. The next day he brought surplus child the family had somehow accumulated and then ate it to manifest his love and affection. Thereafter he interred his grandfather alive and, in the afternoon, he went forth head hunting, which was an innocent hobby and diversion.

In our less tolerant moods we may be inclined to think that this savage was rather a wicked sort of person. But he was not. The first ceremonial act performed so suffused him with righteousness, and transcendental decency and morality, that each of his later acts partook thereby of moral sanction and became both meritorious and hallowed. Thus morality made him wholly good.

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In Defence of Peace

In view of the present political situation in ... Mr. Frank Coleman has chalked out a ... me of peace activities in *The Inquirer*, ... is reproduced below and may be adopted ... uring nations :

What are the problems that make the present ... so serious ?

1) The failure of the Disarmament Conference to ... agreement and the resultant threat of the British ... ment to increase the Air Force, with also ... rumours of a demand for a large increase in ... strength. As late as June 11 British delegation ... joined in passing a resolution which it had ... to draft, "expressing the necessity of this ... continuing its work with a view to arriving ... General Convention". Further, that resolution ... upon the Air Committee of the Conference to ... work on the prohibition of air bombardment, ... regulation of civil aviation and the limitation of ... aircraft. What has happened since June 11 to ... this work unnecessary ? The fact is that our ... has gone over to the militarists. The ... of our Ministers is exposed. Our duty is to ... known to the public what has actually happened. ... the proposals of Russia, Germany, America, ... Spain and even France with our own Govern- ... stand with regard to the use of bombing planes ... districts.

... League of Nations Union Council at its recent ... passed with enthusiasm a resolution, parts of ... quote. After deploring the declaration of the ... for Air it recalls

Mr. Baldwin's repeated declarations that Air Forces ... this country no protection from air bombardment ... that which results from the power to bombard ... destroy the cities of foreign countries. It also ... demands that the Government, before they ... upon a renewed Armament Competition of the ... that led to war in 1914 should put forward ... proposals of the kind, which the Disarmament ... has had under consideration : for the total ... of all National Air Forces, combined with ... safeguards against the use of civil aircraft ... disloyal aggression and pledges to resist by all ... in its power a policy of Armament increase ... such proposals have been made to the Con- ... by the representatives of Great Britain."

... Professor Noel Baker in moving this resolution ... that :

"It remains true today as it was true in 1933 that if ... Government accepted the International solution of ... the problem that problem would be solved and the ... Disarmament Conference would succeed in a week. ... there be no mistake, this is our biggest task and ... lover of peace of whatever kind will be unworthy ... name if he or she does not take his full share ... every constitutional means to prevent this ... fatal folly of a new and more disastrous race in ... ments."

"We must expose the iniquitous arms traffic. ... is no side issue. We have to remind the com- ... that there are those who are making a *profit* ... of war and war scares. The Prime Minister wants ... to date facts. Well we can provide them, but let ... not imagine that private manufacture is the only ... Abolish this, and still we need international ... We need to emphasise (i) our bitter opposition to ... increase in armaments ; (ii) the abolition of all national air forces and the internationalisation or international control of civil aviation ; (iii) the elimination of private profit in the manufacture and sale of armaments and all manufacture of armaments to be brought under international control.

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Pottery Industry

Mrs. R. Copeland, M. P., in the course of a lecture on the romantic art of pottery, has traced back its history down to the pre-historic ages, when such works were created and remnants of which can be still visible. We quote below the introductory portion of her speech from the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* :

In the old days the potter could only work with the clay found near at hand, but in these days of international commerce and quick transit, the finer plastic white burning clays from Southern Europe and the hard flints from the French and Northern coast and China clay from Cornwall ; can easily be conveyed to any country in the world, so that the potter need no longer rely solely on the particular clay or marl found in his own district.

There is, however, one thing which cannot be dispensed with even by modern civilization, and that is the potter's wheel, which, from time immemorial has been used by all makers of pottery.....

I will now show you the picture of a master potter or "thrower" in India sitting simply on the ground and using a potter's wheel. His large stock of pots is explained by the fact that an eclipse of the moon was due at the time the photograph was taken, and, according to Hindoo custom, all household utensils must be broken at that time and new ones bought the following day—a custom I would like to recommend to my listeners to-night, so that the pottery trade in this country might be placed in a more affluent position !

Next I will show you the "potter" of to-day—the same wheel. only instead of its being spun round by hand or foot, an electric belt does the spinning, thus allowing the thrower as much comfort as possible, as well as absolute freedom of hand to concentrate on his work.

Doubtless the early potters quickly discovered that different clays did not fire the same colour, and so colour decorations first arose by a rude daubing of a brighter red or buff clay on one of a duller hue. For over 4,000 years all the known civilizations such as Persian, Cretan, Egyptian, Etruscan and Greek evolved schemes of glowing colours and glazes fired on objects of which examples are to be found in all museums. We all have admired the lovely Egyptian blue-glazed pottery, the beautiful shapes and geometrical patterns of Cyprus, the black and red vases of Etruscans and Greeks.

Later, as the Roman Empire grew and conquered the nations around, she absorbed their crafts and spread them over Europe, so that when Rome invaded Britain she brought with her much Samian pottery from the Rhine, and it is easily conceivable that our native British potters sought to emulate these specimens in the local clays, on the Medway, in the New Forest, at Colchester, and at Castor in Northamptonshire, and other parts of England.

The Roman Empire passed, and in Europe the Byzzantines and later on Moslems kept the pottery craft going.

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It was from the Far East—from China—that the finest potters the world has yet produced were to discover the secret of making that marvellous translucent porcelain which became the wonder of the world. So zealously, too, did all these potters of Kang-hi guard their secret that it was a century later before we, in Europe, were able to begin to find out how it was made.

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Philippine Independence

An observer, with a keen eye on the present political situation in British India can not ignore the much commented topic of the Independence of Filipino with which we have a great deal of political affinity. The islands are the centre of the disturbed scene in the affairs of the Pacific regions and the Far East. Sir Frederick Whyte raises this controverrial issue in the *Pacific Affairs* :

Philippine independence is capable of many interpretations ; and to the eye of the observer and still more to the watchful eye of the observer and and still more to the watchful eye of Japan, the recent negotiations in Washington look like an American withdrawal from the Far East. Whether the withdrawal be partial or total, a distinctly new situation is being created. During the ensuing period of uncertainty it is worth while to consider all that is involved, so that we may realize in time whither the Far East may be led by the decisions about to be taken in Washington. The Philippine Islands are no more an isolated problem to be solved by an unnatural alliance between American altruism and certain interested lobbies in Washington, than Manchuria can be regarded as a *chose jugee* merely because the Japanese Army has put K' ang Te on a new throne.

There are two aspects of the American people who have the obligation to solve the domestic problem in the Islands by some form of self-government, either under continued American tutelage or in a complete form of domestic home rule. No one, least of all a British observer, with the problem of British India in mind, can fail to be deeply interested in the design adopted by Congress for this purpose ; but our interest in the internal side of Philippine affairs is only relevant with respect to its effect upon the position of the Islands in the disturbed scene of Far Eastern affairs.

We may therefore pass to an attempt to estimate the external consequences of contemporary American policy. In some form or other, limited or complete, this policy is a withdrawal, creating a partial vacuum in a region where great pressure surrounds the vacuum and will naturally seek to fill it. It is obvious that the experiment of Filipino self-government can have little chance of undisturbed success unless the integrity of the Islands is protected from the impact of this pressure. By what guarantee will Philippine independence be maintained ? The history of the world since 1914 forbids us to rely on the paper protection of an international guarantee, and therefore the security of the Islands would seem to rest upon an American determination to say "hands off" to any other Power. In the absence of the readiness of the American people to guarantee to the Filipinos a reasonable opportunity to solve the problem of their own self-government, it seems likely that Japan will take an active part in deciding the fate of the Islands. Will the United States forbid Japan to interfere, and if so, at what stage ?

There is little doubt that in the first place Japan will seek to extend her trade and to extract special concessions, both by tariff agreements and by actual participation in Philippine enterprise. Upon this foundation a superstructure of Japanese interest will be raised, of the same kind which Japan created for herself, first in Koria, and then in Manchuria. In this process the moment will arise when Japanese interests will conflict with Filipino domestic policy, and the Japanese will then claim that their interests are being imperilled by political interference or by the incapacity of the Filipino government to protect legimate foreign rights. A case for intervention will be seduloussly prepared ; and once these forces are set in motion we shall witness a developement of the same process which has transformed the Three Eastern Provinces into Manchukuo. At what stage, if at all, will the United States act ? If she does act, will she be prepared to support any necessary protest by force ? If she does not act, she will be compelled to acquiesce in the absorption of the Philippine Islands within the economic and political orbit of Japan : and in that case it matters little whether Japan annexes the Islands outright or not.

This appears today to be the almost inevitable consequence of present trend of affairs. While these events are in progress other nations will be bound to take note of their significance. England will watch, Holland will grow nervous, Australia will re-arm and New Zealand will use all her influence to persuade Great Britain to take more an active share in Pacific affairs.

At some point the British Government must then decide how to meet the new situation. Will England be tempted to intervene in order to protect her Asiatic interests ? Will she fight Japan or come to terms in a new Anglo-Japanese alliance ? England wants none of these. But the renewal of the alliance might appear to a Conservative government to be the least of many evils involved. If England were driven to renew the alliance as an assurance of her Eastern interests, the consequences would be far-reaching. Anglo-American relations would undoubtedly suffer, and the Dominions of the British Commonwealth might feel that their interests demanded a closer association with the United States than with England. A new alliance might seem to offer security to the British Empire in the East for a time, but the price would be high and the security weak. Japan would know that England had made her choice from weakness and not from strength. Her people would feel contempt for America and England alike, and the whole East would draw the conclusion that the Western Powers were liquidating their responsibilities in Asia, and that the West had become effete.

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Proposed Indian Reforms

'I have always deprecated the attempt to divide the world into those who support and those who oppose the White Paper'; with these words Mr. B. C. Allen I.C.S. (Retd) opened his speech on the Proposed Indian Reforms. Critics of all shades of opinions present were almost unanimous that a solution of this problem was necessary in order that a better order may prevail in both the countries. We quote below the speaker's criticism of the Indian Opinion regarding the White Paper from the *Journal of the East India Association* :

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My critics will tell me that my proposals will not commend themselves to Indian public opinion. I am very well aware of that, but what proposals do? The White Paper certainly does not. (Read Record No. 10) If the amendments set out therein were to be adopted, most of the White Paper safeguards would disappear. I have not time to enter into the details, but here is a statement I have prepared giving chapter and verse for what I say.

Well, if the White Paper in its present form is rejected by India, why should we not introduce modifications which would make it possible to set up a stable Government? Why should we not say that we feel it is impossible for us to leave the country and that so long as it is necessary for us to remain we must have a real share in the Government? It must be a real union of Britain and India—a real partnership. I have had some experience of political agitation, and I have always found that public opinion tends to rally to sympathetic but firm Government. This is the case in England (witness the General Strike and the election in 1931), and even more the case in India. "He who is Raja his subjects are we," said some villagers to me at the time of the Gandhi agitation, and these words, I believe, represent the real soul of India.

What is the present situation in the great dependency? There is no money to finance the White Paper; practically every section of the political world rejects it; there are bitter protests against the communal award; the British trader in India is called an alien, the British Indian Government an alien Government. We have tried concession and it has not succeeded. Two alternatives remain. If you think that we can leave our Eastern Empire without serious prejudice to its fortunes, let us go. But if you feel, as I feel, and Mr. Sastri feels, that the presence of the British Army is still essential, then set up a Constitution under which we can remain in safety and in honour.

It must not be supposed that I do not fully appreciate the excellent work done by many Indian Ministers during the past few years. But conditions under the Constitution envisaged in the White Paper will be much more difficult than conditions in the past, and it is the duty of all lovers of India to do anything which they can to help them in their difficult task. It is not only old Anglo-Indians who are nervous of the future. "You cannot avoid the reforms in the same way that you may try to avoid measles or meningitis," said Sir N. N. Sirkar. "We have asked for the reforms and we are going to have them, but whether we survive them or succumb to them remains to be seen. I may not live to see their burial, but I shall not be surprised if I see that undertakers are given notice to get ready."

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Child Labour in India

In 1930 and 1931 Dr. Rajani Kanta Das of the International Labour Office, Geneva, contributed articles on labour legislation in India and woman labour in India to the *International Labour Review*. His study on the question of child labour in India was published in the same *Review* in December, 1933 and January, 1934. In it :

"He shows that in India as in all predominantly agricultural and relatively little industrialised countries, the labour of children is an important factor in production; indeed, owing to the shortness of adult life as compared with Western countries, as well as the absence of compulsory education and the earlier age at which children begin to work, the burden of producing the national wealth falls heavily on the younger generation. Nevertheless, the adoption of protective legislation and the increase of industrial efficiency have greatly reduced the amount of child labour in organised industries. The vast mass of working children are engaged in assisting their families in agriculture, which is followed in order of importance as regards the employment of children by the traditional handicrafts and those numerous small undertakings that are not at present covered by the Factories Acts. The widening of the scope of the Indian Factories Act is now under consideration by the Government and Legislature of India and this is without doubt the most urgent immediate task for the protection of Indian childhood. But both the problem of restricting the employment of young children and that of the more efficient utilisation of juvenile labour call for the extension of compulsory primary education and the development of vocational training. It is only by progress in these directions that the wider problems of the employment of children in India can be met. Meanwhile much has been done for the restriction and protection of child labour in factories, mines, and plantations; the extent of child labour in these industries in the British Provinces of India, the systems of regulation, and the more immediate problems both in these industries and those which are still unregulated are the main subjects of this article" [of Dr. Rajani Kanta Das].

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Motive Spring of Caste

Various theories have been put forward to explain the origin of caste in India. A probable explanation is however, found in the primitive *mana*-philosophy. Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy of Ranchi discusses various theories on caste in his *Man in India* and comes to the following conclusions:

Dr. Hutton and some other writers, however, see the motive-spring of caste in a primitive *mana*-philosophy. Taking Handy's definition of "the concept of *mana* as a manifestation of dynamic, psychic energy, derived ultimately from the Supreme Being and permeating all other beings and nature," it cannot be said that this sense of supernatural presence in the universe is the monopoly of primitive man alone. In fact if the concept of *mana*, or, as it has been called by some writers, 'power-life-will', is understood in the Atharva-Vedic sense of *bramha* or divine power, it may be said to constitute the basis of all religion and of such social and political systems as have any religious associations or flavour in them, including the Varna system of the Hindus.

According to Hindu ideas the more of *sattva guna* or 'goodness' a person has evolved, the clearer is the manifestation of *bramha* or the *divine within him*, and the worthier is he to be called a true *Brahman*; in the man in whom *rajas* or passionate activity predominates the *Brahma* within is partially veiled so that he becomes a *Kshatriya*; the man in whom *tamas* or darkness more completely veils the *bramha* or good *mana*, is called a Sudra.

Thus, the progressive manifestation of *mana* or *bramha* in any person depends on the degree of development of the *sattva guna* in him. Association with persons having *sattva guna* helps the promotion of that *guna* in the person; and intimate association with persons of lower *gunas* may impair a person's *sattva gunas*. Similarly different habits in life, even in food and drink, foster respectively the different *gunas* and thus help or hinder, as the case may be, the development of the spiritual nature of man.

This development of the inner man by stages would appear to be the dynamic cultural ideal,—a resultant of the race psychology and ethnic history of the Aryans in India,—which originally inspired the *Varna* system. The modern caste-system with its two thousand or more rigid divisions and a larger number of sub-divisions (sub-castes) and its legion of intricate taboos and perversities would appear to be its degenerate foster-child which has long outlived its usefulness. The fact that not many Brahmans now-a-days act up to the old Varna ideal does not, however, affect the question of caste origins.

This view of *brahma-mana* would appear to bring into one connected system most, if not all, beliefs of a religious, quasi-religious, magical, and 'superstitious' nature, both of civilized and uncivilized humanity. In this view of it, the scope of the *mana* philosophy or the *Bramha* concept ranges from the primitive man's dim sense of the presence of supernatural powers in different beings and objects up to the sublimest philosophy which regards the world as a manifestation of Divine Power and each man as a spark or fragment of that Power, capable of becoming devine by realizing the Divine within him through gradual spiritual unfoldment, or, in terms of the *mana* concept, by gradual acquisition of higher and still higher *mana*.

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Women and Labour

It is a good sign that Indian women are engaging themselves to the study of labour conditions in the country. *The Social Service Quarterly* writes editorially:

A few recent developments in regard to women and labour deserve special mention in this journal. In 1930, the National Council of Women in India formed a Standing Sectional Committee on Labour to collect information pertaining especially to conditions of women and children workers in India. In addition, this Committee requested all the Branch institutions to form local Labour Committees in order to get into touch with the local questions relating to industrial workers. This is how the Bombay Presidency Women's Council Labour Sub-Committee came into existence, meeting for the first time on March 10th, 1933, under the convenership of Mrs. Wagh. An All-India Conference on Labour was suggested, but owing to the unsettled condition in the country at the time, it was proposed to make this Conference a Provincial one, and the Bombay Sub-Committee agreed to take it over. The entire attention of the Committee from its inception was centred on preparation for the Bombay Provincial Women's Conference on Labour which was held at the Wilson College, Bombay, on the 25th of September, 1933, under the presidentship of Lady Vidyagauri Nilkanth of Ahmedabad, experienced in practical social work, and well known for her interest in the economic and social welfare of the labouring classes. At an informal discussion group held, a few important suggestions were made of which two seem to be deserving of special notice. (1) To form a study circle in order to study labour problems and to take part in the serious labour problems undertaken by the Government, employers and labour leaders. (2) To persuade the employers to engage educated women in place of the Naikins in the mills, with decent salaries, after a few months' training of the work, in order to create better atmosphere in the women's departments and to get rid of the Naikins' power to which the poor women workers are very often subjected. A Labour Study Circle under the leadership of Miss Hawkins has been formed. Visits were made to various chawks in the city in order to ascertain conditions at first hand.

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Bombay Infant Welfare Society

Other presidency towns of India should emulate the activities of the Bombay Infant Welfare Society as summarized in the same paper :

The Committee of the Bombay Presidency Infant Welfare Society in their report for 1933 state that with the means at their disposal they had tried to make their maternity and child welfare organization as useful and serviceable as possible. Ante-natal work was one branch of their activities of which they were truly proud. Their wholetime lady doctors conducted these clinics at the centres of which they were in charge. One afternoon in the week was set apart for these clinics at each of the seven centres. These clinics had not only considerably checked maternal mortality but had enabled mothers to give birth to babies in healthy condition. The number of new expectant mothers admitted in 1933 was 4,80`, as against 4,232 in the previous year, while the total attendance of expectant mothers at ante-natal clinics was 18,171, as against 16,159 in the previous year. The number of new expectant mothers visited at their homes was 7,997, as against 7,312 in the previous year, while the number of revisits paid to all expectant mothers was 44,412. The number of maternity cases directed to hospitals through the efforts of their doctors and nurses had risen from 2,271 in 1931 and 3,378 in 1932 to 4,265 in 1933. The ante-natal and maternity figures showed that the mothers were taking advantage of the up-to-date amenities of the hospitals and homes in the city to an increasing degree, and that the efforts of the Society's doctors and nurses to educate mothers in the directions had borne fruit. The Society had co-ordinated the ante-natal clinic with the anti-venereal clinic. Mothers also took advantage of the centres for instruction and advice on child hygiene and management, and for early detection and treatment of minor ailments. The total attendance of babies for milk and medicine was 354,306, while the total number of new babies admitted was 6,110. The average daily number bathed at the centres was 381.

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Carey—the Giver of the Bible to India

Much is being written of William Carey this year, it being the centenary of his death. The following from *The National Christian Council Review* will no doubt prove interesting :

'Blessed is the man who has found his work,' says Carlyle, 'let him seek no other blessedness.' What that work was for Carey, we know. When Dr. Thomas, fresh from Bengal, met the committee for the first time in January, 1793, he read a letter from some Indians there, asking for preachers to be sent, and 'such as will forward translations.' That was the call to Carey. He had cultivated a natural aptitude for the acquisition of languages. He could eat them as other men eat bread. Here, therefore, was something he could do. He immediately volunteered, and was appointed to go out with Thomas.

Before leaving London, he met a young printer named Ward, and telling him of his intention to translate the Bible into Bengali, bade him be ready in four or five years to come and print it. Ward arrived in December, 1799, went up to Carey's indigo factory at Madnabati, and found the New Testament all translated and wtitten in the strange Bengali script, by Carey's own hand, as also a large part of the Old. The mere physical achievement is amazing when one knows that it was all done in the afternoons and by candle light in the evenings. There was a press bought from Calcutta also ready, waiting to be used. But the Danish governor had offered a sanctuary for the msssion settlement at Serampore, and Carey now joined the new recruits there. In a little while they were planning 'within fifteen years' to translate the Bible into all the languages of Hindustan, and the task was practically accomplished.

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Indians in South Africa

As a member of the Paddison Committee Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary had opportunities to get first-hand knowledge about the conditions of Indian settlers in South Africa. So what he says on the subject deserves careful consideration. He writes in *Prabuddha Bharata* :

The attitude of the authorities is not firm and determined in the interest of the Indian Settlers. Including the colonial-born, they did not exceed a lakh and sixty thousand when I was there in 1925-26. Births are slow, deaths are rapid. No outside accession is allowed and rapid repatriation and expatriation are the order of the day. Successive High Commissioners are frankly out to help in this and even some from Indian Settlers favoured the bodily transplantment of the remnant to some bleak inhospitable and unfamiliar island in the Pacific or the Atlantic. The average Indian settler, particularly the colonial born, who have built up the prosperity of South Africa, naturally cling to what they have won and earned. They and their forbears have given the lie to the defamation that the stay-at-home Indian will not take timely to colonization. Those who have colonized in Malaya, Singapore, Borneo, Java, Sumatra, and the smaller islands of the Pacific archipelago had not given such lie with insistent consistency that is proving amusing to those who research about Greater and Further India in ancient and mid-ancient times. The recent investigations of Harvard Professors have brought out a chapter of Indian culture in the Philippines.

The plight of these people is that of the Potter's Clay—as a Bengali adage is—carried on the head and kneeded with the feet. Bharat is anything but Prabuddha in regard to the Indian Colonial question. I made a strong appeal for inclusion of suitable provisions for prytection of Indian interest abroad and our colonizing rights in the new constitution. This would be the first step of protection not only of Indian interest but of Indian prestige, always a first lank in the nation-building platform.

—

The Art of Letter-writing

Letter-writing is an art, and Prof. B. Tandon, M. A., writes in *The Indian Review* :.

And what are letters without personal element ? In the words of Herbert Paul : "They are like history without events, poetry without invention, Blue Books without dates, or novels without love." A good letter is "an easy and agreeable talk on paper." It is the nearest approach to drawing-room conversation. Leigh Hunt knew it and this is how he begins an intimate epistle to Mr. and Mrs. Shelley :

"Whenever I write to you, I seem to be transported to your presence. I dart out of the window like a

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bird, dash into a south-western current of air, skim over the cool waters, hurry over the basking lands, rise like a lark over the mountains, fling like a swallow into the vallies skim again, pant for breath, there's Leghorn—eccomi ! how d' you do ?"

And who can improve on the receipe of that delectable English essayist, Alpha of the Plough ? Here is his advice."

"You must be personal, not abstract. You must not say : 'This is too small a thing to put down.' You must say : 'This is just the sort of small thing we talk about at home. If I tell them this, they will see me as it were, they 'll hear my voice, they 'll know what I m about."

—

Islam's Contribution to Science and Civilization

Maulavi Abdul Karim writes in *The Hindustan Review* :

Canon Taylor, after a careful study of the history of Islam, came to the conclusion that "Islam has done more for civilization than Christianity." If Europe's indebtedness to Islam for the extraordinary progress it has latterly made in science and civilization were adequately known, it would have astounded the modern civilized world. "During the darkest period of European history," writes Bosworth Smith, "Arabs for five hundred years held up the torch of learning to humanity." Arthur Leonard has truly said, "Islam, in fact, has done a work. She has left a mark on the pages of human history which is so indelible that it can never be effaced.. that only when the world grows wiser will be acknowledged in full." That the early Muslims made an ineffaceable impression on the cultural development of the world cannot but be admitted by every unprejudiced and fair-minded critic of Islamic history. It is a religious prejudice and an overweening sense of racial superiority that have stood in the way of acknowledgement and appreciation by the West of the glorious achievements of the East. Draper is perfectly justified in deploring "the systematic manner in which the literature of Europe has continued to put out of sight our scientific obligations to Mahommedans. Surely they cannot be much longer hidden. Injustice founded on religious rancour and national conceit cannot be perpetuated for ever."

Before the advent of Islam, the cultivation of science was condemned as heresy.

—

Is Meat a Dietetic Necessity ?

Charles H. Wolohon, M.D., writes in *The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health* :

Meat may be indicted on many scientific counts and abundant evidence produced to sustain the indictment, but I shall have to content myself with discussing only two points, the first of which is that *meat is not a dietetic necessity* and second, that *meat eating is productive of positive harm*. As a by-product of these, there naturally follows the corollary that vegetarianism is the diet of choice.

The science of dietetics informs us that there are the following classes of foods : Proteins, fats carbohydrates, vitamins, and mineral substances. The average calories of our diet are divided as follows Protein, 10 per cent; fat 25 per cent ; carbohydrate 65 per ceut. The carbohydrates (starches and sugars) and fats are the heat and energy foods. It is these that need to be increased or decreased in proportion to the amount of muscular effort and the climate. The protein is repair material and the requirement remains quite constant for an individual of a given weight, whether lying in bed or sawing wood. The average amount needed is one gram (1-30 oz.) per kilogram (2.2 lbs.) of body weight. Thus, an individual of 165 pounds would require 75 grams, or 6 ounces, of protein as a daily ration.

For decades flesh foods have been invested with mysterious attributes as to strength and health-given qualities, which science cannot sustain. Meat is just one kind of protein food. The flesh is built of nothing other than the grains upon which the animal subsisted during life. Then meats are just second-hand or animalized grains, with nothing desirable added, and much that is unwholesome in the way of wastes contained in the carcasses. In analyzing the protein foods a little further, we find that flesh foods as well as nuts, milk, and cheese are molecular in composition. In the molecule there is about 120 amino acids, and it is the work of digestion to break down the protein into these amino acids, in which form they are in small part utilized in the body and the rest excreted in the urine, chiefly as urea. The amino acids differ from other acids in that they contain nitrogen; it is this that makes them capable of being used in the repair of our tissue proteins, the basis of which, too, is nitrogen. There are fifteen to eighteen different kinds of amino acids, among which some are very important. For instance, one, called tryptophane, is necessary to life, and lysine required for growth. I say these amino acids are essential ; but it does not necessarily follow that one requires a flesh dietary to obtain them, for nuts, milk, cheese, or eggs may be substituted for flesh, and all the necessary amino acids obtained. In fact Dr. Sherman of Columbia University, in his book, "Food Products," page 400, says: "It might be more logical to speak of meats as nut substitutes' rathes than nuts as meat substitutes,"

It follows therefore that meat is not a dietetic necessity.

—

Indo-Javanese Literature

Dr. R. C. Majumdar in an important paper in *Indian Culture* traces the relation between ancient Indian and Javanese literatures. He writes in part :

The class of poetical works we have hitherto described is called Kakawin. They are all written in Old-Javanese language and their subject matter is derived mostly from Indian epics and Puranas. In addition to the works mentioned above there are many other Kakawins, which however, cannot be dated even approximaiely. We give below a very brief account of some of them :—

1. Indrabijaya—story of Vritra's conquest and death followed by that of Nahusa who secured the position of Indra for a short period.

2. Parthayajna—It describes Arjuna's asceticism by means of which he obtained weapons from Siva.

3, Vighnotsava, written by a Budhist, describes the exploits of a Yaksa king named Vighnotsava and particularly his fight with the *raksasa* king Suprasena.

4, Bratasraya is a later development of the same theme.

5, Harisraya. It describes how the gods, threatened by Malyavan, king of Lanka, seek, at first the help of Siva, and then of Visnu, who kills Malyavan

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esses to life, by amrita or nectar, the gods who perished in the fight.

c. Hari Vijaya.—It describes the churning of the ocean by gods by means of Mandara mountain.

7. Kalayavanataka.—It describes, after the story given in Visnupurana, how Kalayavana invaded Dwaraka, to avenge the death of Kamsa, and was ultimately reduced to ashes by Mucukunda, with whom the fugitive Krisna had taken shelter. It also describes how Arjuna carried away Subhadra when the Andhakas and Vrisnis were celebrating a feast on Raivataka.

8. Ramavijaya.—Its theme is the defeat of Sahasravahu Arjuna by Parasurama, son of Jamadagani and Renuka.

9 Ratna Vijaya.—It describes the fight between Sunda and Upasunda over Tilottoma.

10. Parthavijaya.—It is based on an episode from Bharatayuddha, *viz*, ; the death of Irava, son of Arjuna and Ulupuy, and of Nila.

11. An unnamed and incomplete Kakawin gives the story of Udayana and Vasavadatta in a modified form. Sahasena of the lineage of the Pandavas had two sons, Udayana and Yugandarayana. The abduction of Angaravati, princess of Avanti, by Udayana forms the plot of the Kakawin.

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Inter-tribal Absorption—a Phenomenon of Hindu Society

In his essay on "Caste as a Social Phenomenon" in *The Calcutta Review* Mr. Nirmal Kumar Bose writes:

It must be taken as a historical fact that Hindu society had been absorbing various tribes within its fold from the earliest times onward. Proofs of this are not lacking in ancient records, while, at the same time, the process can be seen in operation in some of the outlying regions of Hindu culture up to the present day.

The Magian cult of the sun-god Mithra was introduced from Persia into India sometime about the beginning of the Christian era. Although they were considers, the priests of the Mithra cult were regarded as Brahmins, it being stated that they were the Brahmins from Sakadwipa. Accordingly, when they came within Hindu society they were accorded a place in the first *varnas*, but their status was lower than that of the native Brahmins of India.

To take an example from modern times, we may refer to the case of certain Mundas of Chotanagpur, who have recently been incorporated into Hindu society by virtue of the adoption of certain religious rites. These particular Mundas have given up eating beef and drinking intoxicating liquors. They put on the sacred thread for one month in the year while celebrating the *Manda Parab* in honour of the Hindu deity Siva. A Hindu priest officiates for them during the above celebration. On that occasion, he is even allowed to ride upon his clients' shoulder as a mark of special honour.

Hindu society has, in this way, been incorporating tribe after tribe within its fold from the most ancient times to the present day. The theory of four *varnas* has failed to fix a status for these tribes in the social scale in accordance with the nature of their predominant occupation as determined by the Brahminical law-makers.

—

Income and Expenditure of Universities in England and Wales

The Government of Bengal contribute about 14 per cent only of the total income of the Calcutta University at the present moment. In the light of this, the following facts about the income and expenditure of Universities in England and Wales given by Mr. J. M. Datta in *Teachers' Journal* will be of much interest.

There are 19 Universities and university colleges in England and Wales. An analysis of their sources of income and the heads of expenditure would be *useful to us in Bengal*, in view of the *niggardly attitude* of the Ministry of Education *towards the Calcutta University*.

Sources of Income	Total of the 19 Universities
Endowments	£648,084 12 p.c.
Donations & Subscriptions	£116,541 2·3 p.c.
Grants from Local authorities	£554,781 11·0 p.c,
Parliamentary Grants	£1,743,242 34·8 p.c.
Tuition fees	£1,179,853 23·5 p.c.
Examinations, Gradution, Matriculation, Registration fees	£374,637 7·4 p.c.
Other income	£391,635 7·8 p.c,
Total	£5,008,773

Heads of Expenditure	Total of the Expenditure in 19 Universities
Administration	£430,190 8·0 p.c.
Salaries of Teaching Staff, Superannuation & other Expenditure	£3,111,437 63·2 p.c.
Maintenance of Premises	£528,439 17·4 p.c.
Fellowships, Scholarships etc.	£849,910 17·2 p.c.
Total	£4,919,976

The figures are for the year 1931-32.

—

Worse Future for the Excluded Areas

Angul is an excluded area in Orissa. Deputy Commissioners are all in all in these areas, and this has been recently more than proved by an executive fiat by prohibiting a house-owner from quartering Mahatma Gandhi. Mr. A. V. Thakkar writes in *The Ashram Review* (formerly *C. S. S. Review*):

What is far worse than the present state of thingss is that even in the 1933 proposals for constitutional reforms, unsatisfactory as these are, there is not the ghost of a chance of the areas coming into their own for a long time to come. Sec. 106 of the reforms proposals lays down that "His Majesty will be empowered to direct by Order in Council that any area within a province is to be 'excluded area' or 'partially excluded area' and by subsequent Orders in Council to revoke or vary any such Order." Thus it lies within

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the discretion of his Majesty by an Order in Council to create many more Anguls than at present. At present Angul is fully excluded from the operations of the ordinary constitutions. Further under sec. 108 the Governor will be empowered, at his discretion, to make regulations for peace and good government of any excluded area and will be competent by any regulation so made, to repeal or amend any act of the Federal Legislature or of the Provincial Legislature which will be applicable to the area in question. Thus the Governor can supersede any Act of the Legislature at his sweet will without assigning any reason or without allowing any question in Council to be asked. In other words he can arrogate to himself the powers not vested even in His Majesty in Council and may act as a most irresponsible potentate.

Sec. 109 of the proposals is even still more dangerous. It contains a provision prohibiting the discussion in the provincial legislature of, or the asking of questions on, any matter arising out of the administration of an excluded area. Thus if a crowd is fired upon by the police in any part of Angul, or if any massacre, like the Jallianwalla Bagh, takes place in Angul, say, in the year 1950, even the asking of questions about the event will be prohibited in the Orissa Council or the All-India Assembly. In short, the whole chapter in the White Paper on Excluded Areas consisting of four clauses from 106 to 109 is pregnant with forebodings for the aboriginal tribes of India, who number as many as 25 million people, and who inhabit such wholly or partially excluded areas. The Santhals of Chhota Nagpur, the Gonds of the Central Provinces and the various tribes of the hills bordering the Brahmaputra Valley are probably for ever to be kept in non-regulated areas under the direct administration of the Governors; and to be kept absolutely unaffected by a democratic constitution.

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Ideals that Girls Should Follow

The Poet Rabindranath Tagore delivered an address to the girl students in which he laid down the ideals that they should follow. We make the following extracts from it published in *Visva-Bharati News*:

It is needless to say that our girls should have perfect manners in their behaviour towards each other and in their dealings with outsiders. It is ugly to be unmannerly and particularly for women it is unpardonable.

Moderation in behaviour, in social communication, in expressions of emotion, is an essential part of good manners. We should remember that boisterousness must never be mistaken for exuberance of spirit. Good manners should be an outcome of good nature which reveals itself by willingly respecting others' legitimate claims, even going out of one's way to look to their convenience. It is positively objectionable to be noisy in the neighbourhood when someone is studying to disturb one who wants to go to bed when it is due time and to enter somebody else's room without permission, ransacking her things, making her bed untidy, looking into her papers or letters, taking away books or articles of use. To get addicted to the pernicious habit of enjoying and circulating scandals and mischievous gossip breeds in one's character a vulgarity of a malignant type which must be completely eradicated from our nature.

Cleanliness and orderliness should never be neglected. There are some who seem to take pride in displaying slovenliness as a protest against indulgence in luxury. But well-dressed tidiness and foppishness do not belong to the same class. Attractiveness in one's dress may show a high quality of æsthetic sense and go hand in hand with a beautiful spirit of simplicity. It necessarily need not be for ostentation but for taking trouble to offer our respect for others. If we are careless in our dress when meeting people, we rudely show that we do not care for them.

—

An Ideal Mother

The following occurs in *The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon*:

There will be sympathy for Mr. Daniel Swamidoss from his friends in all parts of the world on the loss he has sustained in the death of his mother on July 12th. The news is conveyed with sorrow and pride in a letter written from the Y. M. C. A. Community Centre at Indukurpet: "To-day there has passed away a Christian woman who is no less than my dear mother. Next to God I owe her everything that makes life worth living. I am not sad, for she has gone home to be with our Heavenly Father and our Lord Jesus Christ. Through her I have learned the blessedness of poverty, and therefore I am in the service of the poor."

The story of the blind mother and her boy has been told in many lands, and has been given a place by Arthur Mee in his unique anthology, *One Thousand Beautiful Things*, chosen from the life and literature of the world:

"Outside a bungalow in India, squatting on a verandah, pulling mechanically at a rope which worked the fanning punka inside, a blind woman spent hour after hour, day after day, year after year. She could live on a handful of rice. She had no wish for fine clothes. But her son whose face she could never see was everything in the world to her. All the money she earned by pulling the punka, this blind woman spent on her boy. A day came when the boy, after four years in a university, has tened to his village with the tremendous news that he had been offered a Government appointment. She said to him: 'If you accept it you will break my heart.' He was astonished. She told him she had dedicated him to God. She wanted him to teach the outcaste people of India the love of the Father of us all."

We are glad to think that she was not disappointed in her son.

—

Fichte's Contribution to Modern Educational Philosophy

Dr. Debendra Chandra Das-Gupta, M. A., Ed. D. writes in *India and the World*:

According to Fichte the ultimate aim of education, whether cultural or vocational, was citizenship. This ultimate aim had three important aspects or intermediate aims, namely, political solidarity, economic independence, and moral character. To these might be added a fourth, namely, general culture.

Political Solidarity. Fichte regarded the individual citizen as the smallest unit in the nation and maintained that national security depended upon the intellectual and moral improvement of this smallest unit. Hence to make of the German people a strong

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powerful nation each individual member of the nation, irrespective of social rank, must be made to feel that his own interests were bound up with the common interest, and must receive such an education as would enable him to contribute to the prosperity and welfare of the nation as a whole. This goal of national unification could be achieved, Fichte maintained, only by abandoning the old educational system with its class distinctions and tendencies toward disunion and establishing in its place a new system of education which would afford equal educational privileges to every member of the nation regardless of class or condition.

Fichte, like Pestalozzi, advocated literary and technical education to be given in a common school. In Fichte's plan, however, this common school was to be attended by the future scholars destined for leadership in the commonwealth as well as by the great masses of people destined for manual work. All alike were to receive the rudiments of cultural and vocational training in this common or universal school. The future scholar's technical education would be general in character, designed simply to give him a reasonable familiarity with the processes of trade and industry while those not destined for the scholar's career would receive a trade and technical education that would be vocational in a strict, modern sense of the term. Fichte assumed that every body must work and that no one had a right to be a parasite on society.

Moral character. In addition to the economic aim vocational education was to be motivated also by a moral aim. Fichte maintained that moral development was undoubtedly dependent upon vocational efficiency. Honesty, for example, could be developed to a great extent only by increasing the earning capacity of the future worker and thereby raising him above the temptation to dishonesty. This could be accomplished by a thoroughgoing system of vocational training.

Fichte believed that all education, both cultural and vocational, should result in better citizenship through achieving national unification, economic independence and moral character. He suggested that the technical education of scholars should be more general in character than that of the workers. That is, for the worker's trade and industrial education was to be strictly a matter of vocational training in the narrower sense of the term while for the scholar it became more or less a matter of general culture.

The trade and technical training given was to be such as might be put to immediate use in their daily living. Moreover the working people were to be furnished with such occupational information as would enable them to make an intelligent selection of a life calling.

At a time when Germany was devastated by the fortunes of war Fichte, one of the leading thinkers and philosophers of his day, was foremost among the patriotic Germans to advocate education for all, rich and poor alike, in a common school as a means of national rehabilitation. In this school all were to receive both literary and technical training. The brilliant students, capable of becoming scholars and leaders in the state, were to receive technical training for cultural purposes while the students of lesser ability were to receive intensive training in various gainful occupations as a preparation for their life work. Through education Fichte aimed to make Germany commercially and industrially supreme. Hence he advocated an educational system that would produce good citizens, conscious of their interdependence, economically self-sustaining and of sturdy moral fibre. Fichte's theory had much in common with the theory of Pestalozzi and shows the influence of the Swiss reformer. Both aimed at the social and moral regeneration of the individual and of society through education. Both attempted to rejuvenate national prosperity through education. Both advocated an elementary education consisting of literary and technical training as indispensable to the good worker. Fichte's theory does not advance beyond Pestalozzi's except in advocating that not only the working people but all the people of every class and rank should receive the education which he proposed.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE MEDAL

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

AT last we possess, for the first time, adequate histories of British Rule from the side of the Indian people. This is a matter of great importance, not only for India but for the world.*

British rule in India is not something small or in a corner. Consisting as it has done, and does, of conquest, and for two centuries of the domination, of a great civilized nation, the second largest in the world, it is, in its very nature, one of the major, one of the most commanding and important sections of modern world history. Yet the anomaly exists, that vast section of history has not been known to the world, except from *one side*, and that the side of the *foreign conquerors* and *rulers*.

One of the tragic features connected with subjection everywhere is the fact that the channels of communication with the world are all in the hands of the ruling power.

This has been conspicuously the case in India from the beginning of its subjection. Great Britain has had the ear of the world. All mail lines and telegraph lines have been, and are, under her control and subject to her censorship. She is great and powerful; every-

* *Rise of the Christian Power in India.* By Rev. B. D. Basu of the British Indian Medical Service. Pp. 1011. Calcutta. Ramananda Chatterjee.

India Under the British Crown. A continuation of the above. Pp. 570. Same author, same publisher.

The Economic History of India, from The Rise of the British Power in 1757 to the Accession of Queen Victoria in 1837. By Romesh C. Dutt. Pp. 459. London. Kegan Paul. 1902.

India in the Victorian Age. A continuation of the preceding. Pp. 628. Same author, same publisher.

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thing that she sends out is accepted as true. On the other hand, India has control of no means of communication. Whenever anything reaches the world from her, it bears on it the stigma of a subject and therefore supposedly inferior people. Who could believe their word as opposed to that of the ruling and of course superior English people?

The British rulers of the country have flooded the world with books, as also with articles in the leading periodicals of all nations, giving their side of the Indian situation. The libraries of all countries have been, and are, full of these.

Of course, readers everywhere finding these, and finding practically nothing on the other side, have taken it for granted that the British picture is true, that India is not in bondage at all, but that British rule is a great boon to the Indian people, a great blessing, something which is lifting them up and gradually "civilizing" them, and, with all the rest, something which they like.

If readers in libraries and elsewhere could have had India's side put before them, they would have obtained a different picture.

These British presentations of conditions in India would not be so bad if they stopped with British writings—with British books and periodicals. But they do not. Britain's great influence in the world carries them everywhere. And the fact that they are not contradicted tends to make everybody accept them as true. Edmund Burke once said in the British House of Commons: "If an idiot told me the same thing every day for a year, no matter how foolish or false it might be, and I heard nothing to the contrary, I suppose I should end by believing him."

The world believes these British presentations because it has always been hearing them and has never heard them disputed.

I find these present, more or less fully, in nearly all our American literature regarding India. They are in our popular writings and general histories; they are in our college and school histories; worst of all, they are in our cyclopaedias. I have examined them all, and have not found one that is free from serious British bias. The great and honoured Encyclopaedia Britannica leads off, and our writers follow essentially in its track, even if not always consciously so. That is to say, every article on India, or on Britain's relations to India, even if stating individual facts accurately, is written from Britain's side, does not recognize that there is any other, and portrays everything from that standpoint.

It is as if all the information we were able to obtain (through histories and cyclopaedias) of the conquest of Italy by Austria and of Poland by Austria, Germany and Russia, came to us through authors belonging to the conquering nations. It is as if all the histories (and cyclopaedia articles) possessed by the world, of the American Revolutionary War, were written from the British side to show that the British were right and the Americans wrong.

Of course, the fact that from the beginning of their career in India the British, as has been said, have had the ear of all nations, and have been able, through a hundred, a thousand, channels, to justify themselves, while the Indian people have had practically all avenues of utterance closed against them, making it impossible for their voice to be heard by many, if by any, beyond their fellow-sufferers by their side—of course these facts add much to the bitterness as well as the wrong of India's subjection.

Fortunately, as said in the beginning of this article, at last something better is appearing; at last we are getting histories which tell the story from the side of "*the toad under the harrow*".

The appearance of Mahatma Gandhi on the scene has done much. His extraordinary genius and character, the unprecedented hold he has obtained on the imagination, the love and the veneration of the Indian people, and the enormous following he has attracted in his daring and ethically noble movement to secure India's freedom by non-violent non-cooperation with the British govenment—these have called the attention of the world to India and its government by Great Britain, as it was never called before.

All this is very important. And yet, it is coming to be widely seen that it has not been enough. It has created very great admiration of Mahatma Gandhi and profound sympathy with him in his self-sacrificing and unparalleled efforts to help his people. But, unfortunately, it has left almost wholly unanswered some of the deep questions, some of the vital questions, which arise in the discussion of whether or not Britain should grant India self-rule—questions which are constantly emphasized by British writers—namely: Are the Indian people ready for self-government? Do they not need training for it, and is not England giving them exactly the training they require? With all its faults, is not British rule better than any they could give themselves? It is claimed that British rule has impoverished the Indian people. On the contrary, has it not increased their wealth? However imperfect that rule may have been in this particular or that, has it not been a great benefit to India, and will it not be a great benefit if continued for an indefinite future?

I say, these and such as these are the questions that Great Britain keeps constantly before the world, which thoughtful minds in America and all other nations want to find answers for, but which Mahatma Gandhi, with all his noble qualities, does not seem, to many minds, to have answered. Can they be answered?

India replies with practically a united voice, Yes! they not only *can be*, but they *are* answered, every one, and beyond denial or rebuttal *by the whole story of British rule whenever that story is truthfully and daringly told, from the side of the Indian people.*

Is the story anywhere told? Yes, at last! The four books named at the beginning of this article tell it.

Let us look briefly at the books—first at those of Mr. Dutt, because his were the earliest in time. Mr. Romesh C. Dutt was a distinguished Indian statesman and scholar, living and doing his work late in the nineteenth century. Besides other high positions held by him, he was a member of the Legislative Council of the Province of Bengal, Finance Minister of the State of Baroda and Lecturer of University College, London. He wrote other works on Indian subjects, but the most important for our purpose are the two already mentioned, namely, his *Economic History of India*—from the Rise of the British Power in 1757 to the Accession of Queen Victoria in 1837, and his *India in the Victorian Age*.

It should be clearly understood that these books are *economic* histories, *not political*. Of course, therefore, they do not cover the whole ground. But in their sphere they are in the highest degree important. They are luminous expositions of the effects of British rule on India's finances and industries, and on her extensive manufactures. They cannot

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...too highly praised for their accuracy and the ...ness of their spirit.

...ther, as already suggested, economic history is not ...ficient; the political history of India under British ...le is even more important, indeed it is absolutely ...essary for a full understanding of the economic ...tory itself.

For this we must turn to the masterly historical ...rk of the late Major B. D. Basu,* also mentioned ...the beginning of this article. Major Basu, long ...nected with the British-Indian Medical Service, ...s a scholar of extraordinary attainments, who for ...re than forty years had devoted himself to the ...dy of his country's political history since the ...ming of the British, under conditions which gave ...m full access to public records and documents, as ...ll as much important assistance from other scholars. His history is in two large volumes. The first ...led *Rise of the Christian power in India*—...ok of more than 1,000 pages, richly illustrated—...s published in 1931. It tells the story of the ...uest of India and its administration by the ...sh East India Company, from the company's ...anization in 1600 down to the surrender of its ...ter, and the transference of its vast Indian ...ssions to the direct government of the British ...iament, in 1858, at the close of the "Indian ...my". Major Basu's second volume, entitled, ...a *Under the British Crown*, a book of nearly ...large pages, also richly illustrated, appeared at ...beginning of 1933. It takes up the story where ...e earlier volume leaves off and brings it down to ...ctically the present time. Thus it covers the story ...the *later* administration of India, *by the British ...rnment itself*, through *Viceroys* appointed by ...iament and responsible to *Parliament*, as dis-...guished from the *earlier* administration of the ...try through *Governor Gererals* appointed by and ...ponsible only to the *East India Company*. In ...er words, the volume begins with the administra-...n of Lord Canning, the Governor-General, who ...nd himself confronted with the difficult task of ...uring tranquillity after the Sepoy Mutiny, and ...es the history of India, as seen and experienced ...the Indian people, through the administrations of ...teen viceroys, down to and including that of ...d Reading, which terminated in 1926.

Both these volumes of Major Basu, not only reveal in every part a care, patience and thoroughness of research that leave little or nothing to be desired and a spirit of fairness and candour that everywhere impresses the reader, but they tell their story with a graphic clearness, a simple picturesqueness of style, and a forcefulness that grip and fascinate.

It was hoped by many that the transference of the Government of India from the British East India Company to Great Britain itself would result in closer and more sympathetic relations between England and India, and more freedom and justice to the Indian people. But the hope was not realized. The change in the *form* of the Government proved to be little more than a *mere* change of *form*. The spirit of the government remained essentially the same as under the East India Company, and the practical administration of affairs in India was carried on almost exactly as before. Indeed, in some respects conditions became worse as the result of this change of government from the East India Company. Under the former regime, the charter of the Company had to be renewed every twenty years. This meant that once in two decades the Indian situation came before Parliament and the entire country for careful investigation. Under the new form of government, all this passed away. No provisions were made for future investigations, and, as a consequence, none was ever made except at very rare intervals when some alarming crisis arose. The Government of India became more and more a cold, hard, self-centered and self-managing bureaucracy, removed farther and farther from the knowledge or real interest of the British people—as a fact their interest becoming less and less in the Indian people, and more and more confined to the one matter of holding India securely under British control, for Britain's advantage. Although the Indian people today are granted a considerable number of minor liberties and privileges of kinds that do not interfere with British interests, as a matter of fact the exploitation of the country goes on as at any time in the past. The sfory of all this is told by Dutt and especially by Basu, with a clearness, a fairness and a fullness of documentation which puts it beyond refutation.

Since the publication of the works of these two scholars, there can be no excuse whatever for writers on India, whether of histories or cyclopaedia articles, for not giving the story of British rule *intelligently* and *justly*, from the *side of the Indian people* as well as from that of their *foreign rulers*.

* Died on September 23, 1930.

THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN BENGAL

By BHUPENDRA LAL DUTT

THE list of students who have been awarded scholarships on the results of this year's Matriculation Examination of the Calcutta University has just been published. It shows the schools in their true colour to a great extent. The University is not responsible for the actual teaching in the schools recognized by it. The august body has a prescribed syllabus on each subject for examination. It selects and recommends text books and once a year it sets common questions for all examinees who sit for examination in numerous centres throughout the area under its jurisdiction. This year the number of examinees exceeded twenty three thousands.

The actual teaching is conducted by two different classes of schools, *viz.*,

(1) Government schools, *i. e.*, schools maintained by the Government with funds out of public revenue. They are under the direct control of the Education Department. The teaching staff consists of the members of the Provincal and Subordinate Educational Services.

(2) Non-Government Schools of two different groups:

(*a*) Aided-Schools, *i. e.*, schools which are fortunate enough to secure grants-in-aid from the Government.

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(*b*) Unaided schools, *i. e.*, schools which do not receive any aid from the Government.

The annual expenditure in these schools is shown in the following table made out from the *Report on the Public Instruction in Bengal for the year 1932-33.*

Class of Schools	Number of Students	Expenditure (in rupees) from Government fund	Fees	Board and Municipal fund	Other sources	Total
For Males						
Government	13,663	6,95,511	4,35,587	—	5,382	11,36,482
Aided	124,167	9,98,989	35,87,266	26,351	7,86,602	53,99,208
Unaided	1296,45	—	31,00,027	—	6,41,466	37,41,466
Board & Municipal	1,834	9,930	50,754	4,172	—	64,856
For Females						
Government	1,791	1,65,041	89,434	—	—	2,54,475
Aided	13,492	3,60,072	4,96,769	67,766	1,67,306	10,91,913
Unaided	1,002	—	28,350	—	3,312	31,662

Calculating from the above table we find the cost per student to be as follows (in rupees):

	Male	Female
Government school	83	142
Aided school	44	82
Unaided school	20	31

Of the nine First Grade scholarships of Rs. 20 a month, only one has been secured by a Government school,—a Calcutta school—while the rest have all been carried off by non-Government schools, two belonging to Calcutta, both unaided, and six to the moffussil. Be it noted here that the boy who secured the highest total marks was sent up by a non-Government unaided school.

Out of six Second Grade scholarships of Rs. 15 for the city of Calcutta a Government school has secured only one, Non-Government unaided four, and aided the remaining one.

Of the twelve Third Grade scholarships of Rs. 10 for the city of Calcutta, the Government schools have failed to secure a single one, non-Government unaided schools have secured nine leaving one for an aided one.

The following table shows the distribution of scholarships :

	Number of scholarships	Secured by Government schools
First Grade Scholarships of Rs. 20 only	9	1
Second Grade Scholarships of Rs. 15 only		
Calcutta	6	
Presidency Division	6	1
Burdwan ,,	6	2
Dacca ,,	5	1
Rajshahi ,,	6	1
Chittagong ,,	4	2
Third Grade Scholarships of Rs. 10 only		1
Calcutta	12	
24-Parganas	3	0
Jessore	2	1
Khulna	3	0
Murshidabad	2	1
Nadia	2	1
Bankura	1	0
Birbhum	1	0
Burdwan	3	0
Hooghly	2	0
Howrah	2	1
Midnapore	2	0
Bakargung	2	0
Dacca	3	*
Faridpur	2	0
Mymensing	3	0
Bogra	1	0
Darjeeling	1	1
Jalpaiguri	1	1
Dinajpur	1	0
Malda	1	1
Pabna	2	0
Rajshahi	1	0
Rangpur	2	1
Chittagong Hill Tracts	1	1†
Chittagong	2	1
Noakhali	1	1
Tipperah	3	0

Are the Government schools still to be classed as model ones? Are they still to be maintained at an enormous cost, when really good schools struggle for their very existence with a band of hardworking and painstaking teachers on starvation wages? The lamentable failure of Government schools should not be overlooked, specially when we see that they recruit boys from that grade of society where the very environment and heredity go a long way to push a boy onward and that their cost of education is much higher than that of other schools.

The Government schools for girls fare no better than those for boys. The two scholarships of Rs. 20 have both been secured by two non-Government schools—moffussil schools to boot. The five scholarships of Rs. 15 have been shared among two Calcutta and three moffussil non-Government schools. Of the ten scholarships of Rs. 10 only three have been secured by Government schools, three Calcutta and four moffussil non-Government schools securing the rest.

It is really gratifying that the special scholarship for aboriginal student goes to a girl and that of a non-Government moffussil school.

* There is no Government school in the District of Dacca within the jurisdiction of the Calcutta University.

† There is no other High school except a Government one in this district.

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No Muhammadan boy has been successful in securing a scholarship of Rs. 20. As far as second grade scholarships are considerd, we are sadly disappointed in Dacca and Chittagong Divisions, where the Muhammadans greatly outnumber the Hindus. It is in the Rajshahi Division that we find the names of two Muhammadan boys in the list—one from a Government school and the other from a non-Government. Of sixty two second grade scholarships of Rs. 10 Muhammadan boys have been able to secure only six—one from a Government school and five from non-Government ones.

The picture as shown in the Scholarship list is really deplorable. What is the remedy? Secondary education requires overhauling. The Government Schools have forefited their right to exist as a privileged class. The granting of aid at the whims of the Inspector of Schools is too old a procedure to suit the present state of affairs. One hundred and eighteen scholarships open to twenty thousand candidates (leaving out as many as three thousands for Assam province) is simply ridiculous.

INSURANCE NOTES

Foreign Insurance

British Insurance in 1933

"There was some general improvement in 1933 although there is a time lag in the effect general conditions on insurance results, the provement was reflected in 1933 insurance ults," writes the *Statist* in summing up the rking of the British Insurance Companies in 33. In some branches there was a "look-up" more is expected in the future.

Life Assurance new business figures showed very satisfactory advance, having increased m £161 million in 1932 to about £180 lion. The chief problem of the life-offices as before, the earning of high rates of erest on the funds, for during 1933 prices nearly all investments suitable for life-office ds advanced, and the interest which it was sible to earn on existing or new funds fell. is estimated that at the end of 1933, British Offices had a premium income of more £75 million, paid away £58 million in ms and annuities and had a fund of £816 n, the ratio of expenses to premium income as low as 14.3 per cent.

The results of the British Fire Offices were altogether bad. There was a slight reduction the premium income owing partly to deteriora- of foreign exchange and partly to the tement of insurance rates at a lower level. effects of Government restrictions, growth tionalism and of other such factors are also felt abroad by the British Companies. Accident and Marine Departments there a decline in premium income, but Aviation rance gained in popularity.

What a vast influence is exercised by rance Offices on national finance will be parent from the fact that at the end of 1933, r assets amounted to £1420 million distributed mortgages, loans, Government and nicipal Securities, Debentures, Stock, Shares,

Earthquake Insurance In Japan

The recent earthquake at Hokodate in Japan has brought about disastrous effects. The losses of life and property have been immense, and the losses of the insurance companies have provisionally been estimated at over 28 million Yen. The Earthquate of 1923 brought still larger havoc and resulted in a loss of 100,000 lives and ten billion Yen worth of properties. To provide against this terrible casualty even to the small extent that may be possible, the Japanese Government, who performed magnificent relief work during the 1923 disasters, now contemplate to introduce a scheme of compulsory earthquake insurance. The details of the scheme are yet under consideration. But the broad principles on which the scheme is likely to be based are that (*i*) the business will be handled by companies as Agents for the Government; (*ii*) the rate of premium will tentatively be about 2 Yen per thousand; and (*iii*) no single earthquake policy shall be more than 300 Yen. Such compulsory earthquake insurance is unique of its kind and is yet another evidence of the solicitude of the Japanese Government for the welfare and well-being of the people.

Group Life Insurance

The history of group life insurance affords interesting reading. An American Insurance man, as a result of patient research, has propounded the theory that the germ of group life business was contained in the slave insurance business which was introduced in 1823. Slave insurance which was an important branch of the business in the forties and fifties of the last century included the safe conveyance, from one place to another, of the slaves whose lives were insured in a group.

The modern system of group life insurance dates from 1912 when a policy was issued to the Montgomery Ward & Co. of Chicago covering several thousands of its employees. This may truly be said to be the beginning of present-day

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group-life business, for the premium was to be paid by the employer, and the coverage was offered without medical examination on a yearly term basis—the main factors that form the basis of group insurance as we understand it today

The National Industrial Conference Board recently made an enquiry of a large number of manufacturing and other companies asking them the reasons for adopting group schemes. It appears from their replies that most employees are conscious of the fact that an effective elimination of the financial worries of the machine operator decreases labour waste by increasing morale and good-will and this is the main reason for their adopting group insurance for their employees. It is no exaggeration to say that Group Insurance "makes the business relations between employer and employed closer and more permanent and it is the one form of co-operative effort whereby the employer may be of real benefit to the employee and his family.

Indian Insurance

Oriental Valuation Results

The results of the valuation of the assets and liabilities of an insurance office afford the best criterion by which to judge of its progress and solvency. The twentieth Triennial Valuation of the Oriental, the report of which has just been published, adds one more feather to the cap of this great Indian life office. The period covered by the Report has been a period of "going ahead and gaining strength." The New Business has aggregated Rs. 18¾ crores during the period compared to Rs. 17¼ crores in the period preceding. The income from premiums at Rs. 605½ lakhs showed an increase of 26 per cent on the Premium Income of the previous triennium, and the Net Interest Income at Rs. 182¾ lakhs recorded an increase of 29 per cent. The rate of mortality continued to be favourable, the ratio of actual to expected claims being only 53 per cent as compared to 61 per cent in the previous triennium. The "death-strain", measured by the difference of the amount that the company is called upon to pay under policies becoming claims and the amount held in reserve under such policies disclosed handsome profits. The net rate of interest earned has, however, moved downwards from 5·56 per cent in 1931 to 5·20 per cent in 1933, owing to the investment of new funds at higher market values during the triennium. But on the other hand, the market value of company's investments in Stock Exchange Securities exceeded the Book values by over Rs. 266 lakhs, exclusive of the Investment Reserve of Rs. 25 lakhs. A revaluation of these securities, which was made on the basis of gross interest yield of 5 per cent, resulted in an appreciation of Rs. 52 lakhs which was taken credit for in the accounts on the express condition that the whole amount should be utilized to strengthen reserves. After this operation, the Market values were still in excess of Book values by Rs. 24 lakhs which is a sufficient guarantee for the company's continued financial stability. By so strengthening the reserves, it was possible to pass from a 3¾ per cent to a 3½ per cent valuation basis, and a Special Contingencies Reserve of Rs. 28 lakhs could moreover be set up to maintain the present rate of bonus in the near future. Interim bonus has been declared at full rates, namely Rs. 25 per Rs. 1000 per annum on Whole Life Policies, Rs. 20 per Rs. 1000 per annum on Endowment Assurances. It is much to be appreciated that in spite of its expansion in business, the expense-ratio is being systematically brought down so that in the triennium under review, it averaged 21·36 per cent against 23·36 per cent in the triennium preceding.

A Timely Legislation

I have had occasion to refer to the growing menace of Provident Societies in India which has been proving immensely harmful and highly prejudicial to the development of true and scientific life insurance business. No effective legislation has yet been passed to check the mushroom growth of the Provident Societies which go under the flamboyant name of Insurance companies. These societies need not put up any deposit with the Government so long as they issue policies for fixed sums assured not exceeding Rs 500, with certain other restrictions as to the maximum amount of yearly premiums; nor are they are required to have their affairs subjected to periodical actuarial investigations. In absence of these legal restrictions, the Provident Societies, most of them, have their own way in carrying on their business and playfully handle the savings of the unsuspecting public who soon find themselves victims of foul play. It is high time that the public should be afforded protection by bringing these societies under the purview of the Indian Life companies Act or some such legislation as may be considered adequate to deal with their activities. It may be noted in this connexion that the Jodhpur State has recently passed the Provident Societies Act which requires every Provident Society which intends to carry on the business of insurance within the State, to deposit Rs. 50,000 as security with the State Auditor, the deposit being liable to a maximum increase of Rs. 25,000 by annual instalments. It is reported that the legislation has already achieved the desired result in a large measure.

M. G.

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THE PRESENT STAGE OF INDIANIZATION

By NIRAD C. CHAUDHURI

I

THE controversy in the Assembly over the status of the new Indian officers to be turned out by the Dehra Dun Military Academy shows once again the constancy of the Government's policy where the Army is concerned. One face of this policy is never to take Indian opinion and public men into confidence, never to discuss or explain fundamental principles and motives, never to face Indian objections squarely and straightforwardly, yet always to appeal to Indians to take everything on trust and believe that nothing is being left undone to bring close at hand the day when the British commanders of the Indian Army will be happy to make over their charge to the Indian officers of an Indian national army. The other face of this policy is always and almost unctiliously to seek the legislative or administrative assent of some prominent Indians to matters of detail and thus get them to sanction by implication broader principles and policies which Indian opinion would never tolerate if the full scope and effects of these details were plainly stated.

This is exactly what is happening with the new policy of Indianization to which the last legislative touches will be given if the Army Act amending bill, now before the Assembly, passes into law. But in order to see the process clearly at work it is necessary to go back three or four years when the new policy was announced by the Commander-in-Chief as a result of the discussions at the first session of the Round Table Conference.

As is well known, the Sub-Committee No. VII of the Conference went at some length into the question of Indianization, but could not arrive at a unanimous decision on the question of the pace of Indianization. While one section of the Sub-Committee was in favour of a strong affirmation to the effect that the complete Indianization of the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army should take place within a specified period, the majority considered it impossible to lay down any definite rate of Indianization or anything of a precise character that might in any way embarrass those responsible for the defence of India and fetter the judgment or discretion of the military authorities. The difference between the views of the two sections was thus fundamental. It was therefore decided to incorporate both in the report, and at the same time the chairman of the Sub-Committee, Mr. J. H. Thomas, undertook "that when, in pursuance of the resolutions of this Sub-Commitee, expert committees were appointed these expert committees would as a matter of course take into consideration the proceedings of previous Committees and in particular the proceedings of the Military Requirements Committee of 1921 and the Committee on the Indianization of the Indian Army of 1922."

This was definitely a promise to set up an expert committee to settle the question of the pace and extent of Indianization. Unfortunately, however, the resolution which was finally adopted by the Sub-Committee (only Mr. Jinnah dissenting and wishing for a clear indication of the pace of Indianization) was disconcertingly vague, and thus, when in pursuance of this resolution the Indian Military College Committee met in May, 1931, it was found that by the terms of its reference it was only a committee appointed "to work out the details of the establishment of a college in India to train candidates for commissions in all arms of the Indian defence services," the question of the pace, extent and method of Indianization being placed entirely outside the scope of its activities. This was neither a rational nor a comfortable position for some of the Indian members of the Committee, who felt they could not make even a beginning in their specific work without a clear preliminary understanding as to the number of trained Indian officers the college would be

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called on to supply, which in its turn would necessarily depend upon the pace and extent of Indianization. In the circumstances, two possible courses were open to the Committee. It could either postpone its work till another committee appointed for the purpose decided the question of the pace or discuss the wider question itself. What took place in actual fact was, however, quite different. The appointment of another committee to discuss the policy of Indianization as hinted in the Defence Sub-Committee's report was not contemplated. At the same time the Committee was not allowed to discuss the question. As the Commander-in-Chief argued in a minute : "the decision of all such questions rests with those responsible for the defence and safety of India, namely, His Majesty's Government on the advice of the Committee of Imperial Defence, and the Government of India on the advice of the Commander-in-Chief. These questions are not within the terms of reference, and have accordingly not been discussed by the Committee, nor dealt with in the Report." Yet inconsistently enough the leaders of Indian opinion were asked to settle the details of a scheme which when carried out into effect would commit themselves and the country to a policy of Indianization wholly unacceptable to both.

The same manœuvre is being repeated three years later. The "Bill further to amend the Indian Army Act, 1911, for certain purposes," to give it its official title, is a measure dealing with minutae of military discipline. Its full meaning would be unintelligible to any one who is not an expert on military law. But lying at the back of the whole measure is the same unsatisfactory policy of Indianization put forward by the Commander-in-Chief and forced upon the Military College Committee in 1931. The inocuous looking details of the bill are based upon principles wholly unacceptable to every shade of independent opinion in the country, and if passed into law will perpetuate trends extremely dangerous to Indian self-government. It is, therefore, perfectly legitimate to bring into the discussion the whole policy of Indianization adopted by the Government. Here again the attitude taken up by the military authorities is characteristic and illuminating. In replying to the debate on the motion to refer the bill to a select committee on July 16, Lt.-Colonel A. F. R. Lumby, the Army Secretary, said :

> "If in my speech this morning I gave the impression that this Bill dealt with the policy of army administration, I must apologize to the House. What I wished to convey was that it dealt wholly and solely with discipline. The Indian Army Act is the Act which at present governs the discipline of the Viceroy's Commissioned officers, warrant officers, non-commissioned officers and other ranks of the Indian Army, and now it is proposed to include the new type of officer coming out of the Dehra Dun Academy in the Act as well. The first batch of these Indian commissioned officers will be leaving Dehra Dun at the end of the year, and it is essential that some arrangement should be made for their status and discipline."

One only wonders why the legislature which is to have no say as regards the policy of army administration, should be asked to endorse measures which will give practical effect to it.

II

Enough has been said to prove that while the Government is always seeking the co-operation of the legislature where it is compelled to do so by statutory rules, there has never been any disposition on its part to take Indians into confidence where questions of military policy are concerned. It is now time to discuss the short-comings of the scheme of Indianization adopted by the Government and the disabilities which the Indian officers will suffer under it. In doing so it would be the wiser course not to confine oneself solely to the specific provisions of the bill now under consideration but take up the policy of Indianization in force since 1931 as a whole. For, as has been explained above, the bill is a more or less restricted measure dealing with discipline. The fundamental principles underlying it have already been decided upon by the executive authorities and its future application to the detriment or otherwise of Indian aspirations will also depend on the wishes of the executive authorities. The real object of Sir Abdur Rahim's amendment is to limit this untrammelled freedom of the army authorities by inserting a statutory provision guaranteeing the status of the future officers of the Indian Army and thus recovering some of the ground lost at the time of the discussions at the Round Table Conference and the discussions in the Indian Military College

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committee. It is therefore essential to look at the whole question from a stand-point broader than that of the amending bill now under discussion.

It is, of course, true that the plan of Indianization now being carried out by the military authorities is an advance on what went before. Even since the Mutiny, it has been one of the cardinal principles of British military policy in India that not only should Indians never be allowed to occupy positions of responsibility and power in the Army but that they should never also be taken in all its arms so that they might be able to constitute a self-contained fighting formation by themselves. The present scheme is certainly a partial abandonment of this principle inasmuch as it is now proposed to create at least one complete and self-contained Indian fighting formation. But in every other respect it falls far short of what is claimed by Indian opinion; and what is perhaps more important the scheme of Indianization now being tried would not lay the foundations for future development on the soundest and the most desirable lines.

In the first place, the pace of Indianization remains very unsatisfactory. The scheme, if fully worked out, will affect, at the end of half-a-generation, only one of the four divisions constituting the Field Army in India, which in turn comprises less than half of the total strength of the fighting troops. If the process were extended to the whole of the Indian Army, its transformation from British to Indian footing would take more than a century. But as at present there is no intention of making even this fairly cautious experiment on the whole of the Army. It is confined to a small division, numbering about sixteen to seventeen thousand men.

Secondly, the scheme continues the principle of segregating the Indian officers in certain specified units and formations which was one of the worst and most unpopular features of Lord Rawlinson's proposals. This principle which has been recently condemned by so eminent an Indian soldier as General Sir George MacMunn who can by no means be described as over-sympathetic to Indian aspirations, was hit upon to avoid the difficulty of making British officers under Indians. From the very inception of the idea of Indianization about sixty years ago it was frankly recognized that one of the greatest obstacles in the way of giving commissions in the Army to Indians was what Lord Kitchener described as "the deep-seated racial repugnance to any step which brings nearer the day when Englishmen in the Army may have to take orders from Indians." The only way to avoid this eventuality was to create a separate corps for the Indian commissioned officers. As Sir George Chesney, one of the earliest advocates of giving commissions to Indians, wrote in 1868:

> "In the beginning no doubt, all that could be done is the appointment of a native, here and there, to the effective establishment of the officers of a regiment; but, in course of time, it might be expected that some regiments would be wholly officered in this way;... Let me add, in order to guard against being misunderstood, that it is not contemplated that Europeans should be called upon to serve under natives. To do so would be to create a perfectly needless difficulty."

The idea apparently took root. In 1907, Lord Morley also suggested to Lord Kitchener that a certain number of regiments should be officered chiefly by natives. But the most outspoken admission of this difficulty and a suggestion as to how to get over it, is to be found in a letter written by Lord Rawlinson just before he came out to India as Commander-in-Chief in 1920:

> "People here are frightened by this talk of 'Indianization,' and old officers say they won't send their sons out to serve under natives. I agree that the new system must be allowed to take its course, but it will require very careful watching and cannot be hurried. The only way to begin is to have certain regiments with native officers only."

There is no denying that the divisional scheme of the present Commander-in-Chief stands in line with previous policy, and that the cloven hoof of racial prejudice is still there, even if it is not wholly at the bottom of the scheme. So, it is not absolutely unwarrantable to fear that when the completely Indianized division comes into being, it will be looked upon as a poor relation, as a formation commanded by officers of an inferior caste and professional competence.

III

This impression is deepened when one takes into account two features of the scheme, connected with the principle of segregation.

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They are, first, the lower rate of pay proposed to be given to the new officers, and, secondly, their relatively restriced powers of command. Both of these points deserve a few words.

As regards pay, theoretically speaking, there is no reason why a lower scale based upon a less expensive but not a less rigorous standard of education should carry with it any suggestion of inferiority. But in practice its effects are certain to be so. Money enters a good deal into the standard of values of an Englishman. For him are not the beauties of plain living and high thinking, above all when he is living in India. As an acute observer of English social life has observed, every Englishman who strives after social recognition, displays a luxurious standard of dress, diet, travelling, amusements and personal services, whether he can afford it or no, and the very first thing a social upstart can do in England is to show by an affectation of luxury that he wants to be classed as a gentleman. To deny the means of indulging in them on an equal—and possibly irrational—scale to an Indian would be to draw upon him the condescension, if not actually the contempt, of his English colleagues.

The distinction in respect of the powers of command is even more serious. Under the present scheme of Indianization and the bill which is meant to give legal sanction to it, the Indian commissioned officers will not automatically have the same powers of command over the personnel of the British Army in India such as are possessed by the British officers, but it will be left by regulations (and not by law) to the commanders to appoint the occasions on which the Indian officers may exercise these powers. This is only an application of the principle of confining Indianization to one division. But the divisional scheme when fully worked out would still have involved a serious limitation of the Indian officer's status and curtailment of his usefulness. In the existing conditions his position would be still worse. At present all the formations, *i.e.*, divisions, brigades, etc. in India are composed of British as well as Indian troops. The stations and areas of command also have an assemblage of soldiers both Indian and British. Any officer who is fitted by his rank to do so can now command these formations, areas or stations irrespective of the fact whether they contain Indian or British troops. But under the provisions now contemplated, the Indian officer will not be entitled to command by virtue of his rank alone and without special executive sanction any formation, area or station which may, by any chance, contain British troops. It is a serious limitation of the powers of the Indian commissioned officer, and under the stress of war when it may not prove practicable always to group Indian or British troops in exclusive formations the handicap would be still worse.

It has been sought to justify this arrangement by the argument that the Indian and British troops of the Army in India belong to two different legally constituted bodies, the British Army and the Indian Army, and therefore the laws enacted for the one cannot affect the other. This is a purely legal objection without any practical significance. Even now there are in the Army in India two bodies of officers distinguished from a technical point of view, *viz.*, Indian Army officers, and officers of the British service. They, however, equally take their chances for regimental, staff, or administrative appointments, because though distinct as regards the terms of their service, they are one from the purely military point of view. The Army in India today constitutes one unit as an instrument of war. No hard and fast distinction can be made in the powers of command of the bodies of officers who lead it without destroying this unity and giving to India two armies instead of one it has today.

This, however, seems exactly to be the end contemplated by the policy of Indianization now being followed by the military authorities. The deliberateness with which a distinct status is being conferred on the Indian commissioned officers, and the unwillingness which the Government spokesmen display to state their real motives show the bill to be the part of a well-considered and far-reaching plan of whose goal the army authorities are perfectly conscious. This end is, as has been already stated, to create two distinct armies in India, one to be composed solely of Indians commanded by Indians, and the other consisting of both British and Indian personnel to be absolutely under the control of Imperial military authorities.

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Everything in the recent trends of army organization both in England and India points towards such a splitting up of the Army in India. The segregation of Indian officers in a particular formation, which was originally advocated as a solution of the difficulty of placing British officers under Indians, has now become necessary in the interests of Imperial strategy. The altered defensive requirements of the British Empire after the War imperatively demanded that an efficient and powerful military force should be stationed in the East to protect British interests and to serve, if necessary, as an expeditionery force, and for that it should be under the absolute control of the Imperial military authorities without any constitutional limitations which might possibly restrict its unfettered employment. Neither the constitutional position nor the resources of the Dominions of Australia and New Zealand permitted their use for this purpose. The choice, therefore, fell on India, in whose favour it was an additional argument that the cost of maintaining such an army would not fall on the British tax-payer.

This in itself would have been an absolute bar to the Indianization of any part of the Army in India, had not insistent claims and previous political undertakings made the position of the military authorities extremely uncomfortable. So, they have obviously hit upon a device to solve the problem by dividing the Army in India into two parts—one to be composed entirely of Indians and employed for local defence, the other to be an Imperial army under even stricter Imperial control. The scheme of transforming one complete division to Indian footing and the Imperial contribution to the cost of Indian defence, both of which have been offered to India, and are acclaimed by some, as great concessions, are only steps towards that end. Though it is by no means possible that Indian opinion would have effectively killed them, all these proposals should have been opposed by Indian opinion long ago. Now, the policy underlying them is in full swing and makes the position of Sir Abdur Rahim's amendment unassailable.

NOTE.—For the convenience of readers a portion of the note of dissent of Sir Abdur Rahim and four of his colleagues on the Select Committee is reproduced below:

"It has been made clear in the Note under clause 12 that, so far as command of the Indian Army personnel is concerned, the status and opportunities of the Indian commissioned officers will in no way be inferior to that of "British" officers....But in respect of command of mixed formations and in relation to British personnel of the British Army in India, there will be a difference in the prospects of the two classes of officers as pointed out in the Report. The Indian commissioned officer will not automatically have the same powers of command in relation to the British personnel of the British Army in India such as are possessed by "British" officers, but it will be left to the commanders "to appoint the occasions" in which Indian commissioned officers may exercise such powers of command. This distinction has, in our opinion, a serious significance in the Defence Policy of India, apart from the practical difficulties which it is likely to give rise to in the Army administration as well as in actual operations. If this be the inevitable result of an Indian commission, it only tends to confirm the belief which is widely prevalent in the country that the position of Indian commissioned officers will be something intermediate between the Viceroy's commissioned officers and the "British" officers and more or less analogous to that of the officers of the Provincial Civil Service in the civil administration, their chance of attaining a higher command will be like the prospect of a Provincial officer obtaining a District charge, or rather will be confined to occasions. Another anomally in the position of this new class of officers which, we happened to discover in the course of discussion in the Select Committee, is that even if they are in command, they will not be eligible to sit in a Court Martial on a British soldier.

Granted the necessity of a self-contained Indian Army Act, with the necessary regulations and rules, we fail to see why an Indian commission should necessarily be of a more limited scope than the commission which an officer from Sandhurst or Woolwich holds. The assumption throughout has been that the Military College in India would be a replica of Sandhurst and Woolwich and it will be a great disappointment to the Indian public if the graduates of the Dehra Dun Academy are accorded a status inferior in any way to that of the graduates of the British Military Colleges.

We suggest that a statutory provision be inserted in the Indian Army Act laying down the general principle that the status and opportunities for promotion, the powers of command, rank and precedence of Indian commissioned officers in the Indian Army will be the same as those of "British" officers in the Indian Army in all units and formations."

August 27, 1934.

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ART IN ORISSA

The Journal of the Royal Society of Arts of August 17, 1934 contains a detailed account of Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda's lecture on "Art in Orissa" delivered in a meeting of the Royal Society of Arts. In introducing the lecturer Sir Edward Gait, the Chairman of the meeting, said that

"the Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda was for many years a member of the Archaeological Survey of India and had taken part in the excavation of Taxila and other ancient sites. About 12 years ago he was deputed to explore Khiching and other little-known sites in Mayurbhanj, and this afternoon he was going to speak about the art of the mediæval temples of Orissa on the basis of his experience there and in other parts of the Province."

Vajrapani from Nalatigiri
Indian Museum, Calcutta

The lecture was illuminating, and highly appreciated by the distinguished audience present. In it Mr. Chanda gave a detailed comparative critique of the sculptural groups in Orissa of which the following summary is given :

THE INDO-ARYAN SCHOOL OF BRAHMANIC ART

In mediæval India, that is to say, in India in the period beginning from the fifth century to the thirteenth century A.D., there flourished two great schools of sculpture. From the beginning of the Christian era, or from a time a little earlier, the sculptors of Mathura and Gandhara began to carve images of the Buddha and the Jinas.···The images of the Buddha and the Jinas produced in the first two or three centuries of the Christian era at Mathura in the posture of *yoga* are blank in expression.···From about the beginning of the second century A.D. the Buddhists, and probably also the Jains, of Central and Eastern India, began to import images of Gautama Buddha and the Jinas from Mathura, and from the fourth century local artists of these areas began to carve such images themselves. By the fifth century A.D. the Buddhist art reached its culmination, not only at Mathura, but also in other parts of Northern India. Indian sculptors began to carve Brahmanic images about the same time. The most typical among the surviving Brahmanic sculptures of the Gupta period are the three sculptured panels of a temple at Deogarh (about 600 A.D.) in the Jhansi district in the United Provinces.···These three panels are the works of a master who had not only clear conception of forms in the round but also of co-ordination of forms....

JAJPUR MOTHERS

In the post-Gupta period the Indo-Aryan artists appear to have undertaken the task of restoring balance between the spiritual and the formal elements. Among the provincial schools of sculpture that gradually emerged in different parts of the Northern India in the eighth century A.D. perhaps the most vigorous was the school of Orissa. As Orissa is cut up in smaller divisions, more or less isolated by intervening hills and forests, there arose in course of time minor local schools of art with distinct individual traits. Four such schools, one at Jajpur, a second in the Cuttack hill tracts, the third in Southern Orissa including Bhuvanesvar, Puri and Konarak, and a fourth in Mayurbhanj, may be clearly distinguished. . . .

As becomes a holy place dedicated to Durga, the most remarkable among these sculptures are the images of the mother goddesses. The mother goddesses are seven in number. Two of these are animal-headed—one having the head of a pig and the other that of a lioness. The other five mothers have regular female form; one of these is four-headed, and each of the rest has one head only. At present relics of two sets

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seven mothers survive at Jajpur. Of the first consisting of colossal figures, only two, Chāmuṇḍi and Indrāṇi, survive. There was another of life-size figures of the mothers, five of which are now installed in a modern shrine on Baitarani. All these images are carved of chlorite schist, a material that lends itself to delicate treatment of the surface....

The Mahayana Remains of the Cuttack Hills

In the eighth century A. D. a line of Buddhist kings belonging to the Bhauma dynasty, which probably originated in Kamrupa Assam), ruled over Utkala (Northern Orissa). Extensive Mahāyāna Buddhist remains dating from the same century are found on three of the hills in the Cuttack District—the Nalatigiri, the Udayagiri and the Ratanagiri. The absence of carved building stones on the ruins indicates that the temples were simple in design with otherwise bare walls decorated by superb images of the Mahāyāna gods and goddesses fixed in niches. An unfinished temple on the Nalatigiri rebuilt with old materials later on enables us to form an idea of the original position of the sculptures. The most notable remains on the three hills are the over life-size images of the Mahāyāna Buddhist gods and goddesses. ...

Bhuvanesvar and Konarak

At Bhuvanesvar there are still in existence a large group of magnificent temples of Siva, including a few dedicated to Vishnu, that date from the ninth to the twelfth century A. D. These temples are richly decorated with pilasters, geometrical designs and scroll works animated by figures of animals and human and divine forms. These sculptures are subordinated to the scheme of decoration, and, in most cases, carved on the building stones after the erection of the structure of the building. The Lingaraja, dating from about 1000 A.D., is the largest of these temples, and bas-reliefs in its panels are of considerable size. These reliefs show vitality and comprehension of plastic form. ...

The Southern school of Orissan art survived about the middle of the thirteenth century when King Narasimha I caused the great temple to the sun-god to be erected at Konarak. As existing remains, including the *mandapa* (hall), show, the temple was much larger than the Lingaraj, and the decorative sculptures on a larger scale. Purely decorative figures, including male and female figures and animals, are of decomposed khondalite and show dramatic vigour...

The Great Temple of Khiching

Like the temples of Orissa proper, this great temple of Khiching was Indo-Aryan (Nagara) in style; the sculptures that embellished it were Indo-Aryan in spirit; and the carvings on its walls were Orissan in pattern. But the donor whom I should like to identify with Satrubhanja) who dedicated the temple, and the sculptor who designed the scheme of decoration and carved the images, followed independent lines in all other respects. Unlike the temples of Siva at Bhuvanesvara, probably unlike all other temples of Siva at Khiching, this great temple enshrined an over life-size image of Siva, and not the

Siva at Khiching

phallic emblem of that deity. Some fragments of this cult image have been recovered from the debris and pieced together and installed in the local museum established by the present Mahārājā of Mayurbhanj. The main figure of this composition, the cult image of Siva, is not very satisfactory as a work of art. But the pair of attendant female figures show superior workmanship. Though bending a plant with one hand and plucking a flower with another, they are both absorbed in meditation. Their graceful bodies are suggestive of feeling for the round. The bull on the base, though in relief, is

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conceived in the round and his body is palpitating with life. Indian convention required that in carving images consisting of the god or goddess with attendant figures the subordinate position of the latter in the composition should be indicated by their smaller size. In such compositions usually little freedom of movement is allowed to the subordinate figures. But in this image of Siva the two attendant females and the bull show considerable freedom of movement.

Images of different forms of Siva in standing posture were installed in the main niches of the great temple of Khiching instead of the images of Durgā, Kārttikeya and Ganesha, invariably found in the niches of the temples of Siva at Bhuvanesvar. ...

The images of the dancing Siva and of Durgā were installed in the smaller niches of the temple. The dancing Siva of Khiching, even in its present mutilated condition, appears to be one of the best specimens of the type that has come down to us in the Indo-Aryan world including the colossal dancing Siva in a niche of the great cave temple of Elephanta. . . .

So far, I have dealt with the formal meaning of some of the mediæval Brahmanic and Mahāyana Buddhist sculptures from Orissa. But it is their striking psychological meaning that gives Indo-Aryan sculptures a very prominent place among the works of man. I have repeatedly pointed out the lack of harmony between the facial expression and the gesture and movement of the limbs of these sculptures. But this facial expression has a deep psychological meaning. It rouses our spirit of dispassionate contemplation, *dhyāna*, and nothing can promote peace and equanimity better than *dhyāna* or *jhāna*.

In the discussion that followed Mr. R. L. Hobson (British Museum) said :

"It must be a very rare occurrance to have a lecture on Indian sculpture by such a pioneer of excavation, and the Society were to be congratulated on obtaining the Rai Bahadur while in this country. Also he would like to add a personal word of thanks to him for the work which he had done at the British Museum. He had been spending his time in the Indian Gallery working through the sculptures very thoroughly and had left behind his notes, which would be very useful. He was sure the audience would be interested to know that the Rai Bahadur contemplated publishing an illustrated monograph on the Indian sculptures in the British Museum quite soon."

Regarding the subject-matter of the lecture Mr. Hargreaves (late Director-General of Archæology in India) remarked :

"Hitherto archæologists had devoted their attention principally to the identification of images and their classification into schools, but that the Rai Bahadur had in this lecture drawn attention to their artistic qualities."

THE HEAD OF SHIVA

This is a novel fountain design done by Mr. Sudhir R. Khastgir, the young sculptor-artist of Bengal. This fountain design is erected in the front garden of Scindia (public) School, Gowalior.

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NOTES

The Congress Nationalist Party

In previous issues, before the announcement of the Nationalist Conference, we have commented upon the Congress Working Committee's resolution on the White Paper and the Communal Decision. We have shown that the Committee, by neither accepting nor rejecting the Communal Decision while at the same time condemning it, has adopted an illogical, inconsistent, un-national, if not anti-national, and undemocratic attitude. It has been a departure from the principles for which the Congress has all along stood. Therefore, a party was required which would stand for those principles. Such a party has come into existence under the name of the Congress Nationalist Party.

The need of such a party was felt by many distinguished men. Sir P. C. Ray has never been an active politician, though he has been known to be an ardent patriot and a thorough-going nationalist. As chairman of the reception committee of the Nationalist Conference he said that "when the very foundations of nationalism were being threatened by surrender to diplomatic opportunism, Bengal would not shirk her opportunity." He proceeded to observe :

> Friends, there will be men here and there who may go about misleading our people and telling them that the present move is a revolt against the Congress organization. Let me assure you, and here I have the backing of a solid majority of Bengal Congressmen, that it is nothing of the kind, and it is rather a move for the rehabilitation of Congress principles and the restoration of Congress prestige. The Working Committee of the Congress raises its battle-cry against the reactionary constitution outlined in the White Paper but adopts an attitude of neutrality in a matter like the so-called Communal Award—a decision of the British Government which is calculated to divide India into perpetually warring communal camps. The resolution of the Congress Working Committee on this point marks a striking departure from the principles laid down by the Congress in 1931 and is nothing but a surrender to a short-sighted policy of expediency. And I have very grave doubts in my mind as to whether this resolution can be justified even on the ground of expediency. If we are to be true to ourselves, we cannot give the go-by to the principle of joint electorates, which alone can unite India and raise her to real nationhood. The number of seats allotted to a community is, to my mind, a matter of secondary importance and I would urge you to avoid a clouding of issues by raising a controversy over this question.

The speaker wanted the new organization to be a party within the Congress, and hence said :

> Friends, I should be failing in my duty if I were not to remind you that this Conference has been convened by tried Congressmen and that it ought not to make any move which may split the great organization built up by the life-blood and the heroic sacrifices and sufferings of our countrymen. And I do hope and trust the Nationalist Party which is going to be formed today will be a party within the sheltering bosom of the Indian National Congress, a party which by its fiery zeal and enthusiasm, by its fearless championing of truth, by its uncompromising rejection of weak-kneed compromises, purge the Congress of all wavering and half-hearted tactics and raise once more the National Institution to its position of undisputed authority in the country.

According to the desire expressed by Sir P. C. Ray and by all those Congressmen who wanted to become members of the new party, it has been made an organization within the Congress and named the Congress Nationalist Party. We would have preferred the name "Nationalist Party." But we are not sticklers for names. The object and principles of a party are what matter most.

In his reasoned speech Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya also, like Acharya Ray, said :

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It has now become necessary to organise a party in order that the Congress may be placed on its pristine glory and its former strength and serve the country on all the nationalistic lines it had indicated.

Messrs. Malaviya and Aney had tried to avoid a split. But their attempt was unsuccessful. The Pandit said :—

> The resolution of the Congress Working Committee on the question of the so-called Communal Award was the cause of this dissension. When that resolution was framed Mr. Aney and he objected to certain portions of it. They had failed to convince their colleagues in the Working Committee of the force of their objections. About a month and a half passed in considering the matter as to whether it would be possible to come to an understanding. But they had failed. He and Mr. Aney wanted that the Congressmen should be allowed to vote on the Communal Award according to the mandate of their constituency. They suggested that freedom might be given to candidates who were elected on Congress tickets to vote on the Communal Award in this manner. But that was not done. Next they suggested that every one elected on Congress ticket should be given freedom to vote according to his own conviction. These were the proposals they put forward before the Working Committee for their consideration. Were these proposals unreasonable? But these were not accepted. Of course the members of the Working Committee were good enough to allow him and Mr. Aney the freedom to vote according to their own conviction. The members of the Working Committee said that others might also be given the same freedom, if the Committee were satisfied that those people had genuine grievance against the Communal Award. But they did not consider this proposal of the Committee to be fair, because they felt that to put a ban on the Congressmen not to speak against the Communal Award, when they felt very strongly against it was wholly unfair.

What was wanted was, *not* that a few *select* persons should be *conceded* the right to vote according to their convictions against the Communal Decision which the Committee itself has condemned, but that all Congressmen should have freedom to work against it both within and outside the legislature. That freedom the Committee did not and would not give. Hence the formation of the new party.

The Congress and The Congress Nationalist Party

It has been pointed out in the manifesto of the Congress Nationalist Party that the object of the party is the same as that of the Indian National Congress, namely, the attainment of complete independence by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means. In the pursuit of this object, it will strive to the utmost to strengthen among the people of India—

(1) the habit of looking at and deciding public questions from the point of view of true nationalism which would serve the best and the largest interests of the country as a whole ;

(2) an active desire for communal unity, based on reason and justice, with a view to arrive at a communal settlement between the various communities on the basis of joint electorates which the best and the most far-sighted leaders of Hindus, Musalmans, Sikhs, Christians, Parsees, etc., have advocated and pressed for ;

(3) a determination to fight the most retrograde and obnoxious proposals for constitutional reform contained in the White Paper including the Communal Award, and

(4) to prepare the people for a country-wide movement for the establishment of Swaraj at the earliest possible date ; also

(5) to help to convene at an early date a National Convention which will draw up a constitution for the country based on an agreed solution of the communal problem.

Inside the legislature also the Party will work for the fulfilment of this programme, and, besides opposing the White Paper and the Communal Decision, will take every step possible to expedite the establishment of Swaraj or full responsible government. The Party will promote every measure calculated to advance the interests of the people in all the departments of national life and activity and will oppose every measure designed to injure these interests in any manner whatsoever.

The question before the voters, therefore, will be quite a simple one. As between the candidates set up by the Congress Parliamentary Board and those set up by the Nationalist Party, the only difference will be that while both will generally press and fight for the same political programme the former will be compelled by the decision of the Working Committee to remain neutral regarding the Communal Decision while the latter, i. e., members of the Congress Nationalist Party, will oppose it tooth and nail. The success of a Nationalist Party candidate will mean that the electors are opposed to the provisions of the Communal Award and that they support the principles and policy pursued by the Congress until that policy was unfortunately departed from by the present Working Committee in June last at Bombay.

It has been contended, therefore, that the difference between the Indian National Congress as represented by its official executive body, the Working Committee, and the new party, lies only in their respective attitudes towards the Communal Decision.

It is perhaps not yet possible to say definitely whether between the two there is any difference as regards their attitudes towards untouchability and legislation in relation to what are called religious and socio-religious matters. In the course of his concluding speech at the Conference on the 19th August

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Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is reported have stated :

Personally he was of opinion, that there should be no legislative interference in religious matters though he had every sympathy with his friends of the depressed classes in the matter of having free entrance into the temples for 'darshan.' But there were others in the Conference who thought otherwise and wanted to change that portion of the manifesto. They had discussed the matter but had not been able to come to any final conclusion.

Probably Mahatma Gandhi and his strict lowers also do not want legislative interference in *all* "religious" matters. And body has strictly defined the full import of e word "religious" in this connection. We e not aware whether Mahatmaji (who *is* the ficial' Congress in a sense) and his followers ean by the right of temple-entry anything re than 'free entrance into temples for rshan.' In Bengal, in various places, in rvajanin (*i. e.*, practically, all-caste) Durga-ja, Sarasvati-puja, etc , persons of all castes rship the goddesses and cook the food to offered to them just as the Brahmin priests and all take part in serving the dinner and e together. We do not know whether hatmaji is for giving the Harijans the same hts of touching and worshipping the idols the Brahmins possess. As regards inter-ing he has said that it does not form part the anti-untouchability movement. Inter-te marriage also does not form part of the vement. Personally, of course, he "inter-es" and has also taken part in inter-caste rriages. Malaviyaji is not in favour of er-dining or of inter-marriage. But the ngress Nationalist Party is not bound by e Pandit's personal opinions. As regards e use of public schools, roads, etc., he is r in favour of Harijans having the same hts as "caste-Hindus." He would not also ose legislation against the *devadasi* system l other such immoral and pernicious stoms. But as regards the Congress Nation-t Party one must not think that the inions of Malaviyaji are those of the party a whole in all matters, though in the *official* ngress organization the opinions of hatmaji are considered sacred and it is garded as almost sacrilegious not to accept em. To illustrate the difference between leaders and followers of the two parties, we may say that the original intention of Malaviyaji was to form a party independent of the Congress, though certainly including Congressmen as perhaps the majority of its members. But he agreed to call the party the Congress Nationalist Party, because he found that to be the prevailing opinion among those who intended to join and have actually joined the party.

Untouchability and various other socio-religious matters have a very important bearing on our politics, but they are not *political* matters in the strict sense of that expression. And even Mahatmaji did not of his own motion include untouchability in the Congress programme from the beginning of his connection with and leadership of the Congress. When he did it, he did so at the instance of Mr. V. R. Shinde, a religious worker and social reformer of Bombay.

So it may be said that, so far as politics in the strict sense are concerned, the object and position of the two bodies are the same.

Rabindranath Tagore on the Communal Problem

On the occasion of the Congress Nationalist Conference the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, sent Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya a telegram and a letter. Both were read at the meeting and published in Calcutta. But in the dailies published in provinces other than Bengal that we have seen, only the letter has been published, not the telegram. We do not know how this omission has occurred. The telegram is printed below.

> You all know that I have always disapproved of the Communal Award. I hope our leaders will join their forces to save from its paralysing grip the political integrity of the nation.

The letter runs :

> My dear Panditji,
>
> I address this to Mahomedans as well as Hindus with the most sincere desire for the good of all sections of the community. I urge that Hindus and Mahommedans should sit together dispassionately to consider the Communal Award and its implications to arrive at an agreed solution of the communal problem. It is needless to point out that self-government cannot be based on communal divisions, and separate electorate. No responsible system of government can be possible without mutual understanding of our communities

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and united representations at legislatures. We must concentrate all our forces to evolve a better understanding and co-operation between different sections of our people and thus lay a solid foundation for social and political reconstruction of our Motherland. I deprecate all expressions of angry feelings and most strongly appeal to Hindus and Musalmans to avoid saying and doing anything that may increase communal tension and further postpone the understanding between our communities without which there can be no peaceful progress in our country.

Congress Nationalist Party and Non-Congressmen

Mr. Akhil Chandra Dutt moved the following resolution at the Conference :

> That a party to be called the Congress Nationalist Party be constituted with the object of carrying on agitation against the Communal Award and the White Paper both in the legislature and outside and of setting up candidates for election to the Legislative Assembly for the promotion of that object.
>
> That every Congressman who subscribes to that object of the party as defined above shall be eligible as a member of the Party.
>
> Candidates for election to the legislature shall be selected from among Congressmen, who are members of the party. In special cases the Party may support a nationalist as a candidate for election to the legislature who subscribes to the object of the Party and agrees to abide by its rules in the legislature.

The last sentence in the resolution has been adversely commented upon by critics of the Congress Nationalist Party. They obviously appear to think that a party which prefixes the word "Congress" to its name ought not to back candidates who have not hitherto been Congressmen. Not being habituated to think along party lines, we do not attach extreme importance to the party-names by which men may be known ; we think it is better to judge them by their principles and opinions. If a person subscribes to the object of the party, which is the same in the main as that of the Congress, and agrees to abide by its rules in the legislature, he becomes really, if not in name, as much a Congressman as members of the Congress Nationalist Party are. Besides, if the Congress can enlist new members, why cannot the new party do so in this way ? Moreover, it should be remembered that Messrs. Bidhan Chandra Roy, Nalini Ranjan Sarker and Akhil Chandra Dutt were backed up in their candidature for the Bengal Council by the Swarajya Party leader Mr. C. R. Das before they had become Congressmen—they became Congressmen afterwards.

Right to Use "Congress" Name

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel has objected that the new party is not entitled to use the name *Congress* Nationalist Party. But the name "Congress" is not like names that are registered as trade-marks, patented inventions, etc. If some Congressmen who are now in possession of the machinery of the Congress can use it, other Congressmen certainly have the right to use the word Congress in combination with other words in order to clearly show that they are not the official body known as the Congress. No one can or will mistake the one for the other. The party popularly known as the Swarajya Party was named the Congress Khilafat Swarajya Party without any objection being raised. There is a Congress Socialist Party. No objection was raised to this name either. Sardar Patel suggests that the new party may call itself the Nationalist Party of Congressmen. But we do not find any substantial difference between the two names.

If the Roman Catholics, who were perhaps the earliest organized body of Christians, said that the Protestants had no right to call themselves Protestant Christians or Christian Protestants, if Trinitarian Christians objected to Unitarian Christians calling themselves by that name, if Sanatanists objected to Hindu Mahasabhaites calling themselves Hindus, if Sunnis objected to Shiahs calling themselves Muslims—all these objections would be somewhat similar to Sardar Patel's objection.

"Agreed Solution" and "Government Interference"

It has been said that whereas the Congress wants to replace the Communal Decision by an agreed solution, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and his party want to get rid of the Communal Decision by appealing to the British Government or through its instrumentality. This is not a correct description of the position. By its attitude of non-acceptance and non-rejection of the Communal Decision of the British Government, the

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gress gives it some quarter. The new by its programme of fighting the ion in and outside the legislature, does give it any quarter at all.

Both by deed and word, before and after holding of the Conference, Pandit aviya has shown that he is at least as for an agreed solution of the communal lem as anybody else. We do not know anybody has worked harder than or as as he, more earnestly than or as earnestly e, in connection with the Unity Con- es in recent years. The failure of the erences was due to Sir Samuel Hoare's ing higher bids for Muslims' allegiance. Nationalist Party's programme includes arriving at a communal settlement as one e items.

As regards Government's possible final in the Communal settlement, neither the gress nor the Congress Nationalist Party likely to be able to effect the settlement out the agency or instrumentality of the rnment. Neither the Congress nor the gress Nationalist Party have at present revolutionary aims. Neither can or do "When we arrive at an agreed solution, will give effect to it ourselves, because the Government will be *non est*, or rseded, or superseded." When either or have arrived at an agreed solution, will have to say to the British Govern- in effect: "You said that the Communal sion could be replaced only by an agreed ion. Here is the agreed solution. pt it and give effect to it." If then that rnment does not honour its pledge, the e of India must think of some other s of giving effect to its will.

So far as we are concerned, we could not if we had no hopes of India's ultimate dom. But we must say that we do believe that there can be any agreed tlement of the communal problem so long there is selfish British domination, so long there exists its effective power to bestow vours" (let us call them such), and so long there are major parties or there is a major to accept these "favours" and refrain taking part in a united national struggle freedom.

Constituent Assembly and National Convention

Congressmen are saying that their proposed constituent assembly is a better means of registering the people's will and obtaining a desirable constitution framed by the people than the Congress Nationalist Party's proposed national convention. As the object of both the gatherings is the same and as we care more for realities than for mere names, we cannot give preference to either as a nostrum for curing the National Malady. Both the parties seem to take it for granted that the British Government will be very obliging, will give them all facilities for calling a thoroughly representative popular gathering, and then immolate itself at the altar of the Indian National Will. But, perhaps because we are arm-chair politicians, we are unable to make any such assumption.

A Hope and A Resolution

We should rejoice if all Congressmen were united on one common platform and worked together in harmony for the liberation of India. The Congress brought to the nation new hope, new faith, new courage to dare and suffer and sacrifice. May it do so again.

If the All-India Congress Committee met early and revised and reversed the decision of the Working Committee on the so-called Communal Award, the two parties could then coalesce at once. The Congress Nationalist Conference has adopted a resolution requesting the Congress Working Committee to convene a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee with a view to revising its decision on the so-called Communal Award. Will it do so? If it does not, or if after it has done so, the All-India Congress Committee refuses to interfere, there will be left the last hope of the Indian National Congress in full session assembled in Bombay reversing the decision of the Working Committee. As Malaviyaji has said, "If the Congress Working Committee's resolution on the Communal Award was reconsidered at the coming session of the Indian National Congress at Bombay, it would be a happy day for India."

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Hindu Mahasabha and the New Party

The Congress Nationalist Party, as the very name indicates, is not a party which takes members only from any particular religious community. It has nothing to do with the Hindu Mahasabha. Bhai Parmanand, the president of the Hindu Mahasabha, attended the conference, as some leading Liberals also did, but has not become a member of the party. Maulvi Abdus Samad, M. L. C., the genuine and staunch nationalist of Murshidabad, who seconded the Conference resolution on the Communal Decision, has become a member of the party and has agreed to serve on its working committee. Its selection board will have Christian and Sikh members also.

Congress Working Committee's Hope

The Congress Working Committee's attitude of neutrality towards the Communal Decision was evidently due to its hope that that will make Muslims friendly to the Congress and lead many of them to join it and also lead Muslim voters to cast their votes in favour of Muslim candidates who are Congressmen. As regards the hope concerning voting, the time has not yet come to judge whether it has been fulfilled. But judging by the pronouncements of Muslim leaders and rank and file, it does not appear that they at all like the Congress Working Committee's resolution. It is quite clear that, barring a very few exceptions (big "Nationalists" like Dr. Ansari not being among them), all articulate Muslims like the Communal Decision. So they laugh at the Congress condemnation of it *cum* neutrality about it *cum* the desire to replace and get rid of it by an agreed solution to be arrived at by means of a Constituent Assembly. If the Congress Working Committee had not pronounced any opinion against the communal decision, had not spoken of neither accepting nor rejecting it, but had accepted it, and had not expressed a desire to replace it by an agreed solution, then the Moslem public might have praised the Congress. But even then, we are afraid, the Congress would not have been able to enlist an appreciable number of Muslim fighters for the country's freedom under the Congress banner. If the Congress Working Committee rescinds that part of its resolution which relates to the Communal Decision and inserts in its place a full-throated approval of the Decision, and can thereby get good Muslim fighters for freedom under the Congress flag, we shall unreservedly admit our mistake. Let the Congress make the experiment.

We do believe that there are genuine Muslim nationalists, though their number is small. Their adherence to the cause of freedom is worth more than the adherence to the Congress of those who at one time outdid the Hindus in condemnation of the Communal Decision but who later became and prevailed upon the Congress to become non-acceptance- and non-rejection-walas.

Adherence to Principles, or Partisanship

It has been said that if the Congress had rejected the Communal Decision, it would have been partisanship; for Muslims in general seem to like it. Now, in the opinion of the Congress Working Committee the Communal Decision is a bad thing—it goes against Congress principles. So it comes to this that it is partisanship to reject a bad thing, if some people like that bad thing!

But let it be granted. Is it only the rejection that would have amounted to partisanship? The condemnation of the bad thing—we mean the communal decision—is not partisanship!

What Led to Congress Decision on Communal "Award"

The Mahratta (August 19, 1934) writes:—

What made the Working Committee of the Congress and the Parliamentary Board to adopt the illogical, indecisive and anti-national attitude towards the Communal Award?

From private advices received from London, we are in a position to state that H. H. the Aga Khan has a great deal to do with it.

It was known in England and on the Continent that the Joint Parliamentary Committee, at any rate, some members of it, appreciated the injustice done to Hindus and Sikhs by an undue pampering of the Muslims and Sir Samuel Hoare informed the Aga Khan that in order to save the Award from the Muslims as it is, he must see that even Congress did not adopt an adverse attitude towards it.

The Aga Khan communicated to Dr. Ansari these developments and, it would appear, succeeded in persuading him to give up his former position of complete opposition to the Communal Award and

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adopt the nebulous formula of neither accepting nor rejecting the Award. This explains Dr. Ansari's disquieting the present attitude of the Working Committee and the Parliamentary Board.

We have seen that despite the lukewarm attitude of Congress, the non-Nationalist Muslims have not been won over and they are going to contest Assembly Elections in opposition to Congress.

If the story is true, what a light it throws on Muslim Nationalism and the Congress leaders who are wooing it!

The London Correspondent of the Daily *Sun* wired to that paper on August 16, that frequent conferences between the Aga Khan and Mr. Jinnah, who is in Europe, were taking place.

The subject-matter of these conferences was of course the fear that the Joint Parliamentary Committee might say something by way of modifying the Communal Award so as to disfavour the Muslims unless the Muslims stood by the White Paper intact.

Sir Samuel Hoare's threat to this effect is said to be accompanied with the offer of two Governorships one to Mr. Jinnah and another to a Hindu.

It may be mentioned here that there is still no candidate for the Muslim seat from Bombay. Mr. Jinnah is still undecided and until Mr. Jinnah decides, the Congress Parliamentary Board also will remain undecided, as he must be accommodated to please Nationalist Muslims!

The italics are *The Mahratta's* throughout. We do not, of course, know what its source of information is.

Muslim Parties, and White Paper and Communal Decision

The All-India Muslim League and All-India Muslim Conference are high-sounding names. But there have been occasions when no big-sounding body or that could not bring together even 75 Muslims out of as many millions of them in India. It is not known how many of them have been speaking in the name of Muslim All-India on recent occasions. But both the above bodies have now late combined to support the White Paper and the so-called communal award. That perhaps represents the sincere opinion of the Muslim public. But no. Here comes the All-India Muslim Unity Board, which at its well-known meeting last month (August 21, 22) passed certain resolutions. It is not known whom this Unity Board has united, and whether it is more representative in character than the All-India Muslim League or All-India Muslim Conference. The following message, published in *The Mussalman* of August 24, gives the gist of its resolutions:—

Lucknow, Aug. 21.

After three days' protracted deliberations the Muslim Unity Board passed resolutions rejecting the White Paper *in toto*. As regards the Communal Award the Board reiterated that it can be substituted only by an agreed settlement amongst different communities. It also declared the names of Assembly candidates from various provinces and drafted the election manifesto.

"Rejecting the White Paper *in toto*" means rejection of the so-called communal award also, for part of the White Paper is based upon and includes that "award." But the Unity Board has a very soft corner in its heart for that "award," and pleads that "it can be substituted only by an agreed settlement amongst different communities." That is the Unity Board's *fatwa* for its *substitution*, but for its temporary-permanent *acceptance* evidently no "agreed settlement amongst different communities" is necessary. That the Muslims have agreed to accept it temporarily-permanently is enough, it being of no importance at all that the Hindus and the Sikhs, for example, have condemned it in unequivocal language.

There is another Muslim organization, called the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Delhi. We do not know whom it represents.

> Maulana Ahmad Saeed, Secretary, Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Delhi, says, "The Jamiat at first decided not to contest the elections. But receiving invitation from the Board to join its forces for fighting the ensuing election, its Council met at Muradabad where it decided to co-operate with the Board, subject to the Board's incorporating certain conditions in the election manifesto. The Board has failed to satisfy the condition, and so the Jamiat will not co-operate with the Board in the election issue only."—*The Mussalman.*

The support given by the All-India Muslim League and the All-India Muslim Conference to the White Paper and the Communal Decision has been referred to above. The relevant resolution passed at Simla by the working committee of the latter and agreed to in substance by the council of the former is given below.

> As in fact certain public bodies and persons are seeking to reject the communal award directly or indirectly, this meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim Conference reiterates its conviction that, although such of the Muslim demands as are embodied in the communal award and the White Paper are inadequate to afford that measure of protection to the Muslim community which the existing condition of the country warrants and which had been urged by the Conference from time to time, any modification in the

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provisions thereof affecting these Muslim safe-guards, without the consent of the Mussalmans, will render any constitution wholly unacceptable to the Muslim community.

The joint election manifesto of the Muslim Conference and the Muslim League, the major portion of which is printed below, makes their opinions clearer still.

> On the one hand, the Hindu Mahasabha is bent upon destroying the Communal Award and is leaving no stone unturned to attain that object. On the other hand, the Congress, in order to enlist the sympathy of the Muslim community, professes neither to accept nor reject the Communal Award. Yet it is trying to destroy it by having the White Paper rejected *in toto*, as it claims that with the rejection of the White Paper the Communal Award must automatically lapse.
>
> Therefore, the Muslim electorates should vote only for such candidates as subscribe to the principles and policy of the All-India Muslim Conference or the All-India Muslim League and have won the community's confidence by consistently supporting in the past the principles and policy mentioned above, including in particular (a) the Communal Award and separate electorates (b) the safe-guards demanded by the Muslims in the new constitution; and (c) adequate representation of Muslims in the services by special reservations for them.
>
> Each candidate should sign the pledge given below. Any candidate who signs the pledge should be supported in preference to any candidate who has not signed it, whether set up by any other organization or not. For maintaining our solidarity it is in the highest degree essential that the Muslim public should strongly oppose any candidate who does not comply with the conditions mentioned above.
>
> We appeal to the Muslim voters throughout India to send to the legislatures only such representatives as comply with the above conditions.
>
> The pledge is as follows :—
>
> "I do hereby pledge myself to (a) accept the creed, aims and objects of the All-India Muslim Conference and the All-India Muslim League; (b) to stand by the Communal Award and separate electorates, as well as by the safe-guards demanded by the Muslim community and the adequate representation of Muslims in the services; (c) to vote with the majority of the elected Muslim members in the legislatures in all matters affecting the interests of the Muslim community, (d) to work for the modification and improvement of the proposed constitution with a view to securing responsible government suitable for India."

Clause (d) of the pledge shows that the Conference and the League have perceived that the White Paper constitution is a sort of invitation to the people of India to a Barmecide feast in which there is everything else but the food—plenty of checks, counter-checks, safe-guards and officers and parliamentary paraphernalia, but no transference of real power to the people. And as unfortunately the Mussalman Indians *are* Indians, they also get no power, though they get plenty of seats in the legislatures. So the League and the Conference want responsible government, *i.e.*, a government in which the bureaucracy from top to bottom must be responsible to the people. But they are careful to add that this responsible government must be "suitable for India," that is, it must give the Mussalmans far more power and far more jobs than they are entitled to on the strength of their numbers or their education, ability, public spirit, spirit of independence, etc. Perhaps the Muslim Unity Board has voted for the rejection of the White Paper on the ground that it does not give India "responsible government suitable for India," the stress being laid specially on the last three words.

Following the example of the All-India Muslim Unity Board, the Bengal Muslim Nationalist Party has passed the following resolution :—

> The meeting further appreciates the opinion of the Muslim Unity Board that the only alternative to the Communal Award is an agreed settlement between communities and this meeting, therefore deprecates all attempts that are being made by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and his party to get the Award modified by the British Government in the absence of an agreed settlement.

We have already commented upon the professed desire of the Muslims for an agreed settlement. We have also shown that Pandit Malaviya yields to nobody in his desire and efforts to arrive at an agreed solution of the communal problem. We do not know why the Bengal Muslim Nationalist Party has affected the absurd pose of being greater nationalists than Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, as also the pose of repugnance to get anything done by or with the help of the Government. When has the Pandit's party clamoured for and received from the Government weightage in Councils and jobs? The communal decision which Muslims hug is a favour bestowed *by the Government*. If the Bengal Muslim Nationalist Party considers the Government untouchable, why does it accept that decision temporarily or permanently?

Some Congressmen also have accused Malaviyaji of seeking Governments' help to get the communal decision cancelled

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improved. All such critics should remember that, unless they can get up a successful revolution, they must all ultimately obtain results through Government machinery.

We do not in this connection wish to quote the previous opinions of the most famous Nationalist Muslim leaders condemning the communal decision, which will be found in our July number, pp. 123-124. They have all become practical supporters of it now. But it is necessary to remind the Bengal Nationalist Muslim Party of their former attitude.

The principal resolution passed at the All-Bengal Muslim Nationalist Conference at Faridpur (June 27-28, 1931) insisted on "joint electorate with adult suffrage." The principal resolution passed at a meeting of the executive committee of the Bengal Nationalist Muslim Party, held in August 1932, recorded,

"its emphatic protest against the communal award recently given by the Prime Minister in consultation with the British Cabinet on the following among other grounds: (a) It recognizes the principle of separate electorates, which is fundamentally opposed to responsible government....."

Muslim Representation in the Services

In all civilized countries the rule is to recruit the ablest men for the public services, irrespective of creed. In India Government has encouraged the notion that it is not ability that counts most but that Government jobs must be given by preference to Europeans, Anglo-Indians, and Muslim Indians, according to certain fixed minimum percentages, *in addition to* what they can get by competition. For the Muslims a minimum of 25 per cent has been fixed. But they now want $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent and "a temporary provision [of more than $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent] to make good the existing extreme inadequacy of Muslim representation" in the services! As the British Government is desperately in need of supporters for its imperialistic policy, Muslim Indians have seized the opportunity. Hence why do the All-India Muslim Conference and the All-India Muslim League use the words "justice and fair play" in the resolution which unwarranted, unjust and selfish demands relating to the services are made? Perhaps we are wrong in asking this question. For even some highly educated Musalmans seem to think that their "due share" of the services means monopoly.

Mr. S. M. Hussain, M. A., D. Phil. (Oxon), writing on 'Islamic Education in Bengal' in the *Islamic Culture* for July, 1934, says:

> With the object of turning out recruits for public service and for the legal profession, the Calcutta Madrassah was established by Warren Hastings in 1781. Muslim Law and Persian naturally formed the main course of study in it. The Madrassah splendidly fulfilled the object for which it was established and its alumni *monopolized* posts of trust and responsibility under the Government. The Musalmans thus continued to retain their *due share* in the administration of the country and its public life. (Italics ours. Ed., *M. R.*)

Editor of "The Modern Review" Does Not Belong to Any Party

In the course of an article on "The Nationalist Party" our able contemporary *The Servant of India* writes:

> There is one item in the Nationalist Party's programme to which strong exception must be taken even by those who are disposed to agree with its communal award policy. It declares its disapproval of legislative interference in matters of religion. It is true that Pandit Malaviya, Mr. Aney and Mr. Kelkar all stand for abstension from using the machinery of the legislature in socio-religious affairs. But there are others in the Party like Dr. Munje, Acharya Ray and Babu Ramananda Chatterjee who, we are certain, do not support this policy, but who have apparently joined the Party on the understanding that it will be regarded as a minor item, in regard to which freedom will be allowed to those who wish to join the party. No social reformer can ever afford to dispense with the possible support that he will receive from the legislature in carrying through any reform.

Perhaps by now our Poona contemporary has learned that the item referred to does not form part of the programme of the Party as fixed after the holding of the Conference.

It is necessary to inform our contemporary and the public that Babu Ramananda Chatterjee does not belong to the Congress Notionalist Party, or *any* other party, like the Congress, the Liberal Party, the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, the Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha, etc. There should and must be social legislation, whenever and wherever necessary, for putting down inhuman, cruel and immoral customs. If public opinion cannot put down customs making for race degeneracy, injustice to women, and the like, legislative aid should

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be sought. But we cannot here go into further details—it is a large subject.

Mr. C. F. Andrews on African-Indian Problems

Mr. C. F. Andrews, who has earned the gratitude of India by his earnest labours for the improvement of the condition of Indians in different parts of Africa and whom we welcome back to India, emphasized the seriousness of the situation in Zanzibar in an interview to the Associated Press on his arrival at Bombay on the 25th August last. Said he :

> I have just come direct from Zanzibar where the situation has become so seriously critical that the Indian leaders implored me by a wireless message to stay over for a fortnight longer in order to take up their cause. But Mahatma Gandhi had already cabled me to come to Bombay not later than Aug. 25. Therefore, I had to hurry up in order to reach Bombay in time. The chief points at issue in Zanzibar are :—
>
> (1) The right of holding agricultural lands being taken from Indians by the Land Alienation Act. Indians who were born in Zanzibar are not allowed to hold agricultural land but Arabs who were born in Arabia and are not even British subjects have been allowed to hold it.
>
> (2) The Government are taking the clove industry, whereon Zanzibar depends, out of the hands of Indians who had always acted as bankers and middlemen and making it a state monopoly. This will drive many Indians out of the country owing to unemployment.
>
> These two new Zanzibar ordinances are likely to weaken the Indian position all round. Their vested rights as British subjects are being taken away. If after seeing Mahatma Gandhi it is possible to return to Africa I hope to do so as the situation all down the coast is entirely critical. The Zanzibar Indians very earnestly desire me to return. I have given them promise to do so if circumstances in India permit.

As regards East Africa Mr. Andrews stated :

> All down the east coast of Africa I found the Indian position shaken owing to trade depression. The Indians in Kenya have been reduced during the last six years from 40,000 to 34,000 and the numbers are still decreasing. There are many more coming home by each ship than going out.

The situation in South Africa also continues to cause anxiety.

> In South Africa again the Indian community has pressed me to return as soon as possible. The division which has gone on for some time over the question of colonization is not quite healed. The colonization issue itself is now practically dead. No Indian from South Africa will ever go out in any colony. The report which the Government has published is entirely negative. There are no colonies suitable for Indians' colonization and every effort must now be made to wreck down the provincial barriers in South Africa itself, so that Indians may move about without restriction. But though this point is now practically dead the issue there is the differences which still need to be settled and reconciled and I have been very earnestly requested to return after seeing Mahatma Gandhi.

Mr. Andrews desires to go back to Africa, and he has given his reasons. Before he does so, however, he will have to see Mahatma Gandhi, go to Simla for seeing high Government officers to enlist their active sympathy on behalf of Zanzibar Indians, and visit Bihar and Orissa. Indians in Africa are willing and able to help their fellow-countrymen in distress owing to earthquake and inundations.

> Certainly, I feel I must go back if only I can be spared, for this has been my special duty for over 20 years past and it is impossible for me to resist such an appeal. A work of this kind cannot be done hurriedly. It needs the greatest sympathy and patience but it will be necessary to visit Simla about Zanzibar and other matters and also there is a great need for visiting the earthquake area and if possible, Orissa. For, if I am able to return to South Africa, there is a golden opportunity of helping the earthquake relief fund. The Indians themselves all down the coast of Africa are prepared to make sacrifices and Johannesburg is now the most prosperous city in the world on account of high price of gold. Only two years ago gold stood at 84 shillings but today it is 136 to 138. The difference is a clear profit. I have been able to make a good beginning and collect about Rs. 2,500 but I had no time to carry it through.

Mr. Andrews has contributed a series of articles on the Zanzibar crisis to the Press.

Devastating Floods in Bihar Again

We deeply sympathize with our afflicted sisters and brethren in Bihar. There have been devastating floods again in that province. The utmost that is possible should be done for the people in distress. We know the futility of these newspaper platitudes and are grieved and ashamed that we are not in a position to take an active part in the relief of distress.

There have been earthquake shocks again in some parts of Bihar.

Atul Prasad Sen

By the death of Mr. Atul Prasad Sen of Lucknow India has lost a true son. He

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was born and educated in Bengal, and later went to England for legal education, and was called to the bar there. After practising at the Calcutta High Court for some years, he settled in Lucknow for the practice of his profession and rose to be the leader of the Oudh Bar. He was the president of the Oudh Bar Association. He took great interest in educational matters and was offered the Vice-Chancellorship of the Lucknow

Mr. Atul Prasad Sen

University but declined the office in favour of Dr. R. P. Paranjpye. In politics he was a liberal of the stouter and more independent variety and presided over the last Liberal Conference of the Province which he had before his home. We were present when he delivered his outspoken address. A resumé of it was given in this Review. He presided over a session of the National Liberal Federation of India. He was a staunch Swadeshist.

Though he was a very successful lawyer, he was by nature a poet and a musician. People will remember him for his poems and songs long after his reputation as a lawyer has ceased to be remembered. When he sang, people were moved because he put his soul into his music. Many of his songs are very popular in and outside Bengal, wherever Bengalis live.

He was a warm-hearted friend. His charities were many.

He was a member of the Brahmo Samaj.

He was a dutiful and active citizen and a cultural leader of the Province where he lived. Withal his heart continued to yearn for his village home in Bengal and for Banga-desha. This yearning and devotion to the home of his boyhood and youth found touching expression in the address which he delivered at the last session, at Gorakhpur, of the Prabasi Banga-Sahitya Sammelan, an annual all-India cultural conference of Bengalis, of which he was one of the sponsors.

He is the author of some books of Bengali poems and songs. He was the founder and first editor of the Bengali monthly magazine *Uttara*, an organ of Bengalis domiciled in the Upper Provinces.

He was one of Bengal's foremost cultural ambassadors to the Ayodhya People's Durbar.

Mr. Brock on Bengal's Financial Condition

Mr. R. W. Brock, late Editor of *Capital*, Calcutta's oldest financial Anglo-Indian (old style) weekly, writing on "Bengal and its Jute Industry" in the July number of *The Asiatic Review*, says :

> Suffice it to say that, in a Province with a population numbering approximately fifty millions, the Provincial Government has a revenue not exceeding £10,000,000 to finance requirements so varied and comprehensive as Police, Education, General Administration, Civil Works, Justice, Medical, Jails, Excise, Public Health, Agriculture, Registration, Stationery and Printing, Forests, and last but not least, Industries. In other words—to quote only one illuminating comparison—under the Montagu-Chelmsford Constitution the Bengal Government was allotted, for all purposes, a smaller sum than the London County Council spends on education alone.

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£10,000,000 at the present rate of exchange is equal to Rs. 133,333,333⅓. For years Bengal's revenue has been very much less than that sum. That is the only inaccuracy in Mr. Brock's statement.

His comparison of Bengal's total *provincial* revenue with the educational expenditure alone of the London County Council is very illuminating. The population of the Administrative County of London is 4,385,825 against Bengal's fifty millions. The London County Council's net educational expenditure in 1933-34 was, according to *Whitaker's Almanac*, £12,169,839. Its net total expenditure on all heads was £28,114,949. Including debt charges, the total was £30,086,394. These sums need not be converted into rupees. One pound sterling is equivalent to Rs. 13⅓.

Mr. Brock continues :

> In effect, under the Meston Settlement, all the expending revenues—such as Customs duties and income-tax—were retained by the Government of India, while most of the Departments calling for larger expenditure were assigned to the Provincial Governments, and, in particular, to the Indian Ministers, such as health, education, agricultural improvements, etc. It was peculiarly unfortunate that in Bengal, as I have already noted, the ministers were left to face the Legislature with empty pockets : a position not conducive either to political popularity or constructive achievement. *Provincial taxation in Bengal was extended to the limits of tolerance and productivity* : but of the total revenues collected in the Province from all sources, about two-thirds were taken by the Central Government, *whose expenditure is mainly incurred outside the Province*, leaving the Provincial Administration only the exiguous income already mentioned. (Italics ours. Ed., *M. R.*)

Those who think that taxation in Bengal is lighter than in other provinces, relatively speaking, ought to reflect on Mr. Brock's words, "Provincial taxation in Bengal was extended to the limits of tolerance and productivity."

The significance of the fact that the Central Government takes away about two-thirds of Bengal's revenues and spends the amounts mainly outside Bengal should be clearly understood. The largest item of expenditure of the Central Government is that incurred on "Defence." As recruits for the army are not, generally speaking, taken from Bengal, nor camp-followers, therefore, for her big contribution to the Central Exchequer Bengal gets no return in the form of salaries paid to these persons. That is only one direction—there are others—in which some other regions are gainers, Bengal is not. Bengal is only made to pay.

Mr. Brock has explained himself more fully in the following paragraph :—

> Calcutta, that is to say, collects revenues which the Delhi Administration distributes—mainly in Upper India. Perhaps the process I refer to can be illustrated most vividly by instancing the yield of the jute export duty. Jute is grown virtually only in Bengal, and in the rural areas is the principal source of income, while in Calcutta jute manufacture is the principal industry. In the last decade, however, the Central Government has collected between £30,000,000 and £40,000,000 by this form of taxation, and has retained the whole amount, *allowing* the provincial Government to finance, for example, even the Agricultural Department, to whose efforts, prior to the world depression, the progressive improvement in the outturn and quality of the jute crop was largely due. Analogously, while the extension of the mill industry in Calcutta threw additional expenditure on the Bengal Government, the Central Government monopolized the revenue from income-tax, which represents the principal method of securing for the state a reasonable percentage of the substantial profits this industry, until recently, has obtained. Here, again, therefore, Bengal was unable to retain any share of the taxation collected within its own borders. Very large sums flowed out : only insignificant rivulet flowed back.

There is quiet unconscious humour in the word "allowing," which we have italicized above. It is indeed very gracious on the part of the Central Government to take all the receipts from the sources mentioned and *allow* the Bengal Government to meet all the expenditure.

Sir N. N. Sircar's Friendliness

The Daily Sun of Bombay has reproduced the following paragraphs from *The National Call* of Delhi, in which last they appeared in "From the Qutab Minar" column :

> I learn that the late Deshabandhu actually died at the Darjeeling residence of the ex-Advocate-General, called "Step Aside" and it was Sir Nripen who made all arrangements for conveying the 'corpse' of the deceased leader to Calcutta.
>
> The story of B. K. Lahiri, however, certainly merits to be told. It was the Law Member, then the Advocate-General, who was responsible for second prosecution of Mr. B. K. Lahiri. The Law Member built up his case effectively and argued so well that B. K. Lahiri was finally convicted. It was later brought to the notice of Sir Nripen that the wife and son of Lahiri would have to beg in the streets for lack of any source of maintenance. Sir Nripen immediately undertook to pay Mrs. Lahiri Rs. 100 per mensem, and employed his son on Rs. 80 in his chambers. The allowance was

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ntinued till the release of Lahiri while the son of Lahiri, I am told, is still in the employ of the Law Member.

RAISING A FUND

Recently Sir Nripen came to know that a government Congress leader who had been ailing in Europe was badly in need of money to carry on his treatment. People seemed reluctant to raise a fund for the leader openly. Sir Nripen, I am told, courageously approached the Governor, and after securing his consent, initiated the raising of a fund. He was able thus to send more than Rs. 15,000 to the patriot in exile, his own being the most substantial contribution.

President Roosevelt's Foreign Policy

In July last in connection with the summer session of the Catholic University of America, Dr. Taraknath Das, the newly appointed lecturer on Far Eastern Affairs of the University, discussed the topic of "Present Tendencies of American Foreign Policy under President Franklin D. Roosevelt," before an audience of members of the faculty and the student-body. Prof. Dr. Herbert Wright, Head of the Department of Politics, presided on the occasion.

Regarding President Roosevelt's policy in Asia, Dr. Das said :

> In Asia, President Roosevelt, by promoting the cause of Philippine Independence, has raised the prestige of American idealism and statesmanship, based upon Justice and Freedom. While professing friendship for China, President Roosevelt does not think it to be wise for the United States to espouse Chinese cause with such enthusiasm as may involve the United States in a war in the Pacific. Regarding American-Japanese relations, he advocates the positive policy of American-Japanese friendship and co-operation, which was the policy of the late President Theodore Roosevelt. He does not approve of a policy of Anglo-American-Chinese-Russian co-operation against Japan, which is advocated by many Chinese, Russian, British and even Americans who have very imperfect knowledge of genuine American interests in Asia. In short, President Roosevelt is determined to pursue a policy of friendship and economic and commercial co-operation with all peoples of Asia which would be of great advantage to the United States and be of substantial aid towards real progress and freedom in Asia.

Pratul Chandra Som

Babu Pratul Chandra Som, who died last month in Calcutta in his 69th year, was not much known outside Brahmo-Samaj circles. He had rendered good service to the cause of religion and social reform as editor of *The Liberal Messenger*, the organ of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. For years his life was one long struggle against poverty, illness and bereavement. He bore all his afflictions with patience and resignation. His knowledge of philosophy—particularly of theology, and of the evolution of the Brahmo Samaj and the

Pratul Chandra Som

religious opinions of Rammohun Roy, Debendranath Tagore and Keshub Chunder Sen stood him in good stead as a writer on those subjects.

The Bombay Devadasi Act

Originally the Devadasis were women attached to Hindu temples in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies. They were supposed to have been married to the god whose idol was kept in the temples and could not therefore marry any human beings. They were carefully trained in music and dancing and were required to sing and dance in the temples before the idols for their entertainment. As time passed they fell from their ideal of purity and became no better than courtesans.

The late Maharani of Mysore abolished the immoral custom of attaching Devadasis to temples in that State but allowed them to keep their lands. A similar reform was afterwards effected by legislation in Madras by Dr. Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddy. Last month the Bombay Council has passed Rao Bahadur Bole's Devadasi Bill.

The late Maharani of Mysore, Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy and Rao Bahadur Bole will be

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remembered by posterity as benefactors of Hindu society and promoters of social purity.

Calcutta Corporation's Publicity Department

Much good work is being done by the Calcutta Corporation's Publicity Department, which was established in 1932. Since its establishment it has undertaken different kinds of propaganda work to bring home to the inhabitants of Calcutta their civic responsibilities and duties. It publishes illustrated booklets, leaflets and posters. It possesses an efficient and trained staff of lecturers. Up to the end of March 1934 they delivered 533 lectures, illustrated with lantern slides. The lectures delivered are in Bengali, Hindi and Urdu, no charge being made for them. The Department possesses slides on 27 subjects, including the principal diseases. It has a cinema machine and three films on small-pox, cholera and malaria. On previous information being given to the Department, free cinema shows may be arranged in any public place. It also organizes peripatetic health exhibitions, with a large number of charts and models. In addition to organizing its own exhibitions, the Department has supplied charts and models to other exhibitions in Calcutta and arranged for their proper display and demonstrations. The total number of its illustrated posters is 30. The booklets and posters are supplied free. Besides all the above the Department publishes an illustrated monthly bulletin in Bengali named "Sree." It is supplied free to all institutions in Calcutta.

City of Birmingham Handbook, 1934

While noticing the activities of the Publicity Department of the Calcutta Municipality in the foregoing note, we were constantly reminded of the excellent Handbook for 1934 of the City of Birmingham which we have received for review and which has been noticed in this issue in the section devoted to reviews and notices of books.

Our notice of it does not give an adequate idea of this Handbook. We would ask all municipal authorities in India to get a copy of it from the City of Birmingham Information Bureau, Birmingham, England, in order to be able to set before themselves a model of what municipalities should and can do and in how many directions.

On Encouraging Sanskrit Studies

The Hon. Mr. Justice Manmatha Nath Mukherji, Acting Chief Justice of Bengal (till the 30th of August last), who by the by enjoys the unique distinction of being the only permanent or acting Chief Justice who was not knighted, presided at the annual convocation of the Bengal Sanskrit Association on the 26th August last. This body examined on the last occasion some 11,000 students of Sanskrit and conferred titles on those who were successful. There are more than 2,000 *tols* or Sanskrit seminaries. These facts make the Association somewhat like an examining university.

After tracing the history of the Association the president said :

> As a result of the grim financial outlook which faces the University graduates and the economic strain which they have to undergo in going through a full course of English education the number of 'tols' in the country has been gradually increasing. If this increase continues we would have an enormous population of Sanskrit students within a short time. It would be a matter of national economy if by a comparatively small help the large mass of students growing into manhood may be utilized by the society and the country.
>
> Unless and until the Sanskrit students can have at least the scope of earning a modest livelihood it is reasonable to suppose that Sanskrit education will not attract the better class of students.
>
> We are often told that our examination standard should be high. We appreciate the criticism and have recommended the introduction of Mahacharyya title examination for the selected few who may compete for it. But at the same time it can again be said that the general body of students who are recruited from amongst the comparatively less brilliant sons of pandits cannot be expected to show much proficiency in the different paths of Sanskrit studies. If we scare away the unlucky and proverty-stricken students who have come to the Sanskrit line mostly or mainly because they are unable to meet the expenses of English education, the result will be disastrous.
>
> The educational grant of Government is far from sufficient to meet the real educational needs of the country and it will probably remain so for a long time to come. But I desire to press once the attention of the Hon. Minister the question whether, under the circumstances, Sanskrit studies may not be encouraged and made fruitful by giving comparatively increased assistance.
>
> All the recommendations of the Sanskrit College Committee which involve financial assistance, are but just the minimum demand of the pandits, a section of the people who are extremely loyal to Government and who exert a stabilizing influence

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different from the modern spirit of students of University who are brought up in the Western schools. I fervently urge upon Sanskrit scholars and students and upon the public in general to operate with us in convincing the Government that measures may be adopted for ameliorating the condition of the Sanskrit studies and of suffering Sanskrit studies in the cause of the nation.

Concluding the president said :

I find great satisfaction in observing that a Brahmin girl attached to the research department of the Sanskrit College has been admitted to the Vidyatirtha title for the first time. She is the first recipient of the Ghosh Travelling Fellowship [of the Calcutta University] and is proceeding to Oxford for D. Phil. degree. I am also very glad to have to tell you that a Mahomedan student has taken the highest degree in Kavya this year.

Miss Sakuntala Rao

The girl referred to is Miss Sakuntala M.A., of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, was carefully brought up by the late Dr. Mrs. Hem Chandra Sarkar, and has and the M.A. examination of the Calcutta sity in two subjects successively.

Principal Surendranath Dasgupta, M. A., of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, who is the Secretary of the Bengal Sanskrit Association, complained in the course of his address that their examination standards are not high enough.

"It is true," he said, "that the number of 'tol' students has been gradually increasing, but the quality of students is deplorably going down.

"The reasons for this are, (1) mostly the less intelligent sons are sent in for education in 'tols' and yet the acquirement of Sanskrit requires the keenest intellect, (2) pandits are busy in acquiring their livelihood by other means and have no time to teach their students properly, (3) the students, therefore, hardly come to the examination hall after having read the whole text and they are sent in by their teachers for the sake of the stipends granted to teachers when their students pass, (4) students are often picked up from schools and colleges and the important passages are marked for them and they are somehow dished up for the examinations.

"In such a condition it is idle to expect that they should have any wisdom or depth in the shastras which require powers of mature and keen thinking with a full command of the Sanskrit language."

It is to be hoped that steps will be taken to get a better class of students and to educate them more efficiently.

We have a suggestion to make in a different direction. The education given to students in the *tols* is entirely academic, perhaps fit for the world as it was in days gone by. We would earnestly request the Bengal Sanskrit Association to make it a little more modern. We suggest that the students be taught ordinary and mental arithmetic, geography and history of Bengal and India (Hindu-Buddhist period). Those who would go up for the highest, *i.e.*, the Mahacharya title examination, might be required to have a knowledge of the late Bhudeb Mukhopadhyaya's *Purabrittasar* (history of the world outside India in ancient times).

Sir N. N. Sircar on Untouchability in Bengal

SIMLA, Aug. 27

With reference to the report circulated by a news agency to the effect that the Law Member, in his speech on the Temple Entry Bill, said that "in the speaker's own province (Bengal) untouchability was rigorously and severely observed," the "United Press" has been authorized by Sir N. N. Sircar to state that the report was incorrect and misleading, as it was inconsistent with the views he had propounded in the Round Table Conference.

What he said was that untouchability was observed more rigorously between the untouchables themselves and as a case in point he cited a recent event at Jorhat in Assam where at a temple-opening ceremony some untouchables left the place as they

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found other untouchables of a class lower than themselves coming to take part in the function. —(United Press.)

Freight-War Threatens Indian Shipping

In a well-reasoned statement Mr. Shariff Hussain, president of the Association of Small Steamship Companies of Bombay, describes the hardships of Indian shipping companies caused by the freight-war waged against them by some British companies. Says he :

> The war is becoming keener and keener day after day and rates from Bombay and Karachi have been reduced by 75 per cent to 90 per cent and even more than that. The rate from Rangoon to Bhavnagar was Rs. 9-8-0 and the Conference is now carrying rice to that port at Rs. 2 per ton.

Owing to this terrible rate-cutting Indian shipping requires protection. But in answer to a question asked the other day in the Legislative Assembly the Government reply was that the matter was under consideration. But it is the duty of the Government to see that the consideration stage and the life of Indian shipping companies do not terminate simultaneously. As the Government is a government *of India*, the welfare of Indian shipping should receive its first and foremost attention, just as the interests of the shipping of other countries are looked after as one of their primary duties by their national governments.

That Communal Decision !

Like the poor, the communal decision bids fair to be always with us. For, like Goldsmith's village pedagogue, there are men who, "even though vanquished, could argue still." They say, as the decision given by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, known in India as Ramji MacDonald and Rahimji MacDonald among Muslims and Hindus respectively, was an arbitral award, neither Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya nor anybody else has the right to call it in question.

But the fact is, it has been shown conclusively again and again that it was not an arbitral award, it was a decision given by the Prime Minister on behalf of the British Government. That Government never calls it an award, but only a decision.

In his presidential address at the Bombay and Suburban Hindu Sabha Conference, held on the 23rd June last, Dr. B. S. Moonje dealt exhaustively with the matter. That address has been printed in pamphlet form. Dr. Moonje's discussion of the subject occupies about ten pages of the pamphlet and cannot, therefore, be reproduced here. But those who want to know all about it should read those pages.

They should also read Sir N. N. Sircar's pamphlet entitled, "Is the Communal Decision an Arbitral Award ?", included in the book, *Sir N. N. Sircar's Speeches and Pamphlets.*

Steel Protection Bill Passed

The Steel Protection Bill has been passed without a division. It is a remarkable achievement, as it protects British steel, while professing to protect Indian steel. It is an outcome of the imperial preference policy of the British Government. That policy is likely to provoke international commercial animosities and tariff wars.

The Tatas have another chance now of running their gigantic concern as to be able to stand foreign competition without protection.

Khan Abdul Gaffur Khan and his Brother Released

Khan Abdul Gaffur Khan, originator and leader of the Red Coat movement in the N.-W. F. Province, and his elder brother Dr. Khan Saheb have been released from Hazaribagh jail, where they had been detained under Frontier Regulations. This is a commendable step on the part of the Government. But by ordering them not to proceed to the Panjab or to the Frontier Province Government has considerably spoiled the impression produced by their release.

Why Not Release Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose was at no time at the head of any movement like the Red Coat movement in the Frontier Province. A question was asked in the Legislative Assembly as to whether it was true that when the papers against him were shown to the late Advocate-General of Bengal, now the Law Member, he said there was no case against him, but no reply was given from the side of

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Government. That implied a reply in affirmative. The Home Member has, no doubt, repeatedly said that Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose was deeply implicated in the terrorist movement. But where is the proof? A mere assertion without proof, repeated a million times, would not make it true. If he was *deeply* implicated, it should be easy to prove his guilt in a law-court.

All persons detained without trial are entitled to be considered innocent.

It has been often said in justification of their arrest and detention without trial that the evidence against them was examined by two judges. It does not matter to what category of judges they belonged. Even if Privy Council judges examine the evidence produced by one party against another, if they do not have the opportunity of examining the evidence on both sides, and if Counsel on both sides do not help the judges by cross-examination of witnesses, if any, and by discussion of the laws and legal principles involved, the decision of even such judges cannot be considered convincing. Hence, when it is argued that the evidence against persons detained without trial has been examined by two judges, that is no proof of their guilt. On the contrary, any judge who agrees to base his opinion on *ex parte* evidence shows thereby that he is unfit for judicial work.

It has been sometimes said that persons kept under detention because of their being suspected to be terrorists cannot be brought to trial, as the lives of the witnesses against them would be in danger from the revengeful feelings of fellow-terrorists still at large. But there has been plenty of trials and convictions of terrorists and conspirators without any of the witnesses being killed or even attacked. It may be fairly presumed that in criminal cases tried publicly the prosecutors are more successful in collecting evidence and starting prosecution than in the case of detenus and their cases, in which the evidence, *if any*, can never be challenged. But even in the case of criminal cases tried openly by judges, there is no cent per cent conviction, but very much less. Hence it is not unfair to presume the innocence of at least the majority of those detained without trial. Let us quote from the Bengal Police Administration Report for 1932 (that for 1933 has not yet been received), page 15, to prove our point.

> "27. **Convictions in cognizable cases and number of persons convicted.**(*a*) *In all cases decided.*—The total number of cognizable cases instituted before magistrates and the police under classes I to V, including cases pending from 1931, was 92,584 against 94,585 last year, a decrease of 2,001 cases. Of the total number of cases instituted, 28,425 or 30.7 per cent were tried in court, against 27,493 or 29 per cent in 1931, and convictions were obtained in 45.9 per cent, against 45.2 per cent.
>
> "The number of persons brought to trial was 58,053, against 54,986 in 1931, of whom 23,637 or 40.7 per cent were convicted, against 21,572 or 39.2 per cent in the previous year."

Cases under Classes I to V are offences against the State, public tranquillity, safety and justice, serious offences against the person, serious offences against persons and property or against property only, and so on.

Indian Institute of Deutsche Akademie Scholarships

The Indian Institute of the Deutsche Akademie is glad to announce the award of 21 new scholarships for the academic year 1934-35 to the following Indian graduate students who are to carry on higher studies in various German universities :—

Dresden Engineering University.—Mr. A. K. Ghosh, M. Sc., (chemistry).

Freiburg Mining University.—Mr. B. C. Roy, B. Sc., (applied geology).

Hamburg University.—Mr. C. D. Dwarkanath, L. I. M. (medicine). Mr. S. G. Joshi, M. B. B. S., (medicine) ; and Mr. S. K. Sharma, M. A., (Sanskrit).

Heidelberg University.—Mr. K. P. Mukhopadhyay, M. A., B. L., (political science and economy).

Mohenheim Agricultural University.—Mr. B. K. Kar, M. Sc., (botany). T. V. G. Menon, B. A., B. Sc., (Agriculture). Mr. Y. V. Sreenivasa Rao, M. Sc., (plant physiology).

Jena University.—Miss P. B. Devi, B. Sc., (physical culture). Mr. D. C. Lahiri, M. B. (medicine) ; Mr. T. R. Kannappan Naicker, M. A., L. T., (physics).

Murburg University.—Mr. S. Vahiduddin, B. A. (philosophy).

Munich University.—Mr. I. R. Barua, M. B. B. S., (medicine) ; Miss A. M. Jansz, B. A. (economics and political science) ; Mr. G. Kadambi, M. Sc., (mathematics and statistics) ; Mr. A. K. Mittra, assistant at the anthropological laboratory, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Stuttgart Engineering University.—Mr. D. R. Mehta, B. Sc., (pharmaceutical chemistry) ; Mr. R. Ramamohan Rao, B. E. (civil engineering).

Tubingen University.—Mr. A. S. Gupta, M. B., B. S., (medicine).

Allianz Scholarship (tenable at the University of Munich).—Mr. Satayaketu Vidyalankar, professor of history, Gurukul University, Hardwar.

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Dr. Hira Lal

An appreciation of the late Rai Bahadur Dr. Hira Lal by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has been printed on another page in this issue. He was a distinguished scholar, archæologist and author. When he presided over the Oriental Conference at Patna in December, 1930, extracts from his address were printed in *The Modern Review* for January, 1931. It was a comprehensive survey of the entire field of oriental learning. As chairman of the reception committee of that session of the Oriental Conference, Mr. Jayaswal pronounced the following eulogy on Dr. Hira Lal :

> Mr. Hira Lal has been one of those workers whose results must go down to future generations. As today we cannot do without quoting Cunningham and Buhler, Kielhorn and Fleet, Bhagwan Lal and Bhandarkar, Rajendralala and Haraprasad Sastri, so in future scholars of Indian History must cite Rakhaldas Banerjee and Mr. Hira Lal. These two names stand out in the generation following that of Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar and Dr. Haraprasad Sastri. Mr. R. D. Banerjee and Mr. Hira Lal have filled up chapters of Indian History of which we knew mere outlines when we inherited Indology after Fleet and Kielhorn. There is not a single branch of Indology which Rai Bahadur Hira Lal has not enriched.

At a condolence meeting held in Allahabad under the presidency of Mm. Dr. Ganganath Jha tributes were paid to the deceased.

> Dr. P. K. Acharya paid an eloquent tribute to the learning of the late Dr. Hira Lal, who, he said, had travelled in different European countries in connection with his researches. Dr. Babu Ram Saksena said that the late doctor was a great scholar of Prakrit, Pali and Sanskrit and he carried out researches specially in Prakrit and ancient Jain works.
>
> Dr. Jha, in the course of his brief presidential remarks, referred to the works of the late Dr. Hira Lal, which, he said, were of lasting value. He expressed the hope that young men would work on the lines laid down by the departed scholar.

Indian Footballers in Africa

In the course of an article on the Indian Footballers in South Africa which Mr. B. B. Sarkar has sent us from Mombasa but which reached us too late for publication, he writes :

"On their way back to India they landed at Mombasa and accepted a challenge from the Mombasa European football-players, who, let it be said to their credit, are free from the South African prejudiced mentality. The Indian Footballers played exceedingly well and defeated the European Team by 5 goals to nil. The match was highly enjoyed by a large crowd of about 8,000 spectators. The game being over, even the Africans of Mombasa, in profound appreciation, shook hands with them and congratulated them on their marvellous success. They were heard saying : '*Wema, wa kuteza vijana vya Bombay,*' which means, 'Well done, the youths of India, they have played exceedingly well.' Some of them were heard chattering with overjoy that the Indian Footballers have won through magic in the extraordinary process of their game."

We are glad that our footballers gave a good account of themselves in Africa.

Liberals' Condemnation of White Paper

At a meeting of the Council of the National Liberal Federation of India held in Allahabad on the 26th August last, it reiterated with special emphasis the resolution on the White Paper passed at the 14th session of the Federation held in Calcutta in 1933. Extracts from it are given below.

> The National Liberal Federation of India records its sense of profound disappointment at the 'Proposals of Indian Constitutional Reform' embodied in the White Paper of March 15, 1933. The proposals do not advance India to the status of a Dominion and nowhere is there even a mention of this as the objective. They are overweighted with safe-guards which are informed by distrust of Indians and which are not only not 'demonstrably in the interests of India during a transitional period', but are much more in the interests of the United Kingdom. These proposals make no real and substantial transference of power to responsible Indian Governments.
>
> The Federation desires to make it clear once again that no scheme of reforms can meet India's requirements or satisfy Indian national aspirations or allay political discontent which does not confer the full status and power of a dominion on India within a short period fixed by statute.
>
> While the Federation consents to the reservation for only a fixed transitional period of the subject of defence in the hands of the Governor-General, it cannot approve of the proposals in this behalf embodied in the White Paper, as they will retain complete control in the hands of the Secretary of State. It strongly disapproves of the non-acceptance of a clear policy regarding the complete transfer of the army to Indian control at the end of the period of transition.
>
> The Federation reiterates the resolution passed at its previous session against separate communal electorates and deeply regrets the further perpetua-

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tion for the time being of such electorates not only as between Hindus and Mahomedans but also between different classes of the Hindus themselves under arrangements proposed for the new constitution. This Federation reaffirms the opinion that equitable representation of important minorities will best be secured by reservation of seats with reasonable weightage, wherever necessary, in joint electorates.

Autonomy in the Field of the Fine Arts"

Those who are specialists, experts or enthusiasts in any sphere of life naturally attach greater importance to it than ordinary people who are not. It is natural for the former to think that before our people have proved their fitness in that particular sphere they cannot achieve success in some other sphere. We do not find fault with them for thinking in this way. If a nation contains all the necessary groups, each of which lays the most stress on some particular excellence, the nation as a whole is benefited by the exertions of the different groups. But there must be in the nation others also to appreciate the fact that different lines of advance are interdependent. There was a time, for example, when there were social reformers who thought that Indians cannot expect to have political power before they have thoroughly reformed Indian society. That is, no doubt, one side of the truth. But it is also true that many social evils cannot be combated unless the people have political power. Hence efforts for social advancement and political advancement must go on simultaneously. Cultural endeavours also must go on simultaneously with the fight for economic, political and social freedom.

With these prefatory words we wish to draw attention to what Mr. O. C. Gangoly said at the reception given on the 9th of August last to Mr. Timir Baran Bhattacharya, the musician, on his return from his tour in Europe and America "to vinidicate the claims of Indian music before the connoisseurs of the west." Mr. Gangoly said, in part :

Personally, I whole-heartedly believe in the doctrine that before we can achieve autonomy in the field of the Fine Arts, we can never attain self-government in the realm of politics. A nation which is unable to honour the national artists, a nation which has lost the faculty of realizing the spiritual gifts of the national arts, cannot be said to have earned fitness for self-government. Swaraj is an idle dream to a people who have not developed all the phases of national life.

From another point of view, only those amongst us are best fitted to present to the eyes of foreigners the highest products of Indian culture and civilization who are the custodians of Indian Art and culture. A nation's fitness and capacity can best be judged by the artistic talents of the people, by the efficiency of their poets, artists and musicians. I therefore believe that the Indian artists' missions to foreign countries are of much more value and significance than the undignified stampedes to the Round Tables, or the petty political pilgrimages to Europe and America. The mission of the artists like Mr. Timir Baran Bhattacharya and his associates cannot be said to be of any less value than the political missions of Subhas Chandra Bose or Sarojini Naidu.

We are, therefore, personally grateful to Udaya Shankar, Timir Baran, and their associates, for the rich laurels that they have won for India in foreign countries. They have helped to heighten the values of our national culture, in the estimation of others. They have, therefore, richly deserved our cordial greetings and our grateful acknowledgment for this valuable national service.

These words of Mr. Gangoly contain much truth, though they are not the whole of the truth.

No Equality for Indian Officers

The Army Amendment Bill was passed in the Legislative Assembly by a majority of only three votes, 51 being for and 48 against it. Sir Abdur Rahim's amendment wanted a statutory provision to be inserted in it laying down the general principle that the status and opportunities for promotion, the powers of command, rank and precedence of Indian commissioned officers in the Indian army will be the same as those of "British" officers in the Indian Army in all units and formations. Forty-six members voted for and forty-nine against it. So it was lost. The Government could not have obtained even these narrow majorities if there had not been among the members seekers of re-nomination by Government, if there were not some who had no hope of being re-elected, if all elected members had been dutifully present, if all had voted inspired by a sense of national honour and sense of duty to the country, and if Sir Joseph Bhore had not threatened that Government would drop the Bill if Sir Abdur Rahim's amendment were carried. We do not know whether there were any members who were led to vote in favour

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of the Bill by Sir Joseph Bhore's assurance that a provision would be made in the Regulations for complete reciprocity of powers and privileges within the Indian army as between Indian commissioned officers and British officers of the Indian army.

There is an evident desire among Englishmen that British military officers should not serve under Indian military officers, though some British civilians have served under some Indian civilians and some may be doing so still. It may be pointed out, however, that in pre-mutiny days, under the rule of the East India Company, British military officers used to serve under Indian commandants.

Our readers will be able to understand the true character and object of the Bill which has now been passed, if they read Mr. Nirad Chandra Chaudhuri's article in the present issue on "The Present Stage of Indianization."

The Saar Problem

According to a *Reuter's* telegram,

Berlin, Aug. 26.

Herr Hitler was tumultuously welcomed by Nazi crowds when, accompanied by Dr. Goebbels, he arrived by motor-boat from Cologne at the Fortress of Ehrenbreitstein, near Coblenz, this afternoon to launch the German campaign for the return of the Saar in view of the plebiscite thereon on January 15, 1935.

Herr Hitler, in a broadcast speech, declared, "If the world outside Germany attacks us, it is because we are defending the interest of our people. An international clique wants everything that harms us, but I tell the grumblers that nothing will ever force us down. In no circumstances shall we ever capitulate. The greater our distress, the greater our strength. The German people will survive the next thousand years as they have survived the past."

Addressing the Saar people, Herr Hitler assured them when the hour came that they would be welcomed into the Fatherland. The German policy with regard to the Saar would be reconciliation regardless of former Party-membership and improvement of the economic foundations of the Saar, which they would chain more closely to the German Reich.

The Saar question was the only one still open between Germany and France and once it was settled he hoped they would be able to conclude sincere peace with France.

The article on the Saar Plebiscite, printed in this issue elsewhere, tells the reader what the Saar problem is.

Early Hindu Architecture

The subject of Indian architecture has been receiving some publicity for some time past. That is good. But people should know what early Indian architecture was. It was no crude primitive thing, but a highly developed art. Professor Dr. Prasanna Kumar Acharya's five monumental volumes on Hindu architecture, giving among other things the text and translation of Mānasāra, the standard work on architecture, published by the Oxford University, supplies abundant information. Those who have had no access to them will have some glimpses of the subject from the Professor's article published in the present issue.

Non-Indian Exploitation of India's Resources

Cawnpore, Aug. 27.

The Indian mercantile communities, it is understood, propose to make a representation to the Government of India in connection with the Government's policy of granting concession to non-Indian concerns for working up and exploiting the resources of India. This question will come up for discussion before different Indian Chambers of Commerce. This policy is not justifiable as it is bound to kill Indian enterprise and drain away India's wealth. Indian commercial classes, if given an opportunity, are in a position to work out the scheme and invest large sums of money for carrying out such enterprises.—United Press.

This obviously refers to the "Imperial Chemicals," a British Company with Lord Reading as its chairman, to which the Government of India has given or proposes to give fifty years' monopoly of some mineral resources in the Panjab. The scheme was launched without the knowledge of the Indian Legislature and was brought to light by Mr. B. Das, an Orissa M. L. A.

Miss Mayo to Visit India Again?

Simla, Aug. 28.

Sir Henry Craik, answering Mr. Bhupat Singh, admitted that he had seen a Press report to the effect that Miss Mayo proposed to visit India, but no request for a visa for India had so far been referred to the Government.

Mr. Bhupat Singh asked: "Are the Government aware of the deep resentment felt by Indians against her on account of her past activities?"

Sir Henry Craik: I am aware that her book entitled "Mother India" had aroused resentment.

Mr. Bhupat Singh suggested that the Government should not allow her to land in India.

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Sir Henry Craik: "I must draw attention to my statement that no request for visa for India has so far been referred to us."

Mr. Gayaprasad Singh asked: "Will the Government give her assistance, as they did last time, by allowing her to stay in the Government House and giving her access to Government records?"

Sir Henry Craik: "That is a hypothetical question. We are not aware of the object of her proposed visit."

Mr. Gayaprasad: "Last time some officers were deputed to give her assistance."

Sir Henry Craik was heard to reply that Miss Mayo was not given any more courtesy than was shown to tourists.

Mr. Vidyasagar Pandya alluded to the public acknowledgment by Miss Mayo that she could not have brought out her book without the help received from the Government.

Sir Henry Craik: "I am not aware of that."

—Associated Press.

Sir Henry Craik did not say that if Miss Mayo asked for a visa for India it would be refused. Perhaps he knows how a certain British journalist was treated in Germany because he was doing secretly what Germans do not like. He may also have read the following:

AMERICAN WOMAN JOURNALIST TO LEAVE GERMANY

Berlin, Aug. 25.

The American journalist Dorothy Thompson, wife of the novelist, Sinclair Lewis, who has been living here for the past week, has been ordered by the Secret Police to leave Germany within 24 hours on grounds of her "numerous anti-German publications in the American Press which, for reasons of national self-respect, makes it impossible to grant her further hospitality in Germany."

The German Consul-General informed that the order was based chiefly upon the interview which Dorothy Thompson had with Herr Hitler in 1932.

Dorothy Thompson in an interview to "Reuter," said, "I protest against the charge that anything I have written emanated from hostility to Germany."

American journalists are urging the American Ambassador to take action in the matter.—Reuter.

Sinclair Lewis is a Nobel-Prize-winner. His wife is a lady of some consequence.

"American journalists are urging the American Ambassador to take action in the matter." They are free to do so. But should they not, for the honour of their country, ask the Government to prevent females like Miss Mayo from coming to India?

Sir Henry Craik has said Miss Mayo was not given any more courtesy than was shown to tourists. But are all or most or an appreciable number of tourists accommodated in Governors' palaces and are arrangements officially made for their visits to various persons and places?

Caste Civil Marriage

Allahabad, (By Mail)

Though inter-caste marriages are usually registered under the Civil Marriages Act. III of 1872, a notice has been received by Prof. A. C. Banerji, Registrar of Marriages under the Act under reference, of a caste marriage being proposed to be held under that Act. The parties to the proposed marriage are Mr. Bibhuti Bhushan Bajpai, B.A., a son of Pandit Shri Ram Bajpai of the Servants of India Society, and Miss Sushila Debi Dikshit, a student of B.A. class, Benares Hindu University and daughter of Pandit Hira Lal Dikshit of Farrukhabad. The notice of marriage was given to the Registrar of Marriages a few days ago. The marriage takes place on September 1 next.

Pandit Shri Ram Bajpai has chosen to celebrate his son's marriage under the Civil Marriages Act as it gives greater privileges and rights to a woman than the Hindu Law.

Detenus Allowed to Sit for Examinations

The Senate of the Calcutta University has done the right thing in allowing fifty detenus to appear at the I. A., B. A., or Preliminary Law Examination of the Calcutta University as non-collegiate students.

President von Hindenburg

The death of Field-Marshal Paul von Beneekendorf und von Hindenburg, President of the German Reich, in his eighty-seventh year, brings to a close a very remarkable career. The fact that he died in his saddle is rather uncommon, because, at a period of life when men are apt to spend their time in retirement and obscurity, he made history, and, a part of the time, was the central figure in that history.

Journalists' Wages in U. S. A.

The New Republic of New York writes:

Willard G. Bleyer, director of the School of Journalism of the University of Wisconsin, has complained in the pages of The Quill of the low salaries permitted in the newspaper code. He points out that in cities of less than 25,000 (where two-thirds of all dailies are published) a reporter or editor may be paid as little as $12 a week, or in the case of a learner, $8.40. . . . Any occupation that pays even its apprentices wages so low as $8.40 a week

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cannot possibly rank as a profession. It is only a sweated trade.

What do our journalists in India say ?

Self-government for Inner Mongolia

The People's Tribune of China writes :

In the realisation of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen's aim of local self-government for the people of China, and in particular connection with the rights of racial minorities to rule themselves, the extension of self-government to the Mongol areas of Chahar and Suiyuan, under Chinese sovereignty, is a real step ahead. Years ago this was looked forward to by the Inner Mongolian Kuo-Min Tang, but the rapaciousness of provincial officials and land speculators who dominated the four North-Eastern provinces prevented the realisation of the plan. But now, at long last, it is possible to achieve in such areas of Inner Mongolia as still remain under Chinese sovereignty, and is being made a reality today.

The journal adds :

The establishment of Autonomous Mongolia is not a concession, but an achievement, for the National Government. It means the realisation of something of Dr. Sun's old principle of local self-determination and self-government for this racial minority. It means the granting of a far more genuine autonomy than the Mongols possess in the much-advertised "autonomous Hsingan province" of Puppetkuo, as autonomous Mongolia under Chinese sovereignty has its capital in its own territory, its governing council is composed wholly of Mongols (though under a supervisor appointed by the National Government), and it is subject to no outside "Board of General Affairs."

It is not to be claimed that the rule of the Mongol princes is an ideal one. A more democratic régime is certainly called for, especially as these petty tribal rulers, with their flair for absolutism and aristocracy, tend to be influenced by the new "Manchu Empire" to the east, and the most potent weapon against this is the solidarity of the common people among the Mongols. But democratisation can be realised in time, just as in purely Chinese districts of the country . . . . . .

The interests of the people—whether Mongol or Chinese—are and must be paramount.

International Council of Women

The International Council of Women, which has for its motto, "Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you," was founded in 1888 in the United States of America with the aim of strengthening and co-ordinating feminist activity by federating the various associations working for the improvement of the position of women and for social progress.

It has for its object to establish a permanent link between the women's organizations of the different countries, thus making it possible for them to work together for the improvement of the material and moral position of women and by common action to help towards the establishment of peace between nations.

Gradually the influence of this first little group of Councils spread until a federation of women's organizations was formed in more than 40 countries under the name of National Council of Women; these again united to form the International Council of Women. This International Council represents to-day more than 40 million women bound together by their desire for peace and social progress.

At the Council meeting held in London in 1899 it was decided to include questions dealing with Peace and Arbitration in the programme of work of the International Council of Women. At the Meeting held in Berlin in 1904 the "Committee for the Equal Moral Standard and against the Traffic in Women" was formed, and ever since, under the chairmanship of Madame Avril de Sainte-Croix, this Committee has taken an active part in the crusade against the traffic in women and children and for the improvemen of moral conditions in the world. This same Council meeting in Berlin saw the beginning of that big international organization, now known as the International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship. Plenary meetings of the International Council of Women have been held at Washington, Chicago, London, Berlin, Toronto, Rome, Oslo, and again at Washington.

There are ten international Committees, namely, Legislation, Education, Trades and Professions, Equal Moral Standard, Public Health, Migration, Child Welfare, Suffrage, Peace and Press, and also three Sub-Committees—Arts, Letters and Cinema.

National Council of Women in India

The National Council of Women in India is affiliated to the International Council of Women described in the foregoing note. The motto of both is the same. We have received the fourth biennial report of India's council. It contains much useful information. The headquarters of the Central Executive Committee is situated in Calcutta. The office-bearers of the Committee are :

Chairman—Lady Ezra.
Vice-Chairman—The Maharani Sucharu Devi of Mourbanj, Mrs. S. R. Das.
Hon. Treasurer—Mrs. E. J. Judah.
Hon. General Secretary—Mrs. Keron Bose, 4, Shambunath Pundit's Street, Elgin Rd. P. O. Calcutta.
Hon. Asst. Secretary—Mrs. K. P. Basu.

The National Council of Women in India has been organized to represent without distinction women of all races and nationalities whatsoever, who are resident in India. Its objects are :

(1) To promote sympathy of thought and purpose among Women in India. (2) To associate Women of all communities in India for the promotion of the welfare of women and children, social, civic, moral and educational. (3) To co-ordinate both nationally and locally organisations in harmony with these purposes. (4) To work for the removal of

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all disabilities of women, whether legal, economic or social, and to promote such conditions of life as will assure to every child an opportunity for full and free development. (5) To form a link with the National Council of Women in other countries through the International Council of Women.

The total number of Provincial Councils affiliated bodies is 8, representing about societies and about 8,201 members. These Councils have done much good work, be found described in the Report.

On behalf of the National Council of Women in India two delegates to the Executive Meetings of the International Council of Women at Stockholm attended those meetings. They are Mrs. R. C. Gupta and Mrs. Keron Bose. Their interesting reports are included in the fourth biennial report of the Council.

Mettur Dam

The Madras Presidency is to be congratulated on the completion and opening of the Mettur Dam, which is considered the biggest single piece of masonry ever constructed across a river in any part of the world. It has cost some five crores of rupees. With the waters of the Cauvery, distributed through canals, some three lakhs of square miles are expected to be brought under irrigation by this project. Hydro-electrical schemes connected with the Dam are expected to give a great impetus to industries in some districts of Madras and in Mysore. Probably the electrification ofrural areas may be successfully attempted by their means.

Ottawa Agreement Injures India

MADRAS, *Aug. 10.*

The Southern India Chamber of Commerce in the course of a lengthy communication to the secretary of the Federation of the Indian Chambers on the Ottawa Agreement says that the Ottawa Agreement has now turned the scales against India. It is progressively subjecting India to helpless dependence on trade with the United Kingdom and steadily alienating other countries. The chamber has also addressed a telegram to the committee appointed by the Assembly to examine the results of the agreement requesting them to publish Government's report placed before them and have it circulated to the commercial bodies before discussing and coming to conclusions thereon. The Government, it is understood, have expressed that they have no objection to the committee doing so.

The Sino-Indian Cultural Society

We have received a booklet, entitled "The Sino-Indian Cultural Society," containing preface, preamble, regulations and programme. Broadly speaking, the object of the Society, with which we are in full sympathy, is the promotion of "the resumption of the interchange of Indian and Chinese cultures." Prof. Tan Yun-shan, who has sponsored the scheme, recently read a paper at Santiniketan on cultural interchange between India and China. In it his idea is developed in full.

Centenary of Abolition of Slavery

One hundred years and a month ago, slavery was abolished in British territory by a Royal Proclamation which ran :

> Be it enacted that all and every the persons who on the first day of August, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, shall be holden in slavery within any such British Colony as aforesaid shall upon and from and after the first day of August, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, become and be to all intents and purposes free and discharged of and from all manner of slavery, and shall be absolutely and for ever manumitted.

It was a most memorable event. The memory of Wilberforce and other philanthropists who worked for the abolition of slavery from entirely altruistic motives will for ever remain enshrined in the heart of humanity.

The actual abolition of slavery had an "economic" motive also behind it.

It is a grievous reality that slavery—actual slavery—still exists in different parts of the world. And slavery also prevails in disguised forms in Africa.

Political servitude is not exactly like slavery. But until political servitude disappears along with slavery, from all parts of the world, advocates of freedom cannot enjoy rest. They will, in fact, have to work for economic, social and religious freedom also.

The Task of Sport in the World

Olympic Games—New Service of Berlin reproduces the following passage from the speech of Count Baillet-Latour, President of the International Olympic Committee, delivered on the occasion of the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the modern Olympic Games on May 20, 1934, in the stadium at Athens :

> "It must be realised that the Olympic Games are not arranged merely for a small group of selected highly trained Athletes, in order to afford them an opportunity of astounding the world with their prowess. The "Record" is one of the idols of our

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present civilization and it is high time that a return was made to broader achievements. With the help of the authorities, the International Sport Federations and the National Olympic Committees attempts must be made to maintain the educational character of the Games—even if it is necessary to sacrifice this idol "Record," even if it is necessary to do without those who would participate in the games more from the desire to win than from love of sport.

New efforts will bring new results, and the olympism restored by Coubertin will prolong the short armistice—which, according to the ancient custom was always enforced for the period of the Games—into a lasting peace. The young generation, permeated with our principles will do their part to create amongst the Peoples that atmosphere of sincerity and chivalry which dominates the Olympic teams. Under the shield of the Olympic Games Sport has fulfilled the tasks set by the World, and will continue to fulfil them.

The same Berlin bulletin says :

The Honorary Secretary of the Afghanistan Olympic Committee, Colonel Sardar Abdul Khan of Kabul has informed the Organization Committee for the XI. Olympic Games that his country accepts the invitation to participate in the Games and will be represented by a Hockey and a track and field team.

Viceroy's Address to Indian Legislature

If the Viceroy had not delivered his address to the Indian Legislature that he did on the 29th August last, the Indian public would not have been less wise or enlightened than they are after its delivery.

He referred to the Indian Legislature as "this Parliament." Parliament indeed !

Lord Willingdon began his address by thanking the members for the assistance given to his Government during the past four years in passing into law many very important measures that had been brought before them during the period of life of this Parliament, which would shortly be coming to a close.

His Excellency's thanks were quite sincere. The members of the Legislature have really subserved British imperialistic and economic objects by passing repressive and other laws.

Speaking on British goodwill for India Lord Willingdon said :

"The general impression I have brought back with me is that feeling among my countrymen in England is full of goodwill and sympathy for the natural aspirations of Indians in regard to political advance. A deep sense of responsibility was moreover evident on all sides in a general anxiety to obtain first hand information from those of us who have had the most recent experience of the affairs and conditions.

Do the people of England know what are really "the natural aspirations of Indians in regard to political advance" ? Do they care to know ?

As for the people of England getting first-hand information from the Viceroy, we are sorry to have to say that in India the higher the office of a British officer the less is he in a position to obtain or impart first-hand information.

Concluding his speech, the Viceroy said :

"I should like to add that I come back with feelings of the keenest appreciation, which I am sure will be shared by every member of both our Legislative Chambers and by the public outside, of the untiring labours which members of the Joint Select Committee have freely and readily given during the past fifteen months to secure a proper solution of the great problem of Indian Reform.

"One assurance I can confidently give you. When the new Constitution Bill is passed into law you may rely on my efforts to ensure that no time will be lost in carrying into effect, as expeditiously as possible, the intentions of Parliament as expressed in the Act of the Viceroy."

We cannot speak for members of the two legislative chambers, but we know something of the feelings of the public outside. They are not feelings of appreciation, because the public does not know what the outcome of the labours of the Joint Select Committee are going to be, and also because it is feared that their report is going to be worse than the White Paper.

The Viceroy's assurance that the new Constitution Bill, when passed into law, will be expeditiously given effect to, leaves us cold.

Madras School Children Permitted to Look at Their Majesties' Portraits

The Madras Government have issued orders to local boards to the effect that no pictures or photographs of any one except those of Their Majesties the King and Queen of England should be hung on the walls of schools under their charge, except with the previous permission of the inspecting authorities concerned. And there have been questions and answers on the subject in the Madras Council. An English proverb says that even a cat may look at a king. So our school children are perhaps not inferior to cats, as they will be allowed to look at the portraits of Their Majesties. Of course, all non-officials, including gods and goddesses, are suspect. But why cannot the portraits of His Majesty's servants, from the Governor-General down to the village watchman, be kept in Madras schools, seeing that these functionaries themselves can give *darshan* to the school children in person ?

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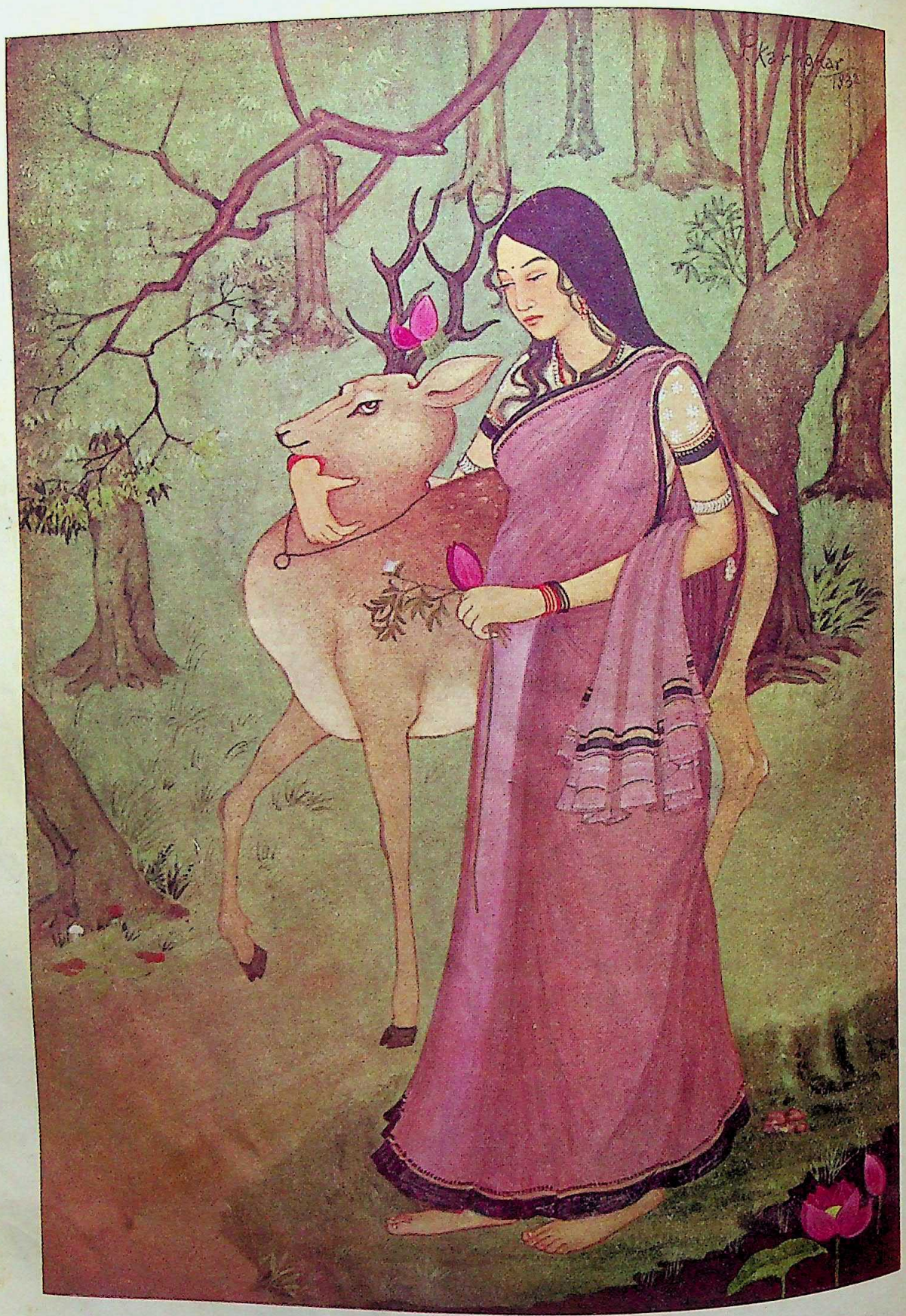

IN THE HERMITAGE

By Panchanan Karmakar

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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PEACE AND MUNITIONS MAKERS

BY DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE

THE international armament, shipbuilding, aviation, and allied industries have been experiencing for the past few years a boom. It is a ious fact that during this period of severe ldwide depression, while millions of men l women are ill-clad and half-starved, while vernments have been unable to pay their s, while educational institutions have n starved of funds, the munitions nufacturers have been realizing profits of to 20 and 30 per cent during the entire od of depression.

Moreover, while the world was struggling get from under the catastrophe of the at War and to relieve itself of the ld miseries which it imposed, the arms ers have been engaged in disseminating news which brings another world war. s been figured out that if the nations of world would take what they are paying ually for maintenance and extension of ments, and invest it at 1½ per cent return, would pay off within forty years the whole ggering national, provincial and municipal ts of the entire world. In a recent issue the *Fortune* (New York) magazine, I d:

> According to the best accountancy figures it ook about 25,000 dollars to kill a soldier during e World War. There is one class of big siness men in Europe that never rose up to denounce the extravagance of the government in this regard, to point out that when death is left unhampered as an enterprise for the individual initiative of gangsters, the cost of a single killing seldom exceeds 100 dollars. The reason for the silence of these big business men is quite simple: The killing is their business; armaments are their stock and trade; governments are their customers; the ultimate consumers of their products are, historically, almost as often their compatriots as their enemies. That does not matter. The important point is that every time a burst-shell fragment finds its way into the brain, the heart, or the intestines of a man in the front line, a great part of the 25,000 dollars, much of its profits, finds its way into the pocket of the armament maker.

The late World War was to end war. A war to make the world safe for democracy. A war for the self-determination of all countries. A war to crush imperialism. A war to usher in a new era of peace and prosperity. All this now sounds like the spouting of blarney. Twenty years after, the world is worse off than before. Dictators and war-mongers multiply. Credit for essential industry and trade vanishes. Doles for the unemployed are cut. Still the millions are lavished on the beautiful guns, the sleek steel ships, and the marvellous bombers. The world is dedicated to a new era of the adoration of the sword.

Senator William E. Borah made a speech in the United States Senate not long ago in which he set forth the part munitions makers

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have in war preparedness. "So long as the munition manufacturers," he said, "exercise the influence which they now wield with governments we shall make little progress in reducing armaments or holding navies down to a reasonable programme. The influence of these interests is so very great that they can directly shape and dominate the policy of a nation toward war and away from peace."

The munitions makers arm every group in the world without any regard for national or racial lines. Patriotism does not enter into the arms industry. The traffic in arms is a capitalistic enterprise, and is above patriotism. Given the capitalistic system, given the armament business as one of the capitalistic businesses, given the expectation of making a huge profit out of that business, the rest follows logically. Indeed, the pursuit of making profits out of the lethal industry is above religion, morality, patriotism and other prejudices.

The armaments makers, while encouraging an intense spirit of nationalism in others, are usually internationalistic themselves. The Krupp firm of Germany had supplied fifty-two countries with arms before the Great War. How international the Krupps could be is suggested by the fact that the founder of the firm when he died was an officer of the French Legion of Honor, and a Knight of the Russian order of Peter the Great. He was selling arms to both these countries, the potential enemies of Germany.

Eugene Schneider, possibly the most powerful of all the arms men, is President of the famous Schneider-Cruesot company of France, and controls an international holding company with over 400 armaments firms in it. The sun never sets upon Creusot works. While one of his big companies supported Hitler lavishly in rousing Germans against France, the big Paris newspapers he controls worked up Frenchmen into a war scare.

The firm of Vickers-Armstrong of England is one of the greatest exporters of war materials in the world. Sir Herbert Lawrence is the head of the Vickers coterie with affiliated companies in a dozen countries. It has its factories in Roumania, and allies itself with the Czecho-Slovakian armament firm of Skoda. There are Vickers factories or subsidiary companies in Italy, Spain, Ireland, Holland, Japan, New Zealand, and Canada.

The affairs of Vickers are very profitable. Parliamentary disclosures have shown the flowers of English aristocracy—and politics—have investment interests in Vickers. Among the more prominent shareholders of Vickers or allied concerns in 1932 were: Rt. Hon. Neville Chamberlain, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir Austen Chamberlain, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1925; and Sir John Simon, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (but who sold out his shares last year). In 1914, the list was even more imposing. It included that lofty philosopher Lord Balfour, Earl Grey, Lord Curzon, Lord Kinnaird (President of the Y.M.C.A.), three bishops, and Dean Inge of St. Paul's Cathedral.

True, there is no single international "armament trust", but in actual practice it amounts to much the same thing. It is an intricate system of interlocked corporations with overlapping ownership and directorates, co-operating with utmost friendliness to protect each other's property and keep up prices even when their respective countries are engaged in deadly war. The armaments industry, controlled by about fifty men, is truly a bloody international. The one thought of this close-knit circle of armaments interests is to make profits out of war, to build fortunes out of the misery and the sorrows of the maimed, the wounded, and the broken of health. It is therefore no wonder that the manufacturers of armaments are both actively opposed to peace and are directly interested in promoting every kind of international strife.

The main facts of the armaments industry are neither secret, nor doubtful. They have been clearly set forth in the two books which just appeared in the United States: *Iron, Blood and Profits* by George Sleds, and *Merchants of Death* by H. C. Englbrecht and J. C. Hanighen. To these may also be added Beverley Nichol's *Cry Havoc* and Fenner Brockway's *Bloody Traffic*, published a little while ago. They all cover much the same ground: they all report the venality of the European press, the sales of arms to potential enemies, the interlocking

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of apparently competing concerns in theoretically hostile countries, the hypocrisies of the manufacturers. Beyond that they recount that the manufacturer of the tools of war has nothing to do with the sentiments of petriotism in search for profits. He acts not as a Frenchman or a German or an Englishman, but as a capitalist.

According to these writers and several other independent investigators, the armament manufacturers of the world have not scrupled in the past to use any kind of method that might conceivably advance their personal fortunes, including huge sums of money for propaganda and political influence, and they have so organized on an international scale that no sentiments of patriotism, much less of humanity, have been permitted to interfere with their business instincts. In other words, at a time when the world, weary of war, has been making an effort to restore peace, a little group of men for greedy selfish motives has been conspiring to block that effort.

The evidence against the armament industry falls into three general categories. It deals with efforts to thwart all peace movements, including disarmament; with the promotion of war scares, if not of war itself; and with what might be called international collusion on the part of arms manufacturers. Most of the evidence that has been brought out so far in printed form involves the activities of European firms, but some of it is also of American origin.

It is charged that the American representative of certain armament firms worked to block the success of the Geneva Disarmament Conference of 1927. An American steel corporation that was interested in selling armour plate to the government, it is asserted, helped to found the ultra-patriotic Navy League of the United States to agitate for a larger navy and against further limitation of naval armaments.

Evidence that the private Eurepean armament firms have been even more active in combating disarmament and other peaceful enterprises has been produced, and their efforts, backed often by bribery and control of the press, have gone much further in creating threats to peace. But some of the most shocking evidences that have been brought to light by writers on the subject have dealt with the way in which companies have managed to sell military supplies to their national enemies even in times of war and in times of peace have not hesitated to promote political movements in other countries, hostile to the interests of their own countries, simply to obtain munitions orders.

Some of the stories seem almost incredible but they are supported by documentary proof. During the Great War, English and French companies supplied various war materials to Germany through neutral countries, while Germany sent iron and steel to France by a similar indirect route. When this practice was attacked as treason, it was defended as part of an international understanding that made war possible, and was permitted to continue.

It can safely be asserted that munitions makers have no country and no allegiance when it comes to their deadly business. During the Great War the English captured a cannon from the Germans which had been set up in Bedford park as one of the memorials. The cannon bears an English trademark, and in the Parliamentary debates it was brought out that it had been sold by an English firm to Germany. Again, it turned out after the war that the English battleships which were sunk in the Dardanelles were sunk by mines sold to the Turks before the War by the English manufacturers. Just now when it is claimed that Soviet Russia is a threat at Europe, Vickers has sold sixty of his latest and most powerful tanks to Russia.

One major event in the Great War is particularly revealing. Before 1914 the great mines and smelters in the Briey basin provided 70 per cent of the ore used by France. It is the centre of the iron mines and metallurgical industries of France. At the beginning of the War, the Germans broke through this point and the German artillery chiefs saw to it that the mines were so protected from shell fire that they could be taken over intact. Thenceforth the mines of the Briey basin, together with other mines of Lorraine, supplied Germany with some three-quarters of the ore it consumed during the War.

In 1916, Briey came once again within the range of the French artillery. The Briey

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mines were turning out tons of raw materials per day which were being turned into weapons of death, and were hurled back into the French lines, literally and actually tearing limb from limb hundreds of thousands of Frenchmen. The French army could turn loose its bombing planes and blast out of existence a principal source of enemy supply, and thus put an end to the war. Yet neither bombs nor shells burst at Briey during the entire course of the War. Briey remained almost to the last days of the War one of the so-called "quiet sectors."

There is no question at all about the international operations of the armament makers. The facts are in the records of the French Parliament, substantiated, and unanswered. Efforts were actually made by high military and civilian personages in France to have the Briey mines and furnaces laid waste, as they should have been. But nothing happened. Why this murderous courtesy? The answer is that if the French forces bombarded the Briey basin, the Germans would certainly bombard the French mines at Dombasle, then one of the chief sources of iron for the French armies. The Germans did not bombard Dombasle in return for the French not bombarding Briey. "If we had destroyed Briey"—the French official explanation can be thus summarized—"the Germans would at once have retaliated and destroyed our munitions plants at Dombasle." But had either side done what the national armies are supposed to do, the Great War undoubtedly would have had to end before it did. Perhaps a million or more men would not have been slaughtered. In other words, officially the explanation of Briey was that it was considered preferable to destroy men by the tens of thousands rather than property. But who owed Briey and Dombasle? The answer is very simple. They belonged to the armaments manufacturers, men with international affiliations. The Schneiders of France and the Krupps of Germany owned the Briey basin and Dombasle, and through their connections with the general staffs of both countries they saw to it that no damage was done to their properties.

The Briey incident is of a perfect piece with many other strange occurrences. Indeed, it would be a great mistake to conclude that it was an isolated manifestation of treason on the part of a few high-placed French officials. The armaments men during the War, and always, have been above patriotism when profit beckoned. Exactly similar things were happening among the other combatants.

While the French were doing nothing to prevent Briey from tearing Frenchmen to pieces, high-placed German industrialists were shipping scrap iron into France (*via* Switzerland) at the rate of 150,000 tons a month to tear German soldiers to pieces. And in the ghastly attacks on Verdun, Germans found themselves impaled on barbed wire made a few months before—in Germany, by their own countrymen!

English merchants, until the bitter protests of a naval attache stopped them, shipped glycerin and Canadian nickel into Germany (through Scandinavia) which it was perfectly well known would be used to mangle English soldiers in the trenches.

French nickel, too, found its tortuous way, greased by profit, into Germany. The construction of German submarines would have been badly hampered without French bauxite (aluminium) which they received a-plenty.

One of the most curious of the post-War developments was the suit brought by the Krupps of Germany against the Vickers of England for violation of a patent right. The Krupps, prior to the War, had invented a special fuse for hand grenades. Vickers appropriated the invention, manufactured the fuses from the German formula all through the War and, of course, were instrumental in slaughtering or maiming tens of thousands of Germans. When the War was over, the Krupps (grand patriots) sued Vickers in the English courts for stealing their patent rights. The Krupps demanded a shilling a fuse, and a total of 123 million shillings. The case was settled by Vickers out of court, Krupps took payment in stock. The statement is that "Settlement was made out of court and the Krupps received payment in stock in one of Vickers' subsidiaries in Spain." No armament man could ever descry the blood of a countryman on a stock certificate.

Personally the men at the head of the great armament industries and international holding companies are probably sensitive and

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rable old gentlemen who would weep over Schubert's or Beethovents sonatas. One of them, Basil Zaharoff, "the mystery man of Europe," who is often referred to as the greatest murderer in history, now spends his last happy hours in the cultivation of rare orchids at Monte Carlo. He is quite old and past business. But he had "lots of character" and business in him, at least a few years ago. Much of the recent growth of the Vickers organization can be credited to Mr. Zaharoff, "the greatest armament salesman the world has ever known." He is a native of Greece, and came to England as a poor imigrant, He is known there as Sir Basil Zaharoff. He was an intimate of David Lloyd George during the War. At one time during the War when peace seemed imminent, he was quoted as favouring continuing "to the bitter end". Naturally. More fights, more profits.

Basil Zaharoff began by making glorious profits out of the perpetual fights in the Balkans and the Near East, to which he was usually purveyor and of which he was frequently instigator. The Boer War added to his laurels; Boers shot Englishmen with Vickers' guns. But it was the World War that gratified Sir Basil most. By the end of the War, Sir Basil had a personal fortune estimated over a billion dollars. Basil Zaharoff has ribbons galore.

Of all the criminals known to man, none would be more despicable than the war profiteer. Plying his trade in legal murder he grows rich on the spoils of his treason against humanity. Police and courts can bring ordinary criminals to justice, but the war profiteer need answer to no one for his thousands of murders.

The problems growing out of the private manufacture of munitions and the international traffic in arms are sinister. The commercial urge to extend the use and translate the demand for the output of munition factories has been demonstrated to be an actual and proximate—not remote and indirect—incitement to war. To suffer this traffic to continue is to connive at all its consequences.

But what can be done about it? Is there a way out? Two principal proposals have been advanced to correct the situation. One is that the manufacture of armaments be taken out of private hands and be made a government monopoly. The other is that the private industries be permitted to continue, but only under rigid international supervision.

The proposal to nationalize the armament industry has been opposed on various grounds. Since modern warfare has become so highly industrialized, it is very difficult to distinguish between production for military and non-military purposes. Should the entire iron and steel industries be nationalized, because they produce war material? Such a procedure is not feasible, except in a Socialist or Communist regime. But if it is not adopted, two of the chief industrial beneficiaries of war would remain in private hands.

Moreover, only a few countries (notably France, England, the United States, Germany, Japan and Czecho-Slovakia) are industrially equipped to produce armaments today. If their armament industries were nationalized, what would happen to all the other countries that must depend upon them for such supplies? The non-producing countries consider that they have a right to buy armaments abroad and that any interference with it would be an unfriendly act, jeopardizing their national safety and independence. And finally many governments are reported to believe that only by free competition among private manufacturers, moved by a desire for profit, can they be sure that their armaments are of the latest design.

The same objections have been raised to the proposal of international control, with the addition of the practical difficulties of efficient supervision. Even if the political opposition of the armament manufacturers themselves is left out of account, both proposals to deal with the ghastly mess are obviously absurd.

The authors of the *Merchants of Death* hold that the "problem of disarmament is the problem of building a new civilization." This is a cautious way of saying that so long as the West lives in a capitalistic society there will always be war. The conclusion is inescapable.

The fundamental difficulty is that the

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armament industry is the product of the system of capitalism and imperialism. Unless that system gives way to a true desire for peace, the evils of this industry of destruction will never be eliminated. Those who talk of abolishing arms industry, while supporting imperialism and capitalism, might as well talk of abolishing the Atlantic Ocean. The real problem, and the only possible solution, is to alter the world's belief—praticularly of the Occident—that it for ever requires arms. And though there never was a bleaker prospect of success in that endeavour than right now, the West cannot always remain steeped in the ethics of the jungle. I am morally certain that capitalism and imperialism are not immortal. They are no more immortal than cannibalism.

THE PROBLEM OF THE PACIFIC THROUGH ORIENTAL EYES

By TARAKNATH DAS, M. A., Ph. D.

WHENEVER currents of diverse interests meet, there arise peculiar problems. This is true in affairs of individuals, societies, classes of society, and nations. At the very bottom of the various problems of the Pacific, there lies the fact that the most important nations of the world with conflicting interests have met in the Pacific area and this meeting has produced most momentous social, economic, political and religious problems, affecting the whole population of the world. Therefore, the problems of the Pacific are the most serious problems of the present century. I shall make an endeavour to discuss barely some of the important points of the present-day international politics relating to the Pacific area.

The lecture has been designated as "The Problem of the Pacific Through Oriental Eyes". I am afraid that some will be disappointed, if they expect something extraordinarily fantastic or dogmatic, because the lecturer is an oriental by birth.

There are not many Western scholars who do not look at the problems of the Pacific without a peculiar prejudice. Many Western scholars entertain double standards of international morality, one for the so-called superior people of the West and the other for the people of the Orient. They think that anything that might be upsetting to the vested interests—political, territorial and economic—of the Western nations is undesirable and therefore unjust and must be opposed. I wish to make it clear that I do not subscribe to this outlook.

I was born and received my early training in India. But I received my higher education in the United States of America; and I am an American citizen. I have lived in China and Japan as well as other Asiatic countries. I have also tried to study World Politics in various European capitals, as an impartial student who wishes to know facts and their implications. I shall make an endeavour to present a view of the Problem of the Pacific, without prejudice, with the hope that my presentation of facts will rouse interest for further careful investigations, with the sole object, that international problems of the Orient may be solved in such a way that it will bring about better understanding between the East and the West and preserve the peace of the world.

The nations that are directly interested in the problems of the Pacific are not merely the nations of the world situated in the Pacific region, but also all the Great Powers of the world which do not have any possession in the Pacific but which have commercial and political interests in that vast region which include India, Burma, Siam, China, Malaya Archipelago, Dutch East Indies, the Philippines, Indo-China, China proper, Manchuria, Korea, Russia, Japan, Canada, the United States of America, Mexico, some of the South American republics, Australia as well as New Zealand.

Problems of international politics are interrelated and not confined to any special area. So the problem of the Pacific is a vital factor in World Politics. Problems of international politics are not sentimental affairs, but they concern population problems, problems of commerce—raw materials, exports and imports—and problems of National Security in the broadest sense of the term. From this point of view a nation like Italy, which has no colony in the Pacific and which hardly expects to make any effort for territorial expansion in the Pacific area is also vitally interested in every development there. I may say that if an international conflict of

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...character breaks out in the Pacific, the ...ks of it will be felt in all the capitals of the ...t Powers, Rome included; because Rome, ...e Eternal City, under the leadership of Signor ...ssolini, has during the last few years attained ...new position of pre-eminence from the stand-...nt of international politics. If New Italy is ...ue to its mission of asserting her position in ...ch a fashion that no problem of any magnitude ...the field of international politics should be ...ved without Italian participation, then the ...ders of Italian public life should pay special ...ention to the problems of the Pacific.

II

One of the main currents of Modern History the world is the expansion of the European ...ers in extra-European regions. From this ...t of view the history of the seventeenth, ...eenth and nineteenth centuries may be ...ded as the history of uninterrupted expansion ...the European peoples (America included, ...ce America is an extension of Europe) in ...Orient as well as Africa. The history of the ...r part of the nineteenth century and the ...ent era of the tewntieth century may be ...ded as the arrest of Western expansion in ...Orient. One may very well conceive that ...twentieth century may be an era of re-...rsion of the East which will lead to better ...erstanding between the East and the West ...the basis of equality. This will be a surer ...ndation of a new civilization to which Signor ...ssolini made an allusion in his epoch-making ...ech delivered before the First Congress of ...ntal Students held in Rome during the last ...istmas week.

Expansion of Occidental Powers to the Pacific ...n and its reactions constitute the Pacific ...blem of the present age. Russian expansion ...the Pacific, expansion of the British Empire ...ugh India to the Pacific, French expansion ...South-eastern Asia, American acquisition of ...Philippines, German efforts to secure a special ...re of influence in China and acquisition of ...e of the Pacific islands are the root causes ...the Pacific Problem.

...far as China is concerned, the Opium War ...ed by Great Britain (1839-1842) to force ...m upon the Chinese people and thus make ...d by the East India Company and its direc-...who indirectly controlled the Government ...Great Britain of that time, was the beginning ...the new epoch in the history of the Pacific ...As a result of the Opium War and through ...nificant form of "European Concert against ...", China began to lose her sovereignty, ...ugh imposition of "extra-territoriality", loss ...territories as well as "establishment of spheres ...fluence". Even today, preservation of terri-...l integrity of China remains the foremost of ...Chinese problems of the Pacific.

About eighty years ago, when Commodore Perry forced Japan to open her doors to foreign nations for trade, Japan was not a factor in the problems of the Pacific. From the beginning of the opening of Japan for foreign trade, statesmen of "the Land of the Rising Sun" were most anxious that their country would not have to experience the same fate as was the case with India and China. However, "extra-territorial jurisdiction" was also imposed upon Japan, by the Western Powers. But the Japanese people, for a period of more than thirty years, concentrated all their efforts on its removal; and they succeeded in gaining their end by the latter part of the nineteenth century. However, not until the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese War, did Japan receive full recognition as a free and independent nation, on the basis of equality with Western nations.

To get an adequate idea of the Pacific Problems of today, one must have comprehensive knowledge of the development of events in the Far East at least since 1894, *i.e.*, the Sino-Japanese War. It will not be possible for me to discuss these events in this lecture. But I must mention a few of the most important facts. The Sino-Japanese War was the beginning of the New Era in the Pacific, when Japan defeated China and served notice to the whole world that she would not calmly submit to other Powers if they interfered with her rights or endangered her national security. However, immediately after the Sino-Japanese War, Japan felt the pressure of and was humiliated by a new "European concert" against her; and she then fully realized the dangerous character of Western expansion in the Far East By the treaty of Simonosaki (April 14, 1895), China, among other things, agreed to cede Liatung peninsula—a part of Manchuria—to Japan. But a few days after the signing of this treaty, on April 23, 1895, through the joint-intervention of Russia, Germany and France, Japan was forced to retrocede the very territory to China. The immediate effects of the defeat of China in the Sino-Japanese War were: (*i*) Great Britain, before the Sino-Japanese War, was contemplating an alliance with China; but realizing China's weakness, gave up this idea and decided to cultivate better understanding with Japan. (*ii*) Japanese statesmen approached the Chinese to come to an understanding with Japan—to form a Sino-Japanese Alliance—to protect their mutual interests against Western aggressors. But this offer was politely rejected by China. (*iii*) China, under the leadership of Li Hung Chang, decided to seek Russian support against Japan. A secret treaty of Russo-Chinese offensive and defensive alliance against Japan was signed. The text of this secret treaty was not divulged, until the Washington Conference of 1921-22. (*iv*) Japanese statesmen realized the most important truth in international relations that a military victory may become a real defeat, if the victory was not

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supported by successful diplomacy. They found that they were robbed of the fruits of their victory, because China could secure support of Russia, Germany and France, while Japan was isolated in international politics. Therefore, Japanese statesmen sought Sino-Japanese co-operation which was rejected by China. Then the Japanese statesmen decided either to make an alliance with Russia or to make an alliance with England.

China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War encouraged Western Powers for extension of their territory and political control of China. Within 1897-98, Russia occupied Port Arthur and China was forced to grant territorial leases to Germany, Great Britain and France. Thus at the end of the nineteenth century there was a concert of European Powers, who were jealous of one another, but in perfect agreement in carrying out the policy of "break-up of China". Japan was opposed to this policy; but she was powerless to oppose it effectively. Japanese statesmen fully realized that the break-up of China by European Powers would mean a serious threat against her very existence as an independent State; therefore, they definitely formulated their international policy, which was to be carried out in course of time, through diplomacy, and if necessary, by victorious war. This international policy of Japan, according to my analysis, may be summed up as follows: *Elimination of political and territorial control of the Far East by Western Powers; and assertion of Asian Independence, under Japanese leadership.*

European Powers' activities towards "break-up of China" led to the Boxer Rebellion. America championed the cause of territorial integrity of China and promulgated her "Open Door Policy in China". But, after the Boxer Rebellion, when it became evident that Russia was determined upon virtual annexation of Manchuria and was planning to extend her influence into Korea, Lord Lansdowne on behalf of Great Britain and Viscount Hayashi on behalf of Japan, on January 30, 1902, signed a treaty—the Anglo-Japanese Alliance—which brought about a real revolution in the history of World Politics of the twentieth century. Since the signing of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, no major problem of World Politics (especially those concerning the Pacific) has been solved without Japan's active participation.

The Anglo-Japanese Alliance was really the prelude to the Russo-Japanese War. The Russo-Japanese War was Japan's supreme effort to save China from being divided up by European Powers; and by defeating Russia, Japan eliminated Russia at least for the time being from being the most dangerous factor menacing Japan.

The period of 1905-14, was the period of consolidation of Japanese power by annexation of Korea and formation of various agreements with the Great Powers of the West. Western historians often do not mention the fact that Japan possibly would not have dared to annex Korea, if they had refused to consent to it. By the Treaty of Portsmouth (September 5, 1905) Russia recognized Japan's special position in Korea. By the Second Anglo-Japanese Alliance (August 12, 1905) Great Britain virtually put a seal of approval regarding Japanese supremacy in Korea. Then Japan concluded a treaty with Korea on November 17, 1905 by which Korea virtually became a Japanese protectorate. To remove any possible opposition of Russia regarding virtual annexation of Korea and Japanese control over Southern Manchuria, secret treaties were concluded between Japan and Russia on July 30, 1907 and July 4, 1910. Then Japan concluded Root-Takahira Agreement with the United States, by which the Japanese agreed to support the right of the United States in the Philippines: while the United States agreed to acknowledge Japan's special rights in the Far East. (It may be noted that the United States of America was the first Great Power to close its legation in Suoel, as a virtual recognition of Japanese supremacy in Korea). Japan also concluded Franco-Japanese Agreement in 1907 by which both nations recognized their mutual interests in the Orient. During the session of the Second Hague Conference for International Peace, Korean delegates were not allowed to participate in it. (If Korea was allowed to participate in the Hague Congress, it would have meant recognition of Korea as an independent Power.) Therefore, fortified by the consent of Russia, Britain, France and the United States of America and by the indirect consent of all other Powers who were participants of the Hague Conference, Japan annexed Korea on August 29, 1910.

Japan entered the World War, as if to help her ally Great Britain, but really to eliminate Germany from the Pacific and to check any attempt on the part of Britain to gain any new territory in the Pacific region bordering China. In May 1915, Japan forced China to sign a treaty by which Japan not only strengthened her position in Manchuria, but secured Chinese consent to the Japanese demand that China should not cede, sell, or lease any of her territories or islands to any power without Japanese consent. On July 3, 1916, Japan and Russia concluded a secret treaty of offensive and defensive alliance. On November 2, 1917 by the signing of the Lansing-Ishhi Agreement the United States recognized that Japan had special interests in China, particularly in that part to which her possessions are contiguous. During the Versailles Peace Conference, Great Britain and France, bound by secret treaties with Japan, agreed to Japanese claims over the German islands north of the equator and also securing German rights in the Province of Shantung. Japan was also given a permanent seat in the

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League Council, although her afforts towards securing the mention of "racial equality before ...ing in the preamble of the League of Nations' ...nant failed. During the Washington Con-...ence (1921-22) Japan was confronted with the ...st difficult situation, practically facing isolation ... World Politics. She not only cleared herself ...m the difficult situation, but made tremendous ...ces in industrial development, strengthening ... position through her own efforts and inter-...tional understandings.

Since the Sino-Japanese War, momentous ...anges have come over China; and the most ...portant of them is the rise of new nationalism ...d the establishment of the Republic of China, ...der the leadership of the late Dr. Sun Yat Sen. ...wever, China has lost the vast territories of ...et, Outer Mongolia and Manchuria. While ...na is infested with Civil Wars, many of her ...tering provinces in the Central Asian regions ... well as the South-West are menaced through ...ellions, supposed to be fostered by foreign ...erests. On the one hand, China's weakness ...d inability to maintain her territorial integrity ...d on the other hand Japan's increasing Power ...d determination to strengthen her position in ...an mainland and to maintain her supremacy, ...eliminating the pre-ponderating influence of ... Western Powers in the Far East, have ...used peculiar reactions among Western Powers. ... say the least, the situation in the Far East in ...day is most disturbing, if not fraught with ...nger.

III

The Sino-Japanese conflicts in Manchuria as ...ll as in Shanghai are incidents of such recent ...es that I do not wish to examine them at ...ength. However, I should say that Japan has ...llowed her Western teachers most effectively to ...rry out her programme of maintaining her ...hts and privileges in Manchuria and in the ...ternational settlement at Shanghai. She has ...ne exactly what Great Britain did in Egypt; ...d other Great Powers have done in various ...rts of China and other countries. Since the ...e of Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95, Japanese ...licy has been to establish herself securely in ...e mainland of Asia to check the march of ...ussian aggression. Japan has persistently tried ...win over China to her side so that Japan and ...hina may follow a common foreign policy; or ...least Chinese Foreign Policy would not be ...ti-Japanese. Failing to secure a Sino-Japanese ...derstanding regarding Japanese rights in ...anchuria, Japan has created a buffer State of ...anchukuo, so that Russia and China would ...t be able to use their military forces together ...ainst Japan in the Far East.

What the Japanese did at Shanghai has the ...ndation of precedent created by other Great ...wers—Great Britain and the United States of ...merica—which only a few years ago bombarded Nanking to protect their citizens and their property. One must not forget that Britain landed about twenty-five thousand soldiers at Shanghai a few years ago to protect the rights of British merchants and to demonstarte against the Chinese boycott of British goods. At that time, the League of Nations did not pay any attention to Chinese prayers for an investigation or intervention; because these military operations were carried on by great *Western* Powers.

Japanese action in Shanghai was started as a measure to protect Japanese rights and to protect Japanese citizens and their property, following the British precedent mentioned above. At the beginning, the municipal authorities of the international settlement of Shanghai were not opposed to Japan's landing of troops for protective purposes. When the Chinese 19th Route Army took a stand against the Japanese punitive expedition, it developed into a war which was not wholeheartedly supported by General Chiang-Kai-Shek, who was in favour of making an amicable settlement with Japan. After the Japanese operation was started, and British and American cruisers and other types of naval vessels were concentrated as observers at Shanghai, the Japanese decided to raze the forts of Shanghai, so that in future no fleet, protected by Chinese guns of the fort of Shanghai would be able to operate against Japan in the region of the China Sea. Of all the Great Powers in the Pacific, Great Britain was most upset by Japanese actions in Shanghai. British authorities were most anxious that Japanese forces should evacuate Shanghai; and therefore through British mediation an agreement was reached which enabled Japan to withdraw her forces from Shanghai and strengthen her position in Manchuria.

It is not my intention to condemn or justify Japanese actions in Manchuria or Shanghai; because I am merely relating facts and not acting as a judge. Just as Great Britain would not give up her position of supremacy in Egypt, the Suez Canal and Palestine, just because her policies in these countries might be condemned by an international body, similarly, Japan would not give up her position of control over the region of Manchukuo; even if she was condemned "as the aggressor" by the League of Nations. One must not forget that Japan fought Russia to oust Russian control over that region. More than one hundred thousand Japanese soldiers died to check Russian efforts to annex Manchuria. It was Japan which checked the Russian march into North China, for which she had to spend about a billion yen, and lastly, Japanese investment in Manchuria is immense and Japan must protect it. For political, strategic and economic reasons, Japan will keep her hold over Manchuria at any cost.

To make the Japanese position clear, I wish to mention an incident in Italian history, which has an international significance. By the Treaty

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of Berlin of 1878, Italy was a party to a treaty guaranteeing territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire. But after the Balkan War Italy attacked Turkey and occupied Tripoli. Many British, German, Austrian and other publicists raised a cry against Italy's action; but Turkey, defeated in the Italo-Turkish War, had to sign a treaty ceding Tripoli and several of the Turkish islands to Italy. Of course, Italian statesmen secretly secured consent of Russia, France and Great Britain—the Triple Entente group of Powers—beforehand. Just as Italy is thinking of further expansion in Africa and not giving up an inch of territory there; similarly, the Japanese are going to maintain their supremacy in Manchukuo, through Chinese consent, international sanction or arrangements with some powers, if that is possible, or by her own force, if that is necessary.

Japanese statesmen are anxious that China should recognize the present status of Manchukuo; because, if China recognizes the new status then there will be less ground for other Powers' objection to recognize it. Next to China, the opposition of the United States of America to the changed status of Manchuria is receiving considerable attention of Japanese statesmen; because the United States of America has not taken an inch of ground of China and is going to establish a new precedent in the history of colonial Powers by willingly according independence to the Philippines.

Japan knows that there would be no serious British opposition to Japanese policy in Manchuria; because Britain has virtually annexed Tibet and British-armed Tibetans have been encroaching into China proper in the rich province of Szechuan. In fact, British Tory leaders are willing to come to an understanding with Japan by agreeing to Japan's special position in Manchuria. It is needless to say that France with her possessions in Indo-China, bound by Franco-Japanese Treaty of friendship of twenty-five years' standing, is willing to recognize the new status of Manchuria. Japan knows the true nature of Soviet Russian diplomacy in the Far East. Soviet Russia, while professing friendship to China, has detached Outer Mongolia from Chinese control and practically made Outer Mongolia a Russian protectorate. Soviet Russia recognized "the People's Government" of Mongolia by signing an agreement for establishing friendly relations between the two countries on November 5, 1921. If one carefully examines this document, then it will be evident that the status of Outer Mongolia is no better than that of a protectorate or it is no better than the status of the present government of Manchukuo. In this connection it may be mentioned that, although the Soviet Russian Government was recognized by China on May 31, 1924, yet on September 20, 1924, the Soviet authorities entered into an agreement regarding the Chinese Eastern Railway, with the late Chang Tso Lin, who was the then head of "the three autonomous Eastern Provinces of China" (*i. e.*, Manchuria). By this act the Soviet authorities acknowledged the autonomy of Manchuria. From the very fact that Soviet Russia was willing to sell its rights of the Chinese Eastern Railway to the government of Manchukuo, through Japanese mediation, it became clear that if proper price were paid, Soviet Russia would be willing to side with Japan on the Manchurian question against China.

However, Soviet Russian leaders are loud against Japan, since Soviet diplomacy has been successful in securing support of France, Italy and other Powers in Europe and the recognition of the United States of America; *but there are no valid reasons for thinking that Russia will fight Japan to recover Manchuria for China.*

Just as Britain would not allow any Power to upset her position in Egypt, Palestine or Iraq and Tibet—not to speak of India, just as Italy would not allow any Power to threaten her supremacy in Albania or Tripoli, just as France would at any cost try to maintain her position in Northern Africa and Indo-China, just as Soviet Russia is determined to maintain her position in Outer Mongolia, similarly, Japan is also determined to uphold her supremacy in Manchukuo, unless Japan become involved in a war with the Great Powers. To strengthen her defensive power, Japan has already concluded Japanese-Manchukuo alliance which is in line with the British Government's proposed treaty of alliance with Egypt, and the existing Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of Alliance.

In the past Chinese statesmen tried to use Russian support or Anglo-American support against Japan. It seems now that they will have to change their policy in favour of Sino-Japanese co-operation. At least there is some evidence of the rise of a group of Chinese politicians who will follow this policy. Such a policy will, more than anything else, stabilize the situation in the Pacific.

IV

It is generally recognized that the international political and economic situation in the Pacific is rather disturbing. Sino-Japanese disputes, establishment of Manchukuo under the protection of Japan, Japanese activities towards Inner-Mongolia, Russo-Japanese tension due to the Chinese Eastern Railway dispute, Anglo-Japanese naval and economic rivalry and also American-Japanese tension on various issues may lead to a war in the Pacific.

In this connection, one may point out that a Nanking despatch, dated March 10, 1934, gave us the news that Dr. W. W. Yen, Chinese Ambassador to Moscow, in an interview predicted a war in the Far East in the near future between Japan on one side and Soviet Russia in alliance with the United States and Great Britain on the other. Dr. Yen, who was in Nanking to

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the adoption of a sound foreign policy to
extinction of China, hinted that China
have more to gain by collaboration with
Western powers than with Japan.
Other Chinese leaders such as Dr. V. K.
Wellington Koo, Minister to France, Dr. Alfred
Minister to the United States and the South-
western politicians Tang Yi, Eugene Chen and
Woo Lu share this view and date the war for
1936, when the Soviet will have completed their
second five-year plan and the naval treaties will
have expired. The general view is that a weakened
Japan would enhance China's chances of regaining
her lost provinces of Manchuria and Jehol, but
victorious Japan, even if aided by China, would
tighten her grips on the provinces."

The above statement should not be taken
ously. This idea of a possible Anglo-American
-Russian Alliance against Japan is the
ly advocated by many Chinese nationalists of
nion School". They feel that by this means
will be able to defeat Japan diplomatically
recover Manchuria as well as Jehol from
an's grip. They are encouraged by the past
esses of Chinese diplomacy against Japan.
ough China was defeated in the Sino-
nese War (1894-95), Japan received a severe
matic defeat when China could secure inter-
ion of Russia, Germany and France to
cede all territories in the mainland of Asia.
treaty of Portsmouth (1905) concluded after
Russo-Japanese War was, from the Japanese
nt of view, a diplomatic defeat. The Japanese
ple were so incensed with the failure of
anese diplomacy that the Japanese mob of
o tried to set fire to the building of the
eign Office and threatened the life of Baron
ura, the Chief Japanese delegate. The
ese forced Japan to modify her (Japan's)
enty-one Demands" of 1915, through the
rvention of the United States as well as
eat Britain. Although the Versailles Treaty
ded all German rights in Shantung to Japan,
during the Washington Conference 1921-1922,
a recovered the very territory from Japan,
gh active support and insistence of the
ed States of America and Great Britain.
17, although by an agreement, between
an and the United States, known as Lansing-
Agreement, the United States recognized
an's special rights in all the region adjoining
a's territories, yet the very agreement was
gated by the United States Government,
the conclusion of the Washington
erence. Although Japan inflicted crushing
ats upon Chinese forces in Manchuria and
l as well as in Shanghai, Chinese diplomacy
ed Japan's evacuation of the Chinese
ory near Shanghai; and through the support
the League of Nations, Russia and the United
es, brought Japan before the bar of inter-
nal justice and condemned her as the
ressor nation; and forced Japan to resign
membership from the League of Nations.
reover, the United States, through the
Secretary of State Mr. Stimson, proclaimed a so-called Stimson Doctrine, by which the United States has decided against recognition of the changed status of Manchuria.

These successes of Chinese diplomacy and very pronounced sympathy of Signor Mussolini and the Italians have encouraged the Chinese to pursue a policy of bringing about isolation of Japan in World Politics. This is the policy of one section of the Chinese politicians. The Chinese communist leaders, who control several Chinese provinces and have a standing army of several hundred thousand men and are carrying on wars against the Chinese nationalists, are in favour of a Sino-Russian Alliance against Japan. The Nanking Government, under the leadership of General Chiang-Kai-Shek, who is a realist, is not anxious to pick up a quarrel with Japan; because General Chiang knows full well the real weakness of China. Furthermore, General Chiang and others think that the Western Powers—specially the United States or Britain—would not be anxious to fight against Japan, just to help China. They are further convinced that, if through a Russo-Japanese conflict, Russia supported by China and other powers defeats Japan, then it would be the Chinese communists who would be rulers of China. Chiang-Kai-Shek and other Koumintang leaders of the right wing are willing to maintain friendly relations with Russia, but they are decidedly opposed to any further increase of Soviet influence in China and the Far East. In Northern China, the majority of the Chinese leaders have decided that it would be unwise to provoke any further hostility with Japan. They and other Chinese leaders who are now actively engaged in the administration of Manchukuo are friendly to Japan, and wish to have Sino-Japanese co-operation.

Under the present circumstances, Japanese programme or policy regarding China is to support the political parties which will be willing to co-operate with Japan in the Far East and recognize the new status of Manchuria, created by the establishment of the Empire of Manchukuo, free from the control of the Chinese Republic. To demonstrate that Japan has no further aggressive intentions against China, Japanese have recently evacuated the passes dominating the Great Wall of North China. It has been also rumoured that Japan may be willing to agree to the abolition of extra-territorial jurisdiction in China, provided Sino-Japanese relations, involving the status of Manchukuo, be solved amicably. The Japanese contention is that, as long as Chinese politicians will get support from the Great Powers against Japan, there is less possibility of the settlement of Sino-Japanese disputes; and therefore Japan has taken steps to solve all outstanding problems with the United States of America as soon as possible.

(To be concluded)

An Address delivered before the Italian Institute for Middle and Far-East, Rome, on April 10, 1934.

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THE RUSSIAN EXPERIMENT

By D. W. INDRA

NOT long ago the word 'Bolshevism' was anathema to the world outside Russia, of which the press was constantly regaling its constituents with hair-raising accounts of the alleged barbarities of the supposed monsters of the Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics.

Whatever excuse there may have been in the past for such grotesque caricature of the Russian scene, the recent achievements of the Soviets have been such as to compel attention from all quarters.

The completion of the first Five-Year Plan of the Soviets about a year ago has not ushered in the expected millennium, nor can it be denied that the execution of that plan has been attended with 'Himalayan' blunders. But after all is said and done, the net result would seem to be a colossal achievement in national reconstruction. It is an achievement well worth our attention.

Take the problem of illiteracy, the onslaught on which has been one of the principal fronts in the great Russian offensive, because Lenin had warned his followers that

> "As long as we have such a calamity as illiteracy in our country, it is impossible to talk of political enlightenment. The illiterate person is an outsider to political thought. He must be taught the A. B. C. Without literacy there can be no politics; there are only rumours, gossip, prejudices and fairy-tales."

"In 1914-15", says Maurice Hindus, one of the most authoritative writers on contemporary Russia, "compulsory universal education was a far-off dream of liberals and intellectuals. In 1931-32 free, universal compulsory education for children between eight and eleven has become a fact. By 1933-34 it will become a fact for children between eight and twelve." As early as 1920, 60 per cent of the male population of the country and 70 per cent of the female population or 68 per cent of the entire population, according to Maurice Hindus, was illiterate. In 1932 only 9 per cent of the population was illiterate.

In 1913 Russia had 859 journals with a total circulation of only 2,700,000. Now there are 7000 journals with a total circulation of 40,000,000. Book-printing has increased ten times.

This transformation which the Soviets have brought about within a decade or so under a host of serious handicaps has extorted high tributes even from those students of Russia who have no sympathy with its implacable attitude towards Capitalism. The official drive against illiteracy, however, would not have been the success that it is on all accounts but for the unofficial co-operation of the members of the Komsomol (Communist Youth Association). This organisation sent

> "volunteers throughout the whole of the Union to instruct the masses, to help in the Schools and provide accommodation, text books, copy books, and pencils; to care for the pupils' clothes so that they should not have to miss school for want of them, to organise the much needed collection of money and to do a thousand other things."
> (*Youth in Soviet Russia* by Klaus Mehnert).

Another problem to which the Soviets set themselves was the drastic overhauling of Russian farming as practised for ages by the vast majority of peasants. Russia is predominantly an agricultural country, over 80 per cent of the population making its living off the land, but the ancient division of farms into long and narrow strips with their adjacent weedgrowing ridges meant crying wastes—wastes in seed, in labour, in human and animal energy. The Five-Year Plan envisaged a great extension of farming on a collective and scientific basis, but though this part of the plan has not succeeded so well as was anticipated, not because collective and scientific farming is not inherently good but because the attempt to socialize villages, according to the distinguished authors of *'The Intelligent Man's Review of Europe Today,'* was too sudden and too vehement for the willing co-operation of the peasants with the authorities. The consensus of opinion of the experts who

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have written on this aspect of Russian reconstruction is that collectivization has been a good thing for Russian farming, that through the abolition of small landholdings and the creation of large-scale farms, it makes possible the universal introduction of the best modern agricultural machines, and that above all it guarantees open-minded management, which can readily apply anything new that science and experience advise.

According to recent information, the harvest of last year was splendid due partly to natural causes and partly to the increasing popularity of the Soviet policy of the collectivization of land.

It is, however, in the field of industry that Russia's first Five-Year Plan has been an unqualified success. Indeed the Coles say in *The Intelligent Man's Review of Europe Today* that it has succeeded on the whole far more than any observer thought it would. Stalin was able to report to the Sixteenth Party Congress in June, 1930 that in less than a decade industrial production had been raised from 17 to 180 per cent of the pre-War maximum. By 1931 it exceeded 200 per cent. With reference to this Mr. Sherwood Eddy, who as a life-long Y. M. C. A. worker cannot be suspected of partiality to the anti-religious Bolsheviks, rightly says in his, "*The Challenge of Russia*":

> An advance of more than tenfold in production in a decade, in the face of a world depression and without foreign loans is unprecedented.

According to the same writer, the output of oil, steel, rolled metal, electro-technical apparatuses and agricultural machinery has actually outstripped the estimate in the Five-Year-Plan, while at the same time an era of gigantic building is in evidence all over Russia—factories, dams, hydro-electric power stations, irrigation plants, railways, oil wells, mining projects, vast agricultural centres for State farms and collectives and housing for industrial workers. This is confirmed by the well-known author of '*The Mansions of Philosophy*' and '*The Hope for India*', Will Durant, in his '*Impressions of Soviet Russia*'.

The Komsomol (Communist Youth Association) has its place in this industrial campaign. Komsomolites are to be found on every front as volunteers fiercely keen on helping the cause. Klaus Mehnert recounts in his '*Youth in Soviet Russia*' two instances as typical of the Komsomolite.

> "A crack in the chimney of a cement works in Sverdlovsk had brought the factory to a standstill. So as to lose no time the damage was repaired by a Komsomolite at the risk of his life in a temperature of 100 degrees."
>
> "During the erection of the Traktorstroi a brigade of Komsomolites waived, in spite of intense winter cold, their claim to working-clothes of which there was shortage, on the following grounds: 'we don't need the suits so very much. We know how things stand. They must be given to fresh arrivals so that they shall not lose their enthusiasm for work on account of externals like a shortage of clothes'."

It is not possible to exhaust within the compass of a short article all that the first Five-Year Plan has acomplished, but one should make at least a passing reference to its work in the sphere of social services.

In protective Labour Legislation and social insurance, Russia, in the opinion of Mr. Eddy, probably leads the world. The Labour Code of 1918 and 1922 introduced eight-hour day.

Today it has been reduced to an average of 7.2 hours. Instead of one day's rest in seven, one in five is now provided. Each worker rests each fifth day or six days each month. Already more than nine-tenths of the wage-workers are insured. This social insurance is in the control of the trade unions, the Commissariat of Labour and the workers themselves. While in other countries the workers usually contribute from thirty to forty per cent of the insurance funds, in Soviet Russia the workers are not asked to contribute anything.* Most generous and extensive provisions for payments for maternity and child welfare, for medical care, for temporary and permanent disability, unemployment, invalidity and old age, housing, death benefit and burial are made.† Working women who were the beasts of burden in old Russia are specially protected and as a rule prohibited from night work and from certain arduous employments. Public nurseries, provided for small children whose mothers are at work, are a notable feature of Russian life, not only in the factories but on the collective farms, and in the parks and places of amuse-

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* *Labour Protection in Soviet Russia* by G. M, Price.

† *The Challenge of Russia* by Sherwood Eddy.

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ment. Provision is also made in factories and farms for newspapers, magazines, books and study courses. Workers are entitled to vacations on full pay in advance. Palaces and summer resorts of the former nobility are turned over for sanatoria, rest homes, hospitals and nurseries for their workers and their children.

All this fine humanity to a class of workers who have been the bottom-dogs in all climes down the ages was partially offset during the early days of the Bolshevic Revolution by the stepmotherly treatment meted out to the intellectuals, but the Five-Year Plan has brought into relief the importance of intellectuals in the social economy, and that class is now rapidly coming into its own.

The Russian Five-Year Plan has rooted up prostitution, and, says Maurice Hindus, "though stray remnants still linger here and there they are always under cover." This achievement, continues Maurice Hindus, "is more noteworthy when one remembers how sodden with prostitution Russia was in the old days." With the advent of the great plan, the the war on prostitution took on the character of a campaign for national safety. More than three million prostitutes have been persuaded to enter Russian industry in one capacity or other, and to deal with the confirmed prostitutes who would not abandon their profession, Government established special institutions known as prophylactoriums which are among the most remarkable institutions in Russia.

The reclamation of criminals in Soviet Russia is another fascinating story, but would be too long for recital here.

The picture of Russian achievement as presented here is far from complete, has its shadows—shadows which will presumably get touched off in the course of the working of the 2nd Five-Year Plan now in full swing. It is nevertheless a picture which every Indian Nationalist should look at through such volumes as Maurice Hindus' *The Great Offensive*, Sherwood Eddy's *The Challenge of Russia*, Klaus Mehnert's *Youth in Soviet Russia* and Harper's *Civic Training in Soviet Russia*, not indeed with a view to bodily transplanting the too red Communism of Russia on Indian soil but in order to glimpse the wonderful possibilities of progress for any people whose government can touch the keys of its emotion and set it on a co-operative march towards a vision splendid.

THE WATERS OF DESTINY

By SITA DEVI

XIII

BEFORE Sudarshan had finished speaking, Amitā cried out again, "Let other matters wait, tell me first when you are going to give us a feast?"

Sudarshan pretended to be very little impressed with the affair. "It is nothing much," he said, "Every year hundreds of boys are passing the M. B."

"But hundreds of boys don't stand first every year," interrupted Amitā.

"Who told you I have stood first?" asked Sudarshan.

Suparnā spoke now. "Surely you would not have come to tell us, if you had stood last," she said.

"But are not there other positions, besides the first and last ones?" asked Sudarshan.

"There are," admitted Amitā, "but not for you. Why don't you confess the truth?"

"Ladies must not be contradicted" said Sudarshan, "so I have perforce to admit that I have stood first."

"That is sufficient," said Amitā. "But don't try to avoid the real point. After this, you will become an ill-wisher of mankind for the sake of your career; why not earn a little merit now by feeding some good people?"

"I shall be only too glad to invite you to a feast, provided you undertake the cooking yourselves. I am against treating you to our Maharaj's cooking. People will say then that I am trying to secure patients by poisoning my guests."

Amitā burst into a peal of laughter at Sudarshan's words and said, "No, no, I don't want that sort of a feast. We are enjoying the servants' cooking everyday at home. We must organize a sort of a picnic. My aunt is a first-rate cook, we must make her take charge

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the kitchen department. We shall thoroughly
ourselves. We shall secure our Indu and
friend Gargee also. You know them also,
you? If Gargee is there, we shall not be
want of good music. If you have got any
ds you must bring them also.
"So all that's settled," said Suparnā, "only a
item has been omitted. You have
ten to ask what the man, most concerned,
ks of your arrangements. But I confess,
don't like this custom."
"What custom?" asked Amitā. "That of
ring oneselves? Then what would you
my dear? Shall we hold a condolence
ing for Sudarshan Babu?"
"You will be perfectly justified in doing so,
behalf of my future patients", said Sudarshan,
it would be a bit premature. But why
you like this custom? Don't you think
kind of recreation is as necessary for
n beings, as food and drink?"
"Amitā won't let anybody properly explain,"
Suparnā. "I did not mean that I was
enjoying ourselves. I only wanted to
that we should have stood you a feast.
d of that, it is hardly seemly to compel
to become the host."
"I shall be host only in name," said
rshan. "You will be the real hostesses."
"Goodness gracious! What do you mean?"
out Amitā. "My dear Su, I wash my hands
this dangerous affairs." Saying this, she
l out of the room in mock horror.
"What a strange reception of my innocent
k," said Sudarshan, feeling rather awkward.
Suparnā blushed fiery red. "Really", she
"I have seldom seen a more naughty girl
Amitā. She will never learn to speak
erly. Let that be. Are you then returning
alcutta?"
"No," said Sudarshan. "What would be the
of my going there? In every lane there,
will find half a dozen doctors. I must find
place where the field is yet open."
"There are many such places in Bengal, yet,"
Suparnā. "But you won't be able to make
ghost doctor' is the only available doctor and
potions the only medicine."
"Why don't you give me the address of these
ers?" asked Sudarshan. "I hope I shall be
to compete on equal terms with the 'ghost
'."
"You may not," said Suparnā. "The
ers really need the 'ghost doctor' more, as
themselves resemble evil spirits more than
n beings."
Amitā re-entered the room at this moment
announced, "I am free on next Friday. I
know whether everyone else is. If it suits
present, we can have the picnic on that
."
"Is it quite settled, about the picnic?" asked Suparnā. "Unless that is settled, what is the use of fixing the time and the place?"

"It does not take long to settle that," said Amitā, "it is ancient custom, that you have to stand a feast, if you come out successful in an examination. It is like the admission fee, you have got to pocket it out. I promise now to stand a feast, if I come through all right."

"That is kind of you," said Suparnā, "to invite us so much beforehand. Sudarshan Babu will appear for the feast whenever he sees in the newspapers that you have passed. But where is the picnic to take place?"

Sudarshan thought for a moment, then he said, "It can take place at the garden house of Lala Bishwambharlal. He will be glad to lend it to us for a day, if my father asks him. It is a pretty place. Have you ever been there?"

"No, we have not," said Amitā. "Very well, let it be there. Will Friday suit you?"

"I am not free before three in the afternoon," said Suparnā. "But it does not matter, if it suits everyone else. I can be there at four, in the evening."

Before Amitā could say anything Sudarshan burst out, "No, no, that would never do. It is better to have it on Sunday, which will suit all."

Amitâ looked askance at Sudarshan and said, "Very well then, let it be on Sunday. Now for the list of the invited. Whom are you going to invite?"

Suparnā got up and said, "What is the hurry? I have never seen such an impatient person as you."

"Am I to sit with all my attention focussed on the tip of my nose, as you do?" asked Amitā in anger. "Sudarshan Babu, please don't listen to her. We have got only four days in hand, so we must settle everything in a hurry. Good lord! why must aunt shout for me now?" Saying this, she left the room again.

As soon as she had gone out, Sudarshan asked Suparnā, "Don't you like the idea of having a picnic?"

"I have already told you what my objection is," said Suparnā.

"I shall be much more glad and more grateful too, if you come to my party, than I shall be if you give a party for me," said Sudarshan.

"That is nice," said Suparnā, "you do good to people, and are also grateful to them if they are kind enough to accept your services. You leave nothing for us to do."

"If you enjoy the party and allow me the opportunity of being grateful, that is enough," said Sudarshan. "Don't think it will be an easy job."

Amitā came back and said, "Aunt wants you to have tea with us."

"I have already had it, before I came out," said Sudarshan.

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"Tea is like sunlight and air," said Amitā. "There can never be a question of having more or less of it. You must have it whenever you see it before you."

"That is hardly scientific", said Sudarshan. "But it is certainly more convenient. So let us go and have tea."

Today Amitā had told the servant to serve tea in the dining room downstairs. Amitā's aunt was already there. As the three young people came in, she said, "You have shown great merit, my dear boy. You have stood first, haven't you ?"

Sudarshan bowed down to her feet and said, "So your niece has already informed everyone about it ?"

"Good news must be given to everybody," said Amitā.

Taran Babu and his two nephews now came in and were told the glad news. Everybody began to talk animatedly. Suparnā was the only silent member of the party. She was by nature a reticent person, and on this occasion specially, she was feeling a certain diffidence about expressing herself too freely. It was finally settled to have the picnic on Sunday. Amitā began to prepare a list of the persons they were going to invite. Sudarshan approved of every name she suggested, and finally took his leave. He promised to inform them by the evening whether they would be able to secure the garden-house in question.

Suparnā and Amitā had to start for their respective colleges, by half past nine, so they had very little time to spare in the morning. The party at the tea table broke up very soon. Suparnā went up to her room. She should have studied a while now, but could not fix her mind on the books. She opened the drawers at random and began to arrange them, though they were all tidily arranged. She looked at the dress she was to wear that day. It was clean enough, but to Suparnā's fastidious eyes, it did not seem up to the mark. So she put out another freshly-washed dress, and then sat down on the bed silently. It was against her nature to waste time thus, but today she could not give her attention to anything. She felt a thrill of excitement through her mind, though she did not know what it was about. She tried hard to acknowledge it to herself, but did not succeed fully.

Amitā had finished giving her orders for the day and was coming upstairs singing to herself and taking down her hair. Suparnā's room faced the staircase. The curtain of the door blew fitfully with the wind, thus rendering its presence meaningless, so Amitā could easily see into the room She broke off in the middle of her song and enquired, "Why are you sitting there like a statue, my lady ? Haven't you got any classes today ?"

"I am just going to have my bath," said Suparnā, getting up.

Amitā came into the room and asked, "Can you suggest anyone besides Indu and Gargee who could be invited ?"

"Why should we bother so much about inviting people ?" said Suparnā. "Let the person who is giving the party choose his guests."

"But he has appointed you the hostess," said Amitā, "so you have got a duty to fulfil."

Suparnā gave her a playful blow on the back and said, "Why should I bother ? She who managed everything unasked, should become the hostess. As if you did not know that he meant you, not me, to be the hostess."

"So you are jealous ?" asked Amitā. "The affair has made a certain progress then ?"

Suparnā picked up her towel and soap, saying, "I am going to have my bath now. You can go on jabbering to yourself."

She entered the bath-room and shut the door violently.

Amitā smiled and went off to her own room. She liked to tease Suparnā about Sudarshan. It had not escaped her quick eyes that Sudarshan liked Suparnā rather unusually. The young man had lived in Calcutta all these years, only appearing in Delhi for the vacations. So he had not had before any opportunities of striking up a friendship with Suparnā. After appearing for the final M. B. he got a long vacation and came to Delhi to spend it. He became a constant visitor at Taran Babu's house. Not only Amitā, but other people also had begun to notice it. Sudarshan was a highly eligible match, so many Bengali families were keeping a strict watch on his movements.

Amitā knew Sudarshan's partiality for Suparnā, but she could never get to know Suparnā's heart. She was a very reticent type of a girl, one could never get any careless avowal from her. Amitā never kept any secret from her friend, but Suparnā's heart was a sealed book to her. Amitā did not know what a world of difference lay between herself and Suparnā. Amitā was only a child when Suparnā first appeared at their house to live with them. No one in Delhi knew the painful history of Suparnā's childhood. It was known only to Taran Babu, and it was highly improbable that he should ever tell it to anyone. He had promised his friend Pratul to keep it secret, and he was keeping his promise to the letter. To Amitā and her girl friends, the world meant only love and marriage. But Suparnā pretended to be so very indifferent to these two things that the girls could only feel amazement and anger at her behaviour. What a curious type of a girl ! What was the use of pretending to be a saint ? Every girl was bound to marry sooner or later, so what was the use of posing as an innocent ? But Suparnā remained rather indifferent, in spite of these jests and sallies of humour.

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It was doubtful whether even Suparnā understood herself perfectly. She had not yet forgotten the frightful curse that fate had laid on her childhood. She knew well that she could never have a happy life, in the ordinary sense of the word. She was trying with all her power to become a free and independent being. She turned away her gaze intentionally from the sweeter possibilities of a woman's existence. But it was rather difficult to go on like this. Everyone, with the exception of old Taran Babu, took her to be an unmarried girl, and treated her as such. Suparnā's indifference to certain matters struck people as strange and Suparnā had to suffer many humorous attacks on account of it. She was a beautiful girl and an accomplished one. So she could hardly escape the attention of the young men around. Suparnā attracted them much more than Amitā did. Amitā was poking fun at Suparnā all the time on this subject.

Up to this, Suparnā had retained the serenity of her mind. She tolerated Amitā's attacks good humouredly. She was always so busy with her studies that she could not spare much time for recreation. Taran Babu was a widower and he had no grown-up son, so young men seldom came to his house. The girls met young men outside, but none of them had ever been able to touch Suparnā's heart. But this time the walls of the citadel were beginning to tremble.

Sudarshan was the son of one of Taran Babu's friends, so he had permission to come whenever he felt like it. This time his visits had become more numerous than strict etiquette permitted. Two persons were beginning to feel rather nervous about it. One was old Taran Babu. He understood that Sudarshan was falling very much in love with Suparnā, but how was this to end? He had taken her to be an unmarried woman and was desiring with all his heart and soul to have her as his wife. But cruel fate had placed her in a position where she must remain for ever, hopelessly out of his reach. The old man liked Sudarshan, and Suparnā was fully as dear to him as his own daughter. He trembled at heart, whenever he thought about the terrible blow, fate was preparing for these two young people. But he was helpless.

Suparnā too was beginning to get very much disturbed in mind, not so much for Sudarshan as for herself. She could not but acknowledge to herself that her mind had lost all its calmness and serenity.

XIV

The much looked-for Sunday arrived at last. Amitā had been busy, the whole week, making arrangements for the picnic. As soon as Saturday arrived, she became nearly frantic with excitement. There was a great enthusiast about every kind of amusement. She took upon her own shoulders all the duties that should have devolved on Sudarshan. She invited the guests, made a list of the necessary things and arranged about the cooking and the music, etc. Sudarshan remained completely in the background. Amitā's aunt helped her a good deal with the arrangements, by giving all kinds of expert advice. Suparnā alone, felt rather diffident about taking any part in the work unasked. Amitā scolded her day and night on account of this. But poor Suparnā could not make her behaviour natural and normal in spite of all her efforts. She did not herself understand clearly where her difficulty lay, and she had not the courage to probe deeply into her own feelings.

On Saturday, Amitā and her aunt suddenly changed their previous arrangements to some extent. "Let us finish the cooking here by night", said Amita's aunt. If we try to have the cooking done there, we shall have to suffer many difficulties and may not get many necessary things. Besides, I too shall want to go about a bit, though I am an old woman. It is a question of cooking for only thirty or forty people at the most. If we begin very early and light all the ovens, we shall get everything ready in time."

"Certainly", said Amitā with great enthusiasm. "It's a small affair after all. We have got to cook only the curry, the khichri and the fry; the rest will come from the bazar. It will be great fun. Shall we ask Indu to come and help with cutting up the vegetables ?"

"It is too small an affair to requisition outside help", said Suparnā. "We should be able to do everything ourselves. But the marketing must be done early and someone must go to fetch the meat from the slaughter-house at night. If he goes at half past three in the morning, he will get it fresh."

Both Amitā and Suparnā got back early from their respective colleges on that day. They hurried over their tea, then set themselves to prepare everything for the picnic. They sat down on the floor of the dining room with a large quantity of potatoes and began to peel them. Sudarshan arrived at this juncture. "Look, how busy we are", said Amitā, on seeing him. "We are determined to finish everything before we reach the garden. We are leaving only the eating, to be done there."

"Did you not arrange otherwise before ?" asked Sudarshan.

"Oh, but we have changed our minds", said Amitā. "My aunt says that she would not like to sit still there, mounting guard over the cooks. She, too, would like to go about. So we thought it better to have the cooking done here, and carry the food with us. Since we are getting the use of two cars, I don't see any difficulty in carrying out our plans."

"That will be all right then", said Sudarshan. "I shall be satisfied if I get a good feed. But I came to tell you that I have invited three more guests."

"You need not worry", said Suparnā. "The

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amount of potatoes, gathered by Amitā, is sure to be sufficient for all."

"Oh indeed!" said Amitā. "So all the fault lies with poor me? Who made the estimate pray? Don't try to be clever at my expense, or I shall hit back very nastily."

"It does not matter if we have more potatoes than we can consume", said Sudarshan, "it is far better than having to go without any. But you must let me know my share of the duties. I must refresh my memory or I shall forget everything.

"You must go and have the garden and the house thoroughly cleansed, first thing in the morning," said Amitā. "Next you must put in an adequate supply of water for drinking and all other purposes. You must also collect and guide all the male members of the party to their destination. Besides these, you may undertake to perform any other work, you want to."

"I don't want any other work", said Sudarshan. "If I feel inspired, when I am there once, I may try something more."

"There will be no lack of inspiration", said Amitā, "you might even get an electric shock."

As Amitā's aunt came in at this moment, they had to change the trend of their conversation. Sudarshan got up after a few minutes and said, "I must be off now. I have to go and inform some of my guests where they have to go. Else, there is no knowing when and where they will arrive."

"Won't your father be able to come?" asked Suparnā.

"I cannot say yet". said Sudarshan, "if he is fit, he might come. His rheumatism gives him no rest. I may take him there and bring him back early.

"Yes, yes, do bring him", said Amitā's aunt. "He must be there, since it is for you, his worthy son, that the party is being given. You must bring him somehow."

"I shall try my best", said Sudarshan. "But he is a confirmed invalid, you know, and one feels rather nervous about dragging him hither and thither."

Sudarshan left after this. The bustle of preparation went on in Taran Babu's house. Everyone felt too enthusiastic to go and have any rest, though it could have been easily managed.

It was about one at night, when Suparnā said, "Amitā, let us go and have a couple of hours' sleep or we won't be able to enjoy the picnic at all. We would only sit and nod drowsily."

"Let us", said Amitā, "but aunt, you must call us as soon as the meat for the curry arrives." They went and laid themselves down.

When they woke, the rosy light of dawn was already upon the earth. Amitā sat up in consternation and cried out, "Goodness gracious! It is already morning. Su, get up at once. Now aunt has gone and done it!"

Suparnā, too, sat up in alarm at Amitā's cry. They rushed downstairs, wrapping themselves somehow in their *saris*. Amitā looked through the open door of the kitchen and cried out, "This is very bad of you Aunt. Why did you not call us?"

The cooking was all finished and Amitā's aunt was instructing the servants how to keep everything warm. "Why is it so bad?" she asked smilingly. "You had a nice nap and now will be able to enjoy your outing to the full. Otherwise you would have felt drowsy the whole day."

"No, Aunt," insisted Amitā, "it was really very bad of you. Why should you sit up the whole night and work and why should we sleep?"

"That's all right," said her aunt, "now stop your righteous indignation. You play at being grown-ups all the year round. Now that a real old woman has arrived on the scene, you can take a little rest."

"But please, Aunt, you must go now and have a little rest," said Suparnā. "We shall do what little is left to be done. We won't start before nine, so you can have at least three hours' sleep in the meantime."

As soon as her aunt had gone out, Amitā sat down on a stool and said, "Though I pretended to be very angry still I would have felt awful without this little nap."

Suparnā was putting up the sweets and curds inside a meatsafe and replied, "That goes without saying. It would have been a horrible affair. Now everything is finished. If that car of Indu's arrives in time, we shall be all right."

"I hope Sudarshan Babu has not forgotten all about having the garden-house cleaned and arranging about the drinking water," said Amitā.

"He is not mad," said Suparnā.

"He is, to all intents and purposes," replied Amitā in a bantering tone.

"What pleasure do you get by constantly repeating a senseless remark?" asked Suparnā.

"It is not at all senseless or why should I repeat it?" asked Amitā. "Everybody with the exception of yourself admits that our young doctor is madly in love."

Suparnā frowned and said, "Well, go on saying it, if it gives you any pleasure." She locked up the kitchen and hurried upstairs.

"Don't be angry, Su" cried Amitā, and followed her.

She caught up with Suparnā when the latter had nearly reached her own room and asked, "Why did you become so mad?"

"Well, you like to hear about loving and falling in love for all the hours of the day," said Suparnā. "But I dislike it above everything."

"Are you going to become a nun, that you dislike all mention of the word 'love'?" asked Amitā.

"I may not become a nun," said Suparnā,

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does not mean that I am to remain
eventually moonstruck."
Amitā pouted in derision and said, "You can
take it from me, my dear young lady, that you
are going to become far more moonstruck than
you, by the end of this year. I am willing to
bet fifty rupees on it."
"Very well," said Suparnā, "deposit the fifty
rupees in the savings bank; else you won't find
it when you need it, spendthrift that you are."
Suparnā entered her own room and Amitā
followed her. "Instead of quarrelling with me,
you can put out the clothes you are going to
wear at the party," she said. "Then have your
bath. It will be eight very soon. As soon as
Indu and the others arrive, we shall have
start."
"It won't take long to choose my dress", said
Suparnā, opening her wardrobe. "I won't have
to bother my head about choosing the most
suitable colour."
"But you must put on a coloured dress today,"
said Amitā. "It makes me absolutely mad to
see you going about, dressed all in white like
a widow."
"You may get as mad as you like," said
Suparnā. "But since I wear white always, why
should not I wear it now ?"
Amitā now changed her tactics. If she
insisted, Suparnā, too, would insist.
"Why did you not ever put on the *sari*.
Father gave you on my birthday ?" she asked.
Father was so sorry about it. Why don't you
put it on today ? If you put on white, it is
bound to become quite dirty by the time we
come back."
Suparnā had a horror of dirt that nearly
amounted to a mania. So Amitā's words found
a ready response in her mind. "Very well",
she said, "but I don't think anybody would
mind me if I put on a dark blue sari, with
white borders."
"It would not matter," said Amitā, "if no one
recognized you. There would be a sensation
among the crowd about a strange and beautiful
young lady."
Suparnā smiled and went off to have her
bath. It struck eight soon after. Bathing, dressing
and having one's tea,—all these three things
usually take up much time in the case of young
ladies. So when Indu, one of their guests,
arrived, the door of Amitā's room was still found
to be closed.
Indu was one of Amitās fellow-students.
She knew Sudarshan also slightly. She ran
upstairs and knocked loudly at Amitā's door,
saying, "Are you dressing up as a bride, that
it takes such a long time ? I might have as
well waited for Gargee and brought her along."
"I am not dressing up as a bride," said
Amitā from inside, "there is another person who
has more right to do it. You can enquire at
the next room. But why don't you go and
fetch Gargee ? The poor girl will be so disappointed."
"Very well," said Indu, "I shall go and bring
her. But be ready by the time I come back."
The door of Suparnā's room too was closed,
but it did not appear to be bolted from inside.
Indu rapped on it with her fingers as she passed
towards the stairs and cried, "What news here?
Are you still making preparations ?"
Suparnā opened the door and said, "We don't
take so much time to finish our toilette, my dear.
We are going to become hardened lady-doctors.
So we must act in a befitting manner."
Indu looked at her and said, "You have done
enough as it is. If you had adorned yourself
more, it would have meant homicide. I have
never seen you looking so beautiful. Everybody's head would be turned."
Suparnā smoothed the broad gold border of
her dark blue sari and said rather awkwardly,
"It is not my fault, really. Amitā forced me to
wear this. Besides I was afraid to wear white,
lest it should become too dirty in the evening
with constant going about."
"You have done quite well and need not
apologize for it," said Indu. "I am going to
bring over Gargee. You must get Amitā out of
her room in the meantime."
Indu went away. Suparnā began to gather
together the things scattered all over the floor
and to arrange them properly. Amitā quarrelled
with her about this thing, ten times a day.
"Where was the harm if one left one's room a
little disarranged ?" she used to say. "My room
is not supposed to be the show window of an
English shop. What does it matter if it is a
bit untidy, once in a while? It lends quite a
human touch to the appearance of the room."
"Don't say 'human'," Suparnā would retort.
"Say rather 'animal', it would be more apropriate.
It really looks more like a pig-sty than a room."
Now Amitā had finished dressing up. She
came into Suparnā's room and asked, "Have
you finished? Aunt has already gone down in
despair about us. But how are we to manage
with two cars only?"
"It is difficult," admitted Suparnā. "We are
four already. If Gargee brings Madhab, we shall
be five. Then there are aunt, your father,
Shibu, and Nibu. We must also take along a
servant. The big kitchen 'Degchis' will fill up
one car completely. The servant might squeeze
in somehow into it. We must get a taxi for
ourselves."
At this moment, the tooting of a horn was
heard outside. Amitā ran to the window, crying,
"Indu has come back very quickly. Good lord!
It is not Indu. Whose car is this, then?"
Suparnā looked over her shoulder and said, "It
looks stupendous. It is a Dodge Sedan. I
wonder who sent it."
A servant came to the door and called out,
"A letter for you, miss."

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Amitā took the letter and read, "Miss Suparnā Mitra. So the car has come for you, my dear young lady. Who is the Prince Charming? Shall I open the letter and see?"

"Put a stop to your nonsense and see who it is," said Suparnā.

Amitā opened the letter and began to read it. The car had been sent by Sudarshan. It belonged to the gentleman who had lent them his garden-house for the picnic. He had gone away to Gaya on business. He had requested Sudarshan to use the car also, during his absence. So Sudarshan had sent it on, for their use.

Indu came back at this juncture with Gargee and her small brother Madhab Rao. So they had no need of a taxi any longer. The ladies all got into the car that Sudarshan had sent. Taran Babu got into his own car with his sister and two nephews. In another car, went all the food, with the servants, in charge.

The garden-house was situated at a pretty long distance. It took them full one hour to reach it. Two or three men were seen standing at the gate. "Thank God," said Amitā, "that Sudarshan Babu has not failed to arrive."

(*To be continued.*)

CARTOONS FROM AMERICAN PAPERS

PRESSING THEIR CLAIMS

"Let not your left hand know what your right hand doeth."

On one day Debtor Nation bluntly informs Uncle Sam that he does not intend to pay any part of his war debt which is now due—not in cash nor in kind.

That action represents the Nation as debtor.

On the next day the Debtor Nation rushes through its Legislature a bill to seize German assets in its banks and to apply the proceeds on German debt payments which Germany has refused to make.

That action represents the Nation as creditor.

Thus with one hand the Debtor Nation puts the squeeze on Germany while the other hand waves Uncle Sam's just claims aside. This applies to all European Debtor Nations except Finland.

Evidently, they have conveniently adopted the Biblical maxim about the two hands, which is quoted above.

And Uncle Sam, in his future dealings with foreign nations, is likely to conclude that old Polonius had the right idea when he said:

"Neither a borrower nor a lender be."

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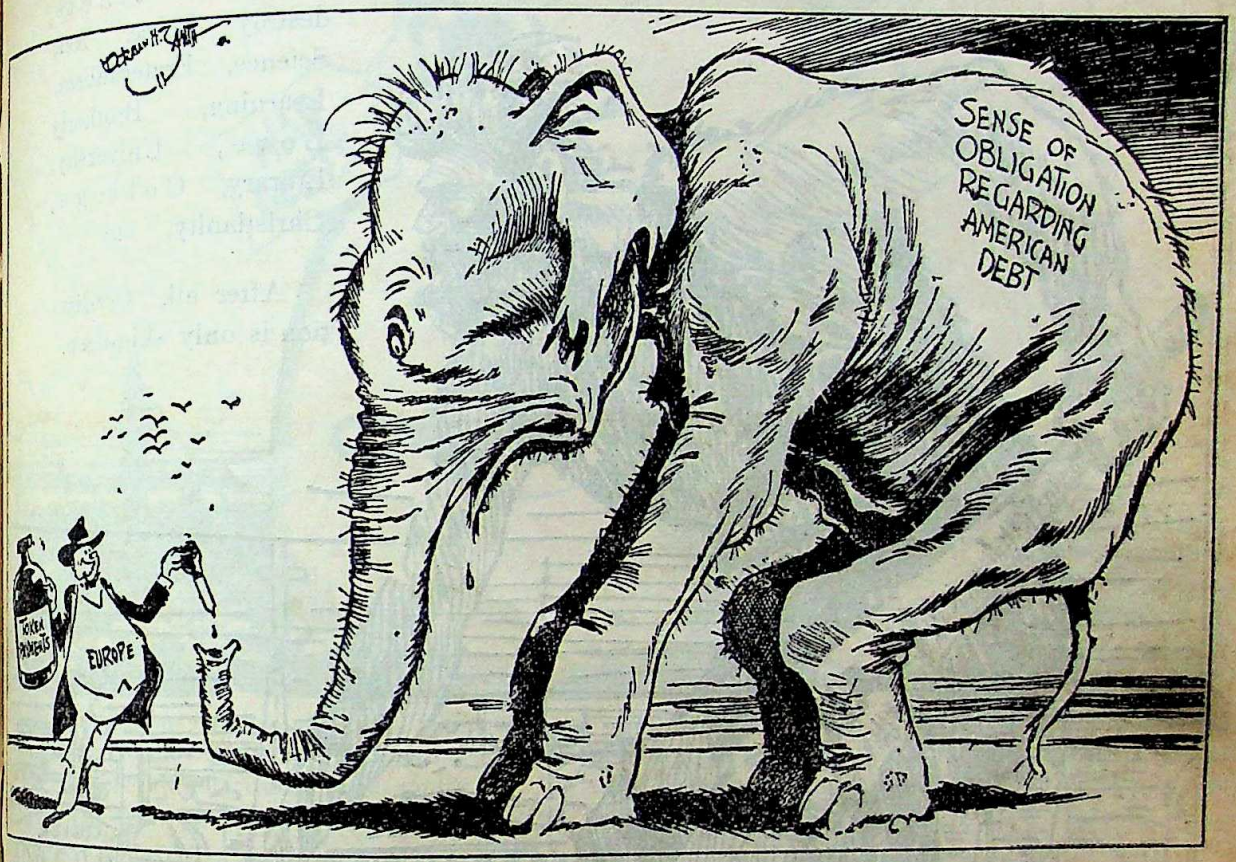
SLOWLY STARVING TO DEATH



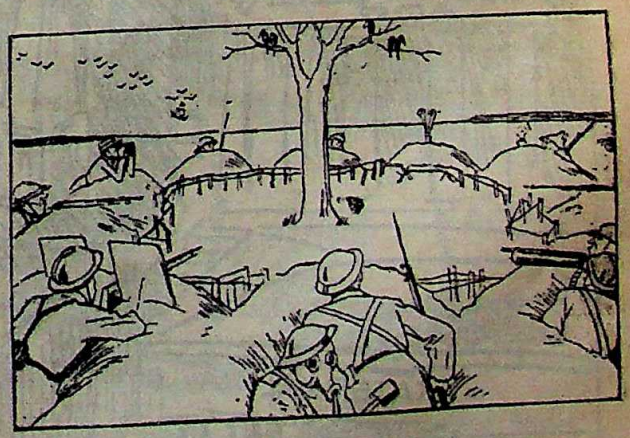
When the allied nations of Europe first contracted their war and post-war debts with America, keen was their sense of obligation, audible were their expressions of gratitude.

But how different it is now! Europe is repaying America in gestures—while spending its money on armament, as is France, or boasting, as is England, of its budget surplus!

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

(Kladderadatsch, Berlin)

As it was Conceived—



—And as it has Become

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AFTER ALL, CIVILIZATION IS ONLY SKIN-DEEP

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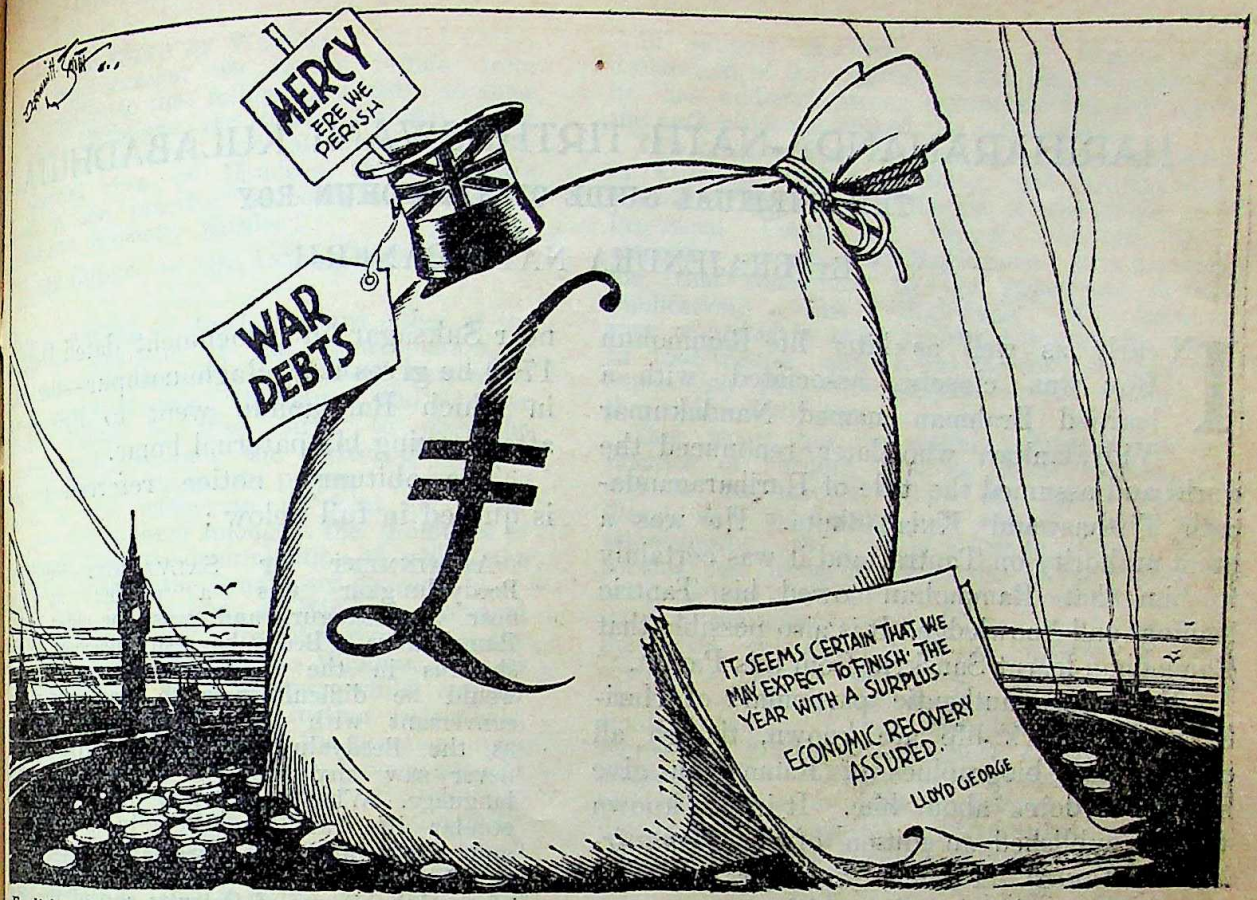
INCONSISTENCY, UNLIMITED

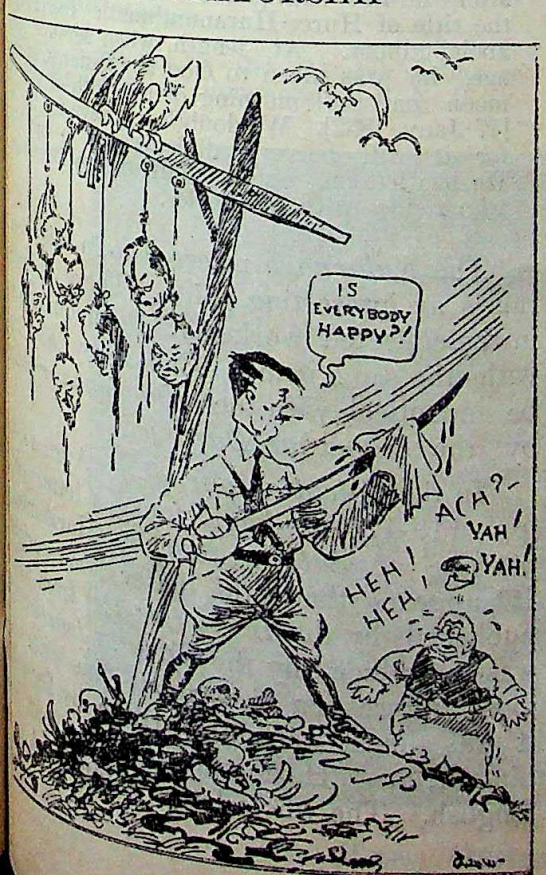


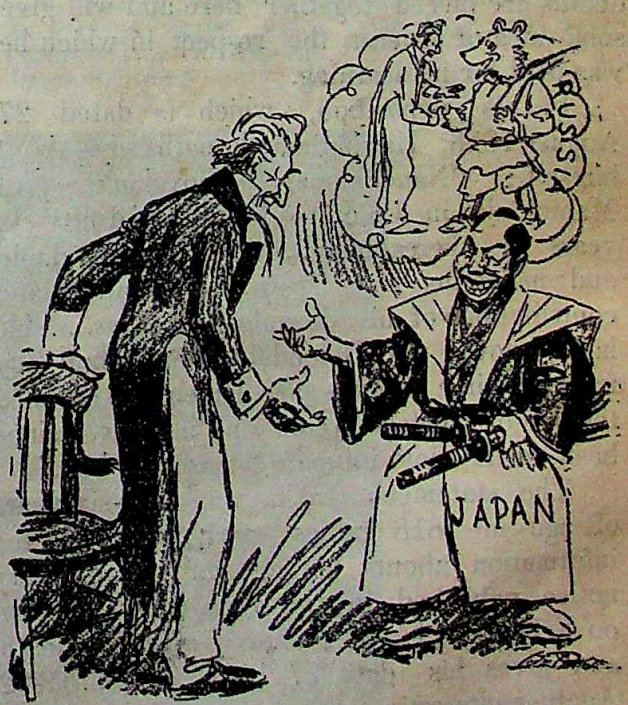
English statesmen and publicists have fallen into a regular habit lately of boasting about how well their country is doing financially.

Then the English debt-reducing delegations come over here and ask Uncle Sam to cancel the debt that England owes to the United States!

"SAM? LET'S SHAKE, TOO"
(*Newark Evening News*)

THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS UNDER A DICTATORSHIP





Seeing that Russia and the United States of America have become friends, Japan, too, wants to shake hands with Uncle Sam in a friendly manner.

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HARIHARANANDA-NATH TIRTHASWAMI KULABADHUTA

THE SPIRITUAL GUIDE OF RAMMOHUN ROY

By BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI

In early as well as later life Rammohun Roy was closely associated with a learned Brahman named Nandakumar Vidyalankar, who later renounced the world and assumed the title of Harihara-nanda-nath Tirthaswami Kulabadhuta. He was a great authority on Tantra, and it was certainly to him that Rammohun owed his Tantric leanings and knowledge. It is also possible that Rammohun learnt Sanskrit from this Pandit.

Not many authentic particulars of Hari-haranand-nath's life are known, though all the current biographies of Rammohun give some anecdotes about him. It is also known that he published an edition of the *Mahanir-vana Tantra*. I have, however, recently found some details of his life in accounts given by contemporary newspapers, and also in a statement recorded by himself when he was called as a witness in a case in which Rammohun was involved. These meagre details are pieced together here and will give some idea of at least the respect in which he was held for his learning.

In his deposition, which is dated 27 August 1818, Harihara-nanda-nath says about himself: "Nandakumar Vidyalankar of Manicktala in Calcutta Pundit aged fifty-six years or thereabouts . . . He is a Brahmin and maintains himself by the donations and contributions of his disciples *shishyas*. . . He hath known the Defendant Rammohun Roy from the time that the said Defendant attained the age of fourteen years and hath ever since been on the most intimate terms with him."

The statement that he was fifty-six years of age in 1818 tallies perfectly with the information about his age in the obituary notice published in the *Sumachar Durpun* on February 11, 1832 shortly after his death, and gives his date of birth as 1761-62. Another interesting point to note is that while in a document dated Rangpur, January 1812, he gives his place of residence as Palpara, near Suksagar, in a document dated December 1799 he gives it as Raghunathpur—the village in which Rammohun went to live in 1817 after leaving his paternal home.

The obituary notice referred to above is quoted in full below:

> ATTAINMENT OF SALVATION.—Nundokoomar Beedyalungkar was a teacher at Palparha, near Sook-saugur, and was the elder brother of Ramchandra Beedyabageesh, teacher of the law shastras in the Calcutta Sungskrit College. It would be difficult now to find any person so conversant with the Nyadurshuns and tuntras as the Beedyalungkar Bhattacharjya was. We never saw any one who had such a command of language. When he was very young he relinquished secular life, and travelled in many directions; and for nearly the last twenty years he resided at Benares. Many Rajas at Benares, and many of the inhabitants of Calcutta and of the Western Provinces, were his religious disciples. When he had lived about twelve years in Benares, he came for once to Calcutta, and then published a book called the Koolarnuba. The people of Benares greatly honoured him; and we have heard that after he had relinquished secular life he obtained the title of Huree-Huranundunath Teerthuswamee-koolabudhoot. At length, when seventy years of age, he was taken to God at Benares, at the full moon on the morning of the 5th of this March [17 Jany. 1832]. We doubtless grieve for his death; for it will be very difficult now to find his like. He has left only one son, Mritoonjoy Bhuttacharjya, who resides with his uncles.

The *Kularnava* referred to in this account raises an interesting point. There is included in the collected works of Rammohun a work with the same name. Can it by any means be indentical with the *Kularnava* mentioned by the *Sumachar Durpun*?

In the *Calcutta Journal* of April 11, 1819 (pp. 119-120) I have found a letter on the practice of *Sati* written by Harihara-nanda. It appears that the letter was originally published by the *India Gazette* from which it was reproduced by the *Calcutta Journal*. The most interesting fact about this letter is that it was almost certainly written by Rammohun himself, as Harihara-nanda did not know English. The whole letter is given below:

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BURNING OF WIDOWS

On this occasion we cannot refrain from ...ring insertion to the following Letter: to shew ...w while Christians are thus indifferent to the ...ecution of those cruel and bloody rites, a large ...d powerful class of Hindoos themselves are ...ooked at the practice, as being nothing short ...f wilful and deliberate Murder!

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDIA GAZETTE.

Sir,

Without wishing to stand forward either as the ...dvocate or opponent of the concremation of ...Widows with the bodies of their deceased Husbands, ...or ranking myself among Brahmuns who consider ...themselves bound by their birth, to obey the ...ordinances and maintain the correct observance ...f Hindoo law, I deem it proper to call the ...attention of the public to a point of great ...importance now at issue amongst the followers of ...that law, and upon the determination of which, the ...lives of thousands of the female sex depend.

In the year 1818, a body of Hindoos prepared ...a petition to Government, for the removal of the ...existing restrictions on burning Widows, in cases ...not sanctioned by any Shastur, while another ...party petitioned for at least further restrictions, ...not the total abrogation of the practice, upon ...the ground of its absolute illegality. Some months ...after, Bykunthnauth Banoorjee,* Secretary to ...the Brahmyu or Unitarian Hindoo community, ...published a tract in Bungla, a translation of which ...in English is also before the public, wherein he ...not only maintains that it is the incumbent duty ...of Hindoo Widows, to live as ascetics, and thus ...secure divine absorption, but expressly accuses ...those who bind down a Widow with the corpse ...of her Husband, and also use bamboos to press ...her down and prevent her escape, should she ...attempt to fly from the flaming pile, as guilty of ...deliberate woman murder.

In support of this charge, as well as of his declaration of the illegality of the practice generally, he has adduced strong arguments founded upon the authorities considered the most sacred.

This tract we hear has been generally circulated in Calcutta, and its vicinity, and has also been submitted to several Pundits of the Zillah and Provincial Courts in Bengal, through their respective Judges and Magistrates. It is reported too, that consequent to the appearance of that publication, some Brahmuns of learning were requested by their wealthy followers to reply to that treatise, and I was therefore in sanguine expectation that the subject would undergo a thorough investigation.

This report has now entirely subsided, and the practice of burning Widows is still carried on, and in the manner which has been I declared illegal and murderous. At this I cannot help astonishment; as I am at a loss to conceive how persons can reconcile themselves to the stigma of being accused of woman murder, without attempting to shew the injustice of the charge, or if they find themselves unqualified to do that, without at least ceasing to expose themselves to the reiteration of such a charge by further perseverance in similar conduct. I feel also both surprise and regret that European Gentlemen, who boast of the humanity and morality of their religion, should conduct themselves towards persons who submit quietly to the imputation of murder, with the same politeness and kindness as they would shew to the most respectable persons; I however must call on those Baboos and Pundits either to vindicate their conduct by the sacred authorities, or to give up all claims to be considered as adherents of the Shasturs; as if they do not obey written law, they must be looked upon as followers of blind and changeable custom, which deserves no more to be regarded with respect in this instance, than in the case of child murder at Gunga Sagur, which has long ago been suppressed by Government.

March 27, 1818. HURRIHURANUND.

* He was secretary to the Atmiya Sabha or ...ty Society started by Rammohun.—B. N. B.

A Village Home. Artist—Mr. Narendra Keshari Ray

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THE TREATMENT OF INFANTILE TUBERCULOSIS IN SWITZERLAND

By A. K. MAJUMDAR, M. A.

"My little child"—in tears she said—
"To wake and weep is mine.
But thou canst sleep—thou dost not know
Thy mother's lot, and thine."

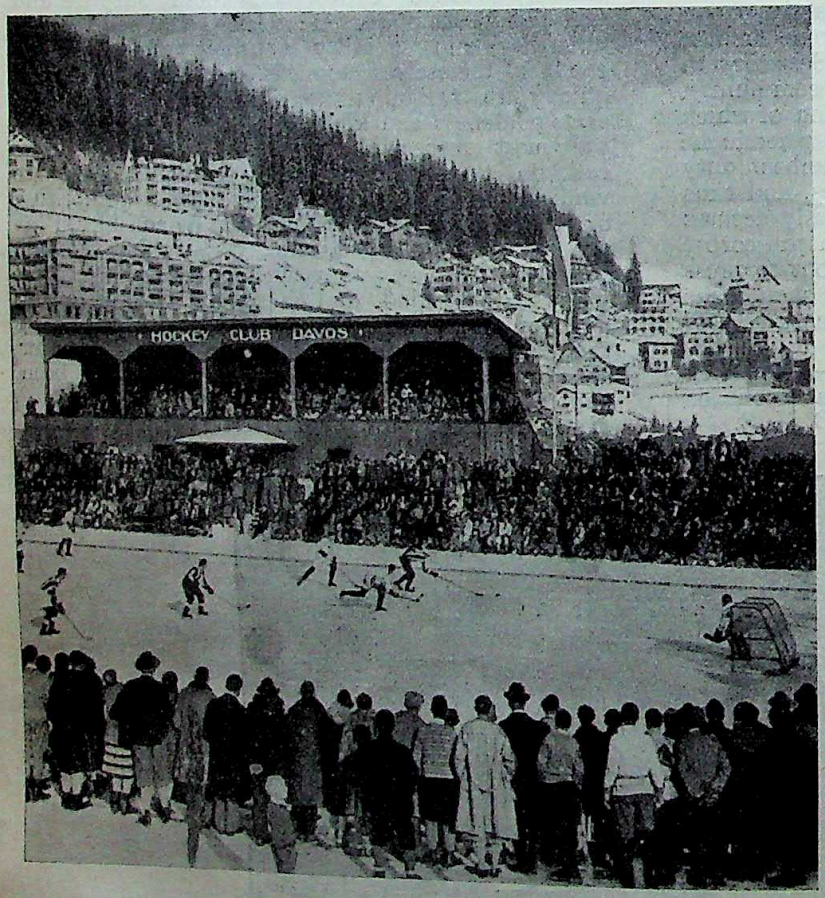
THAT there is a great deal of suffering among grown-up men and women is sad enough; that sickness robs the faces of many growing boys and girls, just blooming into life, of the glow, the warmth of life, is sadder still; but saddest of all is the sight of infants and children in the grip of the deadliest disease which civilization has brought into society,—I mean Tuberculosis. What a pity that the innocent little infant, who has not known what life means, who cannot be imagined to be guilty of any sin of thought, speech or action, who is expected to be

"all the day long caressing and caressed",

should have been tied down to the sick-bed by the most relentless disease before

". . . . its little tongue had just begun
To lisp the names of those it loved the best."

Owing to the absence of special sanatoria, clinics and preventoria for tubercular children in most of the health resorts in India, I had no idea of the large incidence of tuberculosis among infants and children; but in the course of my recent European tour I have witnessed with pain the cruel ravages of this great scourge of our civilization. The visits that I have paid to some of the Swiss establishments for the cure of tuberculosis among children and for its prevention, have evoked in me unbounded praise and admiration for the excellent way in which infants and children are being treated there. A brief description of some of them may not be without interest and perhaps profit, to many of my countrymen. It is in this spirit that this paper has been written.



Ice Hockey at Davos

In the company of my esteemed friend, Dr. R. K. Kacker, Superintendent, King Edward Sanatorium, Bhowali, India, who recently visited Switzerland to enrich his already wide experience by garnering first-hand information regarding the recent researches in the treatment of tuberculosis in that country, I visited on October 16, 1933, the *Sanatorium Des Enfants, Leysin*, which is a sanatorium and also a preventorium for infants and children with pulmonary tuberculosis or those predisposed to it. We had obtained introductions from our friend Dr. L. C. Vauthier, Director of the *Sanatorium Universitaire Swisse*. In the absence of the Medical Superintendent who had gone to Paris to attend a medical conference, we were kindly received and shown round by the non-medical lady-secretary. The intelligence, ability, intimate knowledge of the technique of tuberculosis treatment, and the skill shown in interpreting the X-Ray photographs by this non-medical young

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were simply astonishing. Through the courtesy of the authorities I had the pleasure of visiting this institution again a few months

This *Sanatorium des Enfants* is nicely located on an elevation, which commands a beautiful panoramic view and at the same time presents to the children the pleasing sight of life on the road below. It is chiefly intended for Swiss children of both sexes, particularly those of the Canton of Vaud, but it admits children of other nationalities too. In 1932 there were in it 98 children, who were distributed as under :—

'Swisses' :	Vaudois	30	
	Confédérés ..	34	64
		—	
'Etrangers' (foreigners) :	France	24	
	Italy	5	
	Poland	2	
	Roumania ..	1	
	Spain ...	1	
	Belgium ...	1	34
	Total		98

The Sanatorium was opened in a chalet or typical wooden Swiss Cottage, and the present magnificent building was constructed in 1910. It is what may be called a *Sanatorium Populaire des Enfants* (a popular or State Sanatorium for children), belonging as it does to the public, for is maintained from the public or State funds, (opposed to one belonging to an individual body. It is under the medical supervision a very senior physician, Dr. Morin, and there also a resident physician who is assisted by number of Sisters or trained nurses. Besides, dining hall, kitchen, office, etc., on the ground-, there are flats for the residence of the nts, and for each flat there is a Sister and a lady teacher who gives lessons in the Swiss languages (French, German and ish), arithmetic, knitting etc ; but there is an ional nurse for the third floor which is ially reserved for little infants. Each flat its own dormitories, balconies, water-closets, -rooms with shower baths, isolation rooms serious cases, closed wall cupboards for the es of the children, kitchen, etc. The sana- m is provided with a good laboratory, an ay apparatus, a pneumo, thorax apparatus complete equipment of Ultra-Violet Rays in a rate room where five patients can be treated a time. The following are the prices of beds— ges for each bed or patient) :

4 Swiss francs (Rs. 3-8) per day per head
5 " " (Rs. 4-6) " "

These charges include board, lodging, lighting, heating, medical attendance, medicines X-Ray screening. The extras are X-Ray photograph (radiographie) 20 francs (Rs. 17-8) and laundry charges. The charges for board are payable for each month in advance.

As stated above, this sanatorium is both a preventorium and a hospital for the treatment of children smitten with pulmonary tuberculosis. The ages of the inmates range from two to twenty years. About a dozen are under 10 years and there are only half a dozen who are over 16 years of age. One of the few snapshots taken by me of what may perhaps be fittingly called "mildewed flowers" is given below. It is impossible for me to describe the depth of my sorrow when I saw, in the grip of the deadly disease, these innocent infants and children whom one would have expected to run and play about, to fill their mothers' hearts with the promise of healthy growth and to fill their homes with their joyful notes. As the majority of them are mere infants and children, the four walls of all the dormitories have beautiful paintings of animals and scenes of child life in bright colours When the weather is good, they spend the greater part of the day on the broad balconies which are provided with curtains for protection against the strong sun,

"Mildewed Flowers",
Sanatorium des Enfants, Leysin

when necessary. On each flat the long balcony has iron railings, five feet high, to prevent any children from falling, and there is also a glazed wooden sliding partition to separate the advanced cases from the early ones. There are special yellow glass panes on the balcony and all children use a particular type of linen caps and deep-tinted goggles for the protection of their eyes against the glare of the sun. This is very necessary in a country where the hill-tops, hill-sides, valleys roads and house-tops are covered with snow for nearly seven months in the year. The children come out and play about in bright weather. Three sets of X-Ray photographs of each patient are maintained, namely, (1) one set of large or full size photographs, taken every three months and arranged in neatly labelled big envelopes, (2: one set of

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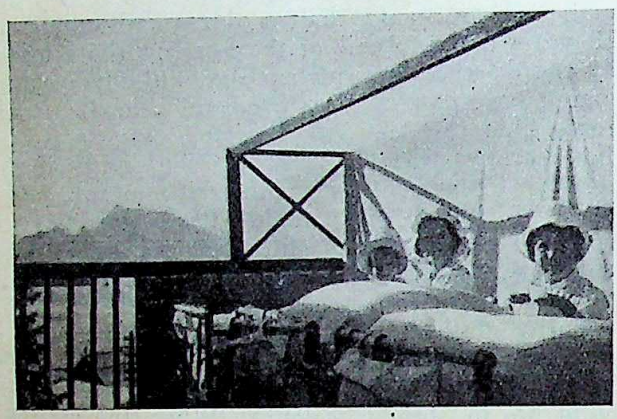
photographs of reduced size pasted in the patient's history register, in which are also noted in logical sequence and chronological order the results of X-Ray screenings with sketches where possible, of sputum, blood and other analyses; (3) one complete set of photographs of reduced size placed in a



"Human Flowers", Le Chalet, Leysin

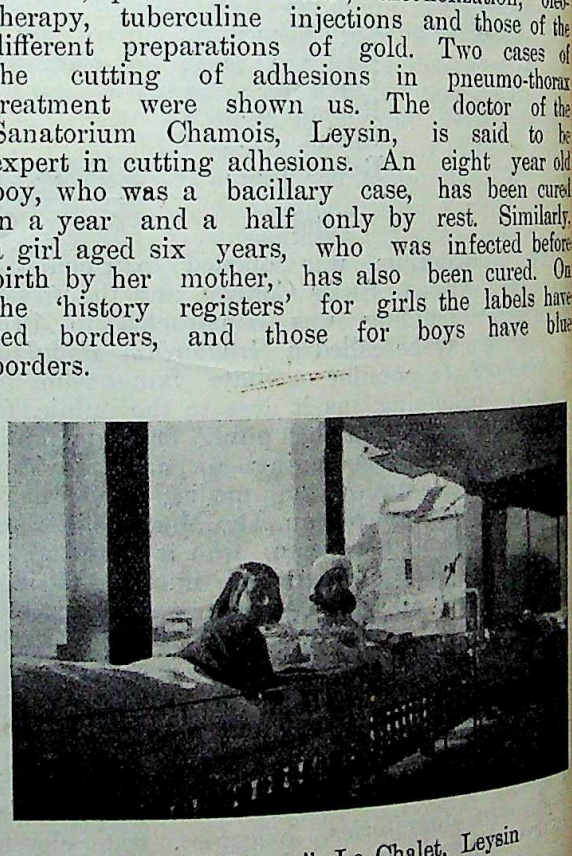
transparent envelope and hung by the patient's bedside, where there is also a chart of temperature, pulse beats, records of A. P. (artificial pneumo-thorax), special injections, etc. Correspondence is allowed once a week. The education of these children is not neglected. For each flat there is a lady teacher who gives lessons in the morning. I have seen some of the exercise books which are exceedingly neat and methodical. In the bath-room there are pigeon-hole cupboards, and in each pigeon-hole are put the soap, tooth-brush, tooth-paste or mouth-wash (Odol) of each child in such a way that they do not get mixed up with those of other children.

The third floor is a preventorium. Infants and children, predisposed to tuberculosis, live here in large dormitories and on broad, sunny balconies. In each of the dormitories for the youngest infants, from two to six years of age, there are six beds. A small bath-tub, looking like a play-thing, is fixed in the wall. There are two Sisters or nurses on this flat and one of them is in constant attendance on the infants. There is an excellent bath-room with seven wash basins and another room with five shower baths. Here there are several girls between the ages of 12 and 14 years, among whom there are two alcoholization cases, one of oleothorax, two of simple pneumo-thorax and one of double pneumo-thorax. The last-named is a boy eight years old. The milder cases are separated from the more advanced ones.

On the second floor there are well developed cases of tuberculosis. The bacillary cases are separated from the non-bacillary ones. A twelve year old girl had come with a big cavity in the lung five months before my visit, but the phrenic evulsion has succeeded in her case and her cavity has almost closed up. There is another child, 13½ years old. In her case pneumo-thorax has succeeded and the cavity has become very much smaller. In another case, age 13 years, A. P. has succeeded.

The first floor is entirely reserved for boys with developed symptoms of tuberculosis. There is a boy aged 13 years in whose case double pneumo-thorax has been successful. It is administered one week in one lung, and in the next week in the other lung, and so on.

The boys do a lot of reading and drawing, and the girls reading and knitting, The various means of treatment adopted here are the Ultra-Violet Rays; pneumo-thorax, both single and double; phrenic evulsion; alcoholization, oleo-therapy, tuberculine injections and those of the different preparations of gold. Two cases of the cutting of adhesions in pneumo-thorax treatment were shown us. The doctor of the Sanatorium Chamois, Leysin, is said to be expert in cutting adhesions. An eight year old boy, who was a bacillary case, has been cured in a year and a half only by rest. Similarly, a girl aged six years, who was infected before birth by her mother, has also been cured. On the 'history registers' for girls the labels have red borders, and those for boys have blue borders.



"Human Flowers", Le Chalet, Leysin

For the treatment of "surgical tuberculosis" that is, glands, bones, joints, etc. among children, there are special institutions at Leysin, such as *Les Fleurettes Le Florimont, Le Buis, Le Chalet, La Rose des Alpes* etc., all under the medical supervision of the world-famous Dr. A. Rollier, M. D., but the most important one is *Le Chalet*, which was his first clinic, opened in 1903. By the kind permission of Dr. Rollier, I visited *Le Chalet*, on January 11, 1934, at 10 A. M. In Europe etiquette requires that one must obtain previous permission or an introduction in order that one may visit an institution like

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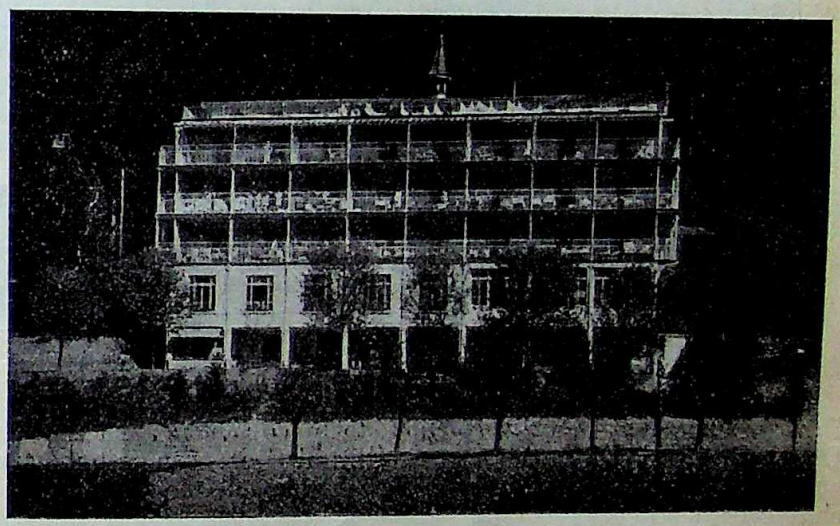
I was received by the Manager and was introduced to the lady-teacher who speaks French and English fluently. This lady showed me round and explained to me the special features of this institution. On the ground floor, just opposite the office, is a room which is a combined *Salon d'Attente* (waiting-room) and library. It is very well furnished and has a number of large, beautiful pictures. There are 1,000 volumes in the library, all having thick blue covers on, serially numbered and neatly arranged in glazed almirahs. Besides some adults, there are 30 children, boys and girls, between the ages of 5 and 14 years. At the time of my visit they were having their "sun-cure" on the roof and balconies on the first and second floors, and on the solarium at the top. They were also learning their lessons. Very young children and infants are kept together, and of the others, the boys are kept quite apart from the girls. There is a trained-up teacher who teaches the children French, arithmetic, history and geography. Knitting and sewing too are taught to such girls as can do them, and drawing is taught to two or three children who have a special aptitude for it. The school hours are from 9.30 to 11.30 A. M. and from 3.30 to 5 P. M., subject to health and the weather permitting. There are children from the French and German speaking parts of Switzerland, France, Germany, Jugoslavia, Tunis, Morocco, two from Palestine and one from Perth. As there is only one teacher, and the children who receive their lessons lying in bed or on lounge chairs, are distributed in three different classes, they cannot be taught like the regular school classes. While one batch does some oral work, another does some written work. Several students write a very good hand and the dictation done is quite creditable. The infants have small ball-frames for counting and doing easy calculations. The addition and subtraction and numeration, simple addition and subtraction have been taught intelligently. The elder boys and girls do harder sums in arithmetic. History and geography are learnt with the aid of atlases. The infants take their 'sun-cure' on the solarium. I was exceedingly delighted with their songs and cheerful appearance. A few snapshots taken by me of these "human flowers", are reproduced in this paper. *Le Chalet* is a *clinique* de Rollier or a clinic maintained by the Canton Vaud. The charges are low, 5 francs a day for this reason this house is generally full. Dr. Rollier once in the course of a conversation with me remarked: "Because these children spend the greater part of the day in the open air—on the balconies and on the solarium—they keep mentally alert, and actually do as much work in two hours in the morning as the other children of the local State school do in the whole day."

In the same way there are some very good institutions for tubercular children at Montana-Vermala, which is also in French Switzerland. It is in the Canton of Valais. It can be reached in half an hour by the funicular railway from Sierre, which is a station on the Milan-Simplon-Lausanne line. The chief of these institutions are the Home d'Enfants *Le Mayen*, 250 francs per mensem, "*Lumiere*" *and* "*Vie.*" 5 francs (Rs. 4-6) a day.

Davos is the oldest, largest and finest Alpine health resort in the Canton of Grisons in Switzerland.



Sanatorium des Enfants, Leysin

It is famous all over the world as a health resort and centre of winter sports. Its altitude is from 5000 to 5,500 feet above the sea level. It has two railway stations, namely Davos-Dorf and Davos-Platz. The sanatoria are all at the latter place. From October till April it is covered with snow. Of all the health resorts in Switzerland, Davos is most famous for its long level walks, its fine municipal gardens, its market square, excellent shops, libraries, churches and palatial sanatoria. A very large number of English-speaking visitors from Great Britain and America come here for treatment or sports; and not only the sanatoria, clinics, hotels and boarding houses have English-speaking men and women on their staffs, but most of the shop-keepers and business people speak English. Messrs. Thos. Cook and Son have an agency here. Davos is reached by a mountain railway in an hour and a half. There are three excellent sanatoria for tubercular children maintained here by the Pro Juventute—and a private sanatorium for children, all under the medical supervision and care of Dr. J. L. Burckhardt, Director of Kindersanatorium Pro Juventute,

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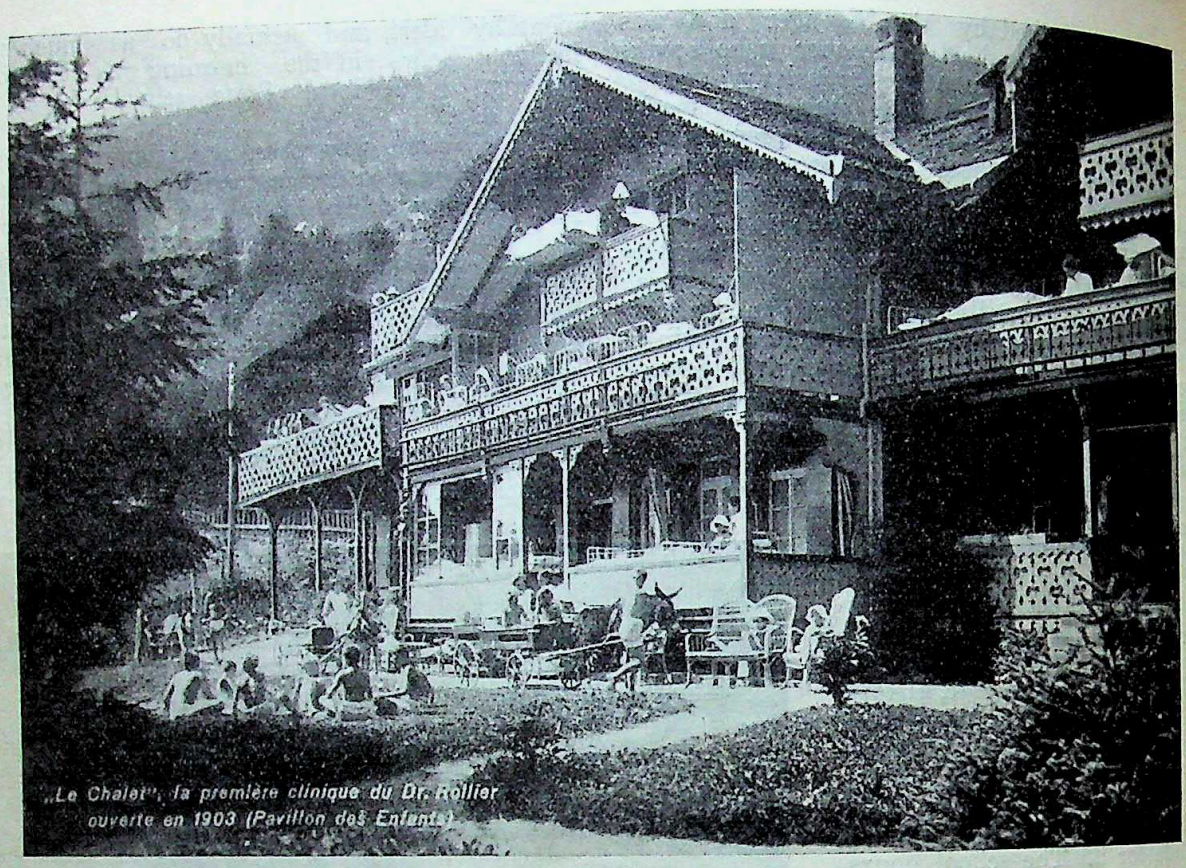

Clinique Le Chalet, Leysin

Davos-Platz. I had an introduction to him from Dr. D. Siegfried, Director of the Central Secretariat Pro Juventute, Zurich. This group of children's sanatoria is built on a higher level from the main road below. The main building is provided with an X-Ray apparatus, a laboratory and a room for the examination of patients by the doctor. Most of the rooms have six beds each, with running hot and cold water, bath-room, dining hall, kitchen, etc. and the houses have their full complement of nurses, housemaids, etc. The total number of nurses, including four in training, is 15, and the present number of children under treatment is 175. There are two assistant physicians and one head physician, Dr. J. L. Burckhardt. The inclusive charges for infants are 6 francs (Rs. 5-4) a day and those for children are

Age	Summer	Winter
7-15 years	Frs. 4-50 (Rs. 3-15)	Frs. 5 (Rs. 4-6)

The education of such children as are not seriously ill is not neglected. There are satisfactory arrangements for the teaching of languages, arithmetic, geometry, history, geography etc. There are well furnished regular class-rooms with modern desks, chairs, etc. and the teaching staff consists of four teachers, two being for the regular lessons and two for teaching needlework, knitting, etc.

In the same part of Switzerland there is a new but smaller health resort called Arosa. It is very well laid out, and the beautiful shops, the lakes, the high snow-covered moutains make it a most charming place. It is also a great centre of winter sports. But the altitude is nearly 7000 ft above the sea level and therefore the cold is intense. In the winter the lakes are frozen. Here too there are several "kindersanatoria" or sanatoria for children, which are very good institutions and are well managed, but the place is fast developing into a winter sports centre.

Leysin appears to me to be the most suitable place for Indians. It is easily reached from the Italian ports, Venice and Genoa, and from the French port Marseilles. The altitude, which is 5000 ft above the sea level, is in its favour. For more than six months in the year it is covered with snow. The sanatoria for pulmonary cases and clinics for surgical cases are excellent. The doctors and at least one nurse at each house speak English. It is far less expensive than any other Swiss health resort.

The institutions mentioned above are all well organized and efficiently managed. The infants and children look as happy as they can be expected to in the circumstances. In our country not many cases of early tuberculosis of infants and children are detected, and there is hardly any satisfactory arrangement, specially for their treatment.

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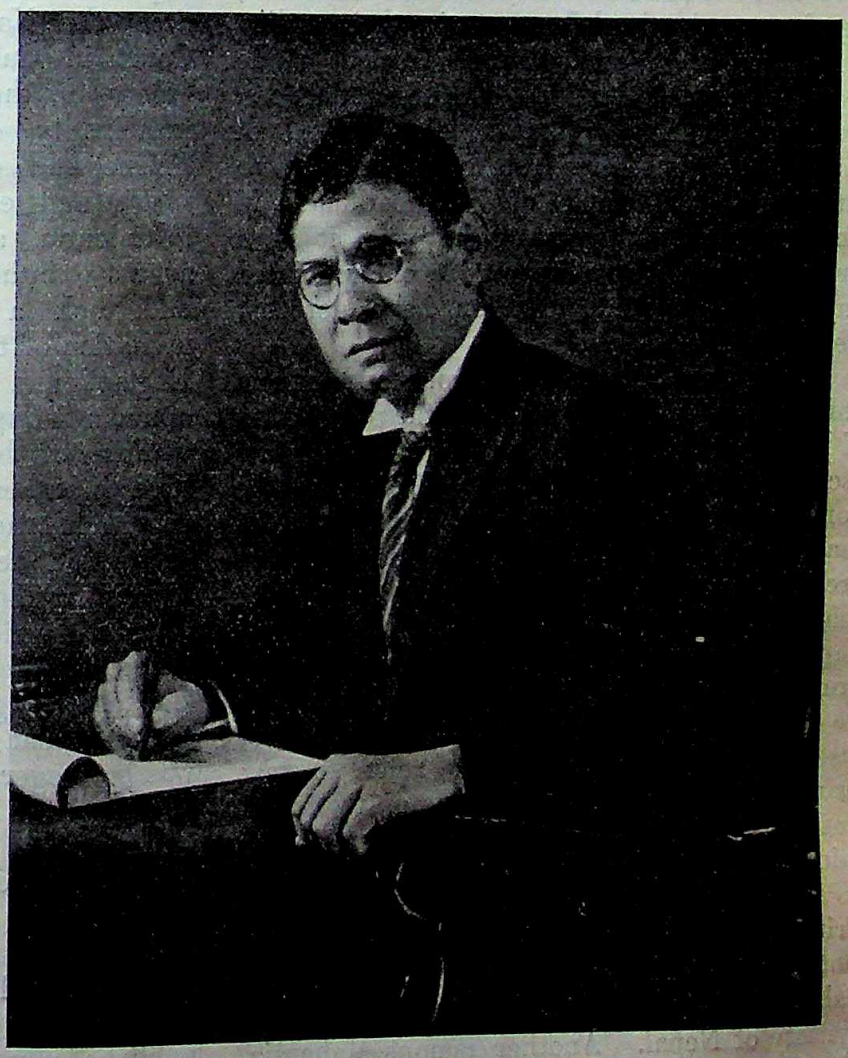
RAJA JAI PRITHVI BAHADUR SINGH

By M. KRISHNAMURTI

An outstanding, and perhaps the most picturesque, figure at the recent Parliament of Religions which met in Chicago, was a visitor from the East—Raja Jai Prithvi Bahadur Singh of Nepal. His visit to the United States of America was greeted with great enthusiasm by the press of the country and his presence at the Parliament, together with His Highness the Gækwar of Baroda, imparted unusual interest to the proceedings. Here for the first time were princes and potentates sitting in solemn conclave by the side of priest and yellow-clad monks in an attempt "to focus the highest spiritual inspiration available on the solution of the world's present problems." In the words of the conveners, Raja Jai Prithvi Bahadur Singh's work at this unique Fellowship of Faiths was privileged to form "the most complete, fundamental and convincing embodiment of the purpose for which the Conference was brought together."

We have said that Raja Jai Prithvi is a picturesque personality. His, however, is not an outward picturesqueness. He has none of the oriental pomp and panoply associated with oriental princes. Clad in the simple costume of the West, speaking in soft and deliberate tones, with a manner that has not lost its natural shyness inspite of extensive travels, Raja Jai Prithvi is what the *New York Times* described as "essentially the scholar—not the demagogue." He has indeed none of the accoutrements of the demagogue: neither the catch-words, nor the language and gestures that stir up sudden popular enthusiasms.

The picturesqueness of Raja Jai Prithvi is in his life, which reads like a story-book. The very land of his birth, Nepal, has a mystic glamour all its own. Its soft-eyed, rose-cheeked women have a singularly alluring beauty, and their intense joy of living finds its expression both in their movements and love of colour. The men of Nepal have long been



Raja Jai Prithvi

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famous for their bravery and skill in war, but it is not equally well known that they can wield the chisel as deftly as the *kukri* and that the Nepalese wood-carvings are things of rare charm and grace. Before the recent great earthquake, Nepal possessed innumerable art-treasures and beautiful temples, but nature in one of her terrible moods has laid waste the patient labours of many centuries. Nevertheless, the spirit that wrought these last wonders is still alive and will rise again in new glory like the phoenix from its ashes. The Nepalese are a patient and persevering people, and though the recent catastrophe has left their fortunes shattered, their courage remains unbroken. Jealous of their natural seclusion, they have maintained for centuries their policy of isolation and preserved their ancient mode of life undisturbed by outside influences. Only once in the year, during the festival of Shivaratri, are pilgrims from India suffered to journey to the temple of Pashupathinath in Khatmandu: for the rest of the year it is a forbidden land where life goes its old appointed way and custom and tradition have not lost their supremacy.

Even more removed from and almost unknown to the outside world is the principality of Bajang, to whose throne Raja Jai Prithvi ascended as a boy of eleven. It lies in the north-west corner of Nepal and forms the chief feudatory state of that kingdom. So primitive are the conditions in this mountain state that the Raja confessed to an American newspaper-man that he knew neither the extent nor the population of the State over which he ruled for many years. Raja Jai Prithvi was the first of a long line of rulers to start primary education in his state, to found hospitals and build such roads as the mountainous nature of the country allowed.

Born in a family of autocrats, Raja Jai Prithvi is the most democratic of men. His mother's father was the great Maharaja Jung Bahadur, the founder of the present Rana dynasty of Nepal. Another famous Maharaja, Sir Chandra Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana, was his father-in-law. On his father's side, the Raja is descended from a noble clan of Rajputs who migrated to the Himalayas during the Muhammadan conquests, and there founded the principality of Bajang.

Fate, who loves paradoxes, thus placed the boy Jai Prithvi, who was to grow up into a great believer of the oneness of humanity, in the most aristocratic and exclusive traditions. "My early up-bringing," observed the Raja in a speech he delivered in America, "was calculated to make me a good ruler of my mountain state." "A good ruler", added the Prince somewhat humorously, "means in my part of the world an autocratic, though a benevolent, governor of his people."

His marriage to the daughter of the then Maharaja of Nepal brought the Prince in close association with the affairs of the Central Government, in which he held several important offices. He was also for some time the Napalese envoy at the Viceregal Court in Calcutta. But neither the great offices of the kingdom, nor the cares of his principality could hold him for ever. The Prince had come in contact with Western ideals and education during his student days in Calcutta, and, later, had accompanied his august father-in-law when the latter undertook a voyage to England at the invitation of the late King Edward. Both in England and France the young prince had abundant opportunities to witness the actual working of democratic institutions. Born and bred to autocracy, he had viewed at first with suspicion, then with growing conviction, the success of democracy in the West. Prior to his visit to Europe, it was not difficult for the Raja to believe that he had been divinely called to the rule of his state, in the good and fatherly government of whose people lay the fulfilment of his life. On his return, he was no longer sure of himself and his mission, and for years he passed through great inward struggle. At last, he laid aside his possessions and the splendour of his offices and, followed by his wife and but a handful of servants, migrated to India, where he has spent the rest of his life in quiet pursuit of his ideal. During this period he has written and published several books, founded institutions and lectured in three continents. He might easily have been famous but for his own reserve and distaste for publicity.

Raja Jai Prithvi is a born thinker. In his voluminous book *Humanism* he has given to the world the result of his labours extending

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over years and embodying his philosophy of life. In an article of this kind it is of course impossible to refer even very feebly to the thoughts set forth in a book of nearly one thousand pages. But we may ask here, What was the quest that moved this Prince to cast away the pleasures and security of his life? It was, as always, the quest for a formula that would yield the secret of happiness to himself and to all of his kind. Has the Prince discovered the formula? He confidently believes so. He declares that the formula that shall yield our race true happiness is the formula that shall adequately express our innate oneness. In the Raja's opinion, all our problems, whether political, economic, social, religious, etc., are but symptoms of one disease. This disease, he explains, is a wrong outlook of life, arising from a false and exaggerated emphasis that men have laid on their superficial differences, disregarding almost entirely their essential unity. Permanent peace and happiness shall be a reality only when we shall have unlearned this vicious lore by which humanity has been divided into different and often hostile groups of caste, creed, race, class, nation, etc.

How shall this be done? What is the formula that will effectively express our oneness? Is it Communism? Or, again, is it Fascism? Is it Democracy? Or, to be sure, is it popular Dictatorship, which in recent times, has supplanted several unpopular democracies? The test that Raja Jai Prithvi would apply to any movement is the question, Does it make men to think and work in terms, not of this or that group, but of their heritage as human beings? If it does, then, it is the true formula. If it does not, you may be sure, it is only another addition to the long list of disintegrating influences that have broken up our homogeneity and caused intestine feuds.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF WOMEN

By IDA M. GURWELL

Place: Palmer House, Chicago.
Event: International Congress of Women.
Purpose: Peace and Civilization.

WOMEN, women, everywhere! Delegates from Europe, from Asia, from America. Jews, gentiles, coloured women leaders, journalists, composers, poets, presidents of womens' clubs and their delegates. Thirty foreign countries sent delegates; thirty-five clubs and organizations, some national, some international, were represented from America, in addition to scores of individuals who attended because of their interest in the subjects discussed. Women met in the Assembly Halls and overflowed into all the available rooms adjoining. Almost unbelievable in mid-summer with a thermometer vascillating and uncertain, but one that for the entire Conference could be depended on to be somewhere around ninety-five, that here assembled were delegates representing five million women intent on the common cause, Civilization.

These delegates represented the very finest in womanhood. They came with a full knowledge of their responsibility as leaders. The association within itself was elevating and inspiring.

Under the able leadership of Lena Madesin Phillips, President of the Congress, weighty subjects, Gargantuan in size and purpose, were handled in a most efficient way. The meetings under each department head went forward with a minimum of wasted time and effort. Each person was given the privilege of discussion and the right to disagree. One doubts if chairmen of any meetings of even fewer numbers and lesser luminaries ever kept to the purpose of the meeting any better than did these chairmen. No one could be a part of this great five-day Conference without a feeling of pride. Women have come far. We marvel at the efficiency and despatch that made it possible for every important question coming before the Congress to be given due consideration, as well as the careful handling of the mountains of detail that follow in the wake of a meeting of such varied interests and stupendous proportions. It took careful systematizing and exact timing to accomplish this.

The Congress was physically or materially colourful as well as mentally so. One sat on the platform or in the audience near a

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noted Chinese educator who wore a kimono ; a Turkish girl in an embroidered robe ; a professor from Roumania clothed in an elegant gown that carried with it a style that was Paris ; a lovely young woman from Italy in the latest New York styles. There was the stout capable woman from Holland, and the youthful slender woman from the Argentine. All with a dash of American interest. Enthusiastic guests come to take with them to their respective countries new solutions for many times old problems.

What questions were discussed at this Congress ?

One might better ask, what questions were *not* discussed ? The list would be shorter.

The burning issues of the day. The things of paramount interest to women throughout the world. To women who are mothers ; to women who are wives and home keepers : and to women earners out in the open market where service and ability are exchanged for a livlihood.

Unemployment, buying power, education, child care, democracy, communism, politics, government, the benefits and evils of the machine age, and many other questions.

There were men too who attended this Congress. Men able to present theories for the betterment of the conditions throughout the world. Each man present earned his right to be there. He championed the cause of Civilization and Peace.

Vivid clean-cut intelligences were presented throughout the entire Conference. They proudly bore the name of women. Such personages as Margaret Bondfield, ex-Minister of Labour, and Dame Rachel Crowdy from the League of Nations, both from Great Britain. A lawyer from France vigorous and tempermental ; a German judge who added dignity and forcefulness when she appeared. Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi, identified with the great reform movements of Modern India, came with profound knowledge. Perfect English, in addition to the carefully prepared subject matter of her talks, made it a joy to listen to her whenever and wherever she appeared. Abundant parcels of wisdom from the East she gave freely. The Congress was enriched.

From America came Marry Dingman, the President of the Womens' International Committee for disarmament at Geneva. Carrie Chapman Catt gave of her experience through pre-suffrage years into the present, always with a quiet candour that adds strength and dignity. Jane Addams, always kind, supported the opinions of the youth from eight American Colleges who arose in honest reproach of their elders, in their elders, in their denounciation of war and its evils.

Sessions by night and by day. Sweltering perspiring sessions. Big groups and little groups. Luncheons and Dinners, all satelites and supplementary to the more powerful Congress.

Art and Literature held an important place in this vari-coloured Council :

At the Great Century of Pogress, in the Hall of Science is a sixty-foot mural. The artist, Hildreth Meiere, well known for her murals in the dome of the National Academy of Sciences in Washington, through figures of heroic size, portrayed in dramatic episodes the onward march of the American women between 1833 and 1933.

For those who would read, a permanent record of womens' influence in American life is found in Inez Haynes Irwin's book, *Angels and Amazons*. This is a comprehensive history of organized womanhood over a period of a hundred years.

Ever toward a finer civilization.

In connection with the Congress, and an important part of it, was held the International Writers' Conclave. At its head and directing the Educational Activities of the Conclave was Grace Thompson Seton, Author, and former President of the National League of American Pen Women. Here much valuable information was exchanged by writers from different parts of the world. Eleven countries took part in the Conclave. The representatives from these countries were internationally known.

Miss Anita Browne, poet, New York, Founder-Organizer of Poetry Week, gave valuable suggestions for its furtherance. Poetry Week has come to be recognized in America. All Literary attention for the week is centreed on this week set apart for poetry. Radio, Newspapers and other agencies co-operate and poetry becomes the theme of the week.

To Anna Hemstead Branch, Chairman of the Poetry Conference, the Congress owes a debt of gratitude. She brought to the Writers' Conclave much that is fine through her efforts. It was she who exhibited the fine collection of Poetry Manuscripts and Anthologies from Christodora House. Miss Branch conducted groups on poetry throughout the Congress. These discussions on the poetry of the past and that of the modern writer. Poetic thought was placed before the groups for careful consideration. The best from all Nations was presented.

Margaret Widdemer, successful novelist and poet, represented American Women Poets. This Committee consisted of many of America's finest poets.

Mrs. Richard Mansfield conducted the Candle Ceremony in which American poets greeted those of other countries. At this time the poem, "Youth", written by Edwin Markham, was sent to the sixty-nine countries of the world. On this occasion, too, the Anthology of Star poems, in honour of Arcturus, representing forty-eight states, was sent in care of the leading libraries of the world to the women of each country.

Music meetings were held. All important composers, directors of choruses, and orchestras as well as Instructors took part in the Music Conference.

Perhaps one of the most important places in

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the Palmer House was the Literature Room. It was rightly named. Here in colourful array were exhibited the books written by women from thirty foreign countries; manuscripts and anthologies from collections in America, including Miss Branch's Collection from Christodora House. The list of the one-hundred best books written in America during the past one-hundred years, and many other literary delights. A popular room. A constant stream of visitors came to this room. Ideas as well as personal views were exchanged. The world met here.

Informal meetings were held in this centre. Countesse Jean de Pange, Author, Representative from the French Council of Women, and Senora Marie Astaldi, Author, Italy, both spoke. The author of this article, Ida M. Gurwell, spoke on "The Internationalism of Literature". It has been the thought of this writer that if we appreciate the best literature from each country, we are together in our quest of Beauty, hand in hand in our search for true Culture, it would seem we would develop together love for the finer things, and would thus step together into the higher civilization where wars are unknown. As the commercial and industrial country is known by her highways, so is the cultural life of a country known by her literature. "We know those countries best, whose books we read".

Out of the Conference has been born a new Womens' Movement, a call to come out into the fields of modern life.

To find fault with the ills of the world but make no move to correct them, or for their cure; to talk and not to act; to believe but fail to act on what one believes! As intelligent women heard day after day of social injustices, the reasons of economic ills, the cause and cure of war, a new slogan was born:

Knowledge: Unity: Action.

What a *trinity* of power!

From the findings of five days' constant presentation and discussion of facts, some of the women minds present wrote the following manifesto. It challenges the women of the world to ally themselves with the co-operative groups, the modern working groups, the best groups in the community, to work for the cause of civilization, and against the common enemy—War.

MANIFESTO

"Forty years ago the women of the world held their first real International Congress during the Columbian Exposition at Chicago, which set in motion a feminist movement, world-wide in sweep and directed toward the winning of equality in social, political, and economic privilege. During these intervening years enormous power has come to women through their position in personal privilege. And wherever the rights of citizenship, such as free assembly, free speech, political participation, and economic self-expression, are still denied on account of sex, nationality, or creed, that feminist movement must continue to have life and loyalty. It retains our full support and enthusiasm.

"At this succeeding great International Congress of Women, held at Chicago during the Century of Progress Fair in 1933, a second movement, likewise intended to be worldwide in sweep, is launched and directed toward the winning of security and opportunity for all mankind. On the basis of free competition as between the sexes, nations, and races of the world, the welfare of humanity has been inadequately accomplished.

"We believe that every person, to whatever sex, race, nationality, or creed he or she may belong, is entitled to security of life, work, the reward of labour, health, and education; to protection against war and crime, and to opportunity for self-expression. Yet even in parts of the world where feminism has made its largest gains, these fundamentals of security and the good life are sadly lacking.

"Hence it is against social systems, not men, that we launch, our second women movement. We enter now a social-planning era following the harsh experiment with laissez-faire and national aggressions, with a world war, and its horrible aftermath in the economic collapse. All civilization is at stake, and the condition of society cannot be ignored.

"Persuaded that only by intelligent, loyal, courageous, and united action on the part of men and women can governments be induced to undertake programmes designed for human welfare in the large, we consecrate ourselves to the task of winning their support for enterprises of that nature, frankly accepting the need of experimentation.

"The care and protection of all life are peculiarly in woman's keeping, and thus at one of the most tragic hours in the world's history we pledge ourselves to assume this responsibility boldly and whole-heartedly.

"Where the feminist movement is fundamental in any country, we call upon the women of the world to give it their loyalty. Where the social-planning movement is imperative, we call upon the women for the world to join us in carrying it forward.

"Thus we shall not be serving two masters but all mankind, ourselves included."

What did the International Congress achieve?

Civilization is born between wars and becomes maimed and broken at the cannon's first roar.

Let us ever have peace singing in our hearts, and civilization, a higher and finer civilization, will be the echo.

Knowledge: Unity: Action.

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THE LITTLENESS AND THE GREATNESS OF MAN

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

"When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers,
The moon and the stars, which thou hast ordained,
What is man, that thou art mindful of him?
And the son of man, that thou visitest him?
For [yet] thou hast made him but little lower than God,
And crownest him with glory and honour."
Psalm 8 : 3-5. Revised Version.

THIS fine poetical passage of the old Hebrew psalm expresses very vividly the thought of the littleness, yet the greatness, of man.

As the psalmist looks up into the night heavens above his head, so far-reaching and so wonderful, and sees the moon and the stars shining so gloriously, and moving with majesty through the wide spaces, a feeling of awe comes over him, and a sense of his own insignificance, and he exclaims with a reverence and humility which we can well understand—

"What is man"—puny, insignificant man—"that thou art mindful of him?
And the son of man that thou visitest him?"

This is the psalmist's first feeling. But the next moment he catches a glimpse of something in man which transcends all this seeming littleness, something greater than the stars, and he exclaims again. Yet after all,

"Thou hast made him but little lower than God,
And crownest him with glory and honor."

The feeling of the insignificance of man in the presence of the greatness of nature, and especially in the presence of the vastness and splendour of the heavens above, is one that has been very common in all ages. Nor is it wanting today. Indeed, since the rise of modern astronomy, which makes the heavens incomparably more vast and glorious than the boldest mind dreamed in the ancient times, this sense of disproportion between the physical littleness of man and the vastness of his environment, becomes all the more clear and strong.

When the Hebrew writer looked up to the sky what did he see? A wide expanse which he called the firmament, stretching its dome like a blue tent over the earth. In it were set, in some mysterious way, the sun, moon and stars, movable, having it for their duty to serve as signs for men to mark off the seasons, and to give light to the earth by day and night. All revolved around the earth, were very small as compared with the earth, and were created solely for the benefit of the earth and its inhabitants. The earth was the largest thing the Hebrew thinker knew anything about; and even that, as it lay in his conception, was very limited compared with our earth of today.

How has the rise of the modern science of astronomy changed all this! The earth, though it has grown to be many times larger than the Hebrew thinker understood, is now known by us, not to be the centre of the universe, or the largest object in nature, but relatively only a mere speck amidst the immensities of creation. The silent, mysterious, changeful moon, from a pale sky-lamp, has become a world. The sun does not revolve about the earth, but the earth and all her sister planets revolve about him. The stars, from curious wandering torches of the night, have become gigantic worlds, and centres about which worlds revolve. Vast as we think our solar system, even it occupies but a small corner of space, while beyond it stretch worlds, and systems, and galaxies, innumerable and illimitable.

We are startled, amazed, awed, almost struck dumb by the vast, the incomprehensible, the well-nigh unbelievable magnitudes and distances that our astronomers are revealing to us. Professor Shapley of Harvard University tells us of a universe so vast that our sun is 57,000 "light years," that is, 250 quadrillions of miles, distant from its centre; and Professor Hubble of the Wilson Observatory, tells us of "universes of universes," each one of which contains "millions of suns."

Such is the situation as we see it today.

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the men of the ancient world had reason feel humble and insignificant in the midst their little universe, what shall be said of rselves, in the midst of the universe that odern astronomy reveals, which compared th that of the ancient Hebrew is as inity to a hand breadth ?

I think we all have seen times when s thought of man's physical littleness in midst of the universe has come to us painful and almost overwhelming force. ve have asked ourselves, Can it be possible t the Creator of all these innumerable rlds which the telescope reveals, the chitect of this limitless temple of the stars d the galaxies, thinks about or cares for n? Is it reasonable to suppose that our e lives are any more important to him, of any more value in the universe, than nowflake on a mountain top, or a bubble the sea ?

I suppose all of us have had experiences mewhat like this : You pass through a at crowd of people, no one of whom you e ever seen before, or expect ever to see in. You say to yourself, Who are they ? at is the significance of all these lives ? what respect do these human beings differ m the birds that fly in flocks over the ds ? or the midges that swarm in the nshine ? From any other world—even from moon, nearest of all the worlds,—no one them can be seen, even with the most werful of all known telescopes : so that a little distance all are reduced to the e level, bird and midge and men.

You stand on some high eminence in the dst of a great city, and see the thronging usands threading and blackening all the oroughfares below you as far as your eye reach, each man seeming no larger than ant crawling along the pavement ; and w easy it is for you to think of the city an ant-hill, and all cities and towns and ages and hamlets of the world as simply t-hills of differing sizes, inhabited by ants of peculiar variety, but as indistinguishable m a few miles up in the air, not to say m any of the worlds around us, as any ant-hills of the fields or woods !

If then we are so isolated from our sister nets—members of the same world-family with ourselves,—and if all we do is unknown and of no consequence to them, what shall we say of the incomparably more distant worlds that illumine the night sky and make up the whole universe outside our little solar system ? And what shall we say of the great God of all—the mighty Creator and Ruler of all ? With so vast affairs on hand, will he stoop to notice or care for us, the frail creatures of a day, who people this little dust-grain that we call the Earth—this speck on the far-away rim of his creation ?

Above all, is it not the most arrant presumption for creatures so insignificant as we, to dream of a perpetuation of our being beyond death ? When worlds perish—and worlds a thousand times larger than our own shall we, the ephemeral dwellers on this bit of wandering clay, hope to escape ?

It is in these ways that the marvellous revelations of modern astronomy seem to many minds to belittle man, and press him down into insignificance and hopelessness, robbing him of whatever dignity and importance in the universe he once seemed to have.

And now, What are we to answer to all this ?

You see the matter is not something speculative merely, it is intensely practical. These questions which have suggested are being asked in ten thousand places in the world today. And many very thoughtful and intelligent people do not see how to answer them. Thus they darken many lives. Indeed, who among us is there that has not at some time in life passed through hours when their black shadow has fallen upon himself.

I think there are several considerations which throw light upon the subject before us. And first this :

Mere size is only a slight indication of value or importance. The earth is not necessarily less important than a world a million times larger than itself ; and man is not necessarily physically unimportant because his body is small. An elephant is larger than a man, but it is not for that reason higher in value. Many of the small countries of the world far surpass in importance other lands that are a hundred times more extended. Little ancient Greece outweighs a thousand

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vast Siberias ! and London, which is but a point upon the face of the earth, is more important than a thousand arctic or antarctic continents. A single Plato,or Shakespeare, counts for more in the life of the world than whole races of Kaffirs and Bushmen ; just as a diamond, which can be held between the thumb and finger, may have more value than a huge mountain. In the same way, comparing worlds with worlds, it is not unusual to find the smaller much more highly developed than the larger. Our sun has a mass 316,000 times greater than that of the earth, and volume 1,250,000 greater than that of the earth, yet the earth sustains very high forms of life, while the sun probably has upon its surface no life at all. It seems likely that the huge suns of space generally are much less mature than their planets.

Thus we see that the human race is not necessarily unimportant because it has its home in one of God's smaller worlds, any more than an individual is necessarily unimportant because he lives in little Athens instead of in vast Tartary. Mere bulk signifies nothing. Beings of highest nature and sublimest destinies may as fittingly dwell in bodies six feet high as six thousand, and on this fair earth of ours, small though it be, as on the surface of the hugest bulks of matter in the universe.

But even if we grant the revelations of modern astronomy do seem to dwarf man, it should be borne in mind that science is making known to us other revelations, the effects of which are clearly the opposite. There is rising to view a universe below man, no less wonderful than that of the starry heavens above him. And if the effect of knowledge of the one is to overshadow man, the effect of knowledge of the other is correspondingly to exalt him. Thus the microscope makes good any loss of exaltation or dignity that comes to him from the telescope.

A few facts will help us to see something of the range and splendour of this universe below humanity.

If we catch a butterfly in the summer time, we shall find left upon our hand from the butterfly's wing, something which we shall be likely to call dust. Looking at it with the greatest care, we shall not be able, with our unaided eyes, to see that it is anything more than fine dust. But bring a microscope and see what that reveals to us. Now we discover that this so-called dust consists of a mass of beautifully coloured and exquisitely fashioned feathers, arranged in as perfect order as the feathers of a bird, yet so minute that a single square inch of the wing contains a hundred thousand of them.

How small and simple a thing is a water-drop ! Yet a water-drop is a world. A cubic inch of stagnant water is calculated to contain a billion living and active organisms. Says an eminent New York biologist :

> I placed some clean Croton water, which had been boiled, in a clean vial, and broke into it a few stems of the broom from a clothes wisp. In four days the vial was crowded with monads in numbers that surpassed estimate, but of which it is safe to say that the two ounce vial contained more than the entire number of the human race from the days of Adam to the present time.

Ehrenberg, the great German naturalist tells us that there is a deposit of slate in Bohemia covering forty square miles to the depth of eight feet, each cubic inch of which is found by miscroscopic measurement to contain forty-one thousand millions of infusoria.

So it is that the microscope opens to us worlds beyond worlds, where the unaided eye can see nothing, and where until modern science came on the scene it was supposed nothing existed, worlds as wondeful as those made known to us by the telescope, but filled with living beings as much smaller than man as man is smaller than the great suns in the heavens.

A leaf of a tree is a world. The tree itself is a universe. You see little with your naked and untrained eye. But bring your microscope, and put yourself under the instruction and guidance of a skilled scientist, and he will brush away the veil that blinds your vision, and let you see mystery beyond mystery, and wonder beyond wonder, until, everywhere you look, doors open and avenues unroll themselves leading out into infinities of the minute, as endless awe-inspiring as the immensities to which the telescope invites.

Even man's own body is a universe.

> "In each drop of human blood there are three million vitalized corpuscular disks. Considering all the drops made up in this way, man is a cosmos.

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his veins galaxies through whose circuits these
red clustering planets perform their ceaseless
revolutions."

Nor are these amazing facts the end; they seem to be hardly more than the beginning. Our physicists, chemists and others who are penetrating down, down into the infinite beyond the reach of any possible microscope, tell us that they are finding entities (called by them protons, electrons, neutrons and other mysterious names) which are almost infinitely smaller still.

Thus we see that man stands midway in God's creation. If there are worlds and systems and glaxies above him, no less are there worlds and systems and galaxies below him and in him. If the infinities in the heavens encircle him, quite as much do the infinities in the grass blade, the drop of water, his own physical organism, and the protons, electrons and all the rest, exalt him.

When, therefore, any one persumes to reproach us with our littleness, and pointing us to the starry heavens, asks, Do you believe that the God of those countless worlds pays any attention to you? we may well point him to the infinities of the minute, and reply: I believe that the Universe-intelligence which never forgets these can be trusted to take care of me.

This brings me to the thought that the greatness of man is not physical but spiritual. It is by virtue of his mind, not his body, that he is exalted. What matters it, therefore, whether the physical universe which he dwells in be great or small? Can the heaping up of vast physical dimensions dwarf mind—mind that knows no dimensions, and spurns all physical things? Is spirit overshadowed by standing in the presence of the greatest possible aggregation of matter? Can we say of a mountain that it is greater than a thought? or of the vastest ocean, that it makes insignificant the intellect that fathoms it, and turns it into a highway, and speaks across it as if its thousands of miles were inches, and makes mockery of its fiercest waves? Do all the worlds the telescope reveals, that cannot think, dwarf the human mind that can?

However completely modern astronomy may take away the old primacy of the earth among the heavenly bodies, it can never disturb the greatness of man so long as man remains the thinker. He is great with a greatness which is inherent in his own nature, and, therefore, which is independent of any possible discoveries that science can make in the material realm. He is great because he can *know*, and *reason*, and *distinguish right from wrong*; and *hope*, and *love*, and *worship*. These things he can do because he is a *spirit*, for these are the attributes of spirit. But the greatest world the telescope ever saw, considered as a mere physical mass, is as impotent to do one of these things as is the smallest molecule or atom that floats in our earthly air. Here it is that we see the infinite superiority of man to all possible physical magnitudes and greatness whatever, though they be worlds countless as the sands of the sea-shore, filling the immensities of space with their shining splendours.

It should be borne in mind that man feels awe in the presence of the starry heavens not because of his own insignificance, but really because of *his own greatness*. It is the divine in him that thrills at the great sight. A stone or a clod feels no sense of awe. A brute beast looks up with indifference to the same stars and constellations that bring man to his knees in adoration. The brute is indifferent because he lacks mind. The man admires and worships because he knows, understands, feels; has the correlate of the great heavens in his own greater soul. Wrote Victor Hugo:

> There is one thing grander than the sea; that is the sky. There is one thing grander than the sky; that is the human soul.

To *think* the world is to be *superior* to the world. To *know* the stars is to be *greater* than the stars.

The sun is very large in size. His vast bulk makes the earth seem very small by comparison. But what of that? Need that abash man? Can the sun, big as he is, measure himself or weigh himself? or calculate his path through the heavens? or understand even one of the laws which he blindly obeys? But man can do all these things. Therefore man, though his stature be but five or six feet, is greater than the sun.

The science of astronomy tells us much about the galaxies. But did we ever think, it tells us quite as much about man? Man's mind not only keeps pace with every advance

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of astronomical knowledge, it is the *cause* of it. If the heavens declare the glory of God, still more they declare the greatness of the human soul, for it is only because man's soul is great that he can recognize the greatness and glory of God in the heavens.

Thought and love are the creative forces of the universe. Because man thinks and loves, he is a creator—a creator in the finite sphere, as God the Infinite Thinker and Lover is the creator in the Infinite sphere.

"All minds are of one family," said Channing. If this is so, then I am related to the Divine Mind. I am not merely a being created by God's power; I am kin to him, because I am spirit, as he is spirit; because I know, as he knows; because I love, as he loves. Therefore I have a right to look up in his face even though that face shines with the light of infinite galaxies and say: "Thou art in some large true sense my Father, I am not a *thing* tossed from thy hand. I am thy *child*; thy great nature is in me."

But perhaps the most overwhelming proof of the greatness of man, and of his superiority to all material things, comes to us from the great doctrine of Evolution.

It used to be supposed to the contrary. Evolution was long feared. Because it linked man's creation with natural processes, and suggested his development from lower forms of life, it was thought to degrade him. But now all this is changing. Profound and philosophical students are more and more coming to see that evolution immeasurably elevates man. As he is unquestionably the culmination of all that has gone before him, so he furnishes the most reasonable and adequate explanation of it all. The evolutionary process has travelled a long road from its beginning in fire-mist to what we see on the earth today. But the progress has all been an ascent, and the culmination is *man*. From the inanimate to the animate, from lower forms of life to higher, from brute to man—that has been the order. Thus man stands on the summit of creation—its crown and its goal. When the physical reached the limit of its possibilities, then mind came in. Henceforth mind was king, and man the thinker wore a dignity second only to that of God the Infinite Thinker.

It is not given to us to know in how many worlds the evolutionary process has reached the same height that it has reached here; but if anywhere it has, then it must have produced there in some sense the spiritual counterpart, and brother of man, I mean, some being who can know and understand, as man can; some intelligence able to "think God's thoughts after him," as man is able; some being, the crown and consummation of the evolutionary process in that other world, or those other worlds, as man is in this; and, therefore, some being who in some true sense is God's image and child there, even as man is here.

Thus it seems to be no extravagance if we say that the whole evolutionary process, from the first movement of primordial matter until this hour, has been one long travailing in pain of the Universe to produce (in this world and we know not in how many others) man or his equivalent,—that is, to produce intelligent spirits, children of the Eternal Reason and Love.

Have we not here, in the costly origin and high nature of man, and in the Fatherhood of God, a key to man's destiny? If man has cost the universe so much, and if his nature is so lofty, must there not be awaiting him a destiny to correspond? Is he not intended for a career greater than can be bounded by this inch of earth and this moment of earthly time? Is the Creator of all things irrational, that he should destroy his highest creature as soon as made? Is the Universe a failure, that its most perfect product should be only an ephemera? If man is God's child, and thus a partaker of the highest attributes of the divine, can he die? Must he not be heir to an immortality parallel with that of God?

We may believe that the Creator can easily enough spare some of his worlds, for he has plenty of them. But can he spare a being without whom the worlds lose their significance? That is the question wrapped up with the problem of man's nature and destiny.

Men talk about worlds and systems and constellations overshadowing and belittling humanity! Can the less overshadow and belittle the greater? Can fire-mist, or earth or rock, or any material thing, no matter how stupendous its volume or bulk, overshadow spirit, or eclipse the glory of mind?

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The universe is God's palace, and a marvelous palace it is. But is not a child more than any building? What father of men is there, who if you had a palace, so vast that it stretched from the Great Bear to the Southern Cross, and so glorious that the Milky Way roofed it, and Sirius and a million other blazing suns were the lamps that gave light, would not straightway say, My child is more than it all?

So, as I go out under the sky at night, with no one near, and look up into the glorious and illimitable heavens, I hear in the silence a voice speaking down from the Eternal Throne: O man, whom I have made but a little lower than myself, thou art more to me than all else. I did not create thee for my palace; I builded my palace—all this glorious palace of green earth and shining heavens—*for thee and such as thee.* Before suns and stars were, I loved thee. Even whilst thou wert yet cradled in far-away nebu-mists, I watched over thee. Our destinies are one; nothing shall ever pluck thee out of my hand or my heart.

And then, as the voice from on high dies away, I hear another voice, not less divine, arising out of the silences of my own soul, and corresponding as deep answereth to deep: O God of my life, in thee do I trust. From thee I came when I entered into this earthly room so beautiful, of thy Universe house. Here thou givest me to live a few brief years with thee, led by thy hand, studying thy wonders in nature and my own soul, learning life's lessons, helping my brothers as best I may, doing the work which thou givest me to do. I thank thee for this earthly sojourn.

Soon shall I go forth again; I do not know where, but thou, my father, knowest. It is enough that I shall be still with thee. Death will but open the door to other rooms of thine infinite house. I am not afraid. All worlds are beautiful where thou art. Even hell would be safe with thee.

I believe that essentially this is the attitude to be taken today by the intelligent believer in astronomy and all modern science,—by one who accepts every word of their marvelous revelations in the earth and the starry heavens.

I believe that the scientist, with all modern knowledge shining full in his face, is justified in saying with St. Paul: "I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor blazing suns and stars, nor astronomic heavens, nor telescope, nor evolution, nor any other created thing "shall ever be able to separate me from the love and care of the Eternal God."

POET ATUL PRASAD SEN

By S. N. SANYAL, M.A.

THE world knew A. P. Sen as a successful member of the Bar, a social reformer and a respected citizen of Lucknow; but he was also a poet and a lyrist of a high order. Poet Atul Prasad was essentially a lyrist and his songs are very popular in Bengali; sung at prayers of the Brahmo Samaj, by school girls and in the drawing-rooms of the aristocracy. Next to the Poet Tagore he is, perhaps, the most popular composer of sweet songs.

Like his Guru, Rabindranath, Atul Prasad has drunk deep of the fountains of the Vaishnava poets like Chandidas and Vidyapati. He is immersed in the love-lore of the Vaishnavas and has depicted the moods of the love-athirst soul of the divine Radha. In the choice of his themes, in music and in metres he is not so varied nor so deeply rich as the sage of Santiniketan. His moods have one central idea—the pangs of the lover for his beloved whom he had seen but has lost sight of. It is the wail of Radha when Krishna left her and went away to Mathura. It is the pang of Shakuntala for King Dushyanta. Far from Tagore, Sen is a kindred spirit to C. R. Das, with whom he claims some relationship.

Most of the compositions of A. P. Sen are either Kirtans or *Baool* songs, both popular forms of devotional music, handed down to us by the Vaishnava Sadhus and *Baool* devotees. Both are easy to sing and best sung in company, especially *Kirtan*.

To appreciate Atul Prasad we are not to look at the arguing Barrister but we should bring

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before our mind's eye a tall brownish figure with dreamy eyes and a pensive forehead singing more to himself than to the world. He would fain sit under the *Tamala* tree than in the drawing-room and sing all day long. Days would go by, but who cares. Tears roll down his eyes, his voice is choked with emotion, music is reduced to a hum and then their is a hush, a silence more eloquent than any form of speech.

In his poetry there is no rush, no feverish gush of emotion, changeable and fickle, not many varieties of moods—from intense passion to lethargic indolence like that of Shelley. But there is one resemblance with Shelley. Atul Prasad too perceives the "veil" which prevents a full view of his love. He feels the presence, he knows that she is there, still he cannot transcend the gulf. But unlike Shelley, he has trusting faith in God and Man and the belief that the "veil" would be torn down and that he shall rejoin her. In his trust in the ultimate reunion with his lost love he feels in the same way as poet Chittaranjan. In this respect he shares in common with many Bengali poets the mystic tradition of the Vaishnava savants.

The poetry of Atul Prasad is like a pool of cool and clear water, unruffled by the winds. You would be refreshed and comforted. If there is a slight touch of dejection, it is because separation makes love sweeter and strenghtens the bond of love. In spite of a mournful strain, all through his poetry runs an inner chord of hope and trust in future reunion with his love. Like Shelley and Keats there is no piteous cry of despair. On the other hand he sings :

"If the world cares not for me,
you will be with me,
If I cannot carry the burden, Friend,
you will carry it for me."

The philosophy of A. P. Sen can be summed up as the perception of divine reality through love and renunciation :

"How long will you search for riches and fame,"
or "Love is greater than riches."

By temperament and training Atul Prasad cannot play the juzz nor he can run into mad eloquence for the applause of the gallery. He hates it and his sensitive intellect always refused it. His music is a deep meditative tune sung far from the maddening crowd. It is a soft ode sung by the imprisoned lady in the tower for the knight who shall deliver her. His poem reminds one of the 'Highland Lass' with sickle in hand bending over the ripe corn humming a mournful tune.

As is the case with Rabindranath or Wordsworth, Nature is not eloquent to Atul Prasad. To him Nature in not vibrant nor a living presence with a message for the rejuvenation and resurrection of the world, on the other hand Nature is an ornament for the decoration of his poetry and the beauty of the world. In his case it is not the poet who responds to Nature hearing its silent symphony and going to ecstacies over it. Nature to Atul Prasad is the handmaid of his subjective moods. Moreover, Nature is always loving to him, and he never cares to look at the destructive and ugly aspects of Nature. He likes to see Nature in a well-laid-out garden where she is tastefully arranged and well trimmed. Wild Nature has little fascination for him.

A. P. Sen loves his country as deeply as any other great patriot. He is proud of its great men, of its philosophy, of its religion and of its culture and his heart is heavy when he sees that in this land there is appalling ignorance and a general decadance. With deep sympathy he sings :

"In two houses burns the lamp of learning
but millions are enshrouded in darkness,
This darkness you must dispell—with care,
with extreme care."

He is melancholy that there is communal dissension but is not despondent, and he believes that the narrow walls of communalism and selfishness are breaking :

"Mother, open the door and look, we have come
your two sons Hindu and Mussalman."

The patriotism of Sen is not the trumpeting blast of a god of the mob calling forth his followers by playing upon their false pride and fasle patriotism ending in turmoil and chaos. It is constructive and evolutionary and deep-rooted.

Born in a Bramho family with a tradition of social reform, he is up in arms against untouchability and the caste system.

"Differences of caste and birth,
divide a nation in hundred divisions,
O Hindu, you will die out if
you do not end the evil."

He belives in social equality but it is not the intuitive recognition of the unity of souls which prompted Swami Vivekananda to decry untouchability, nor is it the intellectual perception of the social disbilities which hamper the growth of a common nationality, as in the case of other social reformers, but it is the generous sympathy of a gentle soul which is wounded by the wrong done to a brother who has the same desires, same emotions as himself. In the eyes of the poet it is a grossly ugly thing and a very cruel practice. He, however, feels that the time is fast approaching when social inequalities shall disappear and India, ancient and mighty as ever, shall shine forth in rejuvenated glory :

".....the day of glory shall come,
Look the day is dawning."

and again he sings :

"Say, say all in blended notes of flute and vina,
India again shall take the place of
glory in the comity of nations."

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BOOK REVIEWS

BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

THE NEW INDIAN CONSTITUTION: *By Krishnaswami. Published by Williams and ...gate Ltd., London.*

...hat Mr. A. Krishnaswami has to offer in the ...e chapters of this treatise is a series of discus... on the proposed constitution of India, now being ...ed by its overlords in London. He deals with ... problems as the Indian states and federation, ...al finance, provincial legislatures, reservations ...afe-guards, racial and religious minorities. His ... of view is that of the imperialists of England. ... statesmanship is at low ebb. As an Indian, ...does not even realize that the tide has gone ...n and only little crabs of statecraft and diplomacy ...e on the beach.

... the author is charmed by the "unrivalled mecha... of the Round Table confab and naturally sides ... its sponsors. In his eagerness to support some ... the worst retrograde proposals of the Roundtable... ...ns, he has dragged in by the tail a number of ...ctions from the eighteenth century constitution of ...United States. I wonder why he did not mention ... Declaration of Independence, which furnishes ...basic philosophy of the American constitution—the ...eration which asserts that the government derives ...powers from the consent of the governed.

... the book is almost London *Morning Post*-ish in ...pport of the reactionary fads and theories of ...bureaucrats. Mr. Krishnaswami, for example, ...es considerable space to justify communal ...s. It seems to us in America that communalism ... a disease which cannot be cured with numerous ...s of the quack poison of seperate electorates ...h in the first place caused the distress. Moreover, ...m astonished to find that the bureaucrats in ...a are more worried about the rights of the ...r groups in Indian as well as alien than ...s of the majority. But since I have no access ...r conscience, I shall let that pass.

... writer of the book holds the thesis that the ...nstitution will be a sort of manna from heaven ...ll inaugurate an era of peace and prosperity—a view not shared by the common sense of the Indian nation, and rightly so. To be sure he admits grudgingly some of its blatant shortcomings, but he stresses unduly the "paramountcy rights," "special responsibilities" "imperial interests" "consolidation" and "performance of the British Empire," and in the end succeeds in presenting a lop-sided picture.

There is little evidence to prove that the author has considered the subject impartially. Among all the Indian leaders whom he quotes to support his arguments are the few lone politicians, universally discredited in India outside the small governing class, which of course has its axe to grind. Indeed, it does not appear that he has heard of the Indian National Congress and given its findings any serious consideration. May be he did, but he forgot. The fact is that the new constitution of India is being drawn up with eyes mainly for the advantage of the United Kingdom, and as such India will never accept it as final. The omens are already far from rosy.

Some of Mr. Krishnaswami's discussions are good, some sketchy, feeble and sophomoric. The book is not downright trash, but it is not destined to longevity. Why did the author omit an index? He should also have added a bibliography.

SUDHINDRA BOSE

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE IN THE VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE (A. D. 1346—A. D. 1646): *By B. A. Saletore, M. A., Ph. D. (London and Ciessen), Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung Scholar, Berlin: with a Foreword by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M. A., Ph. D., formerly Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, Madras University. In two Volumes, pp. liii+470 and 1—525 (over 1000 pages), with eleven plates cloth bound. B. C. Paul and Co., Publishers, 12 Francis Joseph Street, Madras, 1934. Price for the two volumes, Twelve Rupees or Eighteen Shillings.*

A rich feast for the student of Indian history and culture has been spread by Dr. B. A. Saletore in this work which may be described as one of capital importance, considering alike the range of

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subjects treated in it and the careful marshalling of facts and evidences and of the conclusions deducible from them. This work formed the author's doctorate thesis in the University of London, and the authorities of that body have shown their appreciation of the scholarly labours of Dr. Saletore by making a grant for its publication: this grant, combined with a similar financial support from a gentleman who prefers to remain anonymous, has enriched the historical literature on India with the addition of these two handsome volumes the contents of which will please both the critical student and the general reader. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar has in his *foreword* indicated the scope of Dr. Saletore's enquiry, and has signalized how he has utilized all available sources—epigraphical and literary. There is certainly an *embarras de richesse*, as the period extends over three centuries of crowded history, with international connexions, and covers all aspects of life except the strictly politico-chronological. There is an extensive literature on the subject already both primary and secondary, and the carefully prepared bibliography of books, monographs and papers, besides the original sources, which the author has preferred to his book, and with which he has evinced a close acquaintance is a fairly large one, covering over forty pages. As Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar says: "the very extent of the subject and the vastness of detail available would baffle any effort in this direction ordinarily, but Dr. Saletore has succeeded in producing a creditable work bearing on the vast subject." There is indeed a wealth of detail under the various heads which makes the picture as full and as living as is possible for a historical synthesis to make it.

The Vijayanagara episode forms one of the most brilliant chapters in the history of India, and modern scholars have been fascinated by it ever since Sewell's resuscitation of its glories, for the average English reader thirty-three years ago. In its days of glory in the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries it easily evokes comparison with the spacious days of the Mogul emperors in Northern India in the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries. Founded during the first half of the fourteenth century with the genius of some of the greatest Brahman statesmen of the day helping the local chiefs of Karnataka to take a stand against Muhammadan aggression from the north, Vijayanagara became the bulwrok which met the Mlechchha onset and saved the Hindu culture and the Hindu soul of Dravidian India, preserving much of the precious heritage of the past which would otherwise have been destroyed as it happened in North India. Vijayanagara has added to the list of illustrious rulers of men at least one great name, Krishna Deva Raya; it created a great city and reorganized the civilization of the South; it fostered trade and the arts and crafts, and literature—in Telugu, and in Kannada. After the disaster of 1565, it continued to carry on its glorious tradition for a century more. The study of the internal life of such an empire has a fascination of its own: Dr. Saletore is to be thanked for giving us an opportunity to read, understand and appreciate this great story.

We do not have chronological statement of its history—of its kings and their fortunes. A knowledge of the background of political history is assumed in the reader. In the Introductory chapter, the author discusses whether the founders of the Vijayanagara Kingdom were Telugu speakers, or Kannadas. The commonly accepted view makes them Telugus; but Dr. Saletore is inclined to regard them as "karnataka by birth and karnataka in valour," who "stood out as champions of all that was worth preserving in Hindu religion and culture." In the two subsequent chapters the Vijayanagara country in general is described, and its various capitals. Then follow chapters on Revenue Administration, and on the Central Government and the Local administration. The administration of justice, and oppression which was inevitable during weak rule in those troublesome times, are then discussed. The relations between the Hindu state and its Muhammadan neighbours are another important point to be discussed in a special chapter. A highly interesting portion of the book describes the organization of the Vijayanagara army. With this the first volume closes. The second volume is taken up with the following topics: The *Varnasrama-dharma*; the Social Institutions; the Brahmans; the Women; Social Legislation, Etiquette and Orthodoxy; Public Service, Honours, and Patriotism; Habitation, Food, and Dress, Corporate Life in Social Matters; and Festivals, Games and Amusements. We have thus a detailed survey of most of the aspects of the life of the Karnataka people of Vijayanagara during three centuries.

Dr. Saletore writes as a Hindu, and as a patriotic Indian; and he sometimes writes with an under-current of enthusiasm for the glory and the heroism that is now past. This under-current of sympathy and enthusiasm, provided it is based on just standards, is a necessary thing even in science: certainly it exalts history into what it is or should be—a science of humanity.

It appears that there is not much of the controversial in this work, which is for all and sundry a mine of information, affording plenty of food for reflexion and suggesting here and there the applicability of the experience of the past to the conditions of the present.

We have here a fine book, the production of fine scholarship. One would have liked a little more, although much has been given: two chapters on Art and Literature (Vernacular and Sanskrit)—the former accompanied by good plates of the typical master-pieces of Vijayanagara architecture and sculpture and other arts so far available—might have completed the picture. Another point which as one who does not read Kannada I would like to bring to the notice of the author: English translations of the Kannada passages (which might advantageously be given in Roman, for one unfamiliar with the Kannada alphabet might like to find out how the thing *sounds* in the original should have been given. Telugu literature flourished so very much under the Vijayanagara emperors, and it seems Telugu authors have been neglected. Surely here some Andhra Scholar could collaborate with our author. A preliminary chapter recapitulating the main facts and dates of political history would not have come amiss as furnishing the bare skeleton—if only for the general reader, for one who has not specially studied South Indian history.

But these are improvements which it is easy for a lay man to suggest. On the whole it is a real scholarly work, bearing the stamp of the best distinction, and we can congratulate the author on this fine production; and we hope that many more of this kind are to come from him in the future.

MOHAN-JO-DARO: *By Bherumal Mahirchand, Esq. Lecturer in Sindhi, D. J. Sind College, Karachi. Published by the author. pp. boards, Re 1.*

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an interesting compilation from what has appeared the various magazines and other articles and in John Marshall's *Mohen-jo-Daro and the Indus ilization* on the antiquities and culture of hen-jo-Daro.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

THE CONSCIENCE OF A NATION OR UDIES IN GANDHISM: *Gaganvihari ..., 70-A, Chakrabaria Road, Calcutta, 1933.* ...

A collection of thought-provoking essays on Atmaji's birthday and other occasions, written in spirit of devotion to the Great Soul. The title is echo from M. Romain Rolland's book on Mahatma dhi. The discussion of the various vital principles ...ved shows that Mr. Mehta has approached his ...ect from the just point of view. "If Right is to Might, Right too must have vitality and must ...e itself in action." For most of us do not yet ...erstand that Gandhiji's method seeks to substitute ... for violence, moral energy for muscular strength, ... for fear in the scheme of life. Mr. Mehta has a ...p on the fundamentals of such a philosophy and ...nunciates them in a style suited to the subject. ...e book will repay careful study.

DR. BESANT AND INDIA'S RELIGIOUS ...NIVAL: *Hirendranath Datta.*

DR. BESANT: WARRIOR. *G. S. Arundale.*

These two Adyar pamphlets, published in February ... March, 1934, deal with aspects of Annie Besant's ... Mr. Datta tries to describe her entry into Indian ...rs and the stimulating effect of her mission on ...an religions, due to her entirely selfless devotion ... the cause of the Indian people and their highest ...rnal good. Mr. Arundale vividly presents to his ...ers the spirit of Annie Besant with its yearnings, ...vement and legacies. They are both sincere ...ssions of reverent homage to the departed great, ... at the same time eloquent exhortations to this ...eration to rise to high endeavour.

BEST SHORT STORIES OF INDIA: ...ected and edited by *Phyllis Atkinson, B. Sc. ...n. (Lond.) D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., ...bay. Vols. I and II.*

The contents of these two volumes consist of about ...hundred folk tales, originally published in the ...dian Antiquary, and pertaining to the different ...vinces of India—Kashmir, the Panjab, the Northern ...ts, Madras, Bengal, etc., with delightful Sketches ... F. Ramleder to set them off. The publication ... received the blessings of such eminent scholars as ...fessors Bhandarkar and Aiyangar, who have sup- ... it with the preface and the introduction. If ...e and imagination give any clue to the minds and ...e culture of a people, then these "Stories of India" ...y be accepted as India's introduction to the world. ...s gratifying to note that in their selection the ...or has been guided and rightly, by the principle ...supplying maximum pleasure to the readers. ...e reading of these stories prompts the thought ...t there must be many other tales current in Bengal ...d other provinces, and their collection is an ...mediate necessity. Coming to the individual ...ories, we find that the editor must have suffered ... shortness of supply; *e. g.*, only stories from ...ngpur—unique as it may be in some respects, the district cannot surely be taken as a representative of Bengal—have been selected for Bengal. It may be allowed to observe also that most of these stories had been published long ago, in 1875 or thereabouts. May we not have, moreover, a regional study of Indian short stories?

Nevertheless, under the circumstances, the publication of these two volumes in a handy form has been greatly opportune, and will serve as an expression of the Indian mind. It deserves to be appreciated by the student of history, of anthropology, of sociology and literature, as well as the general reader for whom specialized studies have no interest.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESSES: *Delivered at the Beharee Students' Conference (1906-1923) Part I, with a Foreword by Sj. Rajendra Prasad. Compiled by Badri Narain Sinha, M. A. Published by Ramesh Prasad, B. Sc., Mithapur, Patna.*

Bihari Students' Conference, organized for the first time in 1906, was a significant event in Bihar. It was the first sign of national awakening in recent years, the precursor of political conference and separate Congress organization with feeders spreading all over the country; and it was itself a result of the Swadeshi Movement in Bengal or its partition in 1905. From its inception to the inauguration of the Non-co-operation movement (there had been no sessions of the Conference in 1922, 1923) is a distinct period; the book contains the Presidential Addresses delivered from year to year during that priod, thus presenting the ideas and ideals that governed the minds of Bihari students there.

Among the presidents quoted here we find Mahatma Gandhi, Mrs. Annie Besant, Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Sja. Sarala Devi;—these indicate the wide range of their sympathies and appeal, though sometimes they are centradictory, as for example on the vexing problem of the suitability of politics for student life. Those who are specially interested in student organization and movements as well as those who desire to have, by their side, a manual of typical addresses meant for such occasions will be glad to have a copy of the book.

ELEMENTS OF VEDIC RELIGION: *Diwan Bahadur V. K. Ramanujachari. Published by the Author, at Kumbakonam. 1931. Price Rupee One.*

This book reproduces in brief the substance of the contents of Sri Bhashya in a handy form; it should therefore serve as an introduction to the great commentary. Some of the sections are lucid exposi- tions and take up the Vedas as the basis for the authority of the Vaishnava Shastras. Section XII, in which the superiority of the Vaishnava tenet to other systems of faith is propounded, is the breeding ground of controversies, but it is a question for all times. The book deserves publicity among students of Vaishnava philosophy.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

SHREE MEHER BABA—HIS PHILOSOPHY AND TEACHINGS: *By A. K. Abdulla, (Ramjoo); Published by Rustom K. Sarosh Irani, Nasik; Price 12 Annas.*

This is a booklet of 112 pages which seek to give us the philosophy and teachings of a Parsi saint and also his life history. The more abstruse philosophical

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questions are explained by means of diagrams which are interesting in themselves apart from the truths they are intended to illustrate. Thus we have a semi-circle for Almighty and another for the Creator with shooting straight lines standing for individuals, and so on. Some of the truths also are deep indeed! Thus: "The compact latent human form takes four straight turns and afterwards, one inverse turn (in all five turns) before it becomes completely manifested." (p. 64.) "Our earth is nearest to the Creator point." (p. 73.) etc. etc.

In ch. vi. we have a few questions answered by the Baba. In answer to one question, he says: 'To anybody who has attained the state of consciousness that I have reached, miracles are child's play" (p. 77). And the secret of this wonderful success is "The elimination of the ego" (p. 79).

In a brief biography in ch, vii, we are told that after leaving College, Baba became 'God-realised' in 1914 (p. 101) and for about nine months "his eyes remained a blank stare." Strong doses of morphia and opium and kindred injections were administered by the doctors; and in 1921, he "became super-conscious plus creation conscious" (p. 102). In 1931 he paid his first visit to the West; and by June 1933 he sailed from India for the *fifth* time. During the last nine years he has been observing silence. But the *A. B. Patrika*, Sunday, August 26, 1934, (p. 18) contains the following news: "Shri Meher Baba, the 40 year old Parsee mystic who has kept a self-imposed silence for eight years, has made arrangements for the production of a film embodying his religious philosophy.....It has not been definitely settled, but Shri Baba himself may act in it.....The film is to be shot in Hollywood and India, and it is expected to be ready by next autumn."

One thing that strikes us in this biography is that, just as an Indian scholar of today travels to Europe in order to get his achievements recognized and advertized, so a man with spiritual achievements to his credit also pays visits to Europe now and then in order that he may get himself recognized. This not only proves the importance of Europe but at the same time demonstrates the unimportance of the ego-consciousness in these saints.

U. C. Bhattacharjee

HISTORY OF THE MUSLIM WORLD: *By Khan Bahadur Ahsanullah, M.A., retired I.E.S., sometime Assistant Director of Public Instruction for Muslim Education, Bengal, published by the Empire Book House, Calcutta, price Rs. 5, pp. 647+67 in Appendices.*

This work traces Islamic history from its origins and pursues its developments in different ages and countries. It starts with an amount of the early Caliphs and that of the Abbasid and Omayyad dynasties. Then follows an amount of the developments of Islam under different States and Peoples, the Sasanids, the Samanids, the Ghaznevids and other dynasties of Persia, the Fatimid and Mameluke dynasties of Egypt, the Ottoman Empire of Turkey, and the Pathan and Mughal dynasties in India. Next follows the history of the expansion of Islam in various parts of the world. There is also a chapter dealing with Europe's debt to Islam. The book gives the Islamic view of Islam as a political and civilizing force. It sometimes treats of history as if it were politics. Still it is useful as compressing within a small compass a large amount of information collected from a variety of sources.

X. Y. Z.

RACE AND ECONOMICS IN SOUTH AFRICA: *By W. G. Ballinger. (Day to Day Pamphlets No. 21.) The Hogarth Press, London. 1934. Pp. 67. Price 1 sh.*

In 1928 Mr. Ballinger, an official of the British Labour Movement, was invited by the Native Trade Union, known as the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of South Africa, to conduct an inquiry, un-official as it well can be, into the position of industrial relationships in that country, particularly from the view-point of the African workers. This succint little account of problems of colour and economics obtaining in the Union of South Africa is the result of Mr. Ballinger's private efforts. There is not the slightest doubt that Negro labour in South Africa is now subject to the severest of handicaps. The problem of the "Poor White" has almost defied any answer which can be deemed to be to the advantage of the native workers of that country. In order to maintain an artificially bloated standard of living among these "Poor whites," the Union Government has steadily been pursuing a policy of industrial and social discrimination, in which the balance of advantage is entirely with the White employer and the White worker. The collapse of tribal organization consequent on legislation resulting in a compulsory periodical exodus of Negroes from their *Kraals*, the question of segregation of coloured peoples, a double schedule of wages for White and native workers consequent on the reservation of certain types of industrial employment for the former, inadequate legislative provision for the legitimate protection of native workers and the problem of a colour war are some of the engrossing topics dealt with by Mr. Ballinger with clarity and fairness. Any student concerned with a study of inter-racial relations ought not to miss this important publication which redounds to the credit of Mr. and Mrs. Woolf of the Hogarth Press. Our only complaint is that the book is not more exhaustive and detailed.

Lanka Sundaram

A MANUAL OF RECIPES: *By Nirmal Baran Brohmachary, B. Sc. Published by the author, 11, Baldeopara Road, Calcutta. To be had of The Book Company Limited 4-3 B, College Square, Calcutta. 156 pages, Price Rs. 2 only.*

The author is a Pharmaceutical Chemist of long experience. He has noticed that the raw materials mentioned in the formulae recorded in literature are not often easily available in the market. The ingredients recommended in this book for making various preparations such as scents, face powders, tooth pastes, hair oils, syrups, soaps etc., are easily obtained. In addition there is a large number of prescriptions for making patent medicines.

This is a useful book and we bring it to the notice of the unemployed educated youths.

A. K. Mukerji

FLOWER OFFERINGS: *Prose-Poems. By P. R. Kaikini, Bombay Book Depot. Pp. 39. Re. 1.*

There are fifty poems. The poet says, "Prof. Y. M. Trilokekar. M. A., Diplomaed in Education.

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...ics of Wadia College, Poona, read and passed the ...ages for the press." Prof. Armando Menezes, M. A., ...fessor of English, St. Xavier's College, Bombay) ...tes the Foreword. Yet we find ugly errors ...roughout the poems which offend even the most ...ical reader's eye and mar his enjoyment of the ...t's effusion.

"When the merry ducks call no more and vanish ...o the cool shelter of that yonder grove...I cast ...out this net to catch my long-lost glorious dreams ...f love and life." It may be good poetry but it is ...disfigured by the absurd "that yonder" and "cast ...out". Few things contribute more to the vigour of ...prose-poetry than correct idioms and phrases, and ...with such glaring errors, which tend to obscure the ...meaning, the effect is dullness. "Where yonder ...palm-tree lightly waves"—Byron. 'The' or 'that' cannot ...be attached to 'yonder'. "Cast this net" would have ...been the right expression in prose or poetry. "Cast ...out" means "devise means". A combination of the ...two provokes mirth and serves to distract the reader's ...attention.

"The pulse of life that is felt in all my limbs is ...the same as that which once surged in the lone lost ...Delta..." Thoughts raised to a babel height would ...fall by their own weight without the tremors of ...rhythm. Three relatives were never before in such ...weird constellation,—"as that which"; and Prof. ...Menezes's taunt in the Foreword "the Pharisees of ...rhythm cannot too often be reminded that the letter ...killeth and it is the spirit that giveth life" cannot ...protect the present-day solecist. Instead of brandi...shing his sword to scare away critics, Prof. Menezes ...ought to have advised the poet to omit 'as' and ...'that' and make the piece tolerably presentable to ...the public. Literary blemishes are often disregarded ...in the rhythmical pause and onflow of the metrical ...composition. But in prose-poetry which is nothing ...but exalted prose a measure of literary craftsmanship ...is essential to success, even when the thoughts are ...rose and azure, deepening into gold.

CRITIC

GUIDE TO SMALL-SCALE INDUSTRIES, *published by Ram Lal Suri & Sons, Booksellers, Anarkali, Lahore, and edited by M. C. Mohan B.A.; price Rs. 2.*

The book which was published in 1931 comes out ...now in its third revised edition in 1934. In this ...the author has compiled authentic information ...about industries that can be run in India profitably ...by the educated youngmen with small capital. The ...book deals with the following industries more or ...less exhaustively: Absorbent Cotton, bakery and ...confectionery, brush manufacture, button industry, ...candle and cigar manufacture, electro-plating, ...dyeing, laundry, leather industries, metallic manufac...tures, razor blades, pins and clips, safety pins, tin ...and paper clips, wire cloth, wire chains, aluminium wares, ...enamel wares, brass wares, bell metal, brass tubes, brass ...and copper wares, motor spokes, nuts and bolts, ...printing, book-binding, sand paper manufacture, ...stationery goods manufacture, clips, envelopes, fountain ...pens, shoe laces, pen holders, slates, pen and pencil ...making. The book gives the history of the industries, ...the prospects in the country, their manufacturing ...processes, estimates of capital required, places where ...necessary training can be had, books and journals ...dealing with the industry and experts to be consulted ...on the subject.

At this present moment when the country is sorely in need of guidance on industrial vocation, the publication of such a book is a boon to our countrymen, especially our youngmen. We recommend its study by the educated community of the country and hope this will to some extent help the solution of the acute question of unemployment by attracting our young men towards industrial enterprises.

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

INDIA'S PLIGHT: *By Sir M. de P. Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E. Published by The Daily Gazette Press, Ltd., Karachi.*

One may not agree to Sir M. de P. Webb's proposal to remonetize silver, it is impossible not to be impressed with the sympathy, sincerity, lucidity and the forceful directness which characterize his writings. *India's Plight* has already run into its fourth edition which is a sure testimony that its worth has been widely appreciated, and it is perhaps too late to review it in any detail.

While price-level and agricultural income in India has dwindled to half their former value and while exports have contracted by more than fifty per cent, income-tax receipts and land revenue have remained the same. While the volume of imports has fallen the custom receipts have remained the same, so that the price of the imported products have not fallen proportionately. At the same time the burden of our sterling obligation has doubled. Thus the total purchasing power of the country has greatly diminished and the manufacturing industries have been badly hit in consequence. This explains India's sad plight. Apart from the world factors there have been special causes operating in India. Mismanagement of the exchanges have led to a loss of no less than 60 crores of rupees. The Gold Standard was resumed at an inopportune moment at the instigation, says Sir Montague, of the financial interests in London, and this has led to the serious currency contraction which has dislocated our national economy. Then we have the detestable 1-6 ratio established in face of public opinion by the Hilton-Young Commission. Lastly we have the recent linkage of the rupee with the sterling, which has placed our currency system in the hands of the London bankers whose interest it is to raise the value of gold by contraction or otherwise.

To get out of this terrible situation, Sir Montague suggests reduction of taxation, restoration of the 1-4 ratio and what is more important, free coinage of silver. To the first two we agree, though with reservation with regard to the second; but we think the difficulties attending the third would outweigh its advantages. It is true that the production of silver is more or less independent of price and hence there is little danger of new production 'flooding' our country, mainly because India is not a great silver producing country. But what about the huge stock in India amounting to anything between 300 to 1,000 million ounces? A large proportion of this hoard is in possession of a class of persons in need of immediate cash who would take the first opportunity of converting silver into liquid purchasing power. *After* the silver standard has been established for some time there would be no such rush for coinage, but during the transition period the strain might be too great. No doubt with the monetization of silver the control of our currency system will go out of the hands of the London bankers, but is it not equally probable that it would pass over to the

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silver speculators in U. S. A. and Mexico? Moreover, we are not convinced that expansion of currency is not possible under a gold or a sterling standard. We do not in any way support the sterling standard, but on the whole it seems to us that it is easier to persuade the currency authorities to change the currency policy than to ask them to adopt silver. At any rate both the possibilities are at present far from being within the bounds of practical politics.

S. N. SEN-GUPTA

FRENCH

DELA VERITE DAUS L' ART. *Dialogue entre un Oriental et un Occidental. By Lionel de Fonseka (Warnesuriya Wijetunge Samaranayake). Publication Chitra. C. A. Hagman, editeur. En vente a la Librairie des Lettres et des Arts. 150, Boulevard Saint-Germain. Paris.*

In this small book of 139 pages a Singhalese author has sought to expose his idea of "Truth in Art" in the form of a dialogue between an Oriental and an Occidental. The scope of this comparative study of the theory of art in the East and in the West is kept tantalizingly vague, as the terms "Orient" and "Occident", "Oriental Art" and "Occidental Art" are nowhere defined. Greece is not included in the "Occident", while there are only a few stray references to France and Germany, the author's observations being mainly confined to England. Persia, China, Japan and Malayanesia are obviously excluded from the "Orient; and it is not clear if India herself is included, or the author means to speak of Singhalese Art alone. There is no means of obtaining even the glimmering of light in the case of the "Orient" that we have in the case of the "Occident", because no work of Oriental art, no single artist or school of oriental art is specifically mentioned.

All the author's exuberant praise of Oriental Art, as compared to Occidental, therefore eludes close examination by application to specific objects of that art: "In oriental art the conventions belong to the domain of form, where they are natural. In Occidental Art they belong to the essence and are an anomaly" (p. 26). "The architecture of the East gives you the sense of mystery and of the immensity of nature. In the decoration of temples is revealed the sensitiveness of the artist before natural phenomena. He understands them and employs them as symbols." (p. 34). "Your thought is academic while ours is popular." (p. 72). "Art expresses our manner of getting hold of nature, art is our way of perceiving" (p. 124). "In the West all the idealism is in the art, while all the materialism is for life; in the East are reserved all our ideals for practical life" (p 91).

In contrast to this is his wholesale condemnation of all creations of art in the West, particularly in England: "You always try to express your own self" (p. 13). "Ball dance when it is not a giddy galloping is only a sterile confusion" (p. 14). "The conventions of Occidental Art have a morbid character" (p. 24). "Among the romantic poets, the expression of sentiment is a gratuitous falsehood" (p. 25). "Your drama and your romance are didactic." (p. 38). "All your arts are dead arts" (p. 56). "Now-a-days, obviously, there exists amongst you, no rational sentiment sufficiently vigorous to give dignity and grace to the monuments that you construct" (p. 65). "Your philosophy is an abstract speculation entirely cut off from life" (p. 69). "Humanism as an artistic faith has its place among the other cruelties of the Renaissance" (p. 73). "The Romanticism of Germany has produced a generation of artistic monstrosities" (p. 98). "Pre-Raphaelism appeared formerly as an extravagance, but it.....is become a pure vagabondage" (p. 101). "For the mass of Englishmen, art has no meaning" (p. 103).—These remarks culled at random sufficiently illustrate the attitude of mind in which this comparative study is undertaken. No attempt is made to trace the historical evolution of Western arts, no impartial exposition of the different theories as they have been shaped and enriched by the varied experiences of life is attempted, there is no sympathy with the artistic aspirations of Western peoples; all the arts of the Occident in all ages and all the theories of art are swept into one basket and condemned.

But the author has a theory of art of his own which he calls Oriental, as if all the arts in the orient have at all times obeyed, like docile student, this Panini of Oriental art. According to the author, Oriental art is primarily utilitarian, and secondarily decorative." In the East all our arts are useful and are fine arts" (p. 60). "The aim of art is first of all usefulness, next embellishment" (p. 77). "In the East we believe that the end of art is decoration" (p. 12). "The aim of art is decoration, expression is not the essential property of art, it is only accessory." That is, according to the author, the artisan who turns out useful objects is, *par excellence*, the artist, and not he who translates into tangible forms the fleeting etherial visions of beauty and perfection and harmony which, since the beginning of creation, have haunted man, the child of Immortality. He has only a cheap sneer for "pure" art, "from which the idea of utility is entirely absent" (p. 30). No more monstrous injustice can be done to Oriental art than to call this the theory of "Oriental art". Of what utility was the tomb of the Empress that the Emperor gathered all the best artists of his age and spent his vast resources in the construction of the Taj Mahal? Of what practical utility were the temples of Orissa and Ellora that whole bands of artists spent the best years of their lives in making each single stone a feast of beauty? The idea of utility is perhaps nowhere more absent than in the art of India. But we look in vain for any consistency in the author's theory. He condemns English novels and dramas because they are didactic and harass people with their propaganda, and again declares that "art loses its dignity if it serves as an instrument of social reform" (p. 48), *i. e.*, becomes an object of utility.

The strangeness of his opinions is indeed such as makes us rub our eyes if we are seeing true: "In India philosophers were legislators and statesmen" (p. 69). "Why does a woman shut her eyes instinctively when she is kissed? Because reaching a certain point, sight becomes incompatible with other senses. Having fulfilled its function it becomes positively irritating" (p 71). "If the Greeks were quite modern they would have arranged in such a way that the same statues would represent the gods on sabath day [sabath for the pagan Greeks !] and football players on Saturday afternoons' (p. 120). Mixed with these there are acute observations here and there, but all distorted like the world seen with a squint in the eye: " In the East the artist never tries to reproduce

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the external forms of nature, but rather the idea which they incarnate" (p 121) ; is it not true of Western art as well ? "Perfect Art exists in the perfect union of the useful and the true" (p 95) ; —is not true of decorative art only ? "Specializing in art is amputating life" (p. 132) ;—would the author like the Venus de Milo to have her lips and cheeks painted and properly dressed dance a minuet pulled by the strings of the marrionette player, thus combining the arts of the sculptor, the painter, the dancer and of the modestés of the grands boulevards ?

The book is divided into two chapters : (1) Du Decor de la vie. (2) Du Decor de l'Art. Since however the succession of ideas is continuous, the division and the headings of the chapters appear to have no special significance.

"This dialogue," says the author in his Preliminary Note, "is written specially for the Singhalese." In that case there does not seem to be any point in writing the book in French, as French is not a language widely studied or generally understood by the Singhalese. The patient Englishman who listens with exemplary patience to his long condemnation of all the arts of his country—his poetry and drama and romance and painting and dancing and ideas of love and morality and what not—would also have found it easier to understand if the book were written in his own language.

We in India are used to the intellectual hypocrisy of the pseudo-lovers of India, who, without any study of the art or philosophy of India or of their own countries, go into ecstasies over things Indian and decry the achievements of their own countries. It is sad to find an Indian (and the Singhalese are culturally and linguistically Indian) in such company.

SUBODHCHANDRA MUKERJI

SANSKRIT

BRAHMASUTRA : *Chapter II, Pada I with Sankara's Bhasya, the Bhamati of Vacaspati, the Kalpataru of Amalananda and an original commentary called Prabha by the author, with a Bengali translation and elucidation by Pandit Charukrishna Vedantatirtha. Edited by Pandit Rajendrnath Ghosh Vedantabhusana.*

It is a happy sign of the times that Vedanta philosophy is passing away from the hands of Sannyasins and has been take up as a subject of serious study by the orthodox school of Sanskrit scholars in Bengal. In former days Navya-Nyaya was the principal interest of the Pandits of Bengal and they had neither the time nor the inclination to cultivate a first-hand acquaintance with other schools of thought. But though Nyāya is still the main interest and has not lost a whit of its prestige, Vedanta has recently come to take its due share. And I am not using the language of courtesy or convention in saying that Bengal scholarship in Vedanta owes a great deal to the activity and inspiration of Pandit Rajendranath Ghosh Vedantabhusana. The present venture is an illustration of the expansion of Vedantic culture. In this volume the Adhikaranas of the Brahmasutra has been edited with the Bhasya, Bhamati, Kalpataru and an original commentary on the Bhamati, called prabhā and the whole thing has been translated into Bengali with elaborate notes and elucidations in difficult places. Even a tyro knows that this part of the Brahmasutra together with the Tarkapada (II. 2.) constitutes the most difficult and important portion of Bādarāyana's *Magnum opus*. It is gratifying to note that Pandit Charukrishna Vedantatirtha has not grudged any labour to render these classics intelligible to a modern student. His Sanskrit Commentary is really an admirable performance and for the elucidation of the niceties and difficulties in connexion with the exposition and criticism of the Buddhist philosophical concepts, the author has freely drawn upon the texts of Buddhist philosophy, which have recently come into light. These texts were formerly a sealed book to the orthodox section and in consequence many a dark spot in the Bhamati could not be lighted up. The quotations in the Bhasya and the Bhamati have been traced to their original sources, wherever it has been found feasible and this shows that the editor has not spared pains to make the book up-to-date and thorough. The division of the topics into appropriate sections and the illuminating observations on the nature of the *Adhikaranas* based on a study of the wording of the sutras by the editor add really to the value of the work and the latter particularly show a new line of study which may be profitably pursued by a modern scholar. The editor tells us in the foreword that this method of interpretation of the wording is not a new-fangled invention with him, but was actually taught by the Late Mahamahopadhyaya Lakshmana Sastri, the great savant who may be regarded as the founder of present-day Vedanta culture in Bengal. An independent study of the original sutras on this line may go a long way to solve the problem as to whose interpretation among the Bhāsyakāras should be believed to represent the true spirit of Badarayana.

SATKARI MOOKERJEE.

SANSKRIT—ENGLISH

THE BHAGAVADGITA OR THE LORD'S SONG : *With the text in Devanagari and an English Translation. By Annie Besant. Ninth edition : Ten thousand. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price annas four.*

It is enough to note about the importance and usefulness of this handy and unostentatious edition of this, the most popular work of the Hindus, that it has had to be printed for the ninth time after 120,000 copies of the book had been exhausted even when a large number of editions of the work are available in the market.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI.

HINDI

BHAJAN SAMGRAHA : *Fourth Part. Compiled by Viyagi Hari. Published by the Gita Press, Gorakhpur. Pp. 157. Price two annas only.*

This is a collection of Hindi bhajans written by Muhammadan poets who composed devotional poems on the Hindu imagery. Here is an additional example of the inter-action and *rapprochement* between the two religions in the past.

BHUTON KA KITA : *By Anandakumar. Published by the Hindi Mandir. Prayag. Price six annas.*

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A ghost story written for children in a charming and attractive style.

BALKATHA-KAHINI: *Fourteenth Part. By Ramnaresh Tripathi. The Hindi Mandir, Prayag. Price six annas.*

The well-known story of Sindwad the sailor and his voyages from the Arabian Nights written for children by a well-known Hindi author. The style is charming and the language attractive and simple.

ANATH NATH BASU

MARATHI

श्यामकांतचीं पत्रें *Shyamkant's letters. Price Rs. 2. Published by Mr. Tikkar. Tilak Road. Poona.*

Shyamkant was the son of the well-known Historian Mr. G. S. Sardesai whose distinguished work *The History of the Marathas* is renowned under the title of रियासत published in several volumes. Shyamkant ceased to live in 1925 when he was at Germany. Mr. G. S. Sardesai, being an expert instructor, had brought him up from his childhood by arranging to send him to different places like Bolpur (Santiniketan), Poona (Fergusson College) and Germany, where he was nearly domesticated from time to time. Shyamkant had prolific and facile correspondence with his parents from the above-mentioned places, in English and in Marathi. We see a few selected letters in this volume. The book is nicely edited and attractively published.

V. S. WAKASKAR.

GUJRATI

ENGLAND NO ITIHAS. *By Ambelal Naranji Joshi B. A. Published by the Gujarat Oriental Book Depot, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Pp. 628 Price Rs. 2 (1934).*

This is a very readable history of England. Although it is meant for students of the School learning and similar other examinations, it would be found equally useful by others not concerned with the education department. In addition to the political history of England, one finds in it many other interesting features, as the writer has been at pains to set out the biographical aspect of England's well-known Kings, Queens and politicians and has also included in it the universal aspect of history, such as the Social tendencies of a period, its architectural bent. We will give only one instance of work in misdirection. See Sections 9,10,11,12 of Queen Elizabeth's reign. It is also an up-to-date history.

PRALHAD. *By Mrs. Shrimatibālā Majumdar. Printed at the Arya Sudharak Press, Baroda. Thick Card Board. Pp. 87. Price Annas 6. (1934). Illustrated.*

The story of Pralhad, which every Hindu is supposed to know is divided into nineteen Chapters in this small book. It forms a past of the Sayaji Baljnan Mala series, which till now under the fostering care of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda has published 100 volumes. The story is told in such a chatty style by the young authoress that children, for whom it is mainly intended, are sure to take to it.

K. M. J.

POLITICS IN THE FAR EASTERN OLYMPIC ASSOCIATION

BY DHIRENDRA N. ROY, M.A., PH. D.,
Professor in the University of the Philippines

SINCE the new awakening of the East the idea of a close contact among its various countries has begun to be popular. It has been received very enthusiastically by those of them which are still under the domination of foreign powers. But there has not been as yet any active continental move toward the realization of the idea. No particular country has taken the initiative to develop an effective technique for it. The term "East" does not suggest any conscious unity of the Oriental people, it still owes its meaning to the West.

The reason why such an active continental move has not been so far possible lies chiefly in the political character which it seems to assume. It is not possible to carry on, in any active sense, an Asiatic movement having political significance, without encountering positive discouragement, if not strong resistance from those foreign powers that happen to dominate over the destiny of many Asiatic countries. The acquired political responsibility of the foreigners may supply them with sufficient grounds internationally justified to suppress such a movement.

But the sovereign powers do not have reasons to discourage any Asiatic movement which is non-political by nature. There are certainly some ways, other than political, through which the peoples of Asia may foster close contact among themselves. One of them is athletics. It is not political by nature and as such not disapproved or objected to by foreign rulers. Yet by means of it the different Asiatic countries can easily come into close contact and acquire a real desire to feel interested in one another. The formation of an All-Asiatic Olympic Association, following the manner of the World Olympics, will certainly afford good opportunities for the Asatic peoples to know one another more directly and intimately than ever before.

And this has been in a gradual process of realization without Asia being fully conscious of it. I do not know how many Asiatic countries outside of those that have been actually taking part in it, are familiar with the new athletic movement known as the Far Eastern Olympics. The geographical limitation as suggested by the name of the movement implies only its simple

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beginning in the Far East, while it may expand its boundaries at any favourable moment to throw off its narrow regional form for the sake of the whole continent. The movement is certainly something in which the whole of Asia should feel interested, for it is the movement of youth and youth is going to count most in the solution of all world problems. Unfortunately it has received a sudden set-back, thanks to the short-sightedness of some of its present members, and is facing a crisis which must somehow be averted in order to fulfil its own part in the great Rennaissance of the East.

The beginning of this Far Eastern Athletic movement dates back to 1913. Strange as it may seem, it owes its origin not to any Oriental. For it the credit must go to an American. It was Mr. Elwood S. Brown, formerly physical director of the American-European Y. M. C. A. at Manila, who first conceived the idea of an inter-port athletic meet between Manila and Shanghai and communicated it to Mr. W. Z. Zung, physical director of the Shanghai Y. M. C. A. Mr. Zung highly approved of the idea. In May 1913 athletes from the two principal ports of the Far East met together at Manila and played various friendly games. It was an athletic meet between China and the Philippines. Japan also felt interested in it. But she did not participate in the games, as she was not invited. Her representatives came only as guests to witness the games.

The success in this athletic meet led the two physical directors forthwith to organize a Far Eastern Athletic Association with China, Japan, and the Philippines as members. It was proposed at first that the championship game should take place every two years. But in 1927 the interval was extended to three years and after the meet in 1930 it was further extended to four years. The tenth Far Eastern Olympiad was held at Manila last May. Whether or not there will be an eleventh F. E. Olympiad is a question it is difficult to answer just now. China is said to be preparing for it at Shanghai, the scheduled time for the next meet being May, 1938. But a different plan is going on elsewhere—a plan which is in direct opposition to the further continuation of the Far Eastern Olympic Association.

What happened at Manila toward the end of the tenth F. E. Olympiad last May, is responsible for the crisis that has overtaken this association. Some clumsy political question has entered into this non-political venture—a question that concerns only Japan and China but has involved the other member-countries in a very embarrassing situation and has, according to some opinions, caused the wreckage of the association itself. How it has done so is an interesting story.

Originally the Association was composed of three members only—China, Japan, and the Philippines. But later two more countries, Annam and the Dutch East Indies, were also admitted to its membership. The constitution of the Association contains the provision in Article Three that "a country may be formally admitted to membership and representation only by the unanimous vote of the member-states comprising the Association." It is said that the requirement of a unanimous vote for the admission of a country to Association membership was introduced into the Constitution in 1930 at the instance of Japan so that should Korea choose to apply for membership Japan alone by her own vote of dissent would be able to prevent it. But this happened at a time when Japan had in her mind only Korea and no Manchuria. The story of "Manchukuo", although it is not yet a finished story, is quite well known to the world. Whether Japan is right or wrong in her present policy in Manchuria is not the point. But Japan by creating this new state in the land of the Chinese has certainly caused a great international furore affecting her national prestige. She has so far failed to mitigate the situation by any direct political means. So she has been compelled to try other possible means. In the last World Olympiad, held at Los Angeles, she used her utmost endeavour to accomplish the admission of "Manchukuo". But it was a futile endeavour. The World Olympiad Committee could not approve of it.

In the last Far Eastern Olympiad she sought to do the same again.

> "About a month and a half before the opening of the Tenth Far Eastern Olympaid at Manila on May 12, Japan sent an official communication to to the Olympic Commitee applying for the admission of 'Manchukuo' to the competitions. Naturally, China objected on the legal grounds that no such state as 'Manchukuo' existed on the map, and if ever athletes from the North-eastern Province of China... .....participated in the competetions, they should by world recognition be a part of the Chinese delegation."

Japan realized that China had a strong case to back up her opposition. Besides there was the constitutional difficulty of which China would certainly take full advantage. Article Three which has been to the advantage of Japan in case Korea should seek admission to the Association, has now stood clearly in her way to have "Manchukuo" admitted to membership, inasmuch as China would never vote for it and "Manchukuo" could not be a member without the unanimous vote of the member-countries forming the Association. So Japan sought to have Article Three amended.

Upon her request a conference was held at Shanghai on April 9 in which delegates from China, Japan, and the Philippines were present. Japan proposed in this conference an amendment of Article Three to the effect that "two-thirds approval be sufficient for the admission of any new state to the Federation." Evidently the move was to dispose of China's opposition against

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Japan's plan. But the conference, as was expected, came to a deadlock.

"China threatened to withdraw from active participation in the Manila Meet if 'Manchukuo' was to be included, while Japan intimated that she would take a similar step should the puppet state be barred."

Filipino delegates, finding that all the expensive preparations at Manila would be spoiled, sought to break the deadlock by suggesting a compromise. This was that the question should be discussed at Manila after the conclusion of the Olympic Games.

The games were played amidst great pomp and show. Incidentally, I should mention here that to hold the Tenth Far Eastern Olympiad the Filipinos made splendid preparations at Manila. They raised by lottery a huge sum of money (more than one million pesos) and spent it in building a magnificent stadium, containing a semi-oval concrete grandstand accommodating 12,000 people.

The conclusion of the games was followed by the tenth session of the Far Eastern Olympic Congress. As scheduled the "Manchukuo" question was brought up again for discussion. The little assembly assumed the importance of a League of Nations conclave. Japan introduced the proposal to amend Article Three. China opposed it as vigorously as before. The Fillipinos being the host members were in an embarrassing situation They sought a compromise once again. They proposed an amendment of Article Ten to the effect that the host country of the Olympiad be given the privilege to invite any country to participate in Olympic Games. China saw that this left a loop-hole for the admission of "Manchukuo" when Japan would be the host country, and opposed it. At the second meeting of the Congress the Japanese delegates wanted the Filipino proposal to be put to vote. The Chinese delegates "refused to vote on the ground that delegates from Annam and the Dutch East Indies, the two new member-states of the Federation, were absent, pointing out that even if the Japanese and Filipino delegates voted in favour of adoption of the proposal, it would not be constitutional as a two-thirds vote was required to legalize any adoption of new proposals. Their voice unheeded, the Chinese delegates walked out of the conference". This impasse, however, did not signify China's withdrawal from the Association.

There was a third meeting of the Congress in which only Japanese and Filipino delegates were present. It is said that the Filipino officials of the local organization failed to locate the Chinese delegates and inform them of the meeting. But the absence of the Chinese delegates from the meeting was a real advantage to the Japanese. They introduced a resolution to dissolve the Far Eastern Athletic Association and to organize in its stead a new and larger association to be called the Amateur Athletic Association of the Orient. The Filipino delegates quietly acquiesced.

Right or wrong, Japan has announced the creation of a new Athletic Association. Its officials have been elected. The constitution of the new Association is almost the same as that of the old Association except the troublesome Article Three which blocked the admission of "Manchukuo.' It has been also proposed that Japan and the Philippines would jointly issue invitations to various Oriental countries to participate in this Association. The meeting is to be held at Tokyo early this October to discuss complete plans for the new organization. According to present plans, invitations to join will then be sent to Manchukuo, China, the Dutch East Indies, French Indo-China, and India.

China, on the other hand, considers all this as mere farce. Mr. Sung, secretary of the China National Amateur Athletic Federation, says, "The alleged dissolution is completely illegal and nothing less than a farce. How can two out of five members dissolve any organization?" Dr. C. T. Wang, Minister of Foreign Relations, has similarly regarded the affair at Manila. The Chinese do not think that the Far Eastern Athletic Association is dissolved. They have already started to make preparations for the next Olympic Meet at Shanghai which is due to be held in 1938.

All this is most unfortunate. The movement that has, for twenty long years, been going on in this part of Asia, to foster the fine spirit of neighbourhood and slowly push its frontiers, has received a very rude shake from unscrupulous politics which should not have been ushered into it. At any rate, the year 1938 is going to be a very interesting year for the Athletic Orient. Japan is determined to hold at Tokyo, in 1938, the first meet of the new Association with "Manchukuo" as one of its members. While, on the other hand, China is also preparing for the eleventh meet of the old Association. If both of them send invitations to other Oriental countries to participate in athletic competitions those countries will certainly be in a fix.

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SOME ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE WHITE PAPER:

I. COMMERCIAL DISCRIMINATION

By D. N. BANERJEE,

Head of the Department of Economics and Politics, Dacca University

THE object of this paper is to examine (*i*) the proposals made by His Majesty's Government in what is known as the White Paper on n Constitutional Reform, for the purpose reventing commercial discrimination in , and also (*ii*) the explanatory confiden- Memorandum* on the same question, the 3rd November, 1933, which the tary of State for India submitted to the mentary Joint Committee on Indian ms on the 6th of November last. The randum did not make any new proposals. urpose was to set out, to quote the words he Secretary of State, with greater sion the objects which His Majesty's rnment had had in view in framing the sals regarding commercial discrimination mbodied in clauses 122 to 124 of the e Paper.

he general principles, according to the tary of State, upon which the proposals e Government in relation to commercial imination have been based may be stated as follows :

) Section 96 of the Government of Act which, reproducing in essence on 87 of the Government of India Act, lays down that

"no native of British India, *nor any subject of His Majesty resident therein*, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour or any of them, be disabled from holding any office under the Crown in India"

the passages to that effect in Queen ria's Proclamation of 1858 ; and (2) the ving resolution of the Round Table ference adopted on the 19th of January,

to the instance of the British commercial munity, the principle was generally agreed that there should be no discrimination between the rights of the British mercantile community, firms and companies trading in India and the rights of Indian-born subjects, and that an appropriate convention, based on reciprocity, should be entered into for the purpose of regulating these rights".

It may be observed here by way of comment that there is no reference to the question of commercial discrimination either in Section 87 of the Government of India Act, 1833, or in Section 96 of the (existing) Government of India Act. The object of both the Sections has been to ensure that no person should be disqualified from holding any office under the Government in India by reason of his place of birth, creed, or colour, and that fitness alone should be the criterion of eligibility. Perhaps it would be argued that the underlying spirit of the Sections should be taken into account in connexion with the question of commercial discrimination.

The expression "commercial discrimination" is very compendious, and has been used in the Indian Round Table Conference and also in the White Paper to signify discrimination against British commerce 'both in India and with India, in all its diversified fields of Banking, Shipping, Finance, Trading and Industry.'

Now Commercial discrimination may be either of an administrative or of a legislative character ; and proposals have been made in the White Paper for the prevention of both kinds of discrimination. On the administrative side, the Governor-General or the Governor will, it has been proposed, have each in his own sphere—a special responsibility for the prevention of commercial discrimination ; and will be entitled to act, subject to the directions contained in his Instrument of Instructions, otherwise than in accordance with his Minister's advice, if he considers that such advice will involve discriminatory action in the administrative sphere. It will be for the

Vide the Secretary of State's Evidence before the Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform, (Q. Nos. 290-93), 3rd Oct. to 7th Nov., 1933.

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Governor-General or the Governor, as the case may be, to determine *in his discretion** when his special responsibility in this respect is involved by any given circumstances.

It may be noted in this connexion that the original phrase used in Paragraphs 18 (e) and 70 (d) of the White Paper, namely, "the prevention of commercial discrimination," has been expanded in the Memorandum referred to before, to "the prevention of discrimination in matters affecting trade, commerce, industry or ships." The expanded phrase is certainly more comprehensive in its scope.

As some illustrations of what may be considered to be cases of administrative discrimination, I may quote the following extract† from the evidence of Sir Samuel Hoare given before the Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform on November 6th, 1933 :

> Marquess of Zetland‡ : Supposing a Provincial Government calls for tenders, it may be for the Public Works Department, for contracts for road making or building or anything of that kind, and supposing tenders are put in by both Indian and British firms, and supposing that the British tender on its merits is quite obviously the best, but supposing it is not accepted by the Provincial Government, but a tender by a purely Indian firm is accepted, it seems to me that that is the sort of case of discrimination which might arise. Would the Governor in those circumstances be justified in calling for the tenders, examining them and saying 'No, on the merits of the case, it is quite clear that the tender put in by the British firm is the most advantageous to the Provincial Government, and for that reason, and for that reason alone, laying down that the British tender would have to be accepted ?
>
> Sir Samuel Hoare : "Certainly, if it was a serious case. I could quite imagine that there might be doubtful cases, in which it was very difficult for the Governor to convince himself that the tender had been given, we will say, on racial lines, *but if it was a serious case, then I should say, it would be the duty of the Governor to intervene.*
>
> Sir Austen Chamberlian§ : Suppose the Governor found that tenders were awarded to Indian firms, irrespective of price, I suppose you would hold that that was discrimination, and that the Governor should interfere ?
>
> Sir Samuel Hoare ; I should think certainly, in a case of that kind, *the Governor would demand an enquiry and would satisfy himself or not satisfy himself that there had been discrimination. If he was satisfied that there had been discrimination, he would intervene.*

Sir Austen Chamberlain* : Take the case where tenders are not called for publicly, but where it is alleged that the Government, having both Indian and British firms well fitted to tender, calls for tenders from the Indian firms only. Would that be an occasion for the Governor to act ?

Sir Samuel Hoare : *I would certainly say it would be a case for the Governor to hold an enquiry and satisfy himself whether or not there had been discrimination.*

Sir Austen Chamberlain† : Would it be within his power if, as a result of the enquiry, he found there had been discrimination, to cancel the contract ?

Sir Samuel Hoare : *His power is unlimited and undefined.*

Sir Austen Chamberlain‡ : Could he hold up the contract pending an enquiry ?

Sir Samuel Hoare : *Yes.*

Further, in reply to the question of Lord Salisbury§ 'whether it would be practical, as a matter of fact, for the Governor to interfere in cases where the Indian Government obviously preferred on several occasions an inferior Indian tender to a better British one,'

Sir Samuel Hoare said :

> I think it must depend upon what importance the Governor himself attaches to the particular case ; I can quite imagine (in fact I admitted just now to Lord Zetland) that there may be very difficult border-line cases, in which it would be difficult for anyone to say whether this or that tender had been accepted for this or that reason, but I am assuming that where it really was a case of serious discrimination the Governor would certainly have his attention called to it. There are not the things that happen without anybody knowing about them at all, and in that case, the Governor should intervene.

Moreover, the Secretary of State made it definitely clear, in reply to two further questions** of Sir Austen Chamberlian, that what was intended to prevent was *'improper discrimination between two companies incorporated in India on any ground of race'* and that he would not treat it as an improper discrimination 'if the Indian Government, to encourage the growth or creation of some industry, placed an order with a Company, whether British or Indian, incorporated in India, and *impartially as between those two,* but excluded companies established elsewhere, even though they were established in the United Kingdom.' Thus his point was that there must not be any discrimination by administrative action

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* All italics in this article are mine.

† *Vide the Secretary of State's Evidence*, Part II, pp. 296-300.

‡ Q. 15417. § Q. 15418.

* Q. 15419. † Q. 15421. ‡ Q. 15422. § Q. 15

** Qs, 15429 & 15430.

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...ainst British Companies in India. * Nor ...ould a *Company incorporated in the United ...gdom but trading in India* be ordinarily ...ject to any disabilities in this respect on ...ount of the fact that it has been incorpora... in the United Kingdom or that its ...eholders are of a particular composition ...class or nationality. This is evident from ... replies to questions 15384 and 15410 ...en by Sir Malcolm Hailey and Sir Samuel ...are respectively in the course of their ...dence before the Joint Select Committee. ...a matter of fact Sir Samuel Hoare clearly ...ed in his reply that the Government did ...make any distinction in its mind between ...slative and administrative discrimination. ...observed, however, later on that he would ...regard it as discrimination on part of a ...vincial Government either to restrict its ...lers to Companies operating in its own ...vince' or to purchase its stores from ...nufactories established under its own ...ervision'.†

A careful perusal of the replies of Sir ...uel Hoare, as quoted above, will convince ...reader that, under the proposals of His ...esty's Government in relation to the ...sion of commercial discrimination, it will ...ft entirely to the discretion of the Govenor-...eral or the Governor, as the case may be, ...determine whether there has been made any ...rimination in any particular administrative ...by a Federal or provincial Minister, and, ...ally, the power of the Governor-General ...the Governor in this respect will be *...limited and undefined*". One can easily imagine from this the amount of freedom which the Indian Minister will enjoy in regard to matters under our consideration under the White Paper Scheme of Government. It may be argued that this state of things will obtain only during the period of transition. But it is nowhere stated in the White Paper how long the period of transition will last. Besides, it is extremely unlikely that the British Companies in India will ever agree to surrender the privilege which it is proposed to confer upon them, once they have got it. Such magnanimous renunciation, however praiseworthy, will be against human nature. Nor again should we ignore in this connexion the probable effect of the proposals, if they are given a statutory form, upon the development of the comparatively young Indian industries or the newly started Indian Companies, as the latter will have to compete with well-established and well-organized British concerns with enormous resources in men, money, skill and experience at their back. It may be argued that in accordance with the principle of reciprocity agreed upon at the Round Table Conference, Indian Companies will enjoy the same privileges in the United Kingdom as it is proposed to confer on British Companies in India. I shall show in my next article how delusive is the appearance of reciprocity in this matter.

Lastly, it may be noted here that there is nothing, as Sir Edward Benthal admitted before the Joint Select Committee in his reply to a question of Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas on July 13th, 1933, in the present Government of India Act regarding either administrative or legislative discrimination. Thus the position will be worse in this respect under the new Scheme of Reforms as proposed in the White Paper.

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* In making this point he remarked, however, ...he did not think that anybody was assuming ...in every public tender in India British ...panies from England would neceasarily tender. ...does not happen now.

† *Vide* replies to questions 15431-15434.

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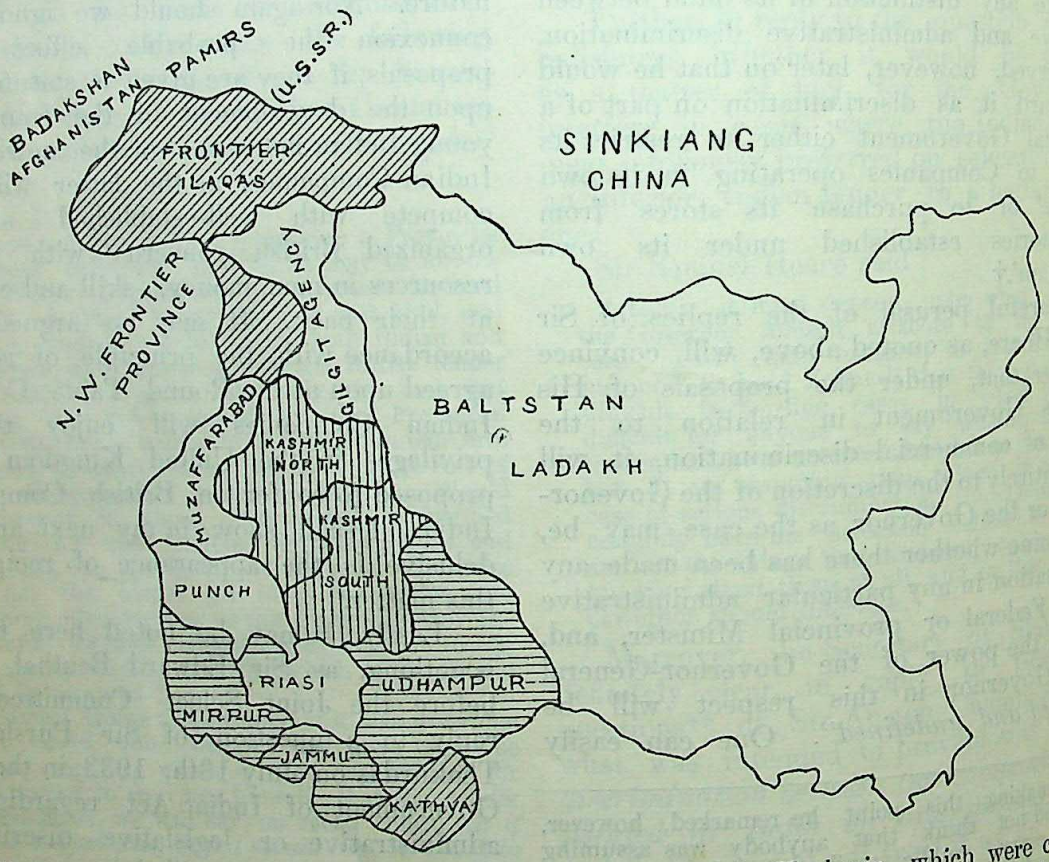
THE FACE OF THINGS IN KASHMIR

By R. S. PANDIT

IN the plains of India when the hot winds are at their worst who does not long to go to Kashmir with its snow-peaks, the soft friendly hills clothed in blue-green pine and fir and its wealth of flowing water and who, if he has once been in that "Earthly Paradise", does not long to go there again? The end of May found us on the Grand Trunk Road from Allahabad heading steadily for the Himalayas, the abode of snows, and dividing the Panjab by the glare of



the headlights of the Nash. Jawaharlal Nehru's daughter Indira who had passed the Matriculation and had a brief holiday before joining Tagore's Institute at Santiniketan was with us looking forward eagerly to the sight of the old homeland.

The government of the Maharaja have recently spent Rs. 58,00,000 in constructing a motor road over the Banihal Pass. There is a tunnel on the top of the Pass; emerging from it one sees below the valley unfolding itself in all its loveliness. On the Kashmir side of the Pass the snow is still to be found and the wild flowers make the dust-laden tourist forget the hot furnace of the plains and his further journey lies through Elysian fields within sheltering mountains and avenues of fruit trees and tall poplars along the winding Vitasta (the river Jhelam) t the Venice of the East. Srinagar—the Cit Royal—is one of the oldest cities of the world and derives its name from the capital founded in th remote past by the Emperor Asoka the Constan tine of Buddhist India.

In ancient Kashmir the Hindu kings had system of passports like that of China and exi and entry into Kashmir were strictly regulated

the passes of Kashmir which were called Dr or Gates being especially closed against foreigner Albaruni, the contemporary of the Turki Conqueror Mahmud, writes about the Kashmir in the 11th century:

"They are particularly anxious about the natur trength of their country, and therefore tak always much care to keep a strong hold upon th entrances and roads leading into it. In consequ it is very difficult to have any commerce wi them. In former times they used to allow one two foreigners to enter their country, particular Jews, but at present they do not allow any Hind whom they do not know personally to enter, muc less other People".

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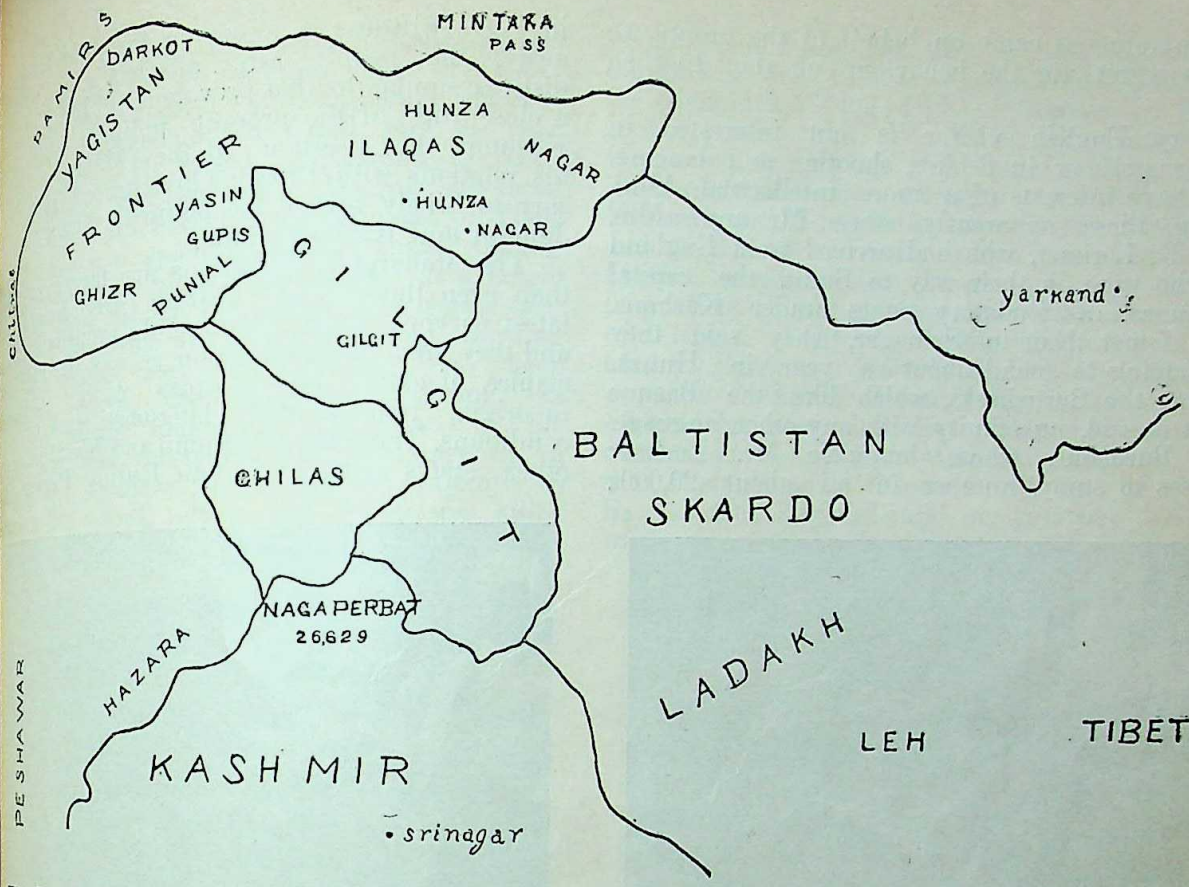

The Banihal route was until recent times ed to Europeans, which was a survival in of the old system. Now all restrictions are ished, for visitors are as welcome as in itzerland.

Close to where the ascent begins on the shmir side is the village of Vernag about fifty s from Srinagar. Those who go to Kashmir the much frequented Rawalpindi route erally miss seeing Vernag, where, according Kashmiri legend, was the source of the Vitasta. s place, which is at a height of 6,100 feet, has a nificent spring known in ancient times as the Naga after Nila, the lord of the Spring- s, and patron saint of Kashmir. The Nagas, rding to legend, were semi-divine beings who ded in the form of serpents in the limpid ls and lakes of Kashmir; they caused hail- ms, thunder and clouds, and when they took shape of human beings they were recognized their locks which streamed with water! The mmadan population of the valley has not yet ed to adore the ancient spring deities. The g at Vernag was enclosed in a fine stone by the Emperor Jahangir, who was half -Mongol and half a Rajput, his mother g been a Rathor princess of Jodhpur. From Emperor's own pen we have a description of lovely spring of ice-cold water. (*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Oriental Translation Fund, p. 92.) returning from Kashmir Jahangir died Nagas near Rajauri and his last wish was he might be conveyed to Vernag and buried

On the Bund opposite the Post Office at Srinagar, while watching the golden oriole flit from one willow tree to another, I was surprised to hear Russian being spoken. A smattering of Russian acquired during University days at Heidelberg helped to make the acquaintance of some Russians, men and women, who turned out to be refugees in Kashmir from Chinese Turkistan. They had escaped from the USSR, after the revolution and lived ever since as refugees in Chinese Turkistan, but they had to leave it when, upon the outbreak of revolution against the Chinese administration, the political situation became very grave. The Russian refugees had come, some of them over the boundary between China and India *via* the Mintaka Pass (13,000 ft) in the snow of January, while others had turned west from the Mintaka Pass into Afghanistan. The latter found themselves in Badakshan, were ordered to move on and eventually came through what are known as the Frontier Ilaqaas (territory) of the Kashmir State *via* Gilgit to Srinagar. They had thus crossed Passes which few Europeans have ventured to cross. Our conversation was short-lived. It was interrupted by an English woman who described herself as a "British officer's daughter"; she warned the refugees that it was the British Government which was maintaining them and not the Indian National Congress, which was under the influence of Jawaharlal Nehru, whom she described as a "Professional Communist" and in sympathy with the Godless Jews of Moscow. Late at night one of the

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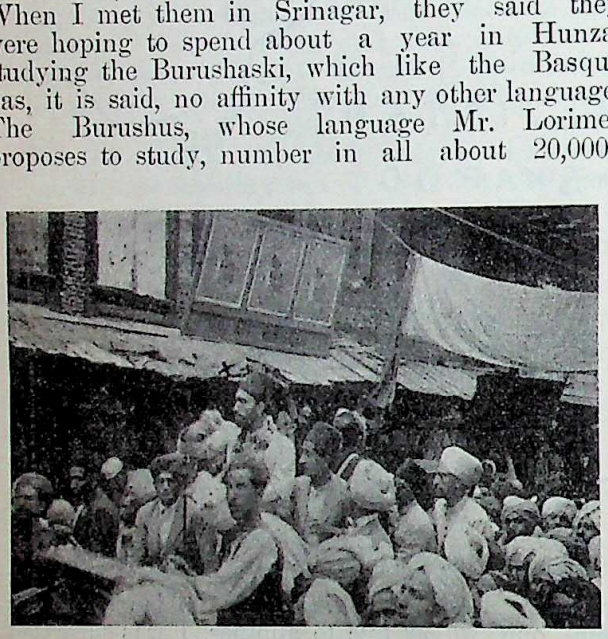
Russian refugees came on behalf of the group to express regret for the behaviour of the English woman.

Every English visitor is not interested in playing golf or in fishing, shooting and dancing. Some have interests of a more intellectual kind. Among these apparently were Mr. and Mrs. D. L. R. Lorimer, who had arrived from England and who were on their way to Baltit, the capital of Hunza, a feudatory state under Kashmir. When I met them in Srinagar, they said they were hoping to spend about a year in Hunza, studying the Burushaski, which like the Basque has, it is said, no affinity with any other language. The Burushus, whose language Mr. Lorimer proposes to study, number in all about 20,000;

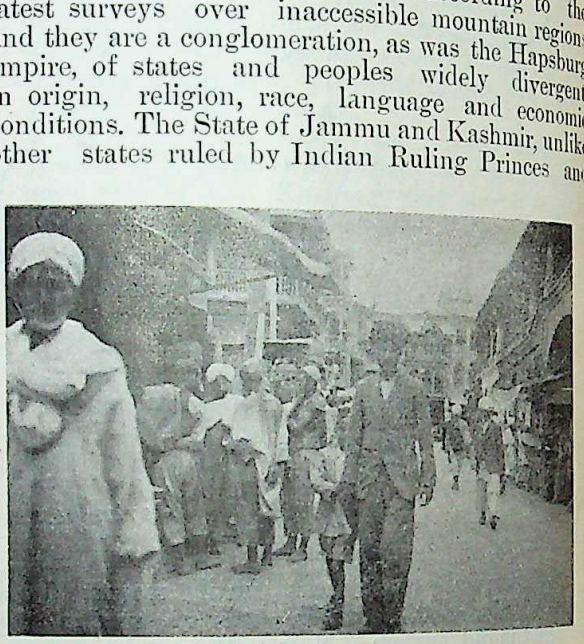


Muslim procession with Abdulla, the Tiger of Kashmir, (Sher-i-Kashmir) in the centre

they reside on both sides of the Hunza river, which is as large as the Chenab in the Panjab and which divides the territory of Hunza from the feudatory state of Nagar. It is interesting to note that Mr. Lorimer was formerly Political Agent there and that along the gorge of the Hunza river which penetrates the Karakoram Range lies the path over the Hindu Kush into Chinese Turkistan, which is used by runners carrying the mail to and from Kashgar; that across the border of Hunza is Soviet territory with its Fort at Sirikul and that Baltit is in communication with Simla!

India, once the social and military concern of the British, has become in recent times one of the leading interests of the world. In modern India traditional values are being judged from new standpoints and with new standards. The cry of revolt is heard everywhere; old beliefs are being undermined and authority cast aside. The working classes, the peasantry and the lower middle classes, crushed by various kinds of exploitation, want immediate relief and food for their hungry stomachs. The land tenure or Zamindari system is breaking down and the majority of even the landed magnates are impoverished. In Kashmir, where, too, change in its swiftness is sweeping the old landmarks away, the people are affected by economic distress similar to that prevalent in India. To get a close up of the present political situation in Kashmir, the position of the Maharaja and of his relations with British Government, it is necessary to briefly review the political history of the Jammu and Kashmir State.

The Maharaja's dominions are larger in extent than even those of the Nizam according to the latest surveys over inaccessible mountain regions and they are a conglomeration, as was the Hapsburg empire, of states and peoples widely divergent in origin, religion, race, language and economic conditions. The State of Jammu and Kashmir, unlike other states ruled by Indian Ruling Princes and



Maharajgunj, the scene of the riots

Chiefs, occupies an important strategic position on the northern frontier of India. It is the only state where the population is predominantly Muhammadan. Part of the population within its territory is warlike and fierce like the tribes on the Afghan frontier, whereas a part is emigrés from Central Asia, Mongol in type and Buddhist by religion.

In 1819 Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the Lion of the Panjab, had wrested Kashmir from the Afghans and it remained a part of his dominions until 1846. After the death of Ranjit Singh the Panjab was annexed by the British, who sold Kashmir for one million pounds sterling to the Dogra Raja of Jammu, Gulab Singh, who had sided with the British. Since then the British have never ceased to look at Kashmir with the eye of covetousness and to regret the error. While Kashmir was yet part of the Sikh Khalsa under a Governor sent from Lahore, the Raja Gulab Singh, after annexing all the petty hill states between the Jhelam and the Ravi, eventually acquired Kisthwar, which touches the country of Ladakh, sometimes called Western Tibet. In 1834 the Raja sent his general, Vazir Zorawar Singh, to invade Ladakh. The Dogra commander advanced to Pushkum in the Wakkha valley on the main Kashmir-Ladakh Road and

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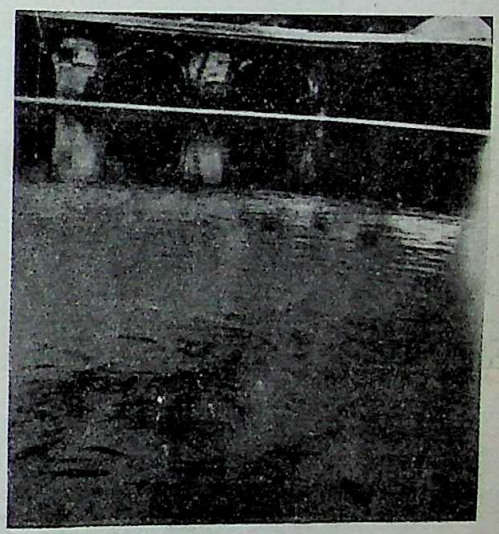
reached Leh. At first the ruler of Ladakh was
s a feudatory of Jammu but eventually
country was annexed. Zorawar Singh marched
Skardo, deposed the chief and put his son
the throne. He raised contingents of Baltis
Ladakhis, and with his Dogras advanced
the winter of 1841 for the conquest of Tibet.
Dorgas are splendid fighting men. On the
of December, when the Dogras at a height
feet above sea level were losing their
and feet from frost bite and were burning
gun-stocks for lack of fuel to keep
selves warm, the Tibetans delivered an
ught. Zorawar fought at the head of his
but was unhorsed and wounded by a
in the shoulder ; he continued gallantly to
with his sword, left-handed, till he was killed
a spear ; his force was routed, only a few

Indira Nehru on the Like to Gulmarg

vors reached Leh. Thus perished the brave
ar Singh in the distant region of the
-bound North. Another brave Dogra
al conquered for the Rajas of Jammu
are now known as the Frontier Ilaqas
ory) of the State, including Gilgit, during
years 1868-1874. This was Hoshara Singh,
conquered Gilgit in 1868, and his gun,
l to mark the position from where he fired,
in situ. The Frontier Ilaqas of the
are: 1. Hunza, 2. Nagar, 3. Punial, 4.
man, 5. Yasin, 6. Koh, 7. Ghize; the last
are inhabited by semi-independent tribes.
Gupsi there is a fort which is garrisoned by
companies of Dogras. Chitral on the
-west frontier of India was also, until the
of Lord Curzon, under Jammu. Lord
took Chitral from the late Maharaja of
and Kashmir and brought it under
British influence. The ruler of Chitral,
still enjoys the ancient Kashmiri title of
tara (now Mehtar), has been granted a
salute of guns and the title of His Highness by the British and Chitral is garrisoned, because of the proximity of the Afghan frontier, by British Indian troops who have taken the place of the Dogras. The British for some time have been exerting diplomatic pressure on the present Maharaja to induce him to cede to them Gilgit and the Frontier Ilaqas, which were conquered by the sword of the Dogras. At the present time all the Frontier Ilaqas are under the charge of a British Political Agent who controls their affairs. Gilgit is similarly under the controlling power of the British Political Agent, although for all civil purposes it is like other districts of the State under a Wazir Wazarat. Appeals from the District and Sessions Judge of Gilgit lie to the High Court at Srinagar and in revenue matters to the Revenue Minister of the



Sacred fish at Vernag

State. In Gilgit political power is, however, exercised by the Political Agent, Gilgit Agency, who is under the British Resident in Kashmir as well as directly under the Viceroy at Simla. The Political Agent enjoys the privilege of a salute of eleven guns. There are three Assistant Political Agents. Yasin, Punial, Hunza and Nagar are under Assistant Political Agents. The Judicial system in different areas is a curious *melange* of tribal methods and modern judicial procedure and the Jirga system obtains just as among the tribes of the North-West Frontier of India. Chelas has a fort which is garrisoned by the state troops but the British Political Agent collects the revenue, called "Tribute", which is sent to the State treasury at Gilgit. Such is the extraordinary dual control in these territories, which are vulnerable to attack from Afghanistan and Central Asia.

It is interesting to note that the people of Nagar, who call themselves Shin or Dard, are by religion Muhammadan and, like the Persians, Shias in faith. In Hunza, on the other hand,

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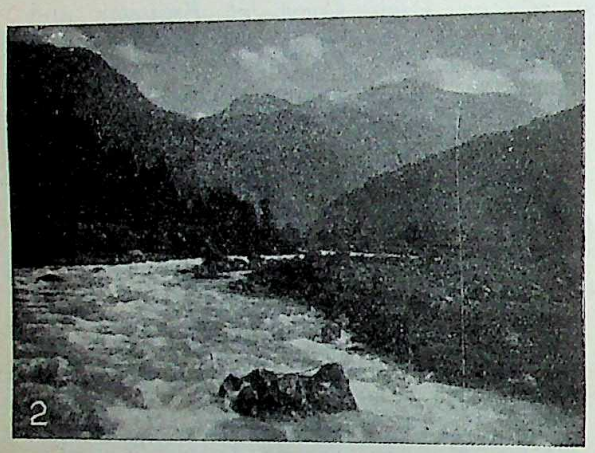

1. Vistar Nag where the Kashmiri Brahmans were massacred
2. The Laughing Sider
3. Kashmiri picknickers in Nishat Bagh.

the people curiously enough, like the inhabitants of Chitral and North-Eastern Afghanistan, are followers of the Aga Khan. The chiefs of Hunza and Nagar are called Mirs and they claim descent from Alexander the Great, who is the hero of these territories and of their legends and epic songs. According to their traditions their horses are also descended from Alexander's charger Bucephelos. Similar legends are current in the North-West Frontier Province, the centre of the Graeco-Buddhist culture and art, where the chiefs still claim descent from a princess of this region (Gandhara) who is said to have married Alexander. Red hair and blue eyes are common in Nagar and Hunza, and the people have the Greek taste for wine and the dance. For half the year, however, the people are cut off from all communication with the outside world after the snows begin to melt when the rivers rise to extraordinary heights, fill the lower reaches of the gorges and render them impassable. In Yasin the people follow a religion called Maulai. The Baltis of Baltistan (sometimes called Little Tibet) and the people of Ladakh are Mongolian in type like the Tibetans; the Baltis are Muhammadans and the Ladakhis are Buddhists. In the Frontier territory, which is a Tolstoyan paradise, there are no mosques, no patwaris (revenue officials), no courts, no land records. The territory comprises 48,000 square miles, but is so sparsely populated that the total population is barely two hundred thousand. There are eighty villages in the whole of the Gilgit Wazarat and only three hundred villages in all the Frontier Ilaqas. The British jealously guard this territory as their military Rakh (sanctuary); they do not allow any European to pass beyond Astor without the permission of the Resident, while the subjects of the Maharaja are allowed to go up to Gilgit but not beyond into the Frontier Ilaqas even for purposes of trade.

Past history shows that Kashmir like Nepal was in touch with Tibet, Central Asia and distant China. The earliest reference is to be found in the Chinese Annals of the Tang dynasty, which record the arrival of an embassy from Mu-to-pi (Samskrit Muktapida), King of Kashmir, during the reign of the Emperor Hiuen-Tsung (713-755) and after the first Chinese expedition against Po-liu (Baltistan), which took place between the years 736-747. The king requested an alliance against the Tibetans and the despatch of a Chinese auxiliary force which was to encamp in the midst of his country on the shores of the Mahapadma Lake (*i.e.*, the Vular) and offered to find provisions for an army of 200,000 men. According to the Sanskrt history of Kashmir the king Muktapida perished like the Dogra Zorawar Singh in the North, fighting the enemy in the "Sea of Sand", probably the Desert of Gobi. Invasions of the Darads are repeatedly mentioned in the Sanskrt history of Kashmir. In the fourteenth century a Tibetan chief, Rinchana, invaded Kashmir, married the Hindu Princess Kota and made himself king of the country. Mirza Haidar, a Mughal free-lance, had accompanied the Khan of Kashgar in 1533 in the invasion of Ladakh and later occupied Srinagar. The Mirza again invaded Kashmir and ruled it from 1541 to 1551. He has left us a valuable work, the Tarikhi-Rashidi, which is a history of the Mughals of Central Asia. Thus British apprehensions about

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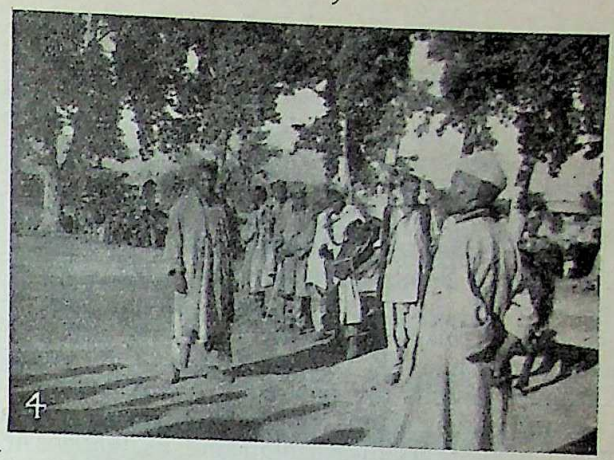
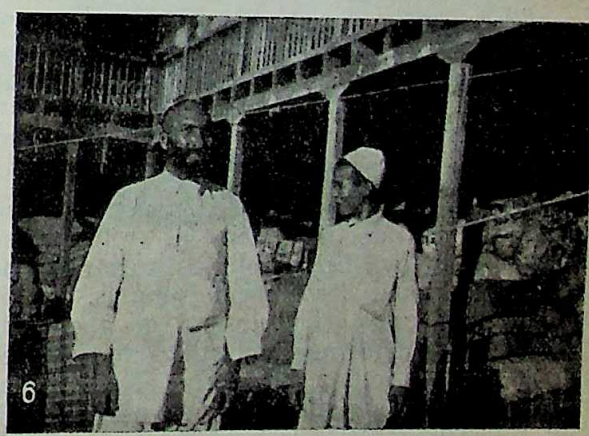
northern frontier of Kashmir, which has for neighbonrs Afghanistan, the USSR. and , are not groundless, and they furnish an for interference in the affairs of the who is the ruler of Jammu and raja, and the overlord of Ladakh, Baltistan, shmir and a number of small states. By the it and a number of the British Resident a Sarai for the ce" of the British Resident a Sarai for the hants of Kashgar and Yarkand has been at Srinagar. It is a brick building, enclosed a jail, with only one gate for entrance and guarded by the Police and watched by the ents of the secret service.

The Maharaja of Kashmir, like almost all ers of Indian States at the present time, has brought up under English tutors and ated in one of the Colleges specially founded the British Government for the education Ruling Princes and Chiefs during their rity. Such education is imparted in the that the princes might become easily sub- ent to the Viceroy and when they are invested the powers of government of their own tory they might, like district officers in British tory, take their orders from the British ernment of India. But even well-laid plans times miscarry, and the British Govern- have not found their wards always nable to discipline; and the Maharaja has in spite of diplomatic pressure, parted with it and the Frontier Ilaqas, which the British anxious to acquire.

In 1931, about the time of the second Round le Conference in London, communal riots e out in Srinagar. The origin of the riots in reality economic. The prevailing economic ession had hit the people of the valley very . The stream of English visitors from whom formerly earned money in summer to pay their living in winter was largely diverted to pe by attractive cheap passages and special ances granted under the Lee Commission the British Government in India. The ation in Kashmir was engineered by Muslim unal organizations in the Panjab, such as religious organization of the Quadianis. ect first arose among the Muslims of mir *inter se*—between those who were of d faith and the converts who had come the influence of the new propaganda, and el round the question of the right to h in certain mosques. After a time the ious jealousies of different Muslim sects nated in disturbances and State intervention wed. Some of their leaders were arrested taken to the jail below the fort at rbat and their trial took place in . A crowd which had collected at the time trial was fired upon by Dogras and forcibly sed. The crowd retreated with the dead and nded to Srinagar in their rage, where they Maharajgunj, the principal bazar of the The Muhammadans forgot their factions and





4. Group of Baltis with their ponies in the background
5. Ruins of Martanda, the magnificent Sun-Temple founded by Lalitadity (700-736 A. C.)
6. Yarkandi merchant in the Serai at Srinagar.

took vengeance against the State by an attack upon the Kashmiri Brahmans, known as the Pandits, who were to them the visible symbol of the State administration. For centuries they have been the sole literate class in Kashmir and had been in charge of offices of state during Mughal, Afghan and Sikh rule. They were murdered, their property was looted and their women were man-handled. Vitasarnag, a village near Srinagar and a holy place of the Pandits, suffered in particular. The Dogra administration looked on

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with apathy at the riots which raged for three days in Srinagar. They were unmoved by the losses of the Kashmiri Pandits, who as a class had demonstrated by political parades and speeches their sympathy with the Indian National Congress and had closed their shops as a mark of respect at the time of the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi. Their sympathy with the socialistic programme of Jawaharlal Nehru, whom they hold in deep affection and esteem as their kinsman, had also made them suspect in the eyes of the local administration. To the British the talented Kashmiri Pandits are politically obnoxious as the nascent leaders of an intellectual revolt against present conditions in Kashmir and as the possible media for the successful introduction of Soviet propaganda into India. The communal riots were utilized to check the active propaganda of the Kashmir Pandits on the lines of the Nationalists in India on the one hand and to throw discredit at the same time on the administration of the Maharaja. The British government found a lever to extend their power in Kashmir. A British Prime Minister was considered necessary to maintain law and order and the services, of two Indian members of the Civil Service, one Hindu and one Muslim, were lent to the Maharaja for the efficient administration of the State. At the present moment these highly-paid officers help to carry on the work of the administration. The Maharaja is said to be a man of energy, ability, self-confidence and many gifts, but he does not get a chance to display them and his main activities appear to be confined to playing Polo, maintaining a fleet of automobiles and a stud of racing horses and in building and decorating new palaces for himself.

After the riots various commissions and committees were appointed, some of which were presided over by British officers, to investigate the grievances and recommend reforms, as is usual in such cases. The upshot of these was that the rioters, murderers and others were allowed to go scotfree and a legislative assembly was granted to the people of the Jammu and Kashmir State, which is expected to hold its first session in November, 1934. Following the British method of reform for India, while nominally creating a body not unlike the debating society of a college, all power is reserved for the Government of His Highness. Officials and nominees of the State are to form the majority in the Assembly. Separate electorates are created; which are bound to reinforce communal tendencies, while the Buddhists of Ladakh are to be represented not by a member to be elected by themselves but by a Kashmiri Pandit lawyer of Srinagar nominated by the government! Urdu, which is neither the language of Jammu province nor of Kashmir, neither the language of the rulers nor of the ruled, is declared to be the official language by the British officer presiding over the Commission, which further provides that no one shall be eligible for election as member of the assembly who cannot write Urdu in the Perso-Arabic script.

The Muhamadans of Kashmir are beginning to realize that the Constitutional Reform is not a new Jerusalem. The small capitalists, the traders and the repressed who side with the Government are called the "party of the Goat", whereas those who form the opposition are known as the "party of the Tiger" after the leader Abdulla, who is known as the Sher-i-Kashmir (Tiger of Kashmir) and who undoubtedly has a place in the hearts of his countrymen. It will take years to erase the imprint of slavery and blind submission to authority. A new Kashmir can only be built by free men and not by those in whom the instinct for freedom and voluntary action do not exist. After the Pandits had been humiliated and made to pay a heavy price Muslim agitation was in turn repressed through British officers from the North-West Frontier Province, whose services were "lent" to the Maharaja. The only newspaper in Kashmir now is the *Martand* (Sun), which is the organ of the Kashmiri Pandits. It is being conducted with the greatest difficulty under a strict censorship and the constant threat of confiscation. The liberty of the subject, of free speech and of public demonstration or meeting are hedged round by limitations and are in fact non-existent.

The Pandits, literally the Intellectuals, are like the Jew, trained in the school of adversity. For centuries they have been persecuted, harried martyrized and slain. Like the Jew, history proves, that the Kashmiri Brahmans have never bowed their heads to their persecutors and have preferred death to dishonour; unlike the Jews, however, they are not concerned with finance nor has money ever been the Brahman ideal. At the back of the mind of the older generation who are proud Pagans, lurk memories of the glory of Hindu Kashmir, its art, sculpture, painting and music and the joyous worship in the temples to the ruins of which still clings spiritually the faded aroma of the past. The sacred shrines have been destroyed and their exquisite carved stones form part of Muhammadan graveyards. Some of the shrines are being used as mosques. Gazing at each of them the Brahman, like the Christian at Saint Sophia, sees it overlaid with melancholy—a temple dedicated to error. While the older generation is thus easily moved by the communal propaganda of leaders of the Panjab Hindu Sabha, the simple Kashmiri Muslim, who is poor and illiterate and easily swayed by whims, promises and self-advantage, becomes the prey of Muslim communal leaders of the Panjab. Prominent among these is Sir M. Iqbal who, as Fate has willed it, is a Kashmiri Brahman by race, his family—Sapru—having been converted to Muhammadanism. The truth is that the religious beliefs in Kashmir are survivals of the remote past under the official

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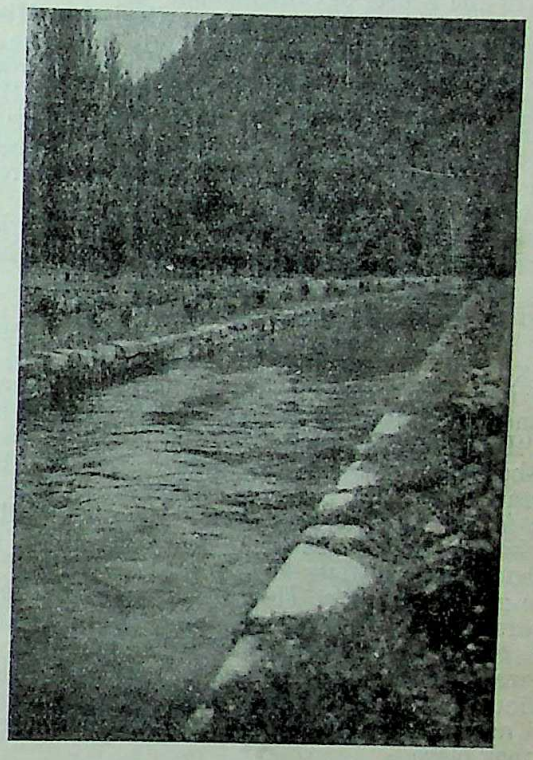
...ver of Brahmanism and Islam. The sacred ...ces of Buddhism are now centres of Muslim ...logy where the worship of the bone relics ... the Buddha has been replaced by the adoration ... the hair of Muhammad's beard.

According to the last Census of 1931 the ...al population of the Jammu and Kashmir ...te is 3,646,243, of which the number of ...hammadans is 2,817,636 and the Hindus number ...,222. In the valley of Kashmir over a ...tion are converts to the faith of Arabia, while ... Kashmiri Brahmans, who are the only ...rviving part of the original Hindu population ...mber about 60,000. They had formerly a ...nopoly of the posts and offices in the State; ...der the new reforms they are being weeded ... and replaced by members of the majority ...mmunity. The stress and stain of the last ... years has compelled them to look elsewhere ... a living than in the service of the State. ...th the exceptional intellectual qualities of ...r race the Kashmiri Brahmans are sure to ...d the new policy a blessing in disguise. ...olutionary changes have been made by the ...mmunity in the direction of social reform; ...en under thirty have given up the ...ditional Kashmiri dress and adopted the Indian ... for the sake of economy; widow remarriage ... encouraged and hundred and twenty ...shmiri Brahmans have recently married ...-Kashmiri women from the plains of ... of different Hindu castes, while in ...shmir four marriages have taken place in ...h the brides, who were Muhammadans, were ...pted as Hindus. This is new for Kashmir ... among the proud and aristocratic Brahmans ...mewhat surprising, but in the Dard villages ...e Indus Valley we find a curious state of ...rs. Buddhists and Muhammadans inter-marry ... religion changes at each generation, the ...ren of Buddhists becoming Muhammadans and ...e of Muhammadans becoming Buddhists. The ... is that, unlike the Kashmiri Muhammadan, ... is intensely religious, religion is not taken ...ously by the Dards. In Ladakh, where mixed ...riages between Muhammadans and Buddhists ...not uncommon, the two extremes of polygamy ...polyandry meet and end in the compromise ...nogamy. The Muhammadan objects to share ...wife with other men and the Ladakhi woman ...ses to share her position with any others of ...ers!

...t luckily the young men of Kashmir, both ...u and Muhammadan, are turning their backs ...e past. They are not raking up forgotten ...gies and dead emotions. In June Abdulla, ... had been released from prison, was permitted ...e out a procession in honour of the birthday ...Muhammad. Though it was a religious ...ession, slogans of "Hindu-Muslim Ittihad ...ahad" ("Long live Hindu-Muslim Unity") were raised and mingled with slogans in Arabic to honour Islam. The Kashmiris, both Hindu and Muslim, have a deep love for their own country and are proud of their culture; their history is one of persecution and exploitation by foreigners for several centuries; they have a common language and economic interests. The Dogras as well as the British are equally alien exploiters to them. The Kashmiris have realized that their country is the milch-cow of the State and that they are pawns in the game of imperialism. The Kashmiri peasant is a hard-working, honest and peace-loving man who lives on the verge of starvation; the Kashmiri workman is the least-paid skilled artisan in the world. The luxurious life and high salaries of the British officers and others in the service of the State, which is in the grip of economy, present an amazing contrast to the insanitary conditions in which the citizens have to live in Srinagar with its frightfully narrow streets, which effectively shut out light and fresh air. Whoever remains silent about these appalling conditions is a traitor to humanity. The young Kashmiris have realized that their destiny is in the melting-pot together with that of India and that relief will only come to them when it comes to the rest of India from all kinds of exploitation—with the extinction of feudal rule, of medieval conditions, the abolition of all privilege and the building up of a new social structure based on justice and equality.



Vernag; garden of the Moghals

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COMMENTS & CRITICISM

"Christ or the Kaiser of Christendom"

In the August number of *The Modern Review* I find an article by Mr. Manilal Parekh entitled "Christ or the Kaiser of Christendom" in which he says a number of hard things about Christian Missions as carried on in India and other lands for the past century or more. Writing as a baptised follower of Jesus Christ, yet claiming to be a Hindu of Hindus he charges Missions with a five-fold Imperialism, *viz.*, religious, racial, cultural, political and economical, and contrasts the so-called National Church in India with the Kingdom of Christ.

This article contains many things to which a reply might be offered. In the space which through the courtesy of the editor of the *Review* I am allowed to occupy I can only refer to a few.

In the first place I must question Mr. Parekh's reading of history. Referring to the Mutiny of 1857 as giving the occasion for a great outburst of missionary activity on the part of western lands, he says, "From 1858 onwards we have in India the now much-boomed Mass Movements". If Mr. Parekh will read the book entitled "*Christian Mass Movements in India*," by Dr. J. W. Pickett, he will find that he is quite mistaken in saying that "this is the genesis of the Mass Movements in India". Some of the greatest of these Movements were well advanced years or even decades before the Mutiny, and in other cases were the result of work done long before that event, and had no connection with it. He will also find that in almost every case Mass Movements were not *sought* by the missionaries in whose areas they took place.

In the next paragraph Mr. Parekh says, "The situation is only a little better in China where we have the words "Rice Christians". Surely Mr. Parekh does not mean to suggest that any abusive term which people happen to use about Christians is to be taken as a term that can rightly be used. From the days of the New Testament onwards Christians have always been subject to abuse. It is true that at one time it was the fashion in certain quarters in China to sneer at Chinese Christians as "rice Christians". But who were the sneerers? Some of them at least were Europeans in commercial circles who made no profession themselves of being followers of Christ, or of being disinterested, and in their ignorance they could not see how a Chinaman could give up the religion of his fathers unless he was paid for it. When it was found that many thousands of the so-called "rice-Christians" laid down their lives for Christ when attacked by the Boxer rising of thirty years ago, some who had ignorantly used the phrase admitted their mistake, and since then it has not been much heard of.

I confess that I do not know what Mr. Parekh means by "the so-called National Church". I have known of two groups of Christians who have used that name, both connected with Madras. Neither of these ever consisted of more than half a dozen congregations. The Christians of India are, in the first instance, connected with the Churches in the West to which they owe their origin. As time goes on and the Churches grow the desire naturally arises that the divisions which were inevitable at first should not be perpetuated, and so a movement for the union of the Churches has arisen. As a result of this Churches in the South which owed their origin to the labours of missionaries from England, Scotland, America, Germany and Switzerland have found it possible to unite under the designation of the South India United Church; and in Northern India a similar Union has taken place. The Movement is proceeding, but I fail to see in what way it is to be condemned as imperialistic.

As to the fact that Government reckons Christians as a community, Mr. Parekh fails to point out that the leading Indian Christians have protested against this, and are ready to take their place in general electorates. In any case Missions are not responsible for what Government may think it necessary to do.

I am far from defending everything that has been done in Christ's name by His missionary servants. They are human and liable to make mistakes. But I do not attach much weight to the remarks which Mr. Parekh quotes as made to him by certain people. Any one who has a high ideal may suffer from depression as he deplores the contract between the ideal and the actual, and in his depressed moods say things that do not represent his sober judgment. I am surprised at the reference to Korea, regarding which an Anglican bishop is said to have remarked, "It is all bribery". Presumably he was speaking of his own community. It so happens, however, that the vast majority of the Korean Christian have become such through the work of two American Missions, which have taken extraordinary care to see that from the very beginning the people who profess the Christian faith build their own churches and support their own pastors, and so give not the slightest ground for the charge of being "rice Christians".

J. H. MACLEAN

"China's Red Army"

One article, titled "China's Red Army" by Suresh Vaidya in the September issue of *The Modern Review* on page 260, is so full of misrepresentations that one suspects or is tempted to suspect it to be mere false propaganda. Being interested in creating mutual understanding between India and China on the basis of facts, I take the liberty of laying before the reader briefly the plain truths:

1. The Communist leader Mao Tse-tung happens to be a native of my neighbouring district Hsiian-tan in the province of Hunan and also a classmate of mine in a district higher primary school at Changsha. He graduated from the Hunan First Normal School and was a primary school teacher for some years but no "Peking University man" at all so far as I know.

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...aged about forty-two, he is, I can safely assert, ...ignorant of any foreign language, and though able to ...express himself fairly well by oration and composition ...in the colloquial style of Chinese, his knowledge of ...Marxism is based on the Chinese translation of the ...Manifesto of the Third Internationale, while Marx's ...great work on Capitalism is absolutely Greek to him. ...Mao and his comrades named their party "The Chinese ...Communist Party" to be submerged in the Nationalist ...Party of Kuomintang but started their open and ...secret revolt from 1928 in the province of Kiangsi ...in Central China.

2. The first-grade military leaders of the Communists are Chu-Te who is equal to Mao Tse-tung in power and always quarrels with him; Pen Te-Wha also really differs in principle from Mao; and Kong Yo-Ching who has surrendered himself to the Headquarters of Government troops at Nanchang since the middle of last June. Ho-lung, a purely illiterate bandit-head over fifty years old of my native province Hunan, utilized by Chu and Mao as an instrument of plundering and devastating, has no conception of communism whatever and is now doing his old job of robbery with his men in the mountainous regions.

3. There is no such name as "Soviet China" known among the people at all. It is only within the small area of communistic occupation in Kiangsi that a sort of Soviet Government was attempted to be set up, which is, in fact, rather abstract than concrete. Kiangsi is a mountainous province surrounded by Chekiang in the east, by Fukien in the south-east, by Kwantang in the south, by Hunan in the west, by Hupeh in the north, and by Anhwei in the north-east. The communists are at present encircled up within the districts of high mountains and deep valleys along the bordering line of Kiangsi, Fukien and Kwantang, and their future is obviously doomed to failure.

4. General Chiang Kai-shek, personally taking charge of bandit-suppression, rehabitation, and pacification works in Kiangsi of which the villages have been for the most part burnt down and the land-tillers have been driven away in large numbers by the communists' policy of "Massacre", cannot bear to overwhelm that poor province with so many fighting troops, or to use heavy cannons and bombing 'planes, that the cultivated soils and the terror-stricken rural districts should suffer from total destruction. Otherwise, how could you believe it possible for any poorly-equipped army of "approximately 10,000" to be a match for "50,000 troops" with the latest equipments and "50 bombing 'planes" and "other latest devices of warfare" in this human world?

5. The return of "the exiled Chinese warlord Gen. Chiang (not Chiang) Hsueh-liang" from Brighton last spring was simply a matter of his own accord, and had nothing to do with summons or orders from the National Government. He is now residing in Hankow enjoying his private life, hundreds of miles away from the Communism-poisoned area of Kiangsi. And the late accident near Foochow, as reported by the Reuter's telegram from Hongkong, August 3, was in truth not an "invasion of communist troops from the interior", but merely a disturbance by the scattered as well as the disbanded soldiers during the Fukien War last winter who have become bandits and make use of the Communist banner for camouflage.

6. The national mentality and environments of China are by no means receptive to the ideas of the so-called "Chinese Communist Party" whose policy is one of "Force and Terror", "Violence and Deception" so as to "frighten and drive all the people into their line", as they themselves disclosed in the scheme and programme of the party. The Chinese workmen in the city mills and factories may have some fancy for communism, but the rural peasants who are eighty per cent small landholders and tillers really hate the communists whose actions are no better than those of the ancient Huns. Hence "the Red Army" has no "growing popularity" and no "support" at all among "the Chinese peasants in general". And it is nothing but a big lie to say that "Soviet China is a country having a stable government....."

Chen Yu-Sen
(*Professor of Civics*).

"Why India lives"

Origin of the word 'Hindu'

Mr. Nagendra Nath Gupta in his article "Why India Lives" in the September issue of *The Modern Review* gives the following explanation of the word 'Hindu':

"The word Hindu is a Persian word meaning black..The word Hindu marks a distinction of colour and Hindusthan is the land of the dark people etc."

So far the general belief seems to be that the word 'Hindu' has a Persian origin, that it means 'dark', as quoted above, or is a Persianized modification of the word Sindhu; and it is taken for granted that the word came into existence after the Muhammadan Conquest of India,

But few people are aware that the word 'Hindu' was in existence long before the Muhammadans came into India or even before Islam came into existence, and that the word has an Indian or rather Sanscrit origin.

It is rather interesting to note that the derivation of the word 'Hindu' is given by the celebrated Chinese scholar and traveller Yuan Chwang in the memoirs of his travels. He says:

"The unceasing revolutions of mortals' existence are a dark long night; were there not a warden of the dawn they would be like the night with its lights, which succeeds the setting of the sun. Although the night has the light of the stars, that is not to be compared to the light of the clear moon. As, since the sun of the Buddha has set, it (India) has a succession of holy and wise men to teach the people and exercise rule, as the moon sheds its bright influences. On this account the country (India) had been called 'YIN-TU'."

"A later Chinese writer after Yuan Chwang, like several authors, explains the giving of this name (moon 'TIEN-CHU') to India by saying that the country was called Moon because it was as great and distinguished above the other countries of the world as the moon is great among the stars of the night—'VELUT INTER IGNES LUNA MINORES'."—*Yuan Chwang's Travels*, by Thomas Watters.

V. M. KAIKINI

"The Secondary Schools in Bengal"

I have read the article 'The Secondary Schools in Bengal' by Mr. Bhupendra Lal Dutt in the September issue of *The Modern Review*.

The writer has very skilfully brought out facts about the existing secondary schools in Bengal. That the non-Government schools are faring well gradually cannot be denied. That the Government schools contributed only about one-ninth of the students in the last Matriculation examination has also been

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pointed out by the writer, (Government School Students 13,663—non-Government School Students 124,167). That the number of Government schools being very limited, the number of students sitting from them is also in proportion small—is a plain truth.

To give the finishing touch to the subject so very ably dealt with by Mr. Dutt, it will not be very unfair to speak a word or two more about it. His article centres round the question of scholarships in the last Matriculation Examination—though the heading is Secondary Schools, etc.

From what he has shown us about the scholarships secured by Government and non-Government schools the result may be tabulated as follows:

	Government Schools	Non-Government Schools
General Scholarship	1	8
Divisional ,,	8	33
District ,,	10	62
	19	103

So Government schools, according to his own figures, have captured at least one in every five, whereas we have seen above that the number of students is one in every nine. It has been an enigma with me as to what led Mr. Dutt to conclude that the Government schools have failed in respect of scholarship results to prove their worth as model schools. It would be a happy thing if Mr. Dutt would be conscious of the small proportion of Government schools. The Government schools have really surpassed what they ought to have done in proportion. In cases of General Scholarships they have simply maintained their position somehow but this may be said in favour of the Government schools on the point that many of these General Scholars acquit themselves to their own credit. They form a separate class by themselves. Then again, there is the question of general passes, where I believe the Government schools stand incomparably high in proportion.

Just another unpleasant truth. The non-Government schools are trying to better their results as there are the Government schools to compete with to run the race.

Finally, may I be permitted to say that the remedy lies not in robbing Peter to pay Paul, but to increase the number of Government schools to bring the number of scholarships to an equal basis, with better-paid and better-fed teachers than even in our Government schools now.

BIRENDRA KUMAR GUPTA

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

MRS. S. A. HUSSAIN IQBAL-UN-NISSA BEGUM, of the Mysore Education Service, has obtained the Diploma in Education of the Leeds University. She was also a delegate to the International Conference of Girl Guides, which opened in Switzerland on August 10 last.

Mrs. S. A. Hussain Iqbal-un-nissa Begum

MISS PADMAVATHI, Secretary, Hindi Jnanayatri Mandal, Bangalore, has been awarded the Lady Meharbai D. Tata Memorial Scholarship. She has proceeded to England for higher studies in Sanitation, Rural Re-Construction and Social Welfare Work. Miss Padmavathi, whose Vernacular is Canarese, has passed the highest Examination in Hindi of the Panjab University with distinction. She is the first Coorg lady to proceed to England.

: Miss Padmavathi

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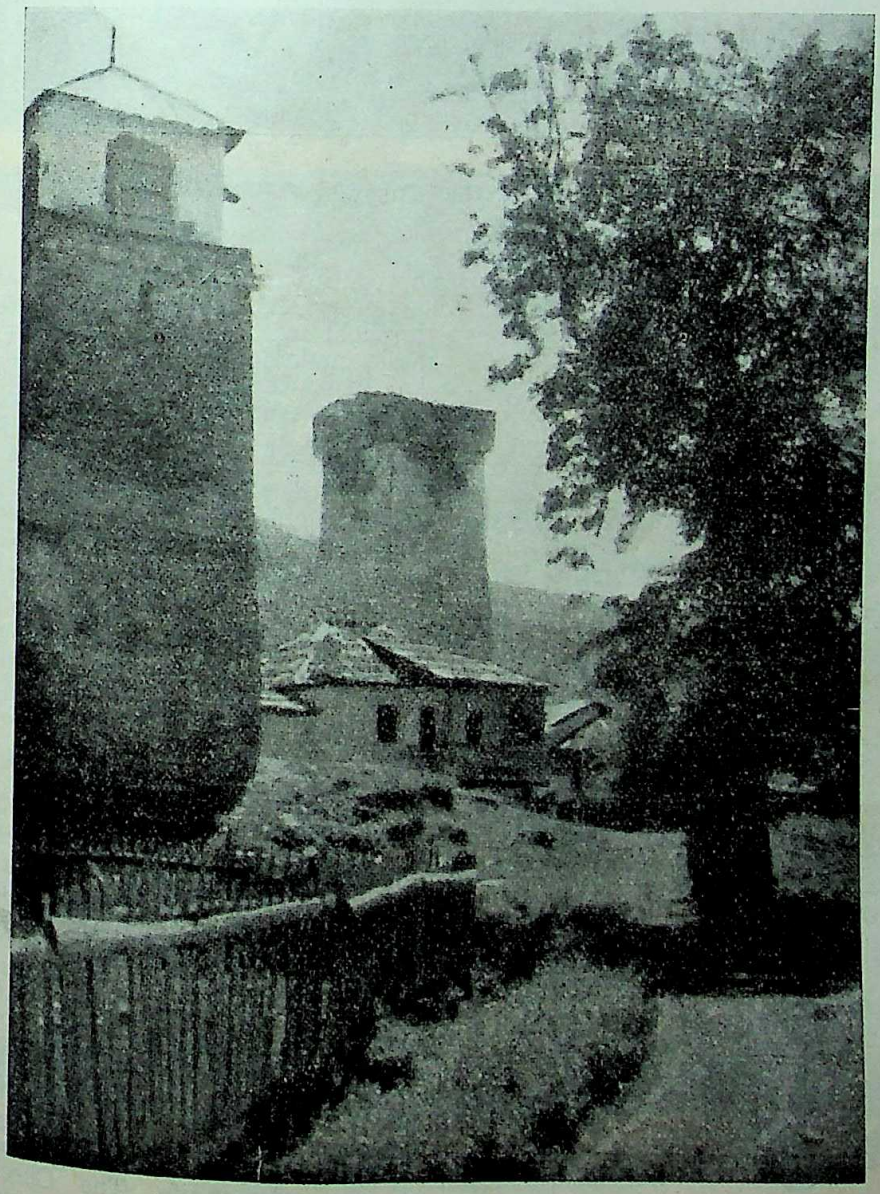
GLEANINGS

The Caucasus—A Racial Curio Shop

The Kubatchi are held in the lowest repute all the Caucasus, depicted as veritable monsters from Nobody seems to know just why, but when the is of demons, ghosts and conjurers, of weird ms and barbaric habits it invariably ends with ion of the mysterious village of the Kubatchi.

Among the people of the Caucasus they onjoy a e position. None cares to intermarry with them even to encounter them; they are looked upon fear and awe. They are sword makers by profession, and every one in the mountains swears by their blades, convinced that a Kubatchi saber assures its wielder invincibility—provided the maker has not bespoken otherwise.

Nobody knows where these Kubatchi came from nor to what racial strain they belong. Strange things recurrently happen among them. At certain intervals, the entire population will go down into subterranean caverns and, out of sight and ken, spend as much as an entire week allegedly praying to their god. One of their customs has long agitated the whole region to conjecture and has very likely caused most of the



Svanetian families, when besieged, used to retreat to these towers

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Village of the Kubatchi

An old Kubatchi spells mystery to the people of the Caucasus

subversive rumours. Once a year, the mountain people say, every Kubatchi woman must spend a night on threshold of her house, her face covered by a black mask, motionlessly sitting and looking up at the stars. Any man, whether neighbor or stranger, may approach and possess her; in fact, it is considered the highest honour the woman can receive. However, for any one to remove the mask from her face would mean immediate death. In justification of this strange custom, the Kubatchi claim that their god has so ordained them to do. Children who spring from this sanctimonious prostitution belong to the community and are brought up under special care, apart from the rest.

The village of the Kubatchi is situated high up among the mountian peaks. Living in a wide periphery about it are the most extraordinary people on earth. More than eighty different tribes inhabit the high-flung terrain; and not one speaks the same language as its neighbor!

For ten years, now, the Soviet government has tried to force its proletarian ideology on the region. With startling results, to say the least! When, for example, Bolshevist propagandists appeared and attempted to rationalize "holy prostitution" out of favour, no Marxian dialectic was of any avail. The Kubatchi insisted that their custom was in complete accord with the new style; every woman could do as she pleased, and—sad to say—every Kabatchi woman looked upon the prohibition of the custom as tyrannical and humiliating.

To the west of the Kubatchi village, is a large village of the Chechens, a numerous and powerful people, embracing some three hundred and sixty thousand members. In this village the Bolsheviki had taken special pains to bring about an acceptance of the new order of life. The Chechens gladly accepted everything: schools, motion pictures, lectures, even the Soviet form of government. But it so happened

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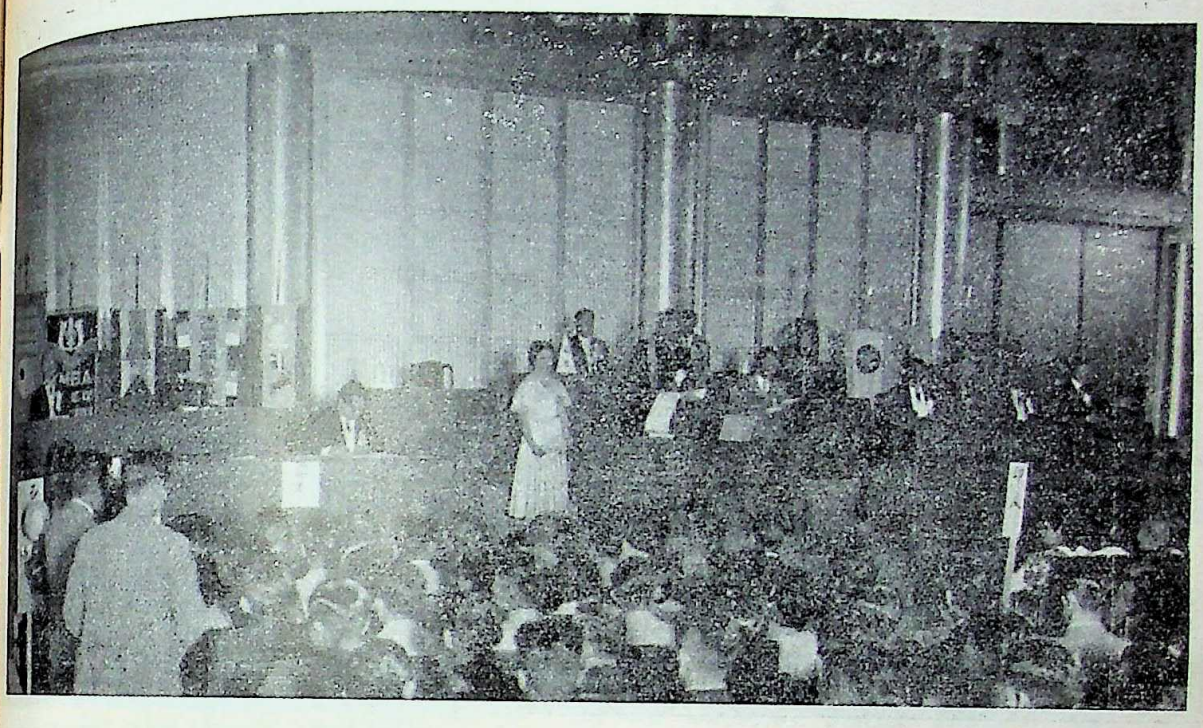

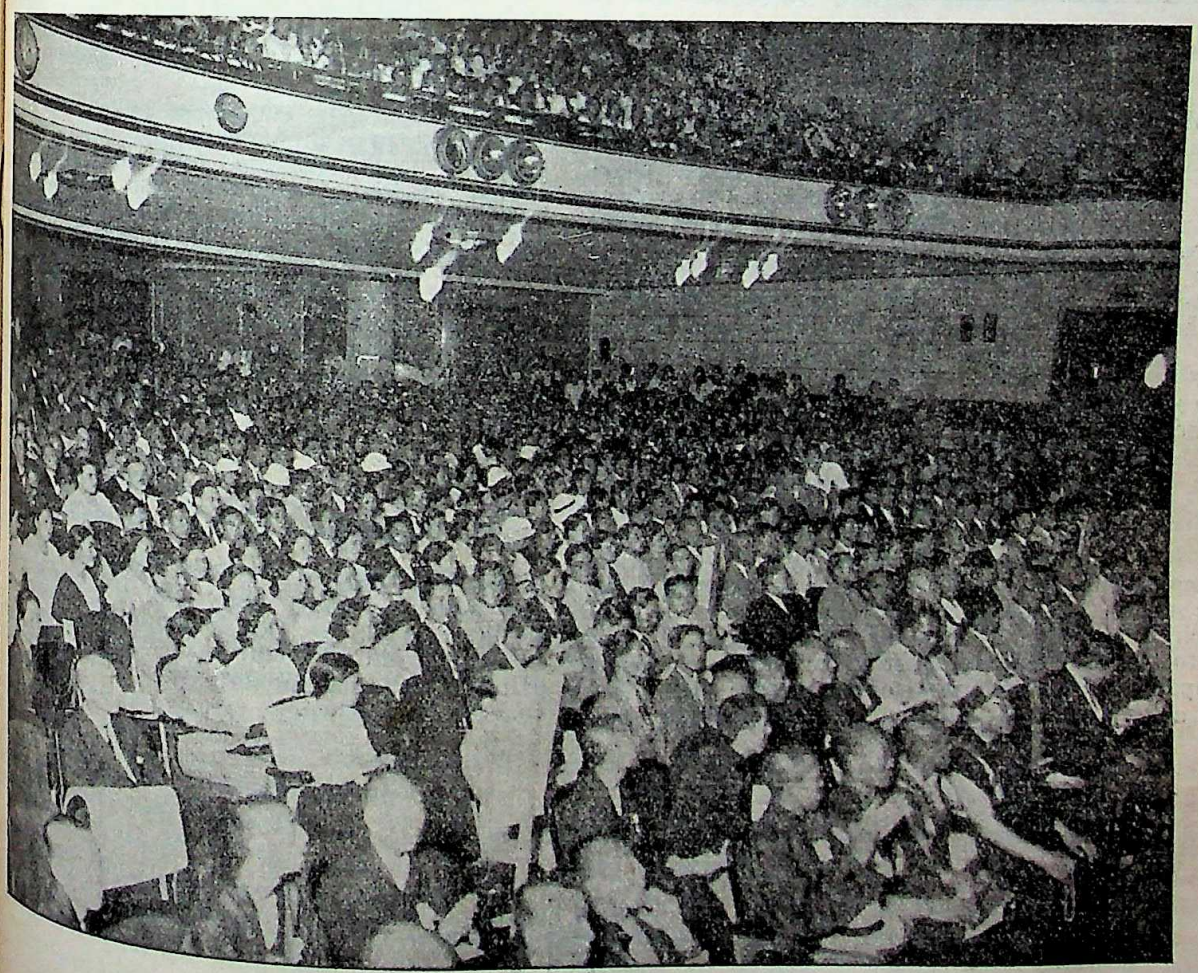

Opening of the Buddhist Conference
The Conference-Hall

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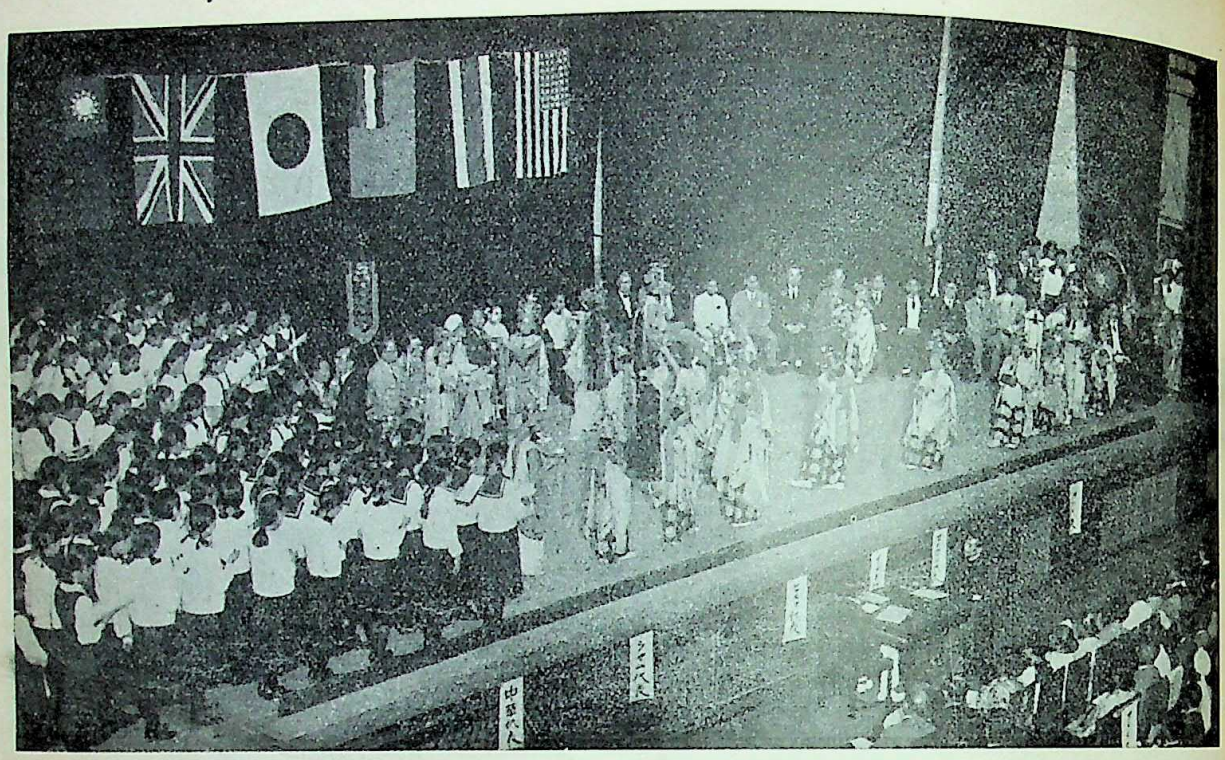

The Japanese ladies are welcoming the foreign delegates with dance and music

that all members of the local council attended the mosque for prayer before each meeting, and in one respect remained adamant—in their belief in the blood feud. Every Chechen, it would appear, has an avenger to evade or someone upon whom he must wreak vengeance...

In Abkhasia the streets were thronged with full-blooded negroes ! Half-naked pickaninnies gamboled in the dirt, negresses sat in front of their huts, .. Nor was this village the only one of its kind: there were three, occupied exclusively by negroes. As late as seventy years ago, Abkhasia was an independent principality, ruled over by the powerful house of the Shirvashides, whose revenue came from exporting Abkhasian beauties to Turkish harems. The Sultan got the cream of the lot. One day he decided to return the compliment and sent a present of a few negro families, who were put to work in the palace at Sukhum. When the princely house fell, the descendants of these negroes were given land on which they now live in utter peacefulness. It was left to the Bolsheviki to fetter them with some useful occupation. The Congress of Suppressed Minorities, held a few years ago in Baku, was attended by their representative, who demanded the liberation of his enslaved brethren in Africa !

Their neighbours, the Abkhasians, are of noble lineage. According to their own legends, they are descendants of Prometheus, who stole the divine fire and as penance was chained to a Caucasian rock. This rock is still pointed out to visitors. The story goes that the Abkhasians and their neighbours, the Mingrelians and the Svanetians, were dowered with a beauty that should prove their doom and all but did so, since in no other part of the world was the trade in human flesh ever so rampant and devastating as here.

Asia

The Pan-Pacific Buddhist Conference, Tokyo

The Pan-Pacific Buddhist Conference was held in Tokyo on the 18th July last and continued its deliberations till the 25th. Seven hundred delegates from different Buddhist countries attended it. The All-India Hindu Mahashabha also sent two representatives to the Conference.

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VERY LIMITED FACILITIES FOR HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

SIR George Anderson, Kt., C. S. I., C. I. E., M. A., Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, writes in *Progress of Education in India* [illegible]-32, published this year :

"... It might have been hoped that, having been freed from wasteful overlapping and duplication which is an almost inevitable concomitant of the affiliating system, unitary universities would have proved to be economical; but such is far from having been the case. Indeed, the main criticism levelled against unitary universities is on the score of expense.....

"... One of the main causes of this high expenditure is the unregulated competition which often runs riot between universities, affiliating as well as unitary. Each university seeks to be a self-contained unit, bent on providing ample facilities for higher education and research in almost every conceivable subject, heedless and often ignorant of what is being done in other universities. This danger of overlapping is particularly great in the domain of science, in consequence of the high initial and annual expenditure involved.

"It is difficult to suggest remedies to prevent this insidious form of extravagance, but India should have a university system which will promote higher learning and research, which will provide suitable training for her young men and women, which, above all, will be within her means." Vol. I, pp. 77-78.

Writers of official reports should use measured language, in harmony with facts. In the passage quoted above, Sir George Anderson has failed entirely to keep this ideal in view. What is his idea of a university system for India "which, above all, will be within her means"? He has not given any estimate of the expenditure, within India's means, which India should incur for elementary, secondary, intermediate and university education. If in any case of the activities of the State in India the expenditure is excessive and out of all proportion to its revenue, it is certainly not that of education. But from the language used by Sir George Anderson one may suppose (1) that the figures of expenditure from public funds on education in India are enormous, (2) that educational expenditure is the biggest or one of the biggest items of public expenditure in India, and (3) that out of the more than 1200 (twelve hundred) crores of India's public debt a large portion was incurred for education. But none of these three suppositions would be correct. Neither the Central nor the Provincial Governments ever borrowed a rupee for educational purposes, educational expenditure is neither the biggest nor one of the biggest items of state expenditure in India, and **the total amount spent from public funds in the whole of British India for education of all kinds and grades is comparatively insignificant—is in fact smaller than the educaiional expenditure of the London County Council.** Details are given below to show that this is a strictly accurate statement.

It is entirely unnecessary to take any particular kind or grade of education to show that India does not spend an excessively large sum of money on it. The **whole** amount spent from public funds on education of **all** kinds and grades in 1931-32 for a population of 271,780,151, inhabiting British India, was Rs. 16,84,25,628. To this amount Government funds contributed Rs. 12,46,07,093, District Board Funds Rs. 2,80,01,313 and Municipal Funds Rs. 1,58,17,222. So, for the education of 27 crores of people Government spent in 1931-32 about 13 crores of Rupees, or less than eight annas per head per annum. It is to be hoped that this is not, to use Sir George Anderson's words, an "insidious form of extravagance." Why, by the by, does he use the word 'insidious,' which means 'treacherous', 'crafty' ?

Let me now turn to the educational expenditure of the London County Council, referred to above. The population of the Administrative County of London was 43,85,825 in 1931. Its estimated educational expenditure for 1933-34 is given in Whitaker's Almanack for 1934 as £ 12,717,354, or

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Rs. 16,95,64,720, according to the present rate of exchange.

So, it comes to this, that for the education of 44 lakhs of people the London County Council spends about 17 crores of rupees, and for the education of more than 27 crores of people the Government, District Boards and Municipalities in India combined spend less than 17 crores of rupees. Seventeen crores of rupees is not the whole of the educational expenditure in London. For instance, the University of London spends much more than the aid which it receives from the London County Council. But taking the expenditure of the London County Council alone, it comes to more than Rs. 38 per head per annum.

Undoubtedly, we are a very poor people, though our country is rich in natural resources. But even for very poor people, an educational expenditure of some annas per head per annum from public funds is not extravagant.

Sir George Anderson complains of "wasteful overlapping and duplication" and of "the unregulated competition which now runs riot between universities, affiliating as well as unitary." The reader will excuse a repetition of part of his other charges also. Says he :

> Each university seeks to be a self-contained unit, bent on providing ample facilities for higher education in almost every conceivable subject, heedless and often ignorant of what is being done in other universities. This danger of overlapping is particularly great in the domain of science, ..."

Sir George Anderson's ideal, if ideal it can be called, seems to be that no two universities (or is it colleges also ?) in the same country or province should teach the same subject or subjects—particularly in science. If they do, there would be "wasteful overlapping and duplication" and "unregulated competition running riot."

A good ideal should be good for every country. Let us, therefore, see whether there are in England "wasteful overlapping and duplication and unregulated competition running riot." In England, with a population of 37,794,003, there are eleven universities. I shall take into consideration only three of them : Oxford, Cambridge and London. They are within a distance of a few hours' journey by railway from one another. There are *university professors* of the following subjects in all the three, *in addition to readers and lecturers and other teachers in their colleges*:

> Anatomy, Anglo-Saxon, Arabic, Archaeology, Astronomy, Biochemistry, Botany, Chemistry, Chinese, Civil Law, Economic History, English Literature, Experimental Philosophy, Fine Art, Geography, Geology, Geometry, German Language and Literature, Greek, Hebrew, History (Ancient), International Law, Italian, Latin, Law, Logic, Mathematics, Medicine, Metaphysical Philosophy, Mineralogy, Moral Philosophy, Music, Pathology, Physics, Physiology, Political Economy, Political Theory and Institutions, Pure Mathematics, Sanskrit, Spanish, and Zoology.

This list has been compiled from Whitaker's Almanack for 1934. If, instead of enumerating the subjects common to three universities, I had mentioned those common to any two, the number of common subjects would have been greater. I do not think the classes in Arabic, Chinese, Hebrew, and Sanskrit are overcrowded in either Oxford, Cambridge, or London. Yet all the three universities teach these languages. So, there *is* overlapping, duplication, competition, etc., in England, and in Scotland, too. But there is no attempt to prevent these 'evils' there, though 'Reform', like Charity, should begin at home.

Sir George Anderson, no doubt, says that "considerable improvement has been made in this direction in the United Kingdom by the University Grants Committee," and adds that "the attitude of the Committee is explained by the following extract from the report of the Hilton-Young Committee on the University of London":

> "We think it appropriate in this connection to quote from the Report of the University Grants Committee. 'Our conviction, which is in accordance with the national traditions, is that the Universities must be free to control their own destinies and to develop along their own lines. It has therefore been our constant endeavour, in the administration of the Treasury grants, not to impair the autonomy of universities or to diminish in any way their sense of responsibility. With this aim we have always recommended, and shall continue to recommend, that so far as possible the annual Treasury grants should be given as block grants in aid of a University's general income, and that, provided the obvious limits of financial prudence are not transgressed, it should ultimately remain with each University itself to decide in what precise way its income, including the Government grants, should be distributed over the field of its activities ; for without control of finance there can be no effective control of policy."

This extract does not show that the University Grants Committee in the United Kingdom has done anything to prevent the

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called overlapping, etc. That Committee does not even mention such things. On the contrary, it supports the policy of University autonomy. No doubt, it lays stress on financial prudence, which is quite necessary, but is trite, too. If in India Government thinks that any university is not prudent, it does simply to warn it.

The body called the Inter-University Board in India has definitely proposed something that goes against University autonomy—a thing so highly prized—and quite rightly too—by the University Grants Committee in the United Kingdom. The Board wants that a certain group of Indian Universities should teach and carry on research in certain subjects, other subjects being assigned to other groups. There is no such grouping of the Universities in Europe and America that I know of. It seems to me that the Board's proposal would still further limit the very limited facilities for higher learning and research, particularly in scientific subjects, which exist in a large country like India.

Sir George Anderson thinks that our Universities are "bent on providing ample facilities for higher education and research in almost every conceivable subject." It may be safely presumed that the subjects which are taught in the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge and London by university professors are "conceivable." So Sir George may be asked to point out which Indian university teaches almost all these conceivable subjects. He may go further and ask whether all the Indian universities combined teach and carry on research in almost all these "conceivable" subjects. They are mentioned below. The list of "conceivable" subjects could have been made much longer, if European continental universities and American universities had been taken into account.

Aeronautical Engineering, Agriculture, American History, Anatomy, Ancient History, Ancient Philology, Anglo-Saxon, Animal Pathology, Anthropology, Arabic, Archaeology, Architecture, Assyriology, Astronomy, Astrophysics, Aviation, Bacteriology, Belgian Studies and Institutions, Biochemistry, Biology, Botany, Byzantine and Modern Greek Language and Literature, Celtic, Chemical Engineering, Chemical Technology, Chemistry, Chemistry as applied to Hygiene, Chinese, Chinese Art and Archaeology, Chinese Language and History, Civil Law, Classics, Classical Archaeology, Colloid Science, Colonial History, Commerce, Comparative Anatomy, Comparative Philology, Dietetics, Divinity, Dutch History and Institutions, Ecclesiastical History, Economic History, Economic Science and Statistics, Economics, Education, Embryology, Engineering, Engineering Science, English Language and Literature, English Language and Medieval Literature, English Literature, English Law, Entomology, Civil Engineering, Civil and Mechanical Engineering, Electrical Engineering, Highway Engineering, Mechanical Engineering, Municipal Engineering, Exegesis, Epidemiology and Vital Statistics, Ethnology, Eugenics, Experimental Philosophy, Experimental Physics, Fine Art, Forestry, French, French and Romance Philosophy, Genetics, Geography, Geography (Economic and Regional), Geology, Geometry, German Language and Literature, Greek, Hebrew, Helminthology, History (Ancient), Byzantine History, Central European History, English History, Imperial History, International History, Legal History, Medieval History, Modern French History and Institutions, History and Culture of British Dominions in Asia, History of Art, History of Medicine, Imperial Economic Relations, Immunology, Imperial and Naval History, Industrial Relations, International Law, International Relations, Interpretation of Holy Scripture, Italian, Jurisprudence, Latin, Law, Commercial and Industrial Law, Comparative Law, Constitutional Law, Roman Law, Laws of England, Logic, Logic and Scientific Method, Mathematics, Mathematics (Applied) and Mechanics, Mathematical Physics, Mechanism and Applied Mechanics, Medical Entomology, Medical Industrial Psychology, Medical Protozoology, Medicine, Mental Philosophy and Logic, Metallurgy, Meteorology, Metaphysical Philosophy, Military History, Military Studies, Mineralogy, Mining, Mining Geology, Modern History, Moral Philosophy, Morbid Anatomy, Mycology, Natural Philosophy, New Testament Exegesis, Obstetric Medicine, Obstetrics and Gynaecology, Old Testament Studies, Optical Engineering, Papyrology, Pastoral Theology, Pathology, Persian, Petrology, Pharmacology, Philosophy of Mind and Logic, Philosophy of Religion, Philosophy of the Christian Religion, Phonetics, Physical Chemistry, Physics, Physiology, Plant Pathology, Plant Physiology, Poetry, Political Economy, Political Science, Political Theory and Institutions, Portuguese Language Literature and History, Pure Mathematics, Psychology, Public Health, Radiology, Roman-Dutch Law, Romance Languages, Rural Economy, Russian Language, Literature and History, Sanskrit, Social Anthropology, Social Biology, Sociology, Spanish, Statistics, Surgery, Theology, Town Planning, Zoology.

It is not my contention that every one of these subjects ought to be taught in India; but most of them should be—and will be when Indians are able to control India's public income and expenditure.

From the list given above it will be evident to teachers and students in India's universities that it is not true that "almost every conceivable subject" is taught in them. That fact can be made obvious in another way. A very large number of teachers would be necessary

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to teach "almost every conceivable subject" in universities. A comparison of Indian universities with British universities—I do not wish to bring other Western universities into this comparison—will show how ill-equipped our universities are to teach "almost every conceivable subject". The following statement gives the names of the British universities and the number of their professors, &c.

Universities	Number of Professors, etc.
England—	
Oxford	450
Cambridge	388
Durham	267
London	1,243
Manchester	275
Birmingham	246
Liverpool	321
Leeds	343
Sheffield	185
Bristol	260
Reading	152
Total for England	4,130
Scotland—	
St. Andrews	152
Glasgow	306
Aberdeen	162
Edinburgh	390
Total for Scotland	1,010
Wales	379
Totals of above	5,519

The figures do not include the staffs of Colleges, Halls, "Schools" (of London University), etc.

The population of England, Scotland and Wales in 1931 was 44,937,444. Each of the Provinces of Bengal, United Provinces, and Madras had a larger population that year, namely, more than 50,48, and 46 millions respectively. So, the total number of the professors, etc., in the British universities should be compared with the total number of the university professors, etc., in each of the provinces of Bengal, United Provinces, and Madras. The figures are given below.

In Bengal there are two universities, *viz.*, Calcutta and Dacca. In the Calcutta University there are 239 professors and other teachers; and in the Dacca University, 107 professors and other teachers: total for the two universities, 346. This is a much smaller number than 5,519, the total for the 16 universities of Great Britain.

In the United Provinces there are five universities, *viz.*, Allahabad, Benares Hindu, Aligarh Muslim, Lucknow, and Agra, with 105, 0, 105, 120, and 0 university professors and other teachers respectively: total, 330. This, too, is a much smaller number than 5,519, the total for the universities of Great Britain.

In Madras there are three universities, *viz.*, Madras, Andhra, and Annamalai, with 28, 6, and 68 university professors and other teachers respectively: total, 102. This is very much less than Great Britain's total of 5,519.

The whole of the Indian Empire, including Burma and the Indian States, of which the population is 352,837,778, as against Great Britain's 44,937,444, contains 18 universities, as against Great Britain's 16. The total of the university teaching staff of these 18 universities is 1012. This is less than one-fifth of that of Great Britain. Therefore, assuming that the intellectual capacity and equipment of university teachers in India are equal to those of the university teachers of Great Britain, the whole of India offers less than one-fifth of the facilities for higher learning and research possessed by Great Britain. Even if we added the number of the professors and other teachers in the constituent colleges of Indian universities to the number of university teachers proper, the total would come to only 2299, less than half of Great Britain's 5,519. Lastly, *though in giving the number of Great Britain's university teachers I have not included college professors and tutors,* let me in the case of India include the professors and other teachers in affiliated colleges. Even in that case, the total of all university and college teachers comes to 7,383. Considering the extent and population of India this is quite inadequate, to say the least. The area and population of the Indian Empire are 1,808,679 square miles and 352,837,778 persons; and the area and population of Great Britain are 89,041 square miles and 44,937,444 persons.

Sir George Anderson has complained that in India "each university" is "bent on providing ample facilities for higher education and research in almost every conceivable subject." The facts and statistics given in the foregoing paragraphs will, I hope, convince unbiassed readers that the facilities provided are very far from being ample and that they are also very far from being in almost every conceivable subject.

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Sir George Anderson makes it a grievance that "the Indian university system is still overburdened by an excessive number of students" (page 63, Vol. I.) He has not said whether the students whose number he considers excessive are students in university departments and classes, or also those in constituent colleges, and in affiliated colleges, too. For comparison with Western countries —say, Great Britain—only university students proper, *e. g.*, post-graduate students, ought to be taken into consideration, as in Western universities our graduates are generally not given the same academic standing as their graduates. I shall, however, give the numbers of students of university departments and classes, of constituent colleges, and of affiliated colleges, too, in India.

The number of students in the sixteen universities of Great Britain is 53,386. This figure does not include 11,296 external students of the London University, nor its 13,184 University Extension students. If we have to take into account our college students also, I should include the 553 students of University College at Exeter, 682 students of University College at Nottingham, 1,297 students of University College at Southampton, 1,375 students of University College at Leicester, and 206 students of University College at Hull. Thus the total number of University and College students in Great Britain is 78,979. This is, of course, exclusive of the numbers of students in the many agricultural Colleges, technical institutes and other institutions for higher professional and vocational training in Great Britain, of which we have very few in India.

In the 18 universities of the Indian Empire there are 10,458 students in university departments or classes, 15,475 students in constituent colleges, and 79,310 students in affiliated colleges : total 105,238.

Great Britain with a population of over 44 millions has 53,386 university students ; the Indian Empire with a population of over 352 millions has 10,458 university students. The Indian figure is very small. Great Britain has 78,979 university and college students : India has 105,238. As India's population is eight times that of Great Britain, India ought to have 631,832 university and college students (instead of 105,238, which she has), in order to be equal to Great Britain in higher academic education.

I have said in a previous paragraph that Bengal, United Provinces, and Madras have each a larger populatton than Great Britain. The numbers of university and college students in these and some other provinces are compared with that of Great Britain in the tabular statement printed below.

Country or Province	Population	Number of University & College Students
Great Britain	44,937,444	78,979
Bengal	51,087,338	27,623
United Province	49,614,833	10,687
Madras	47,193,602	20,976
Panjab	24,018,639	16,971
Bombay	26,398,997	14,499

N. B. The population figures for the provinces include those of the States attached to them except partly in the case of Madras, where they exclude Cochin & Travancore.

In estimating the spread of high education in any country or province, its population should always be borne in mind. For the Provinces of India the numbers of students given are for 1932, for Great Britain it has been compiled from the Statesman's Year-Book for 1934.

I have said above in this article that the total educatioual expenditure of the Central and Provincial Governments in British India in 1931-32 was Rs. 12,46,07,093. In that year the total revenue of the Central and Provincial Governments was Rs. 203,72,52,000, according to the Statesman's Year-book for 1933. Therefore, in British India in that year Government spent a little more than 6 (six) per cent. of its revenue for the promotion of all kinds (general, professional, vocational, technical, industrial, etc.) and grades (university, collegiate, secondary and primary) of education. Such being the extent of the total expenditure, it is for Sir George Anderson to convince the public that there has been an "insidious form of extravangance" for the promotion of any grade of educaiion. The progressive States of the world, and even progressive "States" in India, spend a larger proportion of their revenues on educating their people. But that is another story.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Russo-Japanese Non-agression Treaty

Many apprehend that war-clouds are gathering on the Far Eastern horizon. In the face of this it would not be unfair to dream of a non-aggression treaty between Russia and Japan, which will help the warring nations to restore peace and order in the Eastern frontier, for a period of time. But conditions have been laid down where statesmen stumble and the matter has been dropped for the future. Dr. Suchiro shows in *The Japan Weekly Chronicle*, how the idea originated :

When Mr. Kenkichi Yoshizawa stopped over in Moscow on his way home from Europe in December, 1931, to accept his new post as the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the authorities of the Soviet Government met him and suggested a non-aggression treaty to be concluded between the two countries. The same project was aired again in connection with the problem of recognition of Manchukuo by the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government made another overture on the same proposal towards the end of last year. As the Soviet authorities realized that the Japanese Government was disinclined to reconsider the matter, they severely criticized Japan, giving the impression abroad of grave relations between the two countries.

The Japanese Government, however, does not seem to be particularly opposed to the proposed non-aggression treaty with the Soviet Union. When Mr. Koki Hirota, Minister of Foreign Affairs, who was formerly Ambassador to Moscow, was ready to return to Japan from Moscow in October, 1932, he said in effect in an interview with newspaper reporters that even Italy and Turkey which are most hostile to Communism have no trouble with the Soviets since they concluded non-aggression treaties with that country, and that it might be to the interest of Japan from this consideration to accept the Soviet proposal. He indicated thereby that he harboured no intention of rejecting the Soviets' proposal.

It is true that he has been preoccupied since he assumed his present post with the work for alleviating the aggravated relations between the United States and Japan since the outbreak of the Manchurian incident. He considers that the measures to create a favourable atmosphere for the naval conference scheduled to be held next year are of the first and foremost importance. Under the circumstances, it is likely that the discussions of the Japan-Soviet non-aggression treaty and other problems pending between the two countries would have to be deferred for the time being. There is no doubt, however, that the discussions are bound to be resumed in the future.

—

Marco Polo's Predecessors

Mr. Marion A. Habig in an article in *The Catholic World* gives an account of the European travellers to the Far East before Marco Polo :

Far back in the history of the old World we find the beginnings of American history Columbus owed much to the old medieval travellers who explored the mysterious Orient. It was in the hope of finding a westward route to the eastern lands which the intrepid travellers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had visited and described that the Great Mariner ventured out upon the unknown deep. From his own letters we learn that he mistook Cuba for Cipango (the medieval name for Japan) ; and after he had reached the American mainland, he wrote to Ferdinand and Isbella on July 7, 1503, that he had "arrived on May 13, in the province of Mago, which is a part of Catayo" or Cathay, as the northern part of China was called in the Middle Ages.

The story of Marco Polo's travels in Asia has often been told ; but there were pioneer travellers who preceded him, and until recent years, at least in the English-speaking world their pathfinding journeys and enterprises have remained almost wholly unknown. Dr. Clougherty of the Catholic University of Peking wrote some years ago : "While the name of Marco Polo is known throughout the civilized world, little or nothing is known, except by Orientalists and in other limited circles, of his Franciscan contemporaries who, a generation before the Venetian's entry into China, traversed the country of the Tartars and left to posterity the most vivid and detailed records of their journeys." Columbus, however, knew them and was as much indebted to them as to *The Book of Ser Marco Polo.*

—

The International City

When nations of the world are keen for an armament race, philanthropists dream of how wars can be prevented. Mr. H. C. Andersen, a Norwegian scluptor, has push forward the idea of establishing a 'World's Centre City of Communication' where nations of the world will meet on neutral ground. We quote below his ideas from *World Unity* :

In view of the frequently expressed desire for amity and co-operation between all nations, and the economic depression from which the world is suffering, the present moment seems appropriate for again bringing before the public a scheme for founding an *International City and World Centre of Communication*, that is to say, a city belonging to all nations, in which all would meet on neutral ground.

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The International City offers a definite advantage
each individual nation, since each would have its
n buildings, administrative quarters and permanent
resentatives. Hence its products, whether industrial,
ientific or artistic could be presented to the world
a large in the particular manner most suitable from
the producers' point of view; and in placing them
the market of the International City, the producers
ld be placing them on all the markets of the
rld. All countries, whether great or small, would
ve equal opportunities in this respect, and no
oduct would be unsuitable for presentation at the
ternational City, provided it was of interest to any
untry in the world.

Each country might advantageously devote a certain
ea of its building in the International City to the
hibition of its geographical, mineralogical, and
riculturel charts, showing the rock strata, typography
d mineral deposits, as also the areas suitable for
different crops, tracts of land still uncultivated
many details of the same nature. By this means
comparative study of the characteristic features of
countries could be made with the utmost facility.

—

Malaya and the Malays

Mr. V. K. Sabapathy shows in *The Indo-Ceylon Review* that the name of modern Malaya owes its origin from Malayar or Malays, who lived in the classical age in the hilly tracts of the Western Ghats. He Says :

The word, "Malay" is a pure Tamil word, meaning hill or mountain. In the classics, Western Ghauts of Southern India are spoken of as 'Malay Nadoo," meaning hilly country or mountain country, and the people who lived there went by the name of Malayar or Malays. The Tamil chieftain who ruled this country is known as Malaya-man Kari-Kari, the Lord of Malaya–the mount

Malaya is referred to from the earliest times in Sanscrit literature. In Sanscrit the term Malaya is applied to the Western Ghauts. Satapat Brahman—one of the earliest Sanscrit compositions—makes specific mention of Malaya, the mount in the Southern mountains, now known as the Western Ghauts, the peak on which the ark of Manu rested before the flood which submerged the continent where the Indian Ocean now stands.

The Chinese traveller Houen Tsang, who travelled throughout India in the early part of the 6th century A. D. while speaking of Malay Kuta, says, "South of this were the famed Malaya mountains, the western portion of the Malabar Ghauts, which produced sandal wood and camphor."

At the time of whlch I am writing the present Malabar was under the sea. The Western Ghaut stood

Dr. Francis Day, civil surgeon, Cochin, refers to "a manuscript account of Malabar where it is said that more than 2.300 years ago the sea came up to the Western Ghauts." He also says that "tradition and an examination of the geology of the country lead to the conclusion that the sea formerly flowed up to the Western Ghauts." Mr. Phillips of the Geological Survey of India, points out that Malabar stood 500 feet lower than at present and the sea washed the foot of the Ghauts

Until the 15th century A. D. all traders and merchants and emigrants to the Far East from Malaya and Malabar were Tamil-speaking people.

"Manimekala," one of the five great Tamil Epics of the 1st century B. C.. speaks of the Tamils trading with the islands of Java and Sumatra, also with China and Indo-China. W. H. Schoff says in "Periplus" : 'Thousands of years before the emergence of the Greeks from savagery, Egypt and the nations of ancient India came into being and a commercial system was developed for the inter-change of products within those limits." He also writes : "The growth of civilization in India created an active merchant marine trading to the Euphrates and Africa and Eastwards, we know not whither."

The trade with the Far East continued unabated because of the far-flung Hindu kingdoms. It was as the result of these commercial enterprises that traders and other adventurous colonists from Malaya settled in the highlands of Sumatra and other islands of the archipelago. Gradually such settlements became multiplied as time rolled on until in the course of some centuries, and with the break up of the empire in Java, the Petty Malay chiefs of Sumatra arrogated themselves kingly powers in different parts of the island. To this settlement the name of "Sumatrai" was given by the colonists. What name the island bore before the settlement is not known. This name 'Sumatri" is known in Sanscrit as 'Samutri' 'Samutri' is also the native official designation of the king of Calicut in Malabar.

Sir Frank Swettenham was quite correct when he wrote, in his book "British Malaya," that "there are good reasons for believing that the Malays are the decendants of people who crossed from the South of India to Sumatra, mixed with a people already inhabiting that island, and gradually spread themselves over the central and most fertile state.

The Kalinga Kingdom was founded by Dravidian tribes about 2800 B. C. It was a very flourishing kingdom in Deccan. It included Bengal and Orissa. It was the Kalingas, it appears, who established the town of Sinhapura, now known as Singapore, while they were building an empire in Java.

Speaking of Indo-China, Colonel Gerini (Researches on Ptolomey's Geography) says :

"From several centuries before the Christian era a double stream of traders and adventurers began to flow into Indo-China from Northern and Southern India, reaching the upper parts of the Peninsula by land through Burma, and its Southern coast by sea, and founding there settlements and commercial stations."—The Southern Indians were no doubt Malays.

He also says : "Even previous to the time of Buddha (Buddha was born 557 B. C) the Dravidians of Bengal—evidently the Kalingas—conquered the country of Annam and gave the name of Bong Long to to their new coloney in the East. The descendants of Lak Lum of Bengal resigned in Annam for a long time from the 7th century B. C. to 258 B. C."

Warmington, author of *Commerce between the Roman Empire and India* remarks that "the Indians of old transported living animals by sea to China, to the Persian Gulf and to Africa." Fa Hian, Chinese traveller, visited India and Ceylon about 400 A. D. On his return journey he got on board a great merchant vessel which carries about 200 men, and landed at the Southern coast of China. Of Sumatra he says there were large settlements of votaries of the Brahminical religion.

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Slavery in the Modern World

A century ago, on August 1, 1834, every slave in the British Empire was set free. Many heroic souls fought and died for this noble cause, but Mr. Lawrence Schroeder shows in *The Inquirer* that the iniquitous traffic still exists :

Of course, we know that freedom does not mean license, and that discipline is essential to right development, and that obedience and command are complementary. How does the theory work out when we think of the child-slavery in China ; of great gangs of men, women and children chained to each other, driven like beasts by their brutal captors, for sale in one or other of the fifteen countries of the world where that kind of slavery is allowed ?

Since 1922, when the League of Nations took action, forty nations have given their word to suppress slavery, and as a result thousands of slaves have been liberated ; but the trade still flourishes—a challenge to the good-will, the pity, the finer mind of humanity. We can at least determine that human beings will not be treated as mere bodies, but as souls with feelings for home aud country, and with possibilities of happiness within their own specific environments.

I suppose that the root cause of the evil—not only in slave-dealing countries, but in the presumedly more enlightened civilized nations—is the lust for material power, expressed in the mad desire for riches, and in the accummulation of possessions : and yet there is the pregnant word of the Great Liberator—Jesus—"Man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things that he possesseth."

Rather is it that which possesses us that matters—a mind touched with a sense of the beauty and power of the spiritual Kingdom, wherein freedom is the condition of such achievement as spells happiness ; and a soul that finds the meaning of itself in gracious and helpful association with its fellows.

Such a wonder of realization is beyond the experience of the five million fettered and degraded bodies, whose orbit is bounded by the lusts and brutalities of their masters. What must we do ?

—

Buddism and Extremism

Bruno Petzold's reflections on the establishment of the International Buddhist Society, Tokyo, are quoted below from *The Young East* :

A wave of extremism is to-day inundating the world—an extremism that displays the twofold colour of communism and nationalism. Both are taking pride in their fanaticism and enforce their recognition by a dictatorship which is all the more unscrupulous, as it has behind itself the elementary impetus of the masses. Religion is either declared as superannuated, or has to submit blindly to the rulers, in order to be tolerated by extremism.

Buddhism, in principle, rejects this extremism. It teaches the 'middle path, (chu do) between the two extremes. Already the Buddha of Hinayana taught the theoretical middle path between eternalism and nihilism, and the practical middle path between eudaemonism and ascetism, by rejecting these two extremes as low and pagan ways, as ignoble, unprofitable and not leading to salvation. What constitutes the middle path discovered by the Tathagata is the Aryan Eightfold Path, that is to say Right Views, Right Aspirations, Right Speech, Right Conduct, Right Mode of Livelihood, Right Effort, Right Mindfulness and Right Rapture. This is the Middle Path which opens the eyes and bestows understanding, which leads to peace, to insight, to the higher wisdom, to Nirvana. Mahayana Buddhism elevated the doctrine of the middle path to the sublime heights of metaphysics by stating that Absolute Truth is what is in the middle between existence and non-existence, *ie.*, between the glittering world of phenomena and the dark abyss of the void. The highest formulation which the view of the middle path attained is the doctrine of the harmony of the opposites, *i. e.*, the doctrine of the identity of countries which can be called the ripest fruit of Mahayana, and which shows a surprising similarity to the most mature views of occidental philosophy.

—

Modern Persia

His Excellency Mirza Taquizadeh, Persian Minister at Paris, has recently dilivered an illuminating lecture on Modern Persia in London. Extracts from it are reproduced below from the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* :

The history of "modern" Persia, in the proper sense of the word, begins with the Persian Revolution of 1905. Up to that date, Persia was from a variety of causes much behind the times. In spite of her liberal-minded and not unintelligent people and with all her assets of philosophy and literature in the past, she had in some respects remained in a state of civilization not dissimilar from that of the Middle Ages in Western Europe.

It is convenient to divide the 28 years which have elapsed since then into two clearly defined periods, namely, the first from 1906 to 1921, which may also be subdivided into two parts of five and ten years respectively ; and the second from 1921 up to the present time, which we may name "The New Era."

Those first five years up to 1911 were actually the most intesesting of that period—when hopes for the success of aspirations which then animated the optimistic and enthusiastic reformers illuminated the horizon and spurred on the people of Persia to work passionately for their salvation.

The change in the form of Government and Administration was both great and fundamental. As in all revolutions, destructive or negative reforms at first naturally outnumbered the constructive achievements Nevertheless, it constituted the secular law in a country where for a long time it had been almost unknown ; it created the Civil Courts of Law, as well as ordering the executive and administrative Departments of State, more or less on modern lines ; and it established through the Constitutional and Budgetary laws legal restrictions for entering into any kind of engagement with foreigners as well as for Revenue Administration, both of which were, until then, uncontrolled.

Persia, in spite of her neutrality, was not spared the horrors of the Great War, which, coupled with a severe famine and a series of epidemics, went far to exhaust the resources of the country materially, while the anxiety of the people for the continuation of their independence and national existence in face of ever-increasing pressure drove them to disappointment, apathy and even despair. It may justly be said that the heart-beat of a nation in such a state is temporarily

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...ended, since there can be no development to ...ord, and a mere chronicle of events cannot be ...ed as history.

Providence, however, favoured Persia, and the crisis ...ended a leader. A great change came with the ...ension to power of the present ruler of Persia, His ...perial Majesty Reza Shah Pahlavi, our August ...vereign.

Persia has certainly no desire, at a time when there ...s still some hope that friendly discussion may lead to ...ternational disarmament, to exaggerate her defensive ...eparations. Being one of the most pacific countries ...the world she is anxious only to ensure her own ...ety and peace. She has concluded clearly defined ...cts of non-aggression with many of her neighbours, ...e has been a member of the League of Nations from ...s inception, and remains one of the most zelous ...pporters of that international institution.

Persia has sometimes been accused of adopting an ...ti-foreign attitude and of pursuing a course of ...xaggerated nationalism. I believe this accusation to ...e totally unfounded. Persia desires to work undis-...rbed for the peaceful realization of much-needed ...forms. She is willing to encourage foreign enterprise ...n the country, but claims as a condition of such ...ncouragement that her rights should be respected by ...e countries of these enterprises and that co-operation ...ill mark the abandonment of all prejudice on their ...rt.

The nationalists of Persia have, since the revolution, ...ways maintained that Persia will work out her own ...lvation if her freedom of action is not disturbed, ...ough foreign observers may not infrequently have ...pressed their doubts or even sincerely held a contrary ...inion.

I am sure no ground for misunderstanding will be ...von our side, and I am fully convinced that harmony ...d friendship will characterize our relations with all ...tions who are willing to regard Persia as an equal ...d fellow member of one and the same family.

—

"This simple, serene and lovely figure"

In an address in The Berry Street Conference ...r. John Haynes Holmes has paid a glowing ...ibute to Mahatma Gandhi and other personalities ...our age. The following appears in *The ...ristian Register* :

Of Gandhi, how can I speak ? It was at the ...oment when I was as though perishing, in 1919, ...at I found this sainted man. My discovery of him ...n only record in the words used by John Keats ...record his discovery of Chapman's "Homer" :

Then felt I like some watcher of the skies
When a new planet swims into his ken ;
Or like stout Cortez when with eagle eyes
He stared at the Pacific—and his men
Looked at each other with a wild surmise—
Silent, upon a peak in Darien.

In the midst of the fall of nations, out of the horror ...war and revolution of bloodshed, fire, and fury, ...e suddenly arose this simple, serene, and lovely ...ure. To a world of violence he brought the gospel ...Satyagraha, or non-resistance ; to an age of hate, ...e broke the old and almost forgotten word of love ; ...a generation caught in the snares of death, he ...ught release into the peaceful ways of life. In the darkest hours of my experience Mahatma Gandhi brought into my soul what I have always felt that Jesus must have brought into the souls of his disciples. And if there is any one thing out of all my years that brings me comfort, it is that I have lived to see humanity swing to Gandhi, as a planet swings in its celestial orbit to the sun.

Such are the four immortals of our age—Einstein, who has recharted the pathways of the stars ; Freud, who has redesigned the patterns of the soul ; Lenin, who has remade the structure of society ; Gandhi, who has restored the sanctities of religion ! Have these men renewed my hope ? Have they revived my faith ? Have they reconciled me to my world ? Let me re-draw in a brief series of propositions, or theses, the outlines of those convictions to which I cling—the shadow of that grim and stern reality which, like a dark-bound shore seen through a rift of storm, may save me ere I sink.

—

Adult Education in America

After reviewing the Progress Report on the San Francisco School of Social Studies Mr. Alexander Meiklejohn suggests that America should now adopt a comprehensive scheme of Adult Education. Some suggestions are quoted below from *The New Republic* :

The time has come for the establishing of a new branch of public education in America. It is no longer enough that we teach children. It is not enough that we lead many of our young people through high school and a few of them through college. Every day makes it clearer that the amount of learning, and the kind of learning, that an American needs for proper living cannot be won in the years before twenty-one. Our scheme of government and of life can succeed only if, in their more mature years, men and women will engage in careful, enthusiastic and guided study of common values, common dangers, common opportunities. In a word, we must have a comprehensive scheme of adult education.

The end to be served by this new teaching will not be vocational. We Americans are already well able to train ourselves for jobs. There is no need for a fresh start along that line. On the other hand, the purpose is very badly described as that of "fitting people for the new leisure." That notion has in it too much of individual irresponsibility, too much of mere escape from obligations—from significant loyalties and endeavours—to serve as a basis for a national movement in popular teaching. The primary aim of adult education goes far deeper than either of these relatively superficial glimpses of its meaning. That aim is the creation of an active and enlightened public mind. The deepest question in American life today is not economic or political ; it is educational. It is the question of the thinking power of a democracy. Can our people understand and direct their own living or must someone else do their thinking, make their decisions, for them ? As a democracy we are pledged to try the first of these two programmes. And to make that attempt successful is the aim of adult education. At this point we do need a fresh start.

It should be noted in passing that the programme here suggested is not that of the indoctrination of Americanism. We need the practice of democracy rather than the preaching of it. And the practice of democracy in teaching is one of "free inquiry." It seeks to create and develop the will and the

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capacity for independent judgment. It regards its own beliefs as open to study to criticism, to revision. To fall short of such self-criticism is to betray the deepest principles of our American life. There is among us no treason so black as that which would, by methods of insinuation or of violence, "impose" democratic principles, keep them safe from hostile opinions. We cannot teach democracy unless we trust it in action, practise it in our teaching.

It need hardly be said that the task of creating a national system of adult education is a very difficult one. In terms of quantity, the difficulties are obvious enough. Into the field in which newspapers, churches, libraries, theatres, lecture platforms, books and magazines, art museums radio centres, concert halls, are already at work, teachers must go. And they must go in sufficient numbers and with sufficient clarity of purpose to criticize and modify these other agencies as well as to co-operate with them. Theirs will be the primary responsibility for making vivid and attractive the studying activity in which every good American should be engaged. To do that will be, in sheer quantity, an enormous undertaking.

But the qualitative difficulties are even greater. How shall a people that has not built up the habits of study be led into the forming of those habits? Who shall be the teachers? What "materials" shall be used? What "methods" shall be followed? Here is a teaching problem as difficult as it is important. A democracy must arouse and sustain the creative intelligence upon the postulating of which its whole scheme of government and of living rests, with whose success or failure its own existence stands or falls. How shall it be done?

—

Soviet-American Trade Relations

In order that peace may be maintained in the Far East, Russia and America should now collaborate together. Though Soviet has been recognized by the latter, yet a deadlock has crept into the Soviet-American relations regarding the settlement of debts and claims. V. M. Dean's suggestions for a better solution of the question appears in *Foreign Policy Reports*, an extract of which is quoted below:

The renewal in Washington on July 25 of Soviet-American negotiations regarding settlement of debts and claims represents a determined attempt to eliminate a problem which has threatened to embitter relations between the two countries. It is reported that the U. S. S. R. has offered to pay a lump sum, to be determined by agreement, which would liquidate the debt of the Provisional government and the claims of American nationals. This sum, however, would not be paid outright, but would gradually be collected by the United States in the form of additional interest paid by the Soviet government on American credits, which the U. S. S. R. wishes to secure as an integral part of the debt settlement. The Washington negotiations are consequently expected to concentrate on two points: the amount which the Soviet government is willing to pay and the United States is ready to accept in liquidation of debts and claims, and the sum which the American government is prepared to advance to the Soviet Union in the form either of a loan or of long-term credits for Soviet purchases in this country. It is hoped that a settlement of debts and claims will break the deadlock which has occurred in Soviet-American relations since recognition of the Soviet government by the Roosevelt administration in November 1933.

Recognition of the Soviet government has as yet failed to justify either the sanguine expectations of its advocates or the gloomy prophecies of its opponents. Establishment of diplomatic relations, while it has terminated an anomalous situation, has not materially increased Soviet purchases in this country, which continue to depend on the extension of substantial long-term credits guaranteed by the American government; these, in turn, have been made contingent on settlement of Russia's indebtedness to the United States government and of the claims of American citizens. At the same time recognition has not noticeably stimulated the importation of Soviet goods competing with similar American commodities, nor has it given an impetus to Communist propaganda. The development of Soviet-American relations from the level of ordinary diplomatic intercourse to that of close political and economic co-operation depends, as in the past, on the measure of financial assistance which the United States is prepared to give the Soviet Union and on the willingness of the two countries to collaborate for the maintenance of peace, especially in the Far East.

—

Confucian Philosophy

August 27 was officially observed in China as the anniversary of the birth of Confucius. To commemorate the occasion, the editor of *The People's Tribune* reviews some of the philosophical teachings of this immortal sage and says:

That ancestor worship and filial piety form the foundation of Confucian philosophy is common knowledge, but there are others of his teachings which have such intimate bearing upon social problems of today that it is really astounding to realize these plans for establishing human happiness were drawn up considerably more than two thousand years ago. Conditions, too, in the days of Confucius were strikingly similar to those existing today—political disintegration, social unrest, intellectual anarchy, and moral disorder. "The world had fallen into decay," writes Mencius, "and truth had faded away. Perverse doctrines and violent deeds had arisen. There were instances of Ministers murdering their Sovereigns, and of sons murdering their fathers. Confucius was afraid."

But this being "afraid" did not mean that he lacked courage, otherwise he would never have essayed the tremendous task of travelling throughout the country educating the rising generation to an appreciation of their responsibility for establishing higher social ideals by a process of intellectual reorganization. Confucius, as a social reformer, insisted upon the necessity of every member of the community faithfully discharging the duties proper to his or her station. It was his aim to educate the people in such a way that they would do the right thing because they knew it was right, and not simply because they feared the legal penalties in store for wrong-doers. "If the people be led by laws and their conduct be regulated by punishments, they may try to avoid the penalties, but they will have no sense of shame. Lead them by virtue and standardize them by the rules of propriety, and they

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will not only have the sense of shame, but they will also become good."

That the principles laid down by Confucius and his followers were not put into general practice throughout China was due to obstructive tactics on the part of the well-to-do and the absence of effective administrative machinery to carry theories into effect. Confucianism is not a religion, but a school of philosophy whose teachings include axioms generally recognized today as being sound in logic even if still somewhat impractical in regard to execution. Confucius was a democrat in the best sense of the word: his sympathies were with the poor, and he was convinced of the original and inherent goodness of human nature. "He who governs by his moral excellence may be compared to the North Star, which abides by its place, while all other stars bow toward it." Again, "good government obtains when those who are near are made happy, and those who are afar are attracted;" what is right or wrong is decided by what is good or the people, and what the people decide is Heaven's will."

—

Problem of Depressed Areas in Great Britain

The following introduction is annexed to Mr. E. D. McCallum's essay on the above subject, in *International Labour Review*:

Perhaps the most characteristic feature of unemployment in Great Britain since the War is its persistent concentration in certain industrial areas of the country. In years of prosperity and years of depression alike, unemployment has been twice as severe in these areas as in the rest of the country. Their principal industries seem to be permanently unable to employ the number of trained and efficient industrial workers available; this creates a position whose seriousness must continue to require attention, even if the present signs of economic recovery are maintained throughout the country as a whole. It is this situation which creates what has here been called "the problem of the depressed areas".

—

Rejoicing in Cuba

Great rejoicing was witnessed throughout Cuba on the news that U.S.A. has renounced her contractual rights of intervention and financial supervision in the country. The following note appears in *The Commonweal*:

Two months after granting independence to the Philippines the United States renounced her contractual rights of intervention and financial supervision in Cuba. The signing of the new treaty (which was ratified by the Senate in Washington without a dissenting vote) was greeted in Havana by a salute of twenty-one guns; church bells pealed and sirens and whistles blew. Crowds in the Cuban capital gave Ambassador Caffrey an ovation. In a radio speech hailing the new understanding President Mendieta declared, "Today Cuba, with her sovereignty unimpaired, salutes all other nations." The United States by abrogating the Platt Amendment of 1903, also relinquishes her supervision of Cuba's foreign affairs, her right to establish further naval bases and the continuance of certain sanitary measures which she instituted. She retains the naval base of Guantanamo. Article IV of the new treaty provides for the outbreak of a contagious disease, in which case either government may suspend communications with the other "without its act being considered unfriendly." At the same time the Foreign Policy Association announced that on the invitation of the Cuban authorities it would inaugurate on June 15 an impartial survey of the economic and social conditions of the island. Under its auspices an American commission of distinguished professors and other authorities will be sent to prepare a report for the people of Cuba and of the United States, recommending a relationship of mutual advantage to the two nations. The Rockefeller Foundation is to finance the work.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

More Pusas—the only Solution

The Pusa, agricultural research institute, will soon be removed to the neighbourhood of Delhi. This has elicited divergent comments from unexpected quarters. In this connection Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao has contributed a thoughtful paper in *Advance India*. In this vast agricultural land a number of institutions like the Pusa Institute should have been already established for research work. It is a pity that instead of supplying this want, the Government are bent on removing the Pusa Institute from Bihar, where it is most needed. So Dewan Bahadur Rao writes :

I venture to say that in coming to decision on these questions there are many other relevant considerations which cannot be ignored. In the first place, it will be admitted, as pointed out by the Royal Commission, that an ideal site for a central research institute which can suit the needs of the whole of India is doubtless impossible of attainment.

The climatic and agricultural conditions of the country differ widely from province to province and research work connected with all the crops and soils cannot obviously be carried on at one centre for the whole country. This fact has been admitted by the experts and officers of the Government of India..... Examined by the Royal Commission, they suggested the desirability of organizing agricultural research in two or three centres to suit the varying conditions of the country.

In giving evidence before the Commission, Mr. G. S. Henderson, the Imperial Agriculturist, Pusa, stressed this point and his criticism of Pusa was that it was a single station, whereas he contended that there should be several institutions. Pusa could be improved upon in every way. I could have one place where irrigation is practised, another place representing Southern India, a centre representing Bengal conditions and possibly a centre in Central India.

Organization of research work by crops has been advocated by Dr. Clouston, the Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India, *i. e.*, the research in regard to the wheat should be carried in the wheat tract, the research regarding rice should be carried in the rice tract and that relating to cotton in the cotton tract. He, therefore, laid stress on the need for the establishment by the Government of India of additional research stations controlled by the Government of India. He expressed the view that there is a room for *duplication of institutes similar to Pusa, in Southern India, to deal with the wet crops and rice crops, to which it is not possible to devote attention at Pusa.*

Further pressed on the subject, Dr. Clouston stated that "we have already a cane-breeding station in Southern India. We should like to have a rice station in Madras and Bengal. We should rather like a wheat station in Jubbalpore or somewhere else in northern India."

It Is only on these lines in the development of more Pusals that a satisfactory solution of the problem can be reached.

—

Christianity and Nationalism

Dr. T. G. P. Spear of St. Stephen's College, Delhi, writes in *The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon* :

Christians should not fear to be nationalists or to love their native lands. Our own countries, like our homes and our childhood experiences, are things we can never escape from, even if we would we owe to them much of the best that is in us, our inherited traditions, our ideals and standards. Let each sing his "Bande Mataram" and not fear to acclaim with John of Gaunt his country ;

> This other Eden, demi Paradise,
> This fortress built by nature for herself
> Against infection and the hand of war

The Christian spirit will sanctify all that is best in national traditions. It will enable us as pilgrims of eternity to see, in "our own dear lands," the type of the celestial city which is for ever laid up in heaven—that city of God in which we strive to live and move and have our being. Most men love their country because it is their home. Christians should love it because they see in it the symbol, imperfect though it be, of the eternal Kingdom of righteousness, which they seek to establish upon earth.

—

Sri Ramkrishna's Humorous Remarks on His Marriage

Swami Saradananda writes in *The Vedanta Kesari* :

At times the Master would indulge in much fun over his marriage. Indeed, how amusing they were! We shall present the reader with a sample here. One day at Dakshineswar the Master was sitting at his noon-meal and talking in a light vein with Sjt. Balaram and a few other devotees. The Holy Mother had started that day for Kamarpukur, to spend a few months there on the occasion of the marriage of Ramlal, the Master's nephew. The Master (to Sjt. Balaram): What is the meaning of the (my) marriage? What is the use of the wife when I cannot keep in order even the cloth on the loins?

Balaram smiled a little and kept silent.

The Master: Indeed! I have now understood. (Showing a little curry picked up from the plate.) It is for this only. Otherwise who else would cook for me with so much care? (Sjt. Balaram and the other devotees burst into laughter.) Really, who else will take care of my food with so much interest? They

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have all gone away to-day. (The disciples failed to understand whom he meant.) I mean Ramlal's aunt (the Holy Mother). She has left for Kamarpukur on account of Ramlal's marriage. I stood quite unconcerned and saw the party going. Truly, the mind was not in the least affected on this account, as if they had no connection whatsoever with me. But a little later, the anxiety came as to who would hereafter cook for me. You see all sorts of things do not agree with me. Nor can I myself always be sufficiently attentive to my food. She knew which things would be agreeable and would prepare different courses accordingly. That is why the thought came to who would now take her place.

—

The Master's Jokes

In the same paper writes *A Disciple* of Sri Ramkrishna :

"Ah, my dear Baburam came to Sri Ramkrishna while he was a mere boy. Sri Ramkrishna used to have great fun with them. Naren (Swami Vivekananda) and Baburam would roll on the ground with laughter. Once, while living in the Cossipore garden, I had been climbing the steps carrying a pitcher with five pounds of milk. I felt giddy and the milk spilt on the ground. My heels were dislocated. Naren and Baburam ran there and took care of me. There was a great inflammation of the feet. Sri Ramkrishna heard of the accident and said to Baburam, 'Well, Baburam! It is a nice mess I am in. Who will cook my food? Who will feed me now?" He was then ill of the cancer in the throat and lived only on farina pudding. I used to make the pudding and feed him in his room in the upper storey of the house. I had, then, a ring in my nose. Sri Ramkrishna touched his nose and made the sign of the ring by describing a circle with his finger, in order to indicate me. He then said, 'Baburam, can you put her (making the sign) in a basket and carry her on your shoulder to this room?' Naren and Baburam were convulsed with side-splitting laughter. Thus he used to cut jokes with them. After few days the swelling subsided. Then they helped me to go upstairs with his meals.

—

Khan Abdul Gaffar at Santiniketan

On his conditional release from jail Khan Abdul Gaffar went straight to Santiniketan. *Visva-Bharati News* writes in a supplementary note :

On the 31st morning of August we had the pleasure of receiving Khan Abdul Gaffar, the Frontier leader in our midst. He arrived by the morning train from Burdwan and was received at the station by Rabindranath Tagore, Karma-Sachiva of Visva-Bharati, and a few *adhyapakas*. Before an assembly of students and other members of the Asrama in front of the Library Building, Rabindranath welcomed the illustrious guest in a few well-chosen words. He said the Khan Shahib's visit was a memorable event in the history of the Asrama and that it was fortunate for the students to have the opportunity of meeting him. It had touched them all, the President continued, that his confidence in the Visva-Bharati expressed in the fact that he had chosen to send his son here for education when he was away in jail.

Khan Shahib replied saying that he felt deeply overwhelmed with the warmth of the reception. He was highly pleased to visit the place, where he saw things much more than he had heard of. The great Poet's ideals appealed to him as being truly necessary for India's uplift. He hoped that his community would imbibe the Poet's noble ideas about education based on true spirit of religion. The feelings of communalism that threatened to stifle all of India's aspirations were largely due to misinterpretation of religion.

Khan Abdul Gaffar

His visit to the Asrama was a very hort one for he left the next morning for Patna, *en route* Wardha. But he did not spare himself and managed to go over all the departments at Santiniketan and Sriniketan and evinced great interest in all that he saw. There was a farewell ceremony just before he left, in the yard in front of Uttarayan when Rabindranath read an address to

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him in Urdu, an English rendering of which is given below.

Dear friend,

You are with us only for a while but even that is a rare good fortune for us. This is my hope that you will not think it a mere exaggeration or an expression of civility when I say that your presence has created a new strength and vigour in our hearts. Love is never taught by the word of mouth; the soul of a true Lover is Love's own touch-stone. When we come into contact with it, the value of whatever sentiment there is in our own hearts gets magnified manifold.

We have you here with us only for a short period but we will not measure the worth of the event by the standard of time. Those really great, whose hearts are for all, who belong to all the lands of the world, transcend also the bounds of moments; they are for all time. Believe me, the memory of this short visit of yours to the Asrama will ever remain fresh in our hearts

Truth is the very foundation of your life, and I am sure that you radiate its influence all around you. We have realized this too that all our own efforts are everyday being frustrated for lack of this devotion to truth. You have come to this land whose unhappy being is shattered into fragments, in order to fulfil the purpose of Providence to save her from the poison of fratricidal hatred with which she is drugging herself to self-destruction. I have not the slightest doubt that you have been able to stimulate the heart of our folk here with some of that great force of character which is your own. Pray accept the grateful homage of all of us. This is our earnest prayer that you be long spared to help this land, sick, unto death, toward vigorous health and truth.

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The Menace of War To-day

In *The Ashram Review* (formerly, *C. S. S. Review*) the Rev. G. C. Dewick writes:

In 1918, we all thought that the Spectre of War was "laid," at least for our generation. But to-day it hovers over us with grim and menacing insistency. In 1918, boys and girls coming out of the schools and colleges in most nations of the world were thanking heaven that they at least were free from the danger of having to undergo the terrible ordeals through which their immediate predecessors had just passed. Today (at least in most of the countries of Europe) one cannot speak to a group of young men without realizing that they anticipate that most of them will end their lives by violent death in some battle-field or air-raid. Of late especially, the menace of war seems to have grown more threatening every month; and at no time since the close of the Great War in 1918, has the apparent inevitability of another war been more present to our minds than it is today.

And yet, the strange thing is that no one—or almost no one—desires war. I wish it were possible to say that no one *at all* desires war; but I fear that the evidence is all too plain that there are certain industries, notably those connected with the manufacture of armament, that are prepared to put their own profits before the welfare of humanity and are definitely using their influence in the direction of encouraging another world-war as soon as possible. But these form a small minority in the midst of humanity at large. There are also a few who hold that war is so inevitable that it is useless to try to avert it; some of these, because they believe that it is foretold in the Bible as part of the Divine Plan for the world; and others because they think that it is predestined by the 'laws of Science,' as part of the structure of the Universe. But the great majority of men and women emphatically refuse to accept this point of view. When confronted with the menace of war, their instinctive reaction is: "It *ought* not to happen!" and further "It *need* not happen!"

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The Temple Entry Bill

The Temple Entry Bill has recently fallen through in the Legislative Assembly. The Bill sought to remove legal obstacles against the *Harijans* entering Hindu temples. This regrettable event has evoked the following editorial comments in *Stri-Dharma*:

Turkey and Persia offer us living examples of what legislation, backed and promulgated by a strong national government, can do to transform public opinion overnight and to create a new point of view almost within the rising and setting of the sun. But in India it is not so. The onus of carrying out all reform and also enforcing reform legislation has been put upon the private individual, reform worker or organizations. If social reform work is to be effective and fruitful, it should be strengthened by adequate legislation. Of course, we realize the need for constant propaganda and education of public opinion. We merely suggest that legislation and propaganda should co-ordinate at a given place where either one would be futile without the other. To achieve this the closest sympathy and co-operation should exist between official and non-official workers, and an identity of interest is essential to ensure such sympathy and co-operation. When we are on the eve of wider responsibilities it is very necessary to remind our future representatives and also all these Indians who will hold high office how essential it will be for those men and women, who will enter the councils as the representatives of the reformed and progressive point of view to keep closely in touch with the workers outside and to do all in their power to reinforce the work that is being done by organizations and individuals to bring about a healthier and happier state of affairs in the country. For the present we many take this as a lesson and press forward more than ever before to create the right attitude in the public mind towards the question of the right of Temple Entry to Harijans! Let this failure be a stepping stone to a successful campaign against this inhuman and cold philosophy.

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International Control of Narcotics

The National Christian Council Review writes editorially:

While the Assam Province, where apparently the opium evil had long been established, is trying to eradicate it, in response to public opinion, our readers will be interested in knowing how the evil is being attacked at its source by the League of Nations.

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Owing to the more extensive and stricter applica- of the International conventions relating to ...ics there has been a steady decline in the volume the licit trade in opium, coca leaves and manu- ...ured drugs, that is to say, the amounts licitly ...ufactured approximate more closely to legitimate ...ld requirements and this licit production no longer ...ases to the same large extent into the illicit traffic, ...was the case in past years. On the other hand, ...destine manufacture has developed and in its turn ...ies the illict traffic; it is still on the increase, ...ly in countries where raw materials are produced ...where control is difficult. Thus clandestine factories ...drugs have sprung up in Bulgaria (with a simultane- ... increase in the production of the raw material: ..., 65,000 kg. in 1934, as compared with 4,000 kg. ...1932) and in China, where clandestine manufacture ...s to have been introduced by foreigners driven ... of Europe, constituting a serious danger both to ... and to countries into which the drugs are ...gled.

In connection with this, the committee also drew ...attention of Governments to a new and important ...: the movements of a chemical substance, acid ...ic anhydride, which is used mainly for the ...ufacture of heroin, the increasingly large imports of ...substance into Bulgaria and China would seem to ...to a huge manufacture of heroin, which must ...its way into the illicit traffic.

The committee greatly concerned at this state of ...s and at the increasingly serious situation in ..., from the point of view both of poppy growing ...opium consumption and of the rapid development ...clandestine manufacture of morphine and heroin, ...ed out a plan of co-operation between the ...se Government and the foreign authorities in ...

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The Scope of Competition

In an important paper in *Indian Journal of ...omics* Prof. Sir J. C. Coyajee writes:

We have to bear in mind that the true nature of ...concept of Free Competition has been very ably ...keenly discussed by economists for decades. Its ...tions in connection with the idea of "maximum ...ophelimity" were debated by Pareto and even ...er by Marshall in his chapter on Maximum ...faction. Very recently too a great deal of analysis ...been devoted to problems of Imperfect Competi- ... Admittedly basing herself on the analysis of ...rshall and Pigon, Miss Joan Robinson has shown ... "the analysis of perfect competition is only a ...ing case of the general theory" and that "it can ... longer occupy its former dominant Position in ... theory of value." Thus the analytical economists ...e been themselves seeing the limitation of com- ...tion and have been adding to the contents of their ...ox of tools" for the keener and deeper study of ...petition as well as of monopoly. To demoastrate ...e vast existing range of imperfect competition is to ...ow the smaller importance of ideas of pure com- ...tion and monopoly. Indeed, it is through the ...ress of economic analysis that we are being led ... adopt a more correct and modest view of the ...omic position and importance of Competition— ...ding ample allowance for the limitations of com- ...tion both on the theoretical and practical sides. Competition must decrease while collaboration and regulation must increase in scope. Moreover, whether in the past or in the present there has been and is no case of an economic society working on the bases of ideally and absolutely free competition, for the simple reason that the requisite institutions for the success of such competition were and are lacking. We can go further and admit that as an ideal it is better to aim at a rational and humane ordering and organization of affairs than to acquiesce in the struggle for existence. But facts must be faced and after all has been said and done although the merits of collaboration are many it will never be possible to oust and replace competition entirely. It is well to attempt to control competition; but in one shape or other it will always be an important factor in our whole scheme of economic and social life as long as there is a struggle for survival in society. True the scope of competition will be more and more restricted either by "formal control within the business conceived or by the coming in of an authoritative economic order." But there can be no doubt that in some form or other competition will manage to survive. "The parties, the forms, the fashions, the intensity and the ends of the struggle many change; but the norm of competition among persons, good industries, ideas, institution and culture must remain." A great deal certainly depends upon the way in which competition is defined and upon the sense which we attach to the word in the controversy regarding the proper scope of competition. But however defined or regulated, there seems to be no prospect of competition being abolished or entirely done away with.

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Regulations for Ashrams in Cambodia

Prof. Bijan Raj Chatterjee, M.A., D. Litt. in his "King Yashovarman's Regulations for Ashramas in Cambodia" in *Prabuddha Bharata* writes:

Yashovarman (889-910 A. D.) was one of the greatest monarchs of Kambuja (the Sanskrit name of Cambodia). It was he who founded the town of Angkor (Sanskrit – Nagara) which became one of the most magnificent cities in the whole world during the Middle Ages.

Three Sanskrit inscriptions of his reign (recently edited by M. Coedis) give us the regulations laid down by the monarch for a Vaishnava, a Shaiva and a Buddhist Ashrama respectively, which was constructed by royal command in the immediate neigbourhood of of his capital (Angkor).

The three inscriptions have much in common.

This Decree (शासन) of Sri Yashovarman is to be obeyed in the Ashrama by the Kuladhyaksha (कुलाध्यक्ष) as well as by his servants.

The Kuladhyaksha shall see to it that the Ashrama flourishes and that the Ashram Jana (people) are well protected.

If the king comes here with his queens the Kuladhyaksha should show him the honour due to a divinity. For ..according to Vyasa "He who is devoid of respect towards the king, who is the Guru of the whole world, will see none of his gifts, sacrifices and offering bear fruit."

After the king the Dwija (द्विज) should be honoured

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above all others ; if there are several of them, their conduct should first be taken into consideration, then their good qualities, and finally their learning.

Particularly (among the other visitors to the Ashrama) the brave should be honoured, who have proved their valour in the field of battle for the defence of right depends on them.

The Ashrama regulations of king Yashovarman of Cambodia came to a close with the following noble stanza :- The Earth, the Waters, the Winds, the Clouds the Sun and the Moon—have they the slightest personal interest in contributing to the happiness of created beings ? The noble rule of life which the truly great follow is this : to minimize one's personal interests and to strive to promote the interests of others.

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Indian Insurance Law *re* Indian Provident Societies' Act

In an important paper in *Commerce* (September 22, 1934) Mr. S. C. Ray, M. A., B. L., Editor, *Insurance World*, and Manager, Aryasthan Insurance Co. Ltd., indicates lines in which the Indian Insurance Law should be modified. An abstract of his suggestions has already been quoted in this section (*vide The Modern Review* for June 1934). In this connection he also lays stress on the need of amending the Provident Societies' Act under which many mushroom societies, miscalled Provident Insurance Societies, are growing up almost daily. Mr Ray's suggestions on this branch, too, deserve notice. He says:

While discussing the question of insurance law in India it is not possible to leave aside the Provident Societies' Act under which innumerable insurance companies have sprung up in India in recent years. The dividing companies, registered under its provisions have become a terrible menace to the progress of Indian insurance and unless this Act is suitably amended immediately, we shall have to face dark days in the near future The maximum risk undertaken by a provident company must not under law exceed Rs. 500 on a single life. But the loss of even this small amount for an average Indian is a great strain and so it is necessary that these Provident Societies should be regulated in such a way that the insured people may not suffer. Their only safe-guard is Section 17 under which the Registrar of Joint-Stock Companies can institute some enquiry in regard to the affairs of a Provident Society.

I strongly advocate the revision of the provisions of the Indian Provident Societies' Act under the following lines :

(1) Every company should deposit Rs. 5,000 before registration and increase this deposit by addition of 3 of the renewal premium income every year until the total deposit reaches Rs. 50,0 0.

(2) All insurance schemes should be examined by qualified Actuaries and companies should be allowed to carry on business only under such schemes as are found to be scientificaly sound.

(3) Provident Societies shall not be allowed to style themselves as insurance companies as in such cases the lay people will not be able to differentiate them from companies carrying on regular life insurance business.

I am glad to find that the Jodhpur State has already made a move in this direction by requiring Provident Societies to deposit Rs. 5,000.

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Rabindranath's Paintings

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore recently held an exhibition of his paintings in Bombay. Mr. G. Venkatachalam wrote a critique on Rabindranath's paintings in *Triveni*. Part of it is given below :

When he recently held an exhibition in the city of Bombay, his pictures literally puzzled and mystified the Indian public. One noticed worried looks in the eyes of visitors, and heard all sorts of amusing comments. 'You call this art ?' snapped an outraged society lady, herself a widely travelled woman and a writer, but of nervous temperament. 'We don't understand these pictures, frankly we dont,' observed many well-meaning friends and admirers of Tagore and his poetry. 'This art is beyond us', confessed a young girl artist, and added cynically, 'One must be born, I suppose, in Bengal to appreciate it.' Here and there one met a person who showed interest in the pictures and discovered some artistic merits in them. If Tagore's paintings do not arouse any enthusiasm or admiration for his art, they at least set people thinking about newer modes of artistic expression than one is generally used to.

Tagore's works are not to be judged by the ordinary accepted academic standards, for the simple reason that they are not painted after any accepted style, school or tradition. No rules of the art are applicable to them. They are just creations of playful moods and unfettered joy, and so they share the nature and significance of all original impulses. Laws and rules do not give birth to art ; art creates its own idioms and expressions. Thus there is really no criterion by which original creative efforts like those of Tagore's could be judged. They must be appraised on their own intrinsic worth, their inner vital quality.

Tagore was not trained in any academic school. He never studied the art of painting under any master, nor does he consciously copy or follow ony style or technique. The creative urge in him plays with lines and colours which take definite shape and design under the spell of his genius. He never strives after any perfection of form or idea but just lets his fancy or imagination create figures or portraits, scenes or symbols, effortlessly and without prejudice. They are like the play-creations of a child, simple, spontaneous and beautiful.

Some are crude and unfinished ; some are delightfully drawn with an eye for precision of line, balance and composition. Whatever may be their æsthetical merits, there is no doubt that everyone of them is intensely alive with a dynamic vitality like a piece of sculpture. There is grace, beauty, movement and suppleness in every line and curve that he draws. His art is really an inspired art ; and there is freshness and originality in all his single figure studies and group composltions. The poetic and lyrical nature of his pictures are obvious. As he says himself : 'My pictures are my versification in lines. If by chance they are entitled to claim recognition, it must be primarily for some rhythmic significance of form which is ultimate, and nor for any interpretation of an idea or representation of a fact.' Even the most unfinished picture of his has this 'rhythmic significance of form, and it is this that makes his art so interesting.

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Tagore seldom bothers himself with the regular paraphernalia of an artist: studio, easels, palette, brushes, pigments, canvases, glues and the rest. He paints as he likes and on all kinds of papers, white or coloured, rough or smooth, big or small, even on bits of newspapers. Some of his striking pictures were done with the aid of a simple fountain-pen or piece of stick or his own thumb and fingers. His portrait sketches executed in this style are exceedingly clever. His landscape sketches have a distinct atmosphere, and he now and then paints them in colours. He has a preference for ordinary liquid colours and it is amazing what rich colourful effects he gets out of them. His decorative designs are genuinely original and some of them ultra-modern and very intriguing.

On the whole Rabindranath's paintings have an originality, sincerity, truthfulness and vital quality to be ranked as high as any of the modern masters. Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy's pithy statement that Tagore's pictures are not childish but childlike is about the sanest criticism so far offered on this new phase of Tagore's genius.

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How the Press Act of 1910 was forged

The interesting story of how the Press Act of 1910 was forged has been narrated in *The Indian Review* thus:

The Radical statesman [Lord Morley] was averse to this unnecessary addition to the Statute-book, but what could one man, however exalted and forceful do against a whole brood of opposing reactionaries? It is curious how from Royalty down to the Civilian there was such strong opposition to the legitimate and modest aspirations of Nationalist India. Sir Sidney Lee, in his "Life of King Edward VII" has told the story of the King's directions to the Cabinet supporting the Commander-in-Chief's demand for "a drastic Press Act especially for the Army." But Morely and the Cabinet were adverse to it. Morely gave way anyhow probably in deference to the Viceroy's wishes—the Viceroy who had so warmly supported him in his Reform Scheme. One is amazed at the ugly manœuvres played behind the scenes to bring the Liberal democrat round to support the unwanted Press Act. Says Mr. Kincaid, I. C. S. (*Retired*) in his recent book*:

I was summoned to the India Office by Sir William Lee Warner, the senior member of the Council of the Secretary of State. He first bound me over to strict secrecy, and then told me that he was trying to induce Lord Morely to agree to a proposed Press Act in India. Sir William wanted me to write something to the Press preferably the *Times*—to strengthen his hand. I was finding Lord Morely very difficult. I promised to do my best best. I asked my friend Enthoven, who knew Valentine Chirol, for a note of introduction to him. Armed with it I went to the office of the *Times*. I sent Mr. Enthoven's note, and was received by the Director of Foreign Intelligence, as he then was in the specious pre-Northcliffe days of the *Times*. He was very cordial and said that he would consider the articles that I wrote. I sent him, one after the other (1) on 'Kichak Wadh' a seditious play by V. V. Khadilkar; (2) 'Mr. Tilak and the seditious Press'; (3) the Chipawans of Chiplun'; and (4) 'Ancient Indian Theories of Government.' They were all accepted, and the first was translated into almost every language by the European Press. The second and third articles were commented on in leading articles. In view of the Public interest aroused by my articles Valentine Chirol was sent out to India to get 'copy.' This led to the publication of 'Indian Unrest.' This again was the cause of an unsuccessful libel action brought by B. G. Tilak against Sir Valentine Chirol, the *Times* and Macmillian & Co.

Sir William Lee Warner and I held our tongues. Lord Morely was wild to know who had written the articles. With the artless guile of a Radical minister he pretended to think that they were from the pen of Valentine Chirol himself, and wrote to congratulate him. The Director of Foreign Intelligence was equal to the occasion. He thanked Lord Morely very nicely for the congratulations and expressed himself very pleased that he should like the articles. Soon afterwards Lord Morely sanctioned the passing of the Press Act.

* *Forty-four year a Public servant*, pp., 118, 119.)

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A Plea for Cultural Readjustment

Prof. J. M. Kumarappa writes on the above subject in *The Aryan Path*:

If Modern India is barren of high aspirations and creative ideals, if she suffers from intellectual poverty and inertia, is the cause far to seek? By adopting foreign culture and ignoring her own, has she not lost touch with her real source of life and intellectual vigour? Indeed, by cutting off this source of vitality, she has reduced herself to a life of cultural parasitism in the very country which is the home of learning itself. This mental deterioration is certainly most debasing. And therefore our greatest concern must necessarily be, not material want—bad as it is; not even political subjection—degrading as that is; but cultural poverty. At a time such as this when we are giving serious thought to the problems of reorganizing all our nation-building institutions, we can ill-afford to ignore this terrible state of our intellectual degeneracy. And the task of cultural readjustment must therefore be viewed by our leaders as most pressing and urgent.

If our education is to be truly Indian, it must be so reorganized as to develop the racial traits in each child till it makes him a perfect incarnation of the spirit of the race. Hence our first aim in educational reconstruction must be to meet the need of providing the children of India with a culture that is the product of India's own thought and creation. Only a knowledge of the great thoughts and ideas found in Sanskrit literature will generate in the minds of our youth a proud and living faith in their Motherland, and help them incidentally to get rid of their inferiority complex. Further, it must be noted that Sanskrit learning is necessary and invaluable for the preservation of our national or cultural individuality.

Since it is the living consciousness of the race's past ideals and achievements which differentiate one cultural group from another, it is imperative that such historical traditions and ideals should be made to form the intellectual equipment of not only every student but also every uncultured member of the race. If education is to realize this end, it must take full account of the genius and civilization of the people and the environment which influences them, just as surely as it must take account of the inborn qualities. Further, it must raise Sanskrit and the

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vernaculars to their lost but legitimate place in our scheme of studies. Though the Indian vernaculars are diverse, yet Sanskrit is not only the source of most of them but the fountainhead of the social and religious culture which inspires and sustains them. Because the vernacular literatures contain, though it be in a limited measure, the supreme ethical and spiritual wisdom of the saints and sages of India, it has been possible to spread a common culture among the teeming millions of India. And now in order to develop the vernaculars to meet the demands of the present age, Sanskrit must be popularized. For if the vernaculars are to be re-enforced, if their capacity to form abstract, scientific and literary terms is to be strengthened, the necessary element must be taken, as Tagore points out, from Sanskrit. Only when the vernaculars are thus re-enforced will they be in a position to respond to the need of the higher stages of study.

Besides its value in strengthening the vernaculars to meet modern demands of expression, a study of Sanskrit literature is important for promoting Indian national unity. The great thoughts contained in them would, if popularized, serve as a powerful antidote for our modern narrowness, exclusiveness and bigotry.

The literary classes have been successfully divorced from the illiterate masses, so much so, that to-day it would be difficult to find anywhere on earth a class of people so different in outlook from their own masses as the typical product of this educational system Since the masses receive their intimate ideas and images, not from Burke and Shakespeare, Hume and Mill, but from the Vedas and the Puranas, from the writings of Kabir and Kalidasa, it has, in fact, made the natural irrigation of culture well-nigh impossible. Similarly, it has divorced the husband from the wife in thought and outlook. In most cases they live on two different social and intellectual planes.

She has a mission to perform, a mission of peace and reconciliation. She has ever stood for a true and living harmony of toleration and discipline, of law and love of restraint and freedom. In this age of international strife India must offer to the world her philosophy of life, of peace based on her conception of the spiritual unity of all human beings. If the world is to take cognizance of her never-failing emphasis on the abiding values of the spirit, then she must demonstrate the superiority of her spiritual culture. And that is possible only when the masses of her people learn to live up to the high and noble ideals of her sages and saints.

In order, therefore, to make the best in our culture available to the peoples of the West, it is essential to revive Sanskrit learning and make it widespread in India first. Our schools and colleges must really become saturated with our own indigenous culture. Then our seats of learning must be so organized as to enable them to extend the intellectual hospitality of the country to the research scholars of the West who are eager to come to India to specialize in Oriental learning, and to study Indian culture at its very sources. But unfortunately no adequate facilities have been provided for them and, what is worse, for want of such centres of Indian culture our own students are even now obliged to go to the London School of Oriental Studies to learn Sanskrit, Indian Literature and Indian Philosophy, the very subjects for which India ought to be the greatest research centre in the world.

In whatever way we Indianize education, it must be so as to revive our culture, and make Indian life seem as sublime as any the world has ever seen. It must make it possible for India to resume her place among the nations, not as a competitor in material production, but as a teacher of all that belongs to a true and radiant civilization.

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The Rights of Children

Many progressive countries have declared that children should enjoy some inherent rights. The Indian Bureau of the League of Nations has given wide publicity to the Declaration of Geneva regarding the rights of children. Part of this declaration is here quoted from *The Educational Review*:

(1) The Child must be given the means requisite for its normal development, both materially and spiritually.

(2) The Child that is hungry must be fed, the child that is sick must be nursed; the child that is backward must be helped; the delinquent child must be reclaimed; and the orphan and the waif must be sheltered and succoured.

(3) The Child must be the first to receive relief in times of distress.

(4) The Child must be put in a position to earn a livelihood and must be protected against every form of exploitation.

(5) The Child must be brought up in the consciousness that its talents must be devoted to the service of its fellow-men.

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Poverty in India

Miss G. Ponnaiya, M.A., writes in *The Mysore Economic Journal*:

Cheap labour, like cheap scraps, is an unwelcome intruder in the economic field. Millions are employed in India on this basis on the assumption that cheapness denotes profit. Were this true India would have been a land flowing with milk and honey, the El Dorado of earthly existence. But unfortunately the reverse is true. Cheap labour leads to the employment of inefficient units of labour, the unskilled who waste time, energy and money. But the overpaid rich are not also the efficient. The wages must be dependent on work dependent on brain power. Mr. Henry Ford believes in substituting machines wherever great physical strength is required. This is real economy as it releases brain power for the work it ought to do. Hard toil for sixty hours a week to any labourer, burdened with the responsibility of supporting a large family, leaves very little room for improving one's brain power. Far-sighted business men make due allowances for leisure. The leisure and the high wage paid, suitably graded according to one's brain power, has contributed not a little to economic progress. More economic goods are consumed if high wages and a high standard of living are assured, in the economy of the nation. The consumption creates and keeps up the demand, which is satisfied by a chain of industries enriching and ennobling the economic life of the nation. In other words, the brain power circulates within and without the country, in much the same way as money does. The policy of grading wages combined with leisure automatically drives out poverty. It also keeps an eye on the work turned out rather on the money reward and the greed for hire, and incidentally discourages the lazy and the undeserving that clog the wheel of progress. A premium on steady, sustained and efficient work is thus assured.

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QUOTAS AND TRADE RESTRICTIONS

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

EVER since the Joseph Chamberlain campaign for fiscal reform subsequent to the Boer War there have been various campaigns undertaken by the Conservative Party to promote protection. It was a cardinal principle of Conservative policy that protection of the home market would lead to higher wages and higher prices. In 1906, the Conservative Party made Protection a test question. They then avowed that the full application of Protection was the only solution to the problem of unemployment and low wages. The defeat which they met with in that election weakened the campaign considerably, although latently the bulk of Conservative opinion was protectionist. It was not until 1924 and the subsequent elections that the Tory Party became a little more courageous in advocating Protection as the main plank in their political programme. We have seen the passage into law of all that the Conservatives had hoped for in the full instalment of protection—as a result of their gaining power by the trick election of 1931.

The success of the Protectionist advocates has in no small measure been due to the weakness of the Liberal Party in defending whatever measure of Free Trade this country enjoyed. With many Liberals Free Trade was not an economic principle but was a policy which seemed to be conducive to a flourishing import trade. The Liberal advocates, with very few exceptions, defended Free Trade in a narrow and limited way. They never correlated Free Trade with free production: that is to say, the right to freely produce goods as well as the right to freely exchange goods and services. They left in abeyance the whole question of unemployment and devoted their attention merely to trade relationships.

The ever-present army of unemployed people gave the Protectionists grounds for promoting their theories. It was little consolation to an unemployed man to be told that Free Trade was the foundation of Britain's great international commercial prosperity. And it seemed an obvious truth to an average unemployed voter that his chance of getting a job was remote if Britain continued to import an ever-increasing volume of foreign goods.

Unfortunately, politicians who were not quite clear as to what was meant by Free Trade on the one hand, or what was fully implied by Protection on the other, pursued a middle course and devised a policy of quotas, trade licences and import boards. Since 1925 this modified form of Protection has become fashionable. Super-imposed upon the quota system, and following as its natural complement, came the subsidy system. For if you restrict certain commodities from foreign countries which are essential to consumers in your own country, you must take measures to encourage the production of these commodities within your own boundaries. Thus subsidies were inevitable.

Beet Sugar Subsidy

The subsidy on English beet sugar is the outstanding example of the beginning of this ruinous policy. Ironically enough, the proposal to grant the subsidy was first made by the Labour Government in 1924. Mr. Philip Snowden, outlining the Government's plans for relieving unemployment, said in the House of Commons on 30th July 1930: "The Government have accepted the principle of Exchequer assistance for the Sugar Beet industry. An excise duty of 9/9*d* would be put upon beet sugar manufactured in this country and we propose that they should get a subsidy of 19/6*d* per cwt. We suggest that the rate of 19/6*d* should be subject to a falling scale. It might be reduced to 13/- in four years and again reduced to 6/6*d* after a further three years, and at the end of ten years might be removed altogether."

A General Election intervened in 1924. The Conservative Party, however, adopted the Labour proposals and gave the subsidy at exactly the same rates and for the same period as Mr. Snowden had outlined. The history behind this proposal has never been made public. Mr. Runciman, criticizing the scheme in the House of Commons, divulged the names of Dutch engineers who were responsible for imposing the whole scheme upon the British Government.

The direct cost of the subsidy, and the preferential rebate of duty on beet sugar which was allowed under the scheme, have cost the taxpayers of this country £40,000,000. This sum is, of course, far in excess of the value of the sugar product.

The price of imported raw sugar has fallen to about 5/- per cwt, not including the duty. But even in the last stage of the subsidy, when it was at its lowest rate, the subsidy amounted to an average of 7/3*d* per cwt and the effective duty preference was 3/6*d*—making a total of 10/9*d*, or twice the value of raw sugar.

Be it remembered that ostensibly this was a scheme to help British agriculture and increase employment. From this point of view the scheme has been entirely useless. The crop of sugar beet has not been in addition to but in place of other crops. The principal crops displaced by beet are the roots: mangolds, swedes, turnips, etc. which

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have a greater yield per acre and give more regular employment than beet. Furthermore, the rate of agricultural wages in Norfolk, where about one-quarter of the entire beet crop is grown, is one of the lowest in the country.

As for employment in the factories, the Minister of Agriculture stated in the House of Commons, on 12th May 1932: "The average number of persons employed in beet sugar factories each year since the beginning of the subsidy period is about 7,130 of whom 5,360 have been employed during the manufacturing seasons and the remainder whole-time." The manufacturing season lasts only three months—and less than 1800 persons are employed outside of that period.

A Scandal

It would have been far cheaper for the British taxpayer, and more beneficial to world trade in general, if the Government had bought all the sugar from abroad and given it away and paid those engaged in the Beet Sugar industry full wages for doing nothing. The case has been put cogently by Sir Herbert Samuel speaking in the House of Commons on 19th March 1934, when he said: "The Government might pay all the workers who are now employed on farms in production of sugar beet £2 per week to stand idle. They might give all the workers employed in the factories £3 a week to stand idle. They might give all the farmers who grow the beet £3 an acre to grow something else. They might pay all the beet sugar companies their full dividends, not according to last year but according to one of their good years, to keep their factories inoperative. And then the Government might have enough money to buy an equivalent amount of sugar and distribute it to the populace for nothing —free—but charging only the amount of the customs duty. I am sure that every Member of the House will think that this is incredible, but I will give the exact figures.

"An answer was given in this House to the effect that the number of man-weeks each year in field work on the farms for growing this crop was 692,000 on the average during the period of the sugar subsidy. I suggest all these men should have been given £2 a week to do nothing and this would amount to £1,384,000. The factories employ 5,000 workers who should have £3 a week. This wonld amount to £180,000. They employ 2,000 people for the year and at £3 per week this would be about £300,000. I suggest that every farmer should get £3 an acre in order to grow wheat or something else. There are 366,000 acres so that that is just over £1,000,000. I suggest that dividends should be paid to the companies at the rate of their year 1930-31 when they were paid an average of 8·8 per cent if only they would not work their factories. That would amount to £411,000. The total of all these amounts is £3,275,000 and that would leave a saving of £3,000,000 upon the present State expenditure—which would be enough to buy the whole crop of sugar, worth £2,900,000, to distribute it to the population free, charging for it only customs duty. Over and above that we should have the advantage of £300,000 or £400,000 for our Shipping industry, which they would receive and would be very glad to have."

And to that damning indictment no answer was, or can be, given.

The Continued Ramp.

Make the Consumers Pay

The Beet Sugar subsidy came to an end in 1934. Everyone knew that this was an industry that could not be run economically nor could it be maintained without the aid of vast subsidies. The interested parties who had wrung fortunes out of the State were not likely to remain passive when their term of subsidy came to an end. All this year there has been a vigorous campaign promoted by the vested interests to force the hand of the Government to grant them monopoly powers in the field of production and distribution of sugar—so that they may be enabled to restrict the production of sugar with a view to increasing its price and thus throw a burden upon the consumers equivalent to that which heretofore they have been exacting from the Exchequer.

There has been set up what is called the Green Commission, whose duty it is to find ways and means of establishing the industry without a continuance of the subsidy. There have been other two Commissions set up to take evidence from interested parties—*i. e.* producers and distributors—and in each case the terms of reference of these commissions are so restricted that any attempt to widen the scope of enquiry so as to bring into relief the claims of sugar consumers is ruled out.

Before each of the Commissions the Co-operative Society has endeavoured to expose what that sugar ramp really means to the consumers. But in each case the presiding Chairman has under his terms of reference been obliged to rule out certain lines of enquiry. This public scandal of a furtive attempt on the part of vested interests to root themselves in a privileged position cannot be too widely known—and calls for immediate public action.

In tropical countries the production per acre of pure cane sugar is 5½ tons. This subsidized beet sugar process produces only 2½ tons per acre. The world sugar market at the moment is glutted and in the United States, India, and on the Continent, conferences are being held to devise schemes to restrict production—while we in England are boosting production to the extent of about £40,000,000!

£16,000,000 of this money has gone to companies controlled by Dutch investors. £9,000,000 has gone to companies dominated by Tate & Lyle. And about £6,800,000 has gone to the following companies: The Lincolnshire Sugar

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Company Ltd., The Second Lincolnshire Sugar Company Ltd., The British Sugar Manufacturing Company Ltd. It is interesting to notice that much of the preference share capital of the Lincolnshire Sugar Company Ltd. is held by the McAlpin family, famous as public work contractors.

At Foley Park the West Midland Sugar Company Ltd. operates £180,000. Its Chairman is Lord Weir whose Anglo-Scottish Beet Company holds 94,098 shares. Other Directors of this firm include Lord Stonehaven and Lord Invernairn.

One last detail before we leave this sweet subject. It would be difficult to compute what the ground landlords have raked in in high rentals on their agricultural land where beet sugar has been grown and upon which the manna of the taxpayer's money has fallen so liberally. In Norfolk alone the annual rental from small holdings where beet is grown amounts to £66,500.

From what has been said above we, the voters, who can determine future government and policy, understand why at the moment a gigantic effort is being made by these gangsters to dig themselves into privileged positions.

The Wheat Quota

Mr. Baldwin, in a speech at Glasgow on December 12, 1930, referring to wheat, said: "I believe the quota is the best weapon for this country," and added, "We are busy now in our Research Department of the Unionist Party working out problems connected with it." But by 1932 Mr. Baldwin seems to have been a little startled at the operation of the quota. For on 23rd June of that year he said: "All the restrictions taken together will show the House what an appalling amount of grit there is in the whole machinery of the circulation of goods, and until that grit is removed, and the machinery lubricated, little progress can be made... Another form of restriction is the question of quotas. *The Quota is a very Dangerous Weapon.*"

We only grow 7 per cent of our wheat requirements in this country. Our land is more suitable to other forms of agricultural produce than wheat growing. But in order to encourage more wheat growing as we encouraged beet sugar growing novel devices were resorted to. Actually, wheat quota has never been put into operation. The Wheat Act passed by the National Government provided for a guaranteed price (at 45 a quarter with the subsidy raised by a levy on all flour milled and paid eventually by the consumer), but left the millers free to use wheat in any quantity from any source that they liked.

The cost of the wheat subsidy for the first year was £4,510,000. This year it will reach the figure of £6,000,000, Ostensibly this is a levy paid by the millers, but we, the bread consumers, bear the capital charge of all in the price of the loaf. Landowners are intimating to farmers that they will expect regular rent payments in respect of their wheat lands, because of the guaranteed price established under the subsidy.

Quotas by Agreement

Agreements made with the various Dominions at Ottawa in August 1932 provided not only for numerous additional and increased tariffs, but also for the quantitative regulation of imports—notably Meat.

Australia and other Dominions undertook not to increase their exports of meat to the United Kingdom above the quantity sent in the year 1932 and the United Kingdom undertook to reduce the imports of foreign meat in accordance with a programme agreed to by the Dominions. This programme laid down a series of percentage reductions of foreign imports of meat for each quarter until the quarter ending June 1934.

The Ottawa Conference was aptly described as a thieves' kitchen, a place at which Dominion exporters would meet the affable J. H. Thomas and the simple Mr. Baldwin—and induce them to agree to certain marketing proposals which would divide the British markets between the Dominion interests to the utter exclusion of all foreign importers into Great Britain.

The economic reactions to the Ottawa agreements are creating a hornet's nest for the so-called statesmen who acquiesced in them.

Take but one example. Norway is required to take 70 per cent of her coal imports from us. It follows that she must restrict and limit her imports of coal from other countries. Thus the immense commercial influence of the United Kingdom was used to compel these smaller countries to extend the quota system and so further shackle and reduce the free movement of trade in Europe. But with the best will in the world the Scandinavian countries cannot suffer to have their imports to England restricted by the Ottawa Agreements and at the same time adhere to any quota arrangements imposed upon them by Britain. How to accommodate our own export trade to foreign countries and at the same time give a privileged market position in this country to the Dominions is the problem for the architects of the Ottawa agreements.

The Bacon Scheme

The same story could be told with regard to the Pigs and Bacon Scheme. Mr. A. S. Warren, Chairman of Warren Sons & Company, gave the following in a letter to the *Times*. He quoted the prices as stated in the *Official Weekly Diary Produce Notes* of the Empire Marketing Board. "It is," he said, "interestihg to note that this time last year, before any Government scheme was in operation, the price of English bacon pigs was 10/1 a score and the wholesale price of Danish bacon was 62/- per cwt. This year,

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under the Government quota scheme, the price of English bacon pigs is 10/4 a score, but the price of Danish bacon has been forced up to 76/- a cwt. This difference in price is of course being paid by the public and all goes into the foreign producer's pocket. It will be seen that it has made no difference to the price of English pigs—so that it is an unnecessary waste of public money." (The *Times*, 7th August 1933).

The Milk Scheme

The scheme is even more complicated and extensive than the bacon scheme. Before a poll of the registered producers of milk had been taken, the Milk Marketing Board set up by the Government invited applications, on the 31st July 1933, for the following posts under the scheme :—

Description	Salary
Manager	£5,000—£7,000
Accountant	£2,500—£3,000
Registrar and Statistician	£1,000—£1,250
Secretary	£2,000—£2,050
Marketing Officer	£2,000—£3,000

Mr. S. G. Foster has been appointed Manager at a salary of £5,000 a year.

Mr Eliot's delight at the manner in which the scheme was rushed throuh Parliament induced him to become almost poetic. For he said in the House of Commons on the 28th July 1930 : "No one comes to me and says 'Hail Eliot' and I have no crosses to wear." This is Walter's little jest, but he added in complete seriousness : "The danger here is that for want of ballyhoo and some crosses the thing may not go through." In other words, he regretted that he could not carry it through on his own fiat. There was still a certain amount of free voting by the people in the industry !

The voting took place and the farmers fell for it. The nett result of it was that the nation suddenly became threatened by a huge surplus of milk production. And it seemed at one time as if what we lacked in rain we were going to make up for in milk. The cow in this process was incidental. The taxpayer was all important. No end of worry was caused the bureaucrats as to how to dispose of the flood.

Chocolate manufacturers and others were asked to take large gulps of this at 4*d* a gallon—ordinary consumers being charged twice that amount.

Despite the attempted strictures of the scheme a number of milk producers began to sell their milk at less than the standard price laid down by the Board. This led to a series of summonses and court actions so that many producers had to pay fines for selling milk to poor consumers at a cheaper rate than the standard rate. These people were subjected to the new name of "milk boot-leggers."

The nett pool price of milk in December 1933, after the cost of transport had been deducted averaged 1/0¼ per gallon. The price of liquid milk was 16*d* per gallon in all regions except the South-Eastern where it was 17*d*. The price for manufacturing milk was for cheese and butter 3¾ per gallon ; for condensed milk and milk powder 6*d* per gallon ; for chocolate 8*d* per gallon. Approximately 18 per cent of the milk sold under contract was used for manufacture.

Severe criticism of the scheme was made at the Exeter Branch of the National Farmers Union in December 1933. Mr Odgers, Chairman of the Exeter and District Dairy Farmers Association, declared that the Milk Scheme was nothing less than chaos and he said : "We were told that it was a producers' scheme. We were told that the whole object of the scheme was for the producer to receive a bigger share of the amount of money paid by the public. ...The public pay more money but now we get less."

The West Riding National Farmers Union Branch on the 12th January 1934 unanimously adopted a strongly-worded resolution on this scheme. "So far the scheme in the Yorkshire areas has been more than a failure. It has been a disaster."

At the moment there are under contemplation similar schemes which will affect Eggs and Poultry and Fish.

Summary

Reviewing the quota system and trade restrictions as a whole it will be seen that the following are among their commonest results :

(1) They raise prices and place a burden upon a majority of the community for the sole benefit of an interested minority.

(2) They involve heavy trading losses which are borne not by the individuals who make them but by committees or boards or the State—and fall eventually upon the general body of consumers and taxpayers.

(3) They are an attempt to create prosperity by creating scarcity.

(4) They involve widespread political control in industry and commerce to the advantage of private interests.

(5) Their policy is directed to safe-guarding the financial interests involved in production without regard to the economic difficulties involved in these schemes to the consumer.

The abolition of these trade restrictions necessarily involves the abolition of our so-called 'National' Government. Let us see to it that it is not long delayed.

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FINANCE AND INSURANCE

Finance

Mr. S. C. Mitter's Recovery Plan

The economic rehabilitation of Bengal largely depends upon the improvement of the Jute trade. Any scheme or suggestion that is likely to help the growers of this important crop is, therefore, welcome, and we have one in the recently released excerpts from *Recovery Plan for Bengal* by Mr. S. C. Mitter, Deputy Director of Industries, Bengal. This advance publication is perhaps intended to be a feeler of public opinion. This is the only constructive plan before us and deserves best consideration, especially as it has been carefully prepared by one who can claim a pretty long official acquaintance with the intricacies of this particular problem and has deep sympathy for the poor cultivators.

"The problem for Jute", Mr. Mitter says, "is two-fold, viz., (1) improving the production side and (2) improving the marketing organization." For the first he suggests (a) 'lowering the cost and producing better jute' and (b) 'regulation of the crop according to the world demand'. 'The price in the world's market and hence the cost of production must be kept low.' So Mr. Mitter suggests 'increasing the yield per acre' but he does not like the increase in the total out-turn. He is of opinion that only such an area as may produce sufficient quantity to meet the present world demand, may be reserved for jute, releasing the rest for other crops. But the question is: What is the total world demand? Mr. Mitter puts it at 90 lacs of bales per annum (50 lacs by Indian Mills and 40 lacs by foreign consumers)." But an agriculturist would not accept Mr. Mitter's figure. Mr. Mitter does not include the domestic consumption which at the modest figure is estimated to be no less than 5 lac bales. It is a known fact that Indian mills or rather European mills in India entered into a pact to restrict their manufacture with a view to having higher price. Again, the crop is denied the privilege of easy and free out-let from the land of its production, while there is already a cry in other lands for suitable substitutes. But that question need not be discussed here. Mr. Mitter does not want the 90 lac bales even. He says that "the normal world production should be at this figure" but in view of the fact that Indian (!) mills have large stock and "can thereby depress prices by running out of market for a considerable time", he is of opinion that "it will be better if in the next season the crop can be reduced by 30 lacs of bales". The total area under jute is estimated to be about 25 lac acres and Mr. Mitter would curtail the existing acreage by 5 lacs in Bengal and 7 in Assam and Bihar and Orissa. But he is anxious that rayats may not suffer and suggests that "districts are to be selected, keeping in view the quality of jute grown there and possibility of substitute crops to be grown and acreage to be withdrawn therefrom is to be fixed. The rayats in these regions are to be told that if they do not sow jute, they will be given Rs. 15 per acre and also facilities will be given to them to grow substitute crops. The acreage in other districts should not be allowed to increase.' Rs. 15 per acre means less than two pies per lb; [Mr. Mitter puts 3·7 bales (1 bale=400 lb.) per acre in the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions]. However small the subsidy may appear, it and the prospective price of substitute crop may appeal to the peasant who has hitherto turned a deaf ear to the counsel of the Congress as well as of the Government. Now, where is the fund for subsidy? Mr. Mitter does not ask the Bengal and Central Governments to pay a single cowrie from the jute export duty that they enjoy—it was Rs. 3,46,66,892 in 1933-34. He proposes two new taxes—Consumption tax and an additional Export tax—and suggests the modest sum of Re. 1 per bale. This is not robbing Paul to pay Peter—it is robbing Peter to pay himself. Mr. Mitter is no believer in the incidence of taxation and ignores the effect these new taxes may have on the price of jute. He is confident that his "restriction scheme will raise the price of jute to about Rs. 5/8 or Rs. 6 in Calcutta". Accepting that Mr. Mitter's hope is realized a cultivator may very well ask: Is Rs. 5/8 in Calcutta quite remunerative? If the price in Calcutta is Rs. 5-8 what harvest price may he expect in a distant village? The harvest price is, as shown in the Minority Report of the Jute Enquiry Committee, always less than Calcutta price by Rs. 50 per ton or nearly Rs. 2/- per maund. Rs. 5-8 minus Rs. 2 stands at Rs. 3-8 only. Thus we see that even at Mr. Mitter's own calculation, his Restriction scheme offers little relief to the jute growers.

Now, to improve the marketing side Mr. Mitter finds four problems to tackle, *viz*, (a) marketing of jute in Mofussil, (b) marketing in Calcutta, (c) marketing in foreign countries and (d) making new uses of jute. As for the first problem the remedies suggested are (i) fixing of standards and introduction of uniform weights throughout the province, (ii) establishment of self-supporting regulated market, (iii) establishment of licensed ware-houses and arrangement for credit facilities, and (iv) establishment of Co-operative Sale Societies. In the absence of any detail programme no discussion on these points is possible. As for marketing in Calcutta a distinction is made between loose jute and pucca

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bales. In the former case Mr. Mitter suggests the reduction of freight rates, specially the steamer rates from Eastern Bengal, extension of insurance facilities to country boat transport and providing storing facilities in the Cossipore Mart. The high freight is a standing grievance but will reduction of freight to the advantage of jute growers be possible before railways and river-ways are nationalized? In case of pucca bales he demands the overhauling of the existing futures market. He suggests the establishment of "futures market with loose jute as basis". He also suggests the substitution of "Home Guarantee" system by "certifying the quality from this side", and would charge a certificate tax of 3 pies per bale. For marketing in foreign countries he advocates the appointment of "special Representatives in the principal foreign countries for propaganda for more extensive use of jute and for keeping India informed about the improvement in the techniques and new uses for the fibres." But Mr. Mitter in his scheme has made provision for only two—one in Hamburg or Antwarp and the other at Genoa—both in Europe. This aspect of the plan should get more attention from the sponsor of the scheme. A world market for jute must be aimed at, for external consumption would help the price and the influx of foreign money through that channel would go a long way in helping the recovery. The propaganda must be wide and intense and calculated to preserve our monopoly in the world. No room must be left for any substitute of jute to crop up anywhere in the world.

Mr. Mitter is willing to leave the problem of finding new uses of jute to his Department of Industries. Success here, we are sure, will help and expedite the recovery of jute more than anything else.

Mr. Mitter proposes the formation of "a Statutory Jute Board which shall be "under the Ministry of Agriculture and Industries, but must be entirely independent of other departments, with the ministry." He puts the cost of the Board per year as follows:

Chairman (Bengal)	at Rs. 2,000	per month	24,000
2 Bengal Members, 1 Assam member, 1 B & O Member	each at „ 1,500	„	72,000
1 Secretary	„ 750	„	9,000
Total salary of all appointments			82,800
Office Staff and miscellaneous			52,920
		Total	2,40,720

But where to find the money to meet the heavy expenditure? Mr. Mitter's Consumption and Export taxes would bring in, for 90 lac bales, Rs. 90 lacs while subsidy at Rs. 15 for 5·7 lac acres amounts to only Rs. 85,50,000. Thus there is a big surplus of Rs. 4,50,000. Add to this Rs. 62,500—the Certificate tax at 3 pies per bale. Then the first surplus is Rs. 5,12,500 while the Board will cost Rs. 2,40,720 only—less than half. Mr. Mitter minimizes the cost of the Board by Rs. 36,000 by asking the Bihar-Orissa and Assam Governments to pay the salary of their members. Mr. Mitter has a soft corner in his heart for the Government of Bengal—he does not ask them to pay for the three Bengal members (including the Chairman, who, Mr. Mitter asserts, shall be a Bengal member). We do not know how these neighbouring governments will appreciate the preferential treatment, when their jute shall be subject to the same Certificate, Consumption and Export taxes to create this fund.

Even after meeting the cost of the Board there shall be a second surplus of Rs. 2,71,780 or even Rs. 3.07,780. Mr. Mitter proposes to utilize thisa mount to organize Co-operative Sale Societies. Sale Societies we have had—and may we ask, with what results?

Mr Mitter expects that "if nothing catastrophic happens in the mean time and there be no further development in the direction of aggressive economic nationalism, after a couple of years increase of the acreage may be possible," and then no subsidy need be paid. Co-operative Sale Societies, 'if run on proper lines', will require no further assistance. The Board will continue to function. The taxes must remain, though at a very reduced rate; even anna one per bale amounts to Rs. 5,60,000. This will allow the Board, after meeting its cost, "a large surplus to expand its activities."

Mr. Mitter's enthusiastic optimism is well reflected in his admirably drawn-up recovery plan. An acceptance of his scheme will, no doubt, confer benefit upon the jute growers but there must be some modifications to it before the scheme can be profitably applied.

BHUPENDRA LAL DUTT

Insurance

AMERICAN INSURANCE IN 1933

America leads the world in insurance, and there is no reason to doubt that she will maintain the lead. This is so, because, to take up adequate insurance is regarded there as a moral obligation, and more than anything else such consciousness on the part of the individuals contributes to the development of insurance. So far as America is concerned one cannot fail to be impressed with the remarkable manner in which life insurance held its own during the years of depression. According to the Reports of the National Industrial Conference Board the depression cost the people of the United States in 1931, 1932 and 1933, $108,000 million, but life insurance companies met their obligations and preserved the integrity of their contracts with practically no assistance from outside. The assets of the companies which were $17,500 million in 1929 increased to $20,900 million in 1933. In addition to the loans granted during

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period of the stress the companies paid approximately $13,000 million to policyholders for death and matured claims, surrendered policies, dividends to policyholders and annuitants. The premium volume aggregated $3,321 million in 1933 and the New Assurance written, revived and increased, amounted to $14,729 million.

Canadian Companies at the end of 1933 had total admitted assets of $1,716 million with assigned and unassigned funds of $127 million. The premium volume was $279 million while the total income aggregated $371 million. Total disbursements amounted to $303 millions, while new insurance written amounted to more than $3 million.

These figures show what an important part insurance has come to play in the modern scheme of things, and its development even in the years of stress and strain is additional evidence of the confidence of the people in its capacity to fulfil its obligations and objectives.

Annuity Business Increases

In recent years the demand for annuities has continually been on the increase, particularly in Great Britain. This is, perhaps, because of the fact that people who so long invested in government papers or stock exchange securities are keen about ridding their investments of the market fluctuations by purchasing annuities abroad which will guarantee good returns and give steady additions to their income. In 1932 the annuity business transacted in the United Kingdom amounted to nearly £16 millions consideration money while fifty years previously the amount was less than £600,000. During the year 1933, the total consideration money paid by clients in the United Kingdom for the purchasing of annuities amounted to £16,747,079, of which the share of the British offices, 54 in number, exceeded £13 millions; the balance was distributed among the three Canadian, two Australian and one South African companies and the Government Postal and National Debt offices. It would be interesting to note in this connection the decennial progress of the Annuity business in Great Britain. In 1913, the total consideration money was £3,092,996, in 1923, it was as low as £3,503,081; but in 1933, only ten years later, it was £15,518,016, exclusive of the Government's share of the business.

Hail Insurance in South Africa

The farmers in the Orange Free State, South Africa, have an excellent organization for insuring their crops against loss or damage through hail. The Scheme was started by a progressive and far-sighted person, himself a farmer, who conceived the idea of organizing the local farmers into a Society so that the pooling of their joint resources and efforts might help to compensate the loss to their crops through hails. Each member of the Society should pay a premium of 3 per cent of the value of the crops insured. If a member's crops are damaged by hail, two other members of the Society are chosen as assessors who visit the farm and estimate the extent of the damage. The crop the farmer eventually reaped was taken into account and the total benefits payable assessed. The Scheme proved so popular that the Society, which had at the end of the first year only 316 members, now enjoys the membership of 3000 farmers, and has paid away £32,000 as compensation. The Society has now extended the scope of its operation over a wider field and the success it has attained is a glowing example of what co-operotion could achieve.

Inequity of Income Taxes

The inequity of the method of assessing income tax on Life offices has once again come for hot discussion in view of the proposed amendment to the existing insurance legislation. In a recent pronouncement Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas asserted that "the levying of Income Tax on the total profits of a life insurance company is inequitable and involves a greater burden on life assurance companies in India than the basis of assessment of life insurance companies in Great Britain and elsewhere" Unfair and unreasonable as the present method is, still more inequitable is the fact that life assurance companies are called upon to bear super-tax, "which, in principle, should be a tax on the income of the individual only as has been recognized in Great Britain, but which principle is not, for reasons not so far clear, recognized by the taxing authorities in this country." It is a simple fact that a portion of the profits of the life offices which is distributed as bonus to policyholders, represents simply a return to the participating policyholders on the increased premiums they have paid in order to have the privilege of sharing in the profits of the Company. The assessment, therefore, on the total profits or actuarial surplus, is obviously unfair. In Great Britain, total Interest Income less Expenses forms the basis of assessment, and in computation of the profits such portion of the profits as belong to, or are allocated to, or reserved for, or expended on behalf of, policyholders and annuitants should be excluded. This is quite a fair and understandable basis, and we join with Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas when he seeks to impress upon the Government "the imperative necessity of their removing, within the least possible time, the burden on Indian Insurance companies of Income and Super tax assessed on the present basis, an amendment of which would encourage, instead of handicapping, the swifter progress of India towards larger investments in life insurance policies."

M. G.

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PRINCIPLES OF INDIAN ART

Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, late Superintendent of the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, delivered a lecture on the Principles of Indian Art in the Indian Sculptures Room at the British Museum, London, on Friday, the 24th August, at 3 P. M. Among those present were, Dr. L. D. Barnet and John Allan, and Messrs. Wilkinson and Basil Gray of the British Museum, Mr. Campbell, Keeper of the Indian Section of the South Kensington Museum, and Mr. Richter, Honorary Secretary of the India Society. In course of his lecture Mr. Chanda said :

He used the term Indian art in a restricted sense, to denote figure art, and, particularly, images of the Buddhas and the Jinas, and of gods and goddesses both Brahmanic and Buddhistic.

The history of Indian art, as distinguished from its pre-history in the Indus Valley, began from the third century B. C. Though many of the reliefs carved on the Buddist monuments of the Sunga period dating from the second and the first centuries B. C., were concerned with the narration of events that happened in the life of Gautama Buddha, the figure of the Buddha was conspicuous by its absence.

The carving of the figures of the Buddhas and of the Jinas began at Mathura about the beginning of the Christian era.

Beauty Of Human Form

The continuous history of the image-maker's art in India, starting from about the beginning of the Christian era, ran an uninterrupted course for nearly 1,300 years in Northern India. Though the style and merit of the works produced in different epochs in different areas during this long period varied considerably, the guiding principles were the same all along. The first of these principles was bound up with the Hindu conception of the beauty of the human form. Hindus recognized auspicious signs as marks of physical beauty and moral excellence. Varaha-mihira writes :

प्रायो विकम्पासु भवति दोषा ।
यत्राकृति स्तत्र गुणा वसन्ति ॥

"Generally speaking, vices will be found with the ugly, whereas the virtues reside in one who has handsome appearance."

Auspicious signs characterize prettiness, like the signs of the Mahapurusha.

This astrological conception of the beautiful prevented Indian artists from deriving fresh inspiration from nature, and tended to render their figure sculptures conventional.

Expression Of Meditation

The other principle followed by the Indian image-makers was that the *face*, not only of the saints, the Buddhas and the Jinas, but in Northern India, also of most of the Brahmanic and Mahayana Buddhist gods and goddesses, should express absorption in dispassionate meditation. In the images of the Buddhas and the Jinas, the expression of meditation indicated the possession of supreme knowledge and in the Brahmanic gods and goddesses, it marked the divine essence, omni-science. But the expression of meditation and concentration in the face did not hormonize with even the mildest of actions, such as the Buddha preaching to his disciples or taming a wild elephant, to say nothing of the activities of the gods and goddesses. It thus neutralized an important artistic feature, namely, the freedom of movement of the limbs.

Decorative Relief

The third guiding principle of Indian figure sculpture was the adherence to the tradition of decorative relief. Almost all Indian images, even cult images intended for installation in temples, were in relief. Ancient Indian temples were dark inside, and images in relief were intended mainly to decorate their outer walls. Sculptors engaged in carving such images could hardly be expected to keep in view the production of figures that would produce the impression of massiveness or of three dimensions. There were a considerable number of images in relief that produced such an impression, and appeared to be swelling outwards from within.

The lecture was followed by demonstration.

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NOTES

...te Expenditure on Education in ...y Provinces

In the article on facilities for higher ...ation in India, published in this issue, it ...been shown that the total expenditure on ...ation from public funds in the whole of ...sh India is smaller than the educational ...nditure of the London County Council. ...llows that the Government contribution ... educational expenditure in any of ... Provinces of British India is ... much less than the London ...ty Council's educational expenditure. ...t the Government spends on education in ... Provinces is shown in the tabular statement ...ced below. The figures have been taken ...m the the report on *Progress of Education ...dia 1927-32*, by Sir George Anderson, ...ational Commissioner with the Govern... of India. The expenditure and the ...ber of pupils in recognized institutions ...n, is in all cases for the year 1931-32.

...nce.	Population.	Pupils.	Govt. Expenditure.
...dras	46,740,107	2,877,504	2,55,71,715
...mbay	21,854,866	1,300,648	1,90,01,654
...gal	50,114,002	2,720,061	1,44,50,039
...P.	48,408,763	1,457,997	2,17,97,033
...jab	23,580,852	1,200,600	1,64,92,681
...ma	14,667,146	525,013	94,26,839
...& O.	37,677,859	1,038,634	55,67,823
...P. & B.	15,507,723	450,494	47,62,227
...am	8,622,251	348,306	28,82,606
...W. F.	2,425,076	83,918	18,64,011

...The total amounts of fees paid by the ...s are:

...dras	97,41,940		
...mbay	81,17,530	Burma	40,50,873
...gal	1,80,02,579	B. & O.	40,60,560
...P.	67,57,617	C. P. & B.	17,54,857
...jab	72,15,027	Assam	8,33,949
		N.-W. F.	2,62,119

...Asinine Affair—*Is It True?*

...*Kaif's Weekly*, Delhi, dated the 17th ...ember, 1934, has published the following ...graphs:

There are penalties one has to pay for loving another. One such penalty was paid by the mighty Government of the Punjab at the altar of Muslim sentiment. It is not a fairy tale; it is the considered action of His Excellency the Governor-in-Council of the Punjab that is related.

Yes, has he not heard it? And then the aged Muslim shook his head. Things have come to such a pass that the British Raj, reputed to love and favour Muslims,—one *Lat Saheb* had actually called them his "favourite wife"—had deliberately named a donkey, working in the stud farm, as "Ahmad."

And this deliberate outrage to Muslim sentiment was passed from lip to lip. To call a donkey "Ahmad"! And that by the British Raj who—

And then came the inevitable martyr on the scene. A boy walked up with a dagger, swearing that he shall kill the man who christened the donkey "Ahmad."

Newspapers, of course, carried on the crusade, not against the Kashmir State or the Alwar State, but against the mighty British Raj in India.

Things were beginning to wear an ugly look, when the high officers hastily sat in conclave and deliberated.

II

A donkey shook the British Empire in India to its very foundations—that was the fact. Even, as in Ramayan, a washerman's words sent Maharani Sita to exile.

The Muslims had to be convinced that the donkey was not named "Ahmad" but "Ahmak," meaning a fool.

That would not do—it was adding insult to injury. The Muslims are not "Ahmak" enough to swallow this theory of "Ahmad" being mistaken for "Ahmak," They have ear-witnesses—people who had heard the outrage pronounced within their hearing—Oh Allah that it should come to this—of the donkey being called "Ahmad."

And so the Mighty Government of the Punjab set down and wrote the press communique that the donkey shall hereafter be called "Bahadur" and not "Ahmak."

And the press published it, and the might of the Muslims was acknowledged, and once again peace is reigning—and there is yet a chance of the White Paper not being opposed in this quarter.

Who laughs that on such foundations is British Raj in India reared in India! He does not know. This is the responsiveness to public opinion.

Every time "Bahadur" brays, it will do the Indian heart good, as proof of Government's responsiveness to public opinion.

It is lucky that the now far-famed Ass, if not fictitious, has been named simply

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"Bahadur," not with the words D—, K—, R—, R—, or S—, prefixed to it. Else there might have been greater trouble or hubbub.

"Has Italy Prospered under Fascism ?"

Under the above caption *World Events* of June 15th, 1934, edited by Mr. Devere Allen, has published the following paragraphs :

We present herewith a number of important facts which any investigator of Fascism will have to take into account. They are compiled from several sources: "Current History" for June, 1934; press releases from the British Labor Party; the "Daily Herald," London; reports from the International Labor Organization, Geneva; the last annual report, summarized in "The New Statesman," London, from the Commercial Adviser at the British Embassy in Rome; "The New Republic," May 16, 1934; "The New Leader," London, March 23, 1934; and data gathered in Italy, in 1931, by the editor of WORLD EVENTS.

These figures cannot be dismissed merely by asserting that every country has suffered an economic decline: a fair examination will not detract appreciably from the evidences that Italy, contrary to the boasts of Fascist leaders, has experienced severe losses, and that her people have seen worse conditions than those of many non-Fascist lands.

Then follow the facts and figures.

Economic security has disappeared. The monthly average of bankruptcies in 1922, the last year of non-Fascist rule, was 321; in 1928, after six years of Fascism, it was 970; in 1932, after ten years of Fascism, it was 2,003—more than six times that of 1922. In 1932, there were more than five times as many bankruptcies in Italy as in Britain. The total of bankruptcies in 1921 was 1,896; in 1933, 21,308.

The number of unpaid promissory notes in 1922 was 306,703; by 1931 the number had grown to 1,663,716. In 1923 the number of passengers carried on Italian railroads was 100,145,000; in spite of the electrification of 720 miles of railways since 1925, the number of passengers by 1932 had dropped to 80,272,000, a fall of 20 per cent. Goods carried on railroads decreased, at a time when new funds were being spent on public works to raise business morale, from 44,540,000 tons in 1932 to 36,970,000 tons in 1933. In 1922, the forced sales of property for non-payment of taxes numbered 1,357; in 1931, the number was 8,190.

The following paragraph relates to budgets :

In the 1932-33 budget 600,000,000 lire were allowed for armaments; 1,600,000,000 lire less than in the budget for 1931-32 was allocated to public works. Taxation has increased 50 per cent. since Fascism came to power. Mussolini has made much of the manner in which he wiped out the budgetary deficits of the immediate post-war years, 1920-21 and 1921-22, which were, respectively, 17,400,000,000 and 15,700,000,000 lire; but under the impact of the new depression, deficits began to accumulate, and that for the year 1933-34 will be about 8,000,000,000 lire. The long-term debt has risen from 84,800,000,000 lire in 1928 to 92,700,000,000 lire at the end of February, 1934; the floating debt, amounting in 1928 to 1,618,000,000 lire, stood at 9,874,000,000 lire in February, 1934. The total public debt amounts to 98,029,000,000 lire, not far from a quarter of the entire private wealth of the country.

The figures given below indicate declining prosperity.

Crimes against property have increased from 256,393 in 1931 to 304,909 in 1932, the increase arising from petty thefts, mainly for food. Deaths among babies on account of immaturity and defects at birth rose from 2,933 in 1926 to 4,340 in 1931, an increase of 48 per cent. The consumption of sugar has fallen from 3,470,000 quintals in 1927 to 2,995,000 in 1932, thus giving an annual use of sugar per head of about 15 pounds as against 98 pounds in Great Britain. Use of table salt has fallen off from 295,000 tons in 1927 to 178,000 tons in 1932. Coal consumption in 1932 was 5,800,000 tons less than in 1929.

The concluding paragraph strengthens the same impression.

Salaries and wages have been reduced again and again, until today they stand at 35 to 50 per cent below the rates for 1921; the wages of 183,000 rice pickers, for example, were cut in 1931 by an arbitrary decree from 72 to 55 cents, American money, for a day. However, the index figure for the cost of living has fallen only 15.73 per cent since 1927, thus indicating a vastly decreased standard of living and purchasing power. Comparing Italy with Britain, Italian wages dropped 14 index points between 1928 and 1933, while British wages rose 15 points. Economic nationalism led to a wheat drive which increased the annual average produced from about 201,850,000 bushels to over 293,600,000 bushels in 1933; yet inability on the part of the impoverished masses to buy food caused national wheat consumption to drop from 293,600,000 bushels for the year ending July 31, 1929 to about 220,000,000 at present, leaving an unused surplus which the government has been trying to sell abroad.

World Events is an American leaflet issued on the first and fifteenth of each month from October to June. It is published by Nofrontier News Service, Wilton, Conn., U. S. A. The publishers call it "A Pocket Periodical for Students of International Affairs." If its October number reaches us, we shall be able to know whether Signor Mussolini or his followers have said anything to controvert the facts published in this American leaflet. Similar statements in relation to other countries under dictators should be published.

Liferacy in Russia

The article on the Russian experiment published in this issue contains some facts relating to the progress of literacy in that

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...ge state. Some later figures are available ... a book called "The State of the Soviet ...on," published this year by the International ...lishers of New York. Some of these are ...ven below from page 56 of that book :

In the sphere of the cultural development of the country in the period under review we have the following:

(a) The introduction throughout the U. S. S. R. of universal compulsory elementary education and an increase of literacy among the population from 67 per cent at the end of 1930 to 90 per cent at the end of 1933.

(b) An increase in the number attending schools of all grades from 14,358,000 in 1929 to 26,419,000 in 1933.....

(c) An increase in the number of children receiving pre-school education from 838,000 in 1929 to 3,917,000 in 1933.

(h) An increase in the circulation of newspapers from 12,500,000 in 1929 to 36,500,000 in 1933.

Principal Das Gupta on Sanskrit Education

It was an important address which Principal Surendranath Das Gupta, Secretary, Bengal Sanskrit Association, delivered at the convocation of that Association. In the course of the speech he contrasted the dreary prospects of the *pandits* (those who acquire Sanskrit learning in the *tols* or indigenous Sanskrit seminaries) with those of even ordinary graduates (he might have added 'even of ordinary undergraduates') of universities. Yet Sanskrit learning can be made the instrument of as liberal a culture as the study of Greek and Latin. Said Dr. Das Gupta :

But not all pandits trained in the indigenous methods can be expected to acquire high scholarship or to live up to the ancient ideals of life. It was never the case even in the golden days of the past. The ordinary graduate of the University is but a ghostly shadow of Western learning and Western spirit. But still he has all avenues open to him through all stages of our social and economical life. If he can prove his abilities he can occupy the highest station of life in society. But even the pandit with the highest scholarship has no avenues open to him and he has to bear his life more or less as a burden to the society living on the charity of others or at best occupying a lectureship in the Calcutta Sanskrit College. It is pitiable to imagine that thousands of our countrymen should have their destinies closed up for them for ever. We hear of the great encomiums paid regarding the study of Greek and Latin, of their great liberalizing influences, of their humanizing tendencies, but are they not true to the same extent, if not more, of the study of Sanskrit? Yet, while a classics man in Oxford can easily push his career forward up to the Prime Ministership, the pandits, even the most learned of them, live in a world which is walled up on all sides. It is said that Sanskrit is not modern and its teachings are often in conflict with those of modern science. But is Aristotle or Plato modern? Did not Aristotle think that the sun moves round the earth and was not Galelio put into a cage for contradicting Aristole? He who is modern today becomes ancient tomorrow. Even Newton has been largely displaced by Einstein, Heisenberg, and Schrodinger. The British people know how they can best utilize the liberalizing spirit of the ancient classics and supplement it with such modern studies in their own vernacular by which the freed spirit might work effectively under modern conditions. It is well worth thinking in what way we can do the same in regard to the study of Sanskrit.

Dr. Das Gupta has suggested how the usefulness of the *pandits* can be increased and their prospects bettered.

Taking into account the extreme poverty of the people of India it is difficult to imagine that even in some distant future Government would be able to provide for a sound good English education to all people (assuming that it was so desirable). We have in the tols a system of education which is in principle very sound as it involves a direct and personal contact between the teacher and the pupils all along their course of studies—a system in which the teacher and the taught are bound together by ties of affection which is the very sap which feeds and nourishes the sprout of the growing soul. If in addition to these, some arrangements can be made with the aid of high schools in villages (where one or two special teachers may be maintained for the purpose) by Government aid, for giving some instructions in modern subjects such as History, Geography, the four elementary rules in Arithmetic and just a little elementary knowledge in English composition these students will be fit for all the ordinary vocations in life, and the Government will achieve its end of giving a fairly liberal education at the minimum expense. Such students when they will grow into manhood, will be able to take their due part in society and if they have any special ability then they will be able to distinguish themselves in any career of life. If the doors are kept open those who have strength and vitality would come out in the light and take their rightful position.

Dr. Sir P. C. Ray is not the only Don who has a poor opinion of the University Hall-mark as such. Dr. Das Gupta says :

The University Hall-mark is an appendage to the mediocre and we have instances of people who have taken the Nobel Prize or have become the first citizen of Calcutta without any University degree. I beg most humbly to urge for the kind consideration of the Hon'ble Minister of Education who represents the Educational conscience of the country whether it is proper to keep a system of education the *alumni* of which should be practically cut out from the society should not have the throbbings of the social mind pulsating through their veins and who even after a study of 20-25 years should be left without any career to chalk out for themselves. When there is a great flood, great epidemic or an earthquake, the tol students hardly enlist themselves as volunteers. They live in the past within the Sutras of Panini, Vadarayana or Gautama. They have not

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been so trained that they can feel themselves as one with their fellow-brethren. But that is not their fault. In thus isolating them we not only deprive them of the vitality, strength, enthusiasm and the current of life that flows through society, but we also deprive ourselves of the help of which we are in so much need. So long as they will remain thus cut out from society and will be requisitioned only for a marriage ceremony, *sradh* or a *svastayana*, they can never be encouraged into developing within them, the traditional virtues of Sanskritic culture, the old ideals of selflessness and beneficence with which the Orient once stood resplendent and the stabilising inward influence of which may still be sought for not only in India but also among the struggling nations of the West.

In the Government of Bengal's *Report on Public Instruction in Bengal* for the year 1932-33, page 86, we find that some *tols* are classed in General Table I as Primary Schools and some as Special Schools. So we thought more *tols* could be started as primary schools and aid could be applied for from the Government, District Boards and Municipalities. But it appears that the Calcutta Municipatity has distinguished primary education from *tol* education—on what grounds we do not know. Dr. Das Gupta writes :

> The Education Commission in their report, published in the "India Gazette" of the 23rd Octobber, 1884, by the Government of India, recommended in chapter 13, paragraph 675, that all indigenous schools established or conducted by natives of India by native methods should be recognized and encouraged, if they have any purpose of secular education whatsoever and in the Government resolution, dated the 23rd October, 1884, paragraph 8, in accordance with this part of the report, it was held that steps should be taken for the encouragement of the Sanskrit tols. It may incidentally be mentioned that the Corporation of Calcutta in their new interpretation of primary education has distinguished it from tol education which is against the findings of this Education Commission and the Government resolution based on it which regarded tols as seminaries of primary education also. In accordance with the Sastras the first teaching of a Brahmin lad should be through Sanskrit and Sanskrit must therefore have to be regarded as a medium of primary education whatever may be meant by it. If the age restriction stands in the way that ought to be amended.

If the Calcutta Corporation or any other body cannot help the *tols* as primary schools, they can and ought to help them as special schools. The *tols* must be preserved—not as relics of the past, as historical specimens, but as educational institutions which can still play an important part in the educational and cultural advancement of the country.

It may be noted in passing that Dr. Kumarappa has written an instructive article, dealing among other topics with the cultural value of Sanskrit for Indians, in *The Aryan Path* for September, extracts from which will be found in our Indian Periodicals section. For Bengalis the study of Sanskrit is essentially necessary, as the Bengali language depends largely on Sanskrit for the progressive enrichment of its vocabulary necessitated by the progress of knowledge in all directions.

"An Annual Income of At Least 5000 Dollars for Every Family"

We have received from America a request to become a subscriber to *Common Sense*, a monthly magazine which is described partly as follows :

> *Common Sense* is a militant monthly magazine which believes that the profit system has outlived its usefulness, that an economy of scarcity in an age of superabundance is a contradiction that demands an answer, that an annual income of at least $5,000 can and should be assured to every family (the present miserable average being about $1,200).

An American dollar is roughly equivalent to three rupees. We shall gladly subscribe for several copies of this American magazine, if it can tell us how every family *in India* can be assured the "miserable average" annual income of about Rs. 3600, or Rs. 300 per mensem. How standards of living differ in America and India !

Up-to-date-ness of Year-books

Many, if not all, Year-books claim to be up-to-date. For instance, *The Indian Year Book* of Bombay claims in effect in the preface to the current year's issue to have produced it with 'up-to-date statistics.' We hope all its statistics are up-to-date—we have not examined them yet. But the other day we happened casually to turn over the pages devoted in it to the Press. We found there the names of many newspapers which have long ceased to be published. *The Indian Mirror* stopped publication some decades ago, *The Hindu Patriot* died many years ago, *Liberty* ditto, the weekly *Englishman* no longer exists (the daily edition was discontinued some years ago), and so on. Among existing journals, *Prabasi*, *The Modern Review*, *Bharatvarsa*, *Tattwabodhini Patrika*, *Bichitra*, *Desh*, &c., are not mentioned. A-

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regards the "Who's who in India" section, dead men find a place there and their addresses when living are given—perhaps because their present addresses are unknown and unknowable. Many well-known men, who are very much alive, too, are not mentioned—perhaps because one object of this section is to drag into light various persons whose light is hidden under a bushel and to make them as famous as the really famous men whom the section could not manage to ignore.

The Statesman's Year-book for 1934 says that "every section has been thoroughly revised so as to bring the information and the figures completely up-to-date." But the latest year for which statistics relating to municipalities and district and local boards in India are given is 1930-31. The latest year for which statistics relating to Indian newspapers and periodicals are given is the same. For Bengal the educational statistics given are for the year 1926-27, which is up-to-date-ness with a vengeance! Finance statistics of Bengal are slightly more modern, being for 1927-28. These are followed by a paragraph devoted to Production and Industry in Bengal, in which statistics for 1926 and 1926-27 are given! Figures about literacy have been given for Bihar and Orissa, but not for Assam, Bengal, Bombay, Burma, C. P. and Berar, Madras, Panjab, and U. P. This Year-book states what portion of the educational expenditure was contributed by the Government in Bombay, Madras, Panjab, and U. P.; but no such information is given as regards Assam, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Burma, and Central Provinces and Berar. But enough.

Sir Henry Lawrence on India

Sir Henry Lawrence is a conservative, and was Commissioner of Sind and Acting Governor of Bombay. He is the grandson of the oldest of the three renowned Lawrences of the Panjab, George, Henry and John. Mr. Edward Thompson, fiction-writer, poet and historian, has contributed to the *Observer* an article on Sir Henry's speech to the Indian Parliamentary Committee of the Conservative Party in the House of Commons, which has been reproduced in *The Indo-Malayan Review*. In his speech, according to Mr. Edward Thompson,

> Sir Henry took up the Nationalist's allegation that the material progress India has made under British rule "would have been made under any other tutelage of India, by any other European nation, or by Japan ....that it would have been carried out by any Indian ruler under the influence of the spirit of economic progress which has marked the development of all parts of the world throughout the nineteenth century."
>
> He gets to grips with the controversy at once, saying, "in this clash of opinion I hold that the truth lies far more with your Indian critics than with your spokesmen in Parliament."

Proceeding, Mr. Thompson writes:

> Then he brings out the way the whole Indian controversy is overrun with cant. Take, for example, a difficulty of which we hear so much, the corruption of Indian public men. He asks "those who proclaim their disbelief in the ability, the integrity, and the courage of Indian politicians to examine the state of affairs which we see before our eyes in the different countries of Europe....And if we turn our eyes to the United States of America is the case different?"
>
> A moment's reflection on what is matter of notorious knowledge—or else the papers of the whole world are lying all the time!—should make us hesitate before seriously affirming that Indian public virtue is so exceptionally low that self-government is out of the question!

This is *some* admission.

We are told in the *Observer* article that Sir Henry Lawrence "is not one of those who use the 'helpless riot' as a reason for obstruction; but he feels deeply for him, and he wants him to be helped.

> He presses for two main changes in the White paper. The first relates to the proposed divisions of India. The present plan is all towards the increase of Provinces. He, however, protests against "the Balkanization of India," and would have the ten existing great Provinces reduced, by the absorption of such "superfluous" provinces as the Central Provinces, whose disappearance would bring about "the reunion of the Mahratta people under Bombay ...a political asset of the greatest value to the stability of the country. It has been denied in the past, on grounds now obsolete."
>
> Here at any rate, I am sure he is urging that we do now what the future will achieve in any case. The Mahrattas are a great people, whom our historians have treated scurvily, causing a prejudice which is still hiding their immense importance. Sir Henry's reduction of the number of provinces is based largely on the fact that Indian Government has grown increasingly top-heavy; the country cannot bear the burden of so many States as are proposed.

We are not in the least opposed to "the reunion of the Mahratta people" or to that of any other people. But we are not aware why Sir Henry has not advocated the re-union of

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the Bengali people under the administrative province of Bengal. The Bengalis do not claim to be a great people. But just as the splitting up of the Mahratta people has added to the cost of administration, so has that of the Bengali people. Moreover, those who know and believe that a, if not the, main cause of terrorism in Bengal is political, also know that that political cause was directly and indirectly connected with the partition, and re-partition of Bengal and the Bengalis. The aetiology of terrorism should not be mistaken for a justification of terrorism. It is not justifiable. What we mean is that, if political discontent produced a favourable atmosphere for terrorism, political contentment should destroy that atmosphere, and, therefore, everything should be done to produce political contentment.

We are for the reduction of the present number of provinces—certainly not for their increase, except in the case of Orissa.

The second safeguard for the Indian masses suggested by Sir Henry Lawrence is

> to give them an immensely wider franchise than any authority now proposes, wielded through methods of indirect election. He argues that the 700,000 villages of India
>
> "are full of decent, hard-working men and women, who compare favourably in character and intelligence with the villagers of any country in the world. Illiteracy is no proof of the absence of experience or wisdom, just as the converse proposition is not necessarily true."
>
> The widening of the franchise, as now proposed, is to be "based on a property qualification at a time when in this country we have discarded that qualification." He goes into details of what he holds to be a better scheme.

Turkish Overseas Trade Department

A correspondent writes to us from Ankara, generally written Angora, that a new official body, connected with the Ministry of National Economy has been recently established in Ankara under the name of "Turkofois" or Turkish Overseas Trade Department. He adds:

"This department, whose most important task is the furtherance of the commercial relations between Turkey and the other countries, already possesses branch offices over here and intends to establish others, later on, in this country as well as abroad, to serve as a link of connection between Turkish and foreign firms, supplying both with any required economic and commercial information.

"Desirous of giving interested parties the opportunity of keeping constantly informed on the conjuncture in this country and abroad, the Turkofois has opened reading halls in Ankara as well as in its branch offices, which it wishes to provide, especially, with extensive foreign literature, such as commercial and economic periodicals, statistics, trade directories and Year Books."

Czechoslovak India Society

Professor Lesney, the Indologist, who is president of the India Society at Prague, there called Praha, the capital of Czechoslovakia, writes to us: "We shall do our best to cultivate and promote cultural and economic relations between India and Czechoslovakia. The reading of your periodicals, *The Modern Review* and *Prabasi* will also greatly serve the purpose." Dr. Lesney knows Bengali and has translated some of Rabindranath Tagore's works into Czech. We were present at Prague when he welcomed the Poet there in a Bengali speech.

Another correspondent writes to us from Prague that "Professor Lesney is greatly helpful in advancing the cause of India here in all ways possible. The India Society is doing good work in an unostentatious way. Work of loud noisy nature not rarely has no deep basis and often causes reaction from various sides that hinder and harass constructive activities . . . It is valuable to have the co-operation of persons whose interest is based on deeper contacts and estimates. And in this we have good openings here . . . Professor Lesney informs me that the Society has already 100 regular members. There are schemes to extend opportunities for Indian students here. There is also a plan to open a special Overseas Department at the Czech Technical University especially for Indians, Chinese and Persians, where courses will be held in English, German and French. By this arrangement Indian students will lose no time and can at the same time learn Czech. It is valuable that they should learn more foreign languages."

China and Olympic Games

Olympic Games-News Service of Berlin writes:

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The Kuo Min News-Agency announces from Nanking that the Physical Education Committee of the Ministry of Education of the Central Government has decided that China shall take part in the Olympic Games at Berlin in 1936. The National Amateur Athletic Federation has been entrusted with the task of making the necessary preparations. China's first appearance in the modern Olympic Games was in 1932 at Los Angeles, where the sprinter Cheg Chun Liu represented his 400 million fellow-countrymen. Undoubtedly Berlin will be able to welcome a larger Chinese representation in 1936. When the Japanese first competed in the Olympic Games at Stockholm in 1912, they had only two representatives—a sprinter and a Marathon runner —and failed then to achieve success; but twenty years later, at Los Angeles, they were one of the half dozen most successful nations. Conditions amongst the Chinese and Japanese are too varied to permit the drawing of any sensational conclusions as to China's future in the Olympic Games.

Physical Training and Games in China

From the same German news-service we learn:

Physical training in China has a history which dates back before the Christian era, and around the year 1000 A. D. the Chinese were already playing a form of golf, football and polo, of which pictures still exist. Their own form of boxing and gymnastics have lasted throughout the centuries until today, even if the western world knows as little of them as it does of China's learning and of her ancient cultural possessions. It is clear that an attempt is being made to link up with these old traditions, and in accordance with a further recent decision of the Physical Education Committee the school authorities in Peiping, Tsingtao, Hankow, Nanking, Shanghai, Canton and other cities are to be asked to introduce experimental training courses in Chinese boxing.

As regards modern times, it is stated:

Sports and games of a western character began to make their way in China about the commencement of the present century. In recent years several modernly trained gymnastic and athletic instructors, graduates of the German College of Physical Education, have been attached to Chinese schools and universities. No form of European and American sport is any longer unknown in China. Football is especially popular, and China's most important successes in sport have been gained against Japan and the Philippines in connection with the biennial Far Eastern Games, and in these contests at Manila in the spring of this year. If a football tournament is held in connection with the Olympic Games at Berlin, it will be very interesting to compare the Chinese method of play with that of the other nations. Even though the organization of physical training amongst the masses of China's population still has many obstacles to overcome, yet the decision to participate in the Olympic Games combined with the other activities of the Chinese Committee—the question of the organization of gymnastics in the schools as well as the problem of constructing play grounds are being especially attacked—clearly show the strides which national fitness through physical training is making in China.

Much otherwise unavailable information relating to the Far Eastern Games Association, referred to above, will be found in Professor Dhirendra Nath Roy's article on that topic, printed in our present issue.

Withdrawal of American Control from Haiti

August 15 last was set as the date for the embarkation of the last United States marines to leave Haiti after having the situation more or less in hand for nineteen years. Most probably the transfer of authority and the evacuation were completed on that date. *The Christian Century*, said to be the foremost religious journal of America, writes:

> It was a benevolent blunder to assume authority and place American troops in the island under the treaty of 1915. The benevolence of the policy has been doubted, especially when it was charged that American bankers had forced loans upon the Haitian government to their own profit. However, the debt of Haiti has been greatly reduced during the period and its credit much improved. Certain practical advantages have followed from the occupation of the island and the administration of its finances under the treaty of 1915, but at the cost of much resentment and suspicion. The date of the withdrawal of American control was advanced by two years under a treaty negotiated by the Hoover administration in 1932. This is one Hoover policy which was heartily approved and promptly carried out under his successor. The experience will not have been wasted if it has taught us the folly of military occupation of a small neighbouring country as a means of grace. Nothing in our occupation of Haiti became us like the leaving of it.

As it is not usual for imperialists to voluntarily withdraw even from an inch of ground once occupied, this withdrawal of America from Haiti is a notable event. The future withdrawal of U. S. A. from the Philippines, when it takes place, will be a still more remarkable and welcome event.

"The World Tomorrow" Suspends Publication

The World Tomorrow, an American periodical which waged a brave battle for its ideals for 17 years, has ceased to appear and has become united with the *Christian Century*. And this in spite of the fact that it had a subscription list of nearly ten thousand names.

In India ten thousand paying subscribers would be a fortune to most newspapers and periodicals.

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"Expanding Universe"

Science Service of Washington, U. S. A., is an institution for the popularization of science, organized in 1921, with trustees nominated by the National Academy of Sciences, the National Research Council, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the E. W. Scripts estate and the journalistic profession. In its Mail Report, dated July 6, 1934, it gives the following scientific news, under the caption, "Light changing into Electricity may have started Expanding Universe":

> The primordial act which started the expanding universe on its supposed soap-bubble expansion may have been the changing of light into electricity. This is the report of Prof. A. C. Banerji of the University of Allahabad to the British Science journal, *Nature*.
>
> The basis for his belief is the known fact that a unit of light radiation—the photon—may break up into two particles of electricity—a positron and an electron having opposite electrical charge—if it is strong enough.
>
> The universe began to expand; its parts began to move away from one another, when the gravitational attraction between the parts became less. In a world composed of matter and radiation the attractive force is the joint result of the two. But mass for mass radiation exerts more gravitational pull than does matter.
>
> According to Prof. A. C. Banerji's theory if radiation is converted into the particles of electricity the result will be less attraction by gravity. Hence the universe would begin expanding and continue to do so as long as light turns into positive and negative electrons.
>
> The Indian physicist believes that the end of the universe as predicated by Sir James Jeans, due to all the matter in it dissolving away into radiation, may not happen because the reverse effect—the materialization of radiation— is possible.

We have seen Professor Banerji's article in *Nature*. As it is too technical for the general reader, no part of it is reproduced here.

A Call to Scholars, Scientists, and Educators

A letter was sent more than a month ago to a number of scholars, scientists, and educators inviting them to a conference against the fascization of learning, to have been held at London during September, 1934. It bore the signatures of Sir Basil Blackett, Harold J. Laski, J. B. S. Haldane, Hyman Levy, Julian Huxley, Baron Ernest Rutherford, Albert Langier, Paul Langevin, Paul Rivet, Jean Perrin, Lucien Levy-Bruhl, Marcel Prenant, Henri Wallon, and Joseph Hecht. In spite of its length it is printed below, because of its importance. We do not yet know whether the proposed Conference was held, nor, if held, what were its proceedings.

Sir: with increasing concern we have observed that, as a result of the political development in many countries, the freedom of science has been threatened or entirely destroyed. We have seen how scientific investigations have been suppressed, or their results falsified, in order to make them serviceable to the dominant political doctrine. We have seen, for instance in Germany, how doctrines unsubstantiated by science or entirely discredited by it have been elevated to the rank of scientific knowledge through pressure from the state, if these doctrines appeared useful for political aims.

We have verified the fact that in various countries science is subordinated almost entirely to the need of war industry and to the propagation of a chauvinistic ideology. From the last war we have learned the devastating effect of a war period on scientific research, and we are convinced that at present the very threat of a war danger hampers free scientific investigation and reduces it to the function of slave to war industry.

We know that in fascist countries many highly respected scholars have been driven from the scene of their activity or have voluntarily quitted their homes, because they refused to sacrifice their learning to the violent demands of the totalitarian state.

In many countries we behold the organization and growth of political powers making such unlimited claims that beside them there would be no place for intellectual independence. Especially the events in Germany have evoked our most profound concern for the perpetuation of the freedom of science.

In that country the exact sciences have been openly degraded to jobbing for war industries. During the education of young physicists and chemists much time is devoted to lectures and practical exercises in "defensive science": gas protection, air protection, study of explosives, war intelligence service, which have no relation to the scientific significance of this field. Moreover, only such investigations are favoured as are likely to bring about a direct technical advance, and are therefore grateful to the state's interests in "economic and technical predominance throughout the world."

[National socialism is not unscientific, but only hostile to theories.—*Dr. Rust, Reichsminister for Science, Education and Popular Instruction, in a speech at the Physical and Technical Reichsamstalt, June 27, 1934.*]

All branches of physics which cannot be made to serve political and economic imperialism are therefore hampered and restricted. Studies which have contributed essentially to the broadening of our concept of the physical universe are thrust aside openly as vain and fruitless intellectualism.

In biology and medicine there rules the same principle of brutal subordination to political aims. Verified scientific knowledge concerning heredity and race is cast aside. In its place appear new doctrines, unverified by honest research, but maintained to support a political doctrine and designed for the annihilation of hundreds of thousands of

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existences. In order to propagate and establish these new doctrines (ethnology, hereditary pathology, the question of sterilization, marital legislation), "chairs of instruction" were founded and "textbooks" were written; but the scientific preparation of the instructors and authors consisted merely in willingness to recognize the wishes of the totalitarian state and to clothe them in pseudo-scientific dress.

In practical medicine, the most exalted task of the physician—to place his knowledge and ability at the disposal of his patient, regardless who it might be—is now limited. In accordance with the National Socialist belief that it is senseless to help the weak at the expense of the biologically strong, social hygiene is now shorn of all justification. Quacks are placed side by side with experienced physicians in many fields, and colleges are forced to establish chairs of "nature-healing." The gates are open to superstition and deceit.

The eternal principles of human rights have been banished from the halls of philosophical instruction. The works of the greatest philosophers have been handed over to small spirits who, under political direction, sift them through and promulgate them now in falsified form.

[From now on, philosophy and science must be reoriented in the spirit of the S.A. and the S.S.—*Dr. Rust, at the Congress of Philosophers in Halle.*]

Historical research is completely obedient to the current political demands. This is not only true of questions of recent times. Regardless of historical truth, prehistorical and ancient times are so presented as to support the thesis of superiority of the nation concerned, and the inferiority of all others. Under the protection of the political power, sources are frequently falsified and their acceptance assured by the suppression of all scientific investigation or criticism. Very often a purposeful mysticism is substituted for an awkward historical truth.

The suppression of free research and the violation of truth are most clearly revealed in the new jurisprudence. Justice is sacrificed to martial law. Punishment and execution now serve revenge and the annihilation of political opponents. Where no law declared a deed punishable, it is made retroactively possible to destroy the doer. The new jurisprudence, which is designed to give a theoretical basis for the cruel and arbitrary practice, is founded on legal concepts of the Middle Ages, long since outmoded. Teaching and studying are enslaved along with pure science. The colleges suffer from an intellectual terror exercised by one part of the students. Students are forced to join military organizations. Upon the completion of examinations, the scientific achievements of the students are, according to official order, given comparatively small consideration in the application for state positions involving scientific work. Successful military drill and political reliability are the determining factors.

Through misuse of and contempt for free research there is imminent danger that the whole structure of scientific knowledge will be destroyed and from the fragments a new series of enslaved pseudo-scientists will be erected, which will be harmful for the progress of mankind.

Because of this condition of affairs we believe that the moment has come to summon all scholars and scientists of all countries and to lay it upon them as a duty to look beyond the limits of their specialities and to recognize the common danger. Let them join with us in the maintenance and protection of free science, as one of the most essential elements of international culture and peaceful co-operation.

Though the writers of this letter have named only Germany and made specific allegations with reference to that country, yet it is not Germany alone which is guilty. And they are, therefore, justified in trying to rouse all scholars and scientists and educators of all countries. Journalists and other publicists and public men all over the world should also take note.

Cinema Morals

The World Tomorrow tells its readers that in America a vigorous campaign is being carried on against indecent and immoral films shown in Cinemas. These pictures do harm both to the 'stars' producing them and to the spectators as well. For this reason Hollywood morals have become a byword.

The Commonweal of America writes :

> "In the opinion of *Harrison's Reports*," says the July 14 issue of that paper, "the movement against indecent pictures is the most constructive that has ever been undertaken."
>
> That the movement is far-reaching there can be no doubt. Lay societies are all agog over the matter, and it is said that 5,000,000 Catholic signatures to the pledge of the Legion of Decency may be expected before long; and this huge figure does not take into account the millions of non-Catholic signatures that will be obtained.
>
> That the crusade has affected Hollywood is also obvious. While it may hardly be said that the producers are frantic over the matter, certainly they are not altogether unperturbed. Pictures have been withdrawn from circulation, others have been withheld, and still others have been laundered.

We have heard that in India also, many undesirable motion-pictures are exhibited, though, not being among Cinema-goers, we cannot say anything from personal knowledge. In different provinces of India there are Companies which have taken to producing motion pictures as an industry. We do not know whether the morals of the actors and actresses engaged by these producers are comparable with those of Hollywood 'stars.' The whole subject is worthy of serious investigation both by Government and the leaders of the people.

One reason why there should be such an

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investigation is that it is necessary to ascertain how far films relating to robberies, murders and allied crimes indirectly incite youth to criminal deeds. It may be that many youthful terrorists had their first indirect lessons in desperate deeds in Cinema houses.

The Littleness and the Greatness of Man

Dr. H. E. Barnes, speaking before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, has observed :

> "The growth of modern science has brought about a comparable transformation of our attitude toward humanity...Man tends to shrink in terms of the new cosmic outlook. Far from being the lord of all creation, existing from the beginning of things, he now appears to be but a temporary chemical episode on a most tiny planet."

Perhaps it is views like these of the material smallness of man and the material immensity of the universe which led Dr. J. T. Sunderland to write his ennobling article on the littleness and the greatness of man, published in this issue.

Dr. Barnes speaks of man as "but a temporary chemical episode on a most tiny planet." But in the light of all that science has been able to discover about the cosmos Professor Haldane of Oxford has said, "personality is the great central fact of the Universe." It is man's personality which makes him value the ideals of truth, justice, honour, mercy, love. What scientist has ever measured them in his laboratory ?

> "The fact that man has been able to reach out a hundred million light years into space, to measure, weigh and chart the orbits of the myriad worlds that course through the vast reaches of interstellar space, should be sufficient evidence that man cannot be adequately described in terms of neurons, blood vessels, lungs and bones, or in any merely quantitative terms. The chasm which separates the two outermost rims of the universe is not half so broad nor half so deep as the gulf which yawns between the physical and the mental, between the material and the spiritual."
>
> "Imagine a member of the school of thought to whom all values are measured in terms of physical quantities, seeking to appraise the worth of such personalities as Plato, Michelangelo, Dante, Francis of Assisi, Newton or Einstein, by analyzing the chemical constituents of his body. He will find, as Dr. A. L. Sachar has ingeniously figured out:
>
> 'enough fat to make eight bars of soap, enough iron for four or five ladies' hair pins, enough sugar to fill an average size sugar bin, and enough salt for a few salt cellars. There will be enough potassium to fire off a little toy cannon, and enough magnesium to whitewash four and a half square inches on your back yard fence. These and other elements, taken together would bring about .73 dollars.' "When reduced to these plain terms, is there anyone who does not see the ludicrousness and the mockery of trying to weigh the human personality on the scales of material values?" (*The Common Weal.*)

Society for the Improvement of Backward Classes

The twenty-fifth annual report of the Society for the Improvement of Backward Classes, Bengal and Assam, namely, that for 1933-34, has been published. This society, meant for boys and girls of all creeds and castes, has been doing such important work in a quiet way for the last quarter of a century that its report deserves an article. But we can spare sufficient space only for summarizing some facts about its activities.

I. No. of Schools—444 including 118 Girls' Schools.

II. No. of students on the rolls—
Boys 12,978 (1,814 Muhammadans)
Girls 5,291 (375 Do.)
Total—18,269.

III. 77 Scholarships (Boys 52 and Girls 25) of the aggregate value of Rs. 148-12- a month were awarded during the year.

IV. Prizes were awarded to 7 Schools during the year.

V. There were under its control:
(1) Five Public Libraries.
(2) One Boy-scout and one Cub-troops
(3) Arrangement for delivering lantern lectures inculcating ideas of Sanitary responsibility
(4) Four Seva Samitis.

VI. The amount spent in grants-in-aid was Rs. 59,515-0-7, but the amount spent in Establishment and other charges stood at Rs. 6,851-13-8½, representing only 11.2 per cent of the total expenditure of Rs. 67,041-13-8½.

The following table gives an idea of the progress of the society's work :

Year	No of Schools	Number of pupils Boys	Girls	Total
1909	2	*	*	
1910	3	*	*	
1911	6	*	*	
1912	13	*	*	
1913	13	*	*	
1914	50	*	*	
1915	50	*	263	
1916	62	1,916	459	
1917	104	3,347	1,453	
1918-19	231	6,667	2,760	
1919-20	329	8,435	3,468	
1920-21	397	9,981	3,773	
1921-22	393	10,251	4,064	
1922-23	404	10,925	3,398	
1923-24	362	10,763	3,777	
1924-25	406	12,612	3,676	
1925-26	406	12,598	3,565	
1926-27	407	13,105		

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No of Schools	Number of pupils Boys	Girls	Total
418	13,543	3,935	17,478
424	12,907	4,711	17,618
439	13,349	4,308	17,657
439	13,187	4,607	17,794
441	13,106	4,703	17,809
444	11,813	5,260	17,073
444	12,978	5,291	18,269

The Society's continually increasing work ires continuous increase of income. All ributions, large or small, will be thankfully eived by the honorary secretary, Dr. P. K. arji, M. A., M. B., at 40, Karbala Tank e, Calcutta.

rldwide Economic Depression and employment

Vol. X, No. 12 of Foreign Policy Reports, August 15, 1934, published by the Foreign icy Association of America, treats of the radoxes of World Recovery." Perhaps there World Recovery," or rather "World-*minus*-ic Recovery." But we in India—partiarly in Bengal—do not perceive it, though particular number of the Reports under sideration observes that "for the world as whole, the ebb tide of the economic pression appears to have occurred in the y summer of 1932. Since that date most ntries have experienced a certain degree recovery despite continuing maladjustments d frequent set-backs."

The section devoted to gains in industrial ivity contains a table of indices of industrial duction. India is not in it. India is not in e table of pig iron production. In the tion treating of changes in commodity ces, the statement of index of wholesale ces in certain countries, India is not includ-. India is not mentioned in the section ating to Government Finance. The section d the tabular statement regarding world employment make no mention of this ntry. For this omission the Foreign icy Association is not to blame. For vernment here neither compiles nor blishes statistics relating to unemploy-nt. It must be admitted that it is a ther difficult job ;—it is perhaps easier count our employed than our unemployed, as it is easier to count India's literates n her illiterates.

The only table in which statistics for India are given is the following, under the section International Trade :

WORLD TRADE BY COUNTRIES
MERCHANDISE ONLY
(in millions of U. S. [old] gold dollars)

	1929	*1932*	*1933*	*Per cent of decline from 1932 to 1933*
Argentina	1,727	545	514	—6
Belgium *	1,872	863	803	—7
Canada	2,524	886	710	—20
France	4,247	1,946	1,841	—5
Germany	6,415	2,471	2,151	—13
India	2,074	706	646	—9
Italy	1,941	771	705	—9
Japan	1,969	783	746	—5
Netherlands	1,906	865	780	—10
United Kingdom	8,956	3,561	3,286	—8
United States	9,496	2,907	2,392	—18
Total for world	68,641	26,611	24,182	—9

It should be borne in mind that India's International Trade, both import and export, is almost entirely in the hands of non-Indians and carried on by non-Indian shipping. It is also to be noted that India's trade in 1933 was less than one-third of what it was in 1929.

Though the "Conclusion" begins by telling us that "little doubt can remain regarding the existence of a world economic upswing of significant proportions" (which we in India do not perceive), it ends by saying :

> "Real wages and standards of living for the working class appear to have fallen almost universally. Agriculture has also suffered a serious loss in purchasing power. It is evident that until consumption can be raised in line with production, there can be no basis for permanent recovery, and that such revival as has occurred will not affect the vast majority of the world's population."

Fascism in England

Mr. H. N. Brailsford writes in *The New Republic* :

> Englishmen used to smile in a superior way when a foreigner asked whether fascism would ever come to their peculiar island. Even when Sir Oswald Mosley actually created his party of Blackshirts, they answered that this phenomenon illustrated only their tolerance of eccentricity. There would be fascists, they conceded, as there are communists in England, but neither the one nor the other would ever leave a mark on the serene pages of her history. And they went on to moralize, preening their feathers as they talked, "We are too proud to imitate foreign ways. Our sense of humour"—by which they meant their love of the commonplace—"finds colored shirts and uplifted arms not a little ridiculous. We are introverts with no taste for drama. We are averse to all extremes of opinion. We detest violence. We are nurtured in a democratic tradition, so ancient

* Including Luxemburg.

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and so firmly rooted in our habits that it is unthinkable that we should ever depart from it."

This complacency has received a severe shock in recent months and weeks. Fascism is growing; it has attained prominence in the news. This party has now its 17,000 active, paying members, which is about half what the Independent Labor party possessed at the height of its influence. A large proportion of them are young men, chiefly of the middle class, who perform quasi-military exercises and drill. They have some armored cars, and with five or six airplanes as a nucleus they are forming an air force. They are exceedingly active in conducting an incessant campaign of public meetings, both in halls and in the open air, all over the country. Their leader, Sir Oswald Mosley, is, in a country that breeds few speakers of the first rank, a powerful and popular orator. They seem to command unlimited supplies of money and until recently had the help of Lord Rothermere, with his Daily Mail and the long chain of newspapers, both provincial and metropolitan, that do his bidding.

Is There a "Red" China ?

In our last number we published an article on "China's Red Army." A Chinese gentleman, a professor, who is now in our midst, and possesses first-hand information, has contradicted many or most of the statements contained in that article. The contradiction is published elsewhere.

We do not want any Bolshevism in India. But living in the year 1934 A. C., we must know, as far as practicable, what is happening in foreign countries. *The New Republic* (August 22, 1934) gives us some information relating to "Red" China in the course of a review of a book entitled *The Chinese Soviets*, by Victor A. Yakhontoff. Mr. T. A. Bisson is the reviewer. He was for four years a teacher of English in China and Co-editor of *The China Outlook*, and is a specialist on Far Eastern Affairs on the research staff of the Foreign Policy Association. He writes as follows in part :

> The rise of a Chinese Communist state, larger in area and population than any European power, has been attended virtually by a conspiracy of silence in the Western world. Now within only a few months —in Agnes Smedley's "Chinese Destinies" and in the book under review—the Soviet movement in China has found two historians.
>
> Communism in China has undergone two distinct phases of development. The revolutionary debacle of 1927—magnificently treated by Andre Malraux in "Man's Fate"—marked the end of the first phase. In consequence, Borodin and the other Russian advisers left China; Chiang Kai-shek set up the counter-revolutionary government at Nanking; and Communism was largely driven underground. Following the abortive Canton Commune (December 11-14, 1927), a remnant of some 4,000 Communist troops, led by Chu Te and Mao Tse-tung, withdrew into the inaccessible regions of southwestern Fukien. From this time dates the formation of the Chinese Soviets, marking a new phase of Communist development, one exclusively under Chinese leadership and relying solely on meager native resources. A period of steady growth was signalized to the outside world in 1930 by the capture of Changsha, from which the Communist forces were ejected only by foreign gunboats. On November 7, 1931, the provisional government of the Soviet Republic of China was established at Juichin in southern Kiangsi, with Mao Tse-tung as President. Since 1930 Chiang Kai-shek has thrown half a dozen major attacks against this government, utilizing at times several hundred thousand troops in a single campaign. From each attack the Chinese Soviet regime has emerged strengthened by deserting Kuomintang troops and by captured ammunition, rifles, machine guns and even airplanes. Today it boasts a regular army of 350,000 men, unexcelled in China for discipline and morale, while the administration of the various Soviet areas is solidly based on a Communist party membership of 400,000.

There is much else worth quoting in Mr. Bisson's review. We content ourselves with extracting only another sentence, which is rather startling.

> General Yakhontoff's concluding statement that, were foreign help withdrawn, "most, if not all, of China would 'turn communist,' probably within a very short time" is so near to sober truth that only a miracle could effect such withdrawal.

The Anti-terrorist Conference

We are in full sympathy with the object of the recent Anti-terrorist Conference in Calcutta, though in every detail we may not be able to see eye to eye with the promoters of the anti-terrorist movement. Mr. P. N. Tagore, who delivered the opening speech at the conference, observed correctly that assassination "has never in history, in any part of the world, been known to have brought about political advancement or regeneration to a nation struggling for it." He proceeded to observe :

> True, the actions, motives, policies and decisions of the Government are sometimes misconstrued. But that the entire blame cannot, to my mind, be laid at the door of the people. Government themselves are as much responsible for it as the people who are alleged to misconstrue them, and thus provide materials for those who have brought about a situation which calls for the holding of this Conference. Government should be well-advised to take the people into their confidence, at any rate the leaders of thought and opinion in the country, who deplore and condemn these incidents of terrorism as much as anybody else.

In the "Programme to Check Terrorism"

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...ee, adopted at the Conference, it has been said that the terrorist movement in Bengal "has drawn its sustenance in the past, as it is doing at present, mainly from misunderstanding and misrepresentation of Government policy and action." The difference between Mr. P. N. Tagore's utterance and the view expressed in the "Programme" is that in the latter there is no mention of Government's share of the responsibility for such misunderstanding when and where it exists or happens. In one paragraph of his speech Mr. P. N. Tagore has said:

> The relation between the teacher and the taught ought to be improved and lifted from the mechanical platform to the holy and sacred status of personal contact and relationship.

Such relationship certainly depends on the possession by the teachers of an enlightened and noble personality. Perhaps in the ranks of our present-day teachers, men with such personality, though unknown to fame, are not wanting. But even such men cannot do all that is necessary to inspire their pupils with right ideals of patriotism. Our teachers feel obliged either to refrain from speaking to their pupils on patriotism and citizenship or to inculcate a kind of politics which does not include the whole duty of man. Mr. P. N. Tagore asks:

> And will you believe it that the "Rights and Duties of Citizens" are taught in America and in other European countries with as much care as any other subject having a commercial or literary value?

There is another question, which he does not ask, namely, whether "our teachers and professors" are in a position to teach their pupils the "Rights and Duties of Citizens" as they are taught in America and in European countries which are in a normal condition, *e. g.*, Great Britain, Norway, etc.

Mr. P. N. Tagore says:

> There is a general belief that terrorism is the outcome of unemployment. It is difficult to believe that it is wholly the result of unemployment, for our experience shows that most of those who have hitherto been guilty of it are not those who had been affected by the problem of unemployment. They are differently situated. But undoubtedly in the solution of the difficult problem of unemployment lies the partial, if not the entire, solution of the terrorist problem.

We agree. Mr. Tagore is also right in observing that we Bengalis are here in our province on sufferance. By giving details he has proved his case. But whether Government can or will remedy the state of things described by him is more than we can say.

Considered as a piece of ideal advice, the following is commendable:

> Gentlemen, as a humble citizen of the Empire, I will expect my countrymen to boldly lay their grievances before the Government on whom rests the responsibility, if they are true to themselves, to boldly deal with them, not to shield or shelve, but expose and punish.

Those who are not Bengali or non-Bengali Indian editors working in Bengal should set an example in this kind of very needful courage for us journalists to follow. We speak of journalists in particular, as we are supposed to voice the grievances of the people.

> And it will further be conceded that if terrorism is found and judged to have a political outlook, the satisfaction of the hopes and aspirations of the people would undoubtedly be an effective antidote.

He is entirely right. Only, we would point out that where he uses "if," the "Programme" adopted at the Conference uses positive and unequivocal language. Its very first sentence runs, "The Terrorist movement in Bengal is political in origin."

The foregoing sentence from Mr. Tagore's speech is followed by the subjoined passage:

> I am glad to think that our Government realises this, and we learn from no less a person than His Excellency Lord Willingdon himself who told us the other day that His Majesty's Government was doing everything possible to speed up the constitutional reforms so as to satisfy our legitimate hopes and aspirations as citizens of the Empire. Delay in such circumstances worsens the situation no less than an illiberal spirit. In case of India, perhaps, both are equally responsible.

We would emphasize the last sentence. As regards the so-called "constitutional reforms," almost fully outlined in the White Paper, Mr. Tagore knows that non-sectarian representative bodies like the Indian National Congress, the National Liberal Federation of India, etc., have declared that these cannot in the least satisfy the hopes and aspirations of the people of India. Hence the speeding up of such "reforms" is not a matter of any importance.

We join in Mr. P. N. Tagore's concluding appeal:

> Finally, I would appeal to my own countrymen who are responsible for such atrocities as have been perpetrated in the past to consider the miseries

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brought on the people of the country, great many of them their own kith and kin, by their wicked deeds. The misdirected activities of these young men, some of whom, I believe, under proper guidance would prove to be valuable members of society and fine specimens of manly character, have been responsible for untold troubles and tribulations patiently suffered by their innocent and beloved fathers and mothers, and dear brothers and sisters. Gentlemen, that is not all; there is yet another aspect from which the result of their conduct must be judged. It is the economic loss to the province which is so dear to us all. Imagine the amount of nation-building work which could be pursued by our own Ministers if the moneys, unprecedented in their magnitude, spent for the maintenance of law and order, were released tomorrow as no longer of any necessity. This is a vital consideration, and I cannot impress it too strongly upon them.

There is no doubt that large sums of money have been spent for years for combating terrorism. Whether, when these sums would no longer require to be spent for that purpose, they would be devoted to nation-building work or not, we want the eradication of terrorism. We want it even if the sums, when released, are not spent for the promotion of education, public health, irrigation, waterways, agriculture, industries, trade, etc. What we must remind the Bengali public of, is that, even when there was no terrorism to fight in Bengal, nation-building work was not financed to the extent that it was in other provinces. That may be a matter to settle between the Government of India and the Government of Bengal. But a fact is a fact.

Mr J. N. Basu's Speech

Mr. Tagore's speech was followed by the presidential speech of Mr. J. N. Basu. In noticing Mr. Tagore's speech we have said much that we had to say, and, therefore, it would not be necessary to comment in detail on Mr. Basu's speech.

Mr. Basu is a seasoned politician and has personal knowledge of the days when terrorism appeared in the Deccan and when, later, it appeared in Bengal. His historical retrospect is accurate. Said he:

> For a little over twenty-five years, terrorism has manifested itself in different shapes.
>
> There have been long intervals, when terrorism lay dormant lulling the public into the belief that it had completely disappeared. But the continued reappearance of terrorism in an unexpected manner and in unexpected quarters has shaken the sense of security that the people have felt.

As regards criticism of the past, his opinion is:

> Criticism of what has up to the present been done is not likely to be of help. What is wanted is not criticism but action inspired by the solemn nature of our duty in the present circumstances.

We, too, are against criticism for the sake of mere criticism at this juncture. But if criticism is necessary for the purpose of preventing the harmful mistakes made in the past, and for adopting right methods and taking right action, there should and must be such criticism.

Mr. Basu proceeded to observe:

> The dangerous character of terrorism as it prevails here is due to a great extent to its being of political character. Love of home and country is inherent in the human mind almost everywhere. Love of freedom stands on the same basis. The recruiters attempt to pervert these natural impulses. They do not point out what the facts are. They fail to show that a peaceful and well-ordered society is the best basis of progressive development, and that strivings towards advancement can best succeed in an atmosphere of peace and order. Measures and acts of the State are misrepresented and distorted, instead of the spirit of frank and open criticism the spirit of brooding over a supposed wrong is sought to be developed. The acts of particular members of the State services are held up in such a light as to give rise to hatred. Those that the recruiters work upon are deluded into the belief that there is a short cut to an ideal order of things. Neither the recruiters nor those they influence know what their ideal in fact is likely to be. All they know is that they are aiming at a negation of the existing order of things, but they do not care to give any thought to what will replace the existing order. Instead of the prolonged and steady endeavour in every sphere required to attain progress for our people, whether residing in villages or towns, criminal acts of a spasmodic and impulsive character are held out as real endeavours for national progress. The young are not taught the truth that, as in individual life so in national life, there is no short cut to progress but that progress implies long, steady work in spheres of constructive activities, and in the patient removal of difficulties and obstructions. It is not emphasized that the knowledge and strength that is invaluable for progress will last the test of time. The short cut that is taught is a crime of the most abominable character, the crime of secret murder. Such a path is reprehensible for the attainment of the best of ideals. In the case of terrorists the path leads to nowhere.

The whole passage quoted above is conceived in a statesmanlike spirit fit for normal times. We would offer a few comments only on those sentences which bear some resemblance to the following passage in the "Programme":

> "It (the Terrorist movement) has drawn its sustenance in the past, as it is doing at present, mainly from misunderstanding and misrepresentation of Government policy and actions. The most urgent need of the hour is organization of systematic publicity and propaganda on a wide scale to remove this unhealthy atmosphere and to establish a healthy contact between the Government and the people."

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There is another passage, which occurs in the "Programme", which should be read along with the passages reproduced above. It runs thus:

> *The Press*—Although there is a very marked and healthy change in the attitude of the press in dealing with problems connected with terrorism and the Congress papers no less than other organs of national opinion in Bengal are united in their condemnation of terrorist ideas and methods, the situation demands still greater efforts on the part of the Press as of the general public. It is necessary to impress on the Press that they should judge Government policy and measures in a spirit of fair play and give them adequate publicity, criticize Government when necessary but uphold them against all subversive influences. The consequence of irresponsible writings in the past has been to create a mentality among the credulous public that Government are responsible for all ills that people are suffering from. Apart from the assistance such writings have rendered to the terrorist organizers by causing disaffection and hatred against Government, they have in no small measure undermined the self-reliance of the people themselves and impeded their progress. This mentality must be destroyed. For that the whole-hearted co-operation of the Press is essential.

We do not know what sort of misrepresentation or perversion of facts terrorists or their recruiters indulge in, for we have never come into contact with such persons. So, we must confine our comments to what has been said about the Press, by which perhaps the promoters of the anti-terrorist conference mean the indigenous Press.

The promoters may not have meant it, but there is an air of superiority and patronage in the paragraph devoted to the Press. A great English statesman once observed that he did not know how to indict a whole nation. The promoters evidently know how to indict the entire Indian indigenous Press. There are many substantial men among the promoters, able to conduct an English and a Bengali daily paper even at a loss. We would urge them to run model papers for the edification of journalists in Bengal.

Regarding "misrepresentation of Govenrnment policy," it would have been helpful if the promoters had given some actual instances of such misrepresentation. For a pretty long period some of the topics most discussed in the Press have been the White Paper, the Communal Decision and the Government policy underlying them. We do not know whether in the opinion of the promoters Government policy was misrepresented in these discussions.

We do not in the least advocate or justify misrepresentation of Government Policy; we are against such misrepresentation. But we would ask all concerned to reflect why there is no terrorism in many countries, *e.g.*, Britain, though there is no lack of misrepresentation of Government policy there.

"Programme to Check Terrorism"

We support what has been said in the passage quoted below, provided it is understood that by "responsible government" is meant such a form of government as is enjoyed by the Dominions in the British Empire.

> The Terrorist movement had also been helped in no small measure by the unsympathetic and in some cases positively improper conduct of individual Government officers in dealing with the people of the country. It is of utmost importance that Government should not hesitate, as they have done in more instances than one in the past, to take adequate steps against their officers when found guilty of improper action. Further, we consider it important to observe that early establishment of responsible Government in the country is one of the surest ways of nullifying the Terrorist movement. Government should do nothing which might shake the confidence of the people in their good faith or create an impression in the public mind that any particular section or sections is or are receiving differential treatment to the detriment of other sections. To treat this province differentially under the forthcoming constitution, as is being urged in some reactionary quarters, will be playing into the hands of the terrorist organizers.

The "Programme" states in detail on what lines publicity and propaganda work may be taken up, showing that the promoters have devoted much thought and time to the subject. "Lecturers enjoying the confidence both of the Government and the youth of the country", the employment of whom for purposes of propaganda has been suggested in the Programme, would be an invaluable acquisition indeed. But it would not be easy to find them. "A more contented teaching staff is essential." Among other things adequate salaries would have to be paid to them to make them contented. It has not been pointed out where the money is to be found to pay such salaries.

We do not believe in the efficacy of moral and religious education in schools unless the teachers and the guardians of the children lead moral and religious lives and set an example.

"The ideals of true citizenship" should certainly be placed before our youth. But precept and example should go together.

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The supervision of the conduct of the boys by their respective parents and guardians is quite natural and proper. It should, however, be borne in mind that in various ages and countries some youth, and sometimes even some boys, have not been able to obey their parents, not because the former were vicious, but because the parents were not what they ought to have been and had failed to march with the times. The situation with which we are faced reminds one of the ancient Egyptian manuscript, now preserved in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople and supposed to date from the second millennium before Christ, which reads :

> "Evil days have come upon us. A spirit of unrest is at hand. Children no longer obey their parents. Everybody wants to write a book. The end of the world is manifestly approaching."

And yet the world has gone on for more than three thousand years after the above foreboding was expressed ! And then, there is the more modern instance of the German professor's wife who deplored the lack of interest in her husband's teaching. "Why," said she, "twenty-five years ago students thronged my husband's classroom, but now no one goes to hear him. And the thing that I can't understand about it is that his lectures are exactly the same to-day, word for word and comma for comma, as they were when he started teaching!" Pathetic.

The suggested formation of Central District Committees and Village Committees for the supervision of and the reporting on the conduct of boys, if it is to bear good fruit, should be done with very great care. In the section devoted to "the organization necessary," "District Committees, Town Committees and Union Committees, consisting mainly, if not wholly, of non-officials" has been suggested. Are the two sets of committees to be the same or different ? If officials are to be admitted, it should be borne in mind that the rules relating to the conduct of Government servants require them to report to Government everything of a politically suspicious nature. We are not here criticizing those rules or the C. I. D. or other Government servants. They do the duties they are paid to perform, and are certainly useful functionaries so long and so far as they confine themselves to their proper task. The function of the proposed Committees, as we understand it, is to be different, namely, to educate, to admonish, to warn, and to reform—*not* to punish or get punished according to the laws as they are at present. Therefore, care ought to be taken that there is not the least suspicion of espionage, or of the "free and frank exchange of views between the boys and members of the Committee," suggested in the Programme, leading indirectly to trouble for the former. Else the whole object of the Committees will be frustrated.

We do not know that "the mushroom libraries all over the province are full of subversive literature and form a most dangerous source of infection." It may be so. But as libraries are open public institutions, how can they be full of subversive literature without the knowledge of the police ?

The section devoted to the Economic Aspect deserves the serious attention of the Government and the people. All the seven proposals made by the promoters ought to be carried out.

Some General Observations on Terrorism

What has been said in the section entitled, "necessity of co-operation between Government and the people", will require to be elaborated.

We have not the least desire to minimize the seriousness of the problem of terrorism. But it would not be of any use to take an alarmist view, or, confining our attention only to Bengal, to ignore the fact that terrorism is not an isolated phenomenon but prevails in many countries of the world. It is connected with men's war mentality in various countries—their belief in physical force as a sort of final arbiter. That mentality has to be changed and an effective moral substitute for war found and applied. That is a world problem, which can be directly tackled, so far as Governments are concerned, by the Powers of the world—not by subordinate Governments like the Government of India, and far less by Indian Provincial Governments. Therefore, we do not expect India's Central and Provincial Governments to tackle this root cause of terrorism, nor blame them for

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not tackling it. This can be done by the promotion of real pacifism by the Powers of the world and the intellectual and spiritual leaders of mankind. Pacifism does not mean that the use of physical force is to be absolutely abjured. No Government can do that within its territories. When men agree to live in a civilized country, they are understood to agree that the physical force is to be used for the prevention of wrong doing is to be used only by the State or under the direction and laws of the State. But it is also understood in all really civilized countries that the physical force to be used by Government in their respective countries is to be used strictly according to law. This ideal should be borne in mind in all countries.

Love of daring is natural to youth in all countries. If it does not find legitimate scope, it may lead youth astray into careers of crime. Therefore, it behoves all Governments to have open, if not also to create, careers in which courage may be exercised and developed by the youth of the Country in legitimate ways.

Communal Decision and Congress Split

The split in Congress ranks over the Communal decision is to be deeply deplored. If any section of Congressmen had believed that the Communal Decision was good and necessary in the interests of India and had, therefore, parted company with those who believe it to be anti-national, anti-democratic and injurious to the interests of the Indian nation as a whole, then in that case, too, the division in Congress ranks would have been regrettable. But what adds to the painfulness of the present situation is that, though all Congressmen believe the Communal Decision to be anti-national, anti-democratic and injurious to India, yet for the sake of expediency a section of them will not agitate against it, or vote against it, if returned to the Legislative Assembly as members. The Congress Working Committee's attitude of neutrality towards the Communal Decision was evidently due to its hope that that would make Muslims friendly to the Congress and lead many of them to join it and also lead Muslim voters to cast their votes in favour of Muslim candidates who were Congressmen.

Principle should never be sacrificed to expediency. But supposing the sacrifice of principle for the sake of expediency were justifiable, it must be shown that expediency has produced or is expected to produce the desired result. In the present case, however, the generality of Muslims have not changed their attitude to the Congress. As for voting for Congress-Muslim Candidates, Muslim voters have been asked by the two biggest and oldest Muslim organizations, *viz.*, the Muslim League and the Muslim Conference, that they should vote only for those Muslim candidates who accept and would support the White Paper including the Communal Decision.

We have said above that principle should never be sacrificed. This maxim should in particular be strictly followed by those who have declared that *satyāgraha* is their rule of life. *Satyāgraha* is a Sanskrit compound word. *Satya* means truth, and *āgraha* means 'strong attachment', 'persistence', 'insisting', according to Apte's *Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. Therefore, Satyāgrahis should prove their strong attachment to truth by persisting in and insisting upon truth in and outside the Council Chambers.

In spite of a party's failure to achieve its object, it can command the respect even of those who do not belong to it, if it adheres to truth and principle and bears witness to the truth under all circumstances. But non-persistence in and non-insistence upon its convictions cannot command respect.

It was said at Wardha that there would be a fight to the finish between the two Congress parties and the result would show which was right. But rightness and wrongness cannot be determined in that way. The voice of the majority of voters is not necessarily the voice of Truth and Right. Even if the candidates of the Congress Parliamentary Board succeed in capturing all the elective 'general' seats, that would not in the least show that the attitude of neither accepting nor rejecting was right.

Party Candidates for the Assembly

For the welfare of India it is necessary that the Communal Decision should be condemned

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by as large a number of Indians and others within and outside the council chambers as possible. For this reason, it is essentially necessary that all those candidates, irrespective of race, creed and caste, who would openly condemn it, should be elected. It is also necessary that the party or parties who are opposed to the Communal Decision should have in the country as large a following as possible. It would be a crying shame if even appearances seemed to show that Indians for the most part had accepted the Communal Decision, which is not a fact.

The Congress Nationalist Party's ticket has been published and is well-known. All who accept its opinions and principles can become its members irrespective of their race, creed or caste. Hindus, like others, can become its members.

The Hindu Mahasabha has issued a statement. It could have been the manifesto of any other truly Nationalist party, whether Hindu or not. It insists upon the condemnation and rejection of the Communal Decision. But so does the Congress Nationalist Party. Therefore, the difference between the Mahasabha party and the Congress Nationalist Party is only this that Hindus alone can be the members of the former, whereas both Hindus and non-Hindus can be members of the latter. But as the latter does not exclude Hindus from membership, there is no absolute necessity for the Hindu Mahasabha and the Provincial Hindu Sabhas to set up separate candidates of their own parties. Multiplication of candidates of parties holding the same political opinion only decreases the chances of election of those candidates and increases those of their opponents.

Gandhiji's Intention to Amend Congress Constitution

The formation of the Congress Nationalist Party is not the only sign that there is division in Congress ranks. There is also the Congress Socialist Party to reckon with. Most serious of all is the fact that Mahatma Gandhi has been really thinking of retiring from the Congress and will decide exactly what to do, after testing the feeling of the Congress at the next session on all the points on which he has touched in the course of a statement issued to the Associated Press. The reason why he has been thinking of retiring from the Congress is that he has got the impression that—

> A very large body of the Congress intelligentsia were tired of my method and the views and the programme based upon them that I was a hindrance rather than a help to the natural growth of the Congress, that instead of remaining the most democratic and representative institution in the country, the Congress had degenerated into an organization dominated by my one personality and that in it there was no free play of reason.
>
> If I am to test the truth or otherwise of my impression, naturally I must put before the public the reasons on which my impression is based and my own proposals based thereon. Congressmen might vote on them and thus clearly register their opinion.

His reasons have appeared in the dailies.

The amendments he proposes to the constitution are four in number. He has mentioned them and given the reasons why he wants such alterations. The amendments proposed are given below :

> The first amendment I would propose is to replace the words "legitimate and peaceful" by "truthful and non-violent." [This refers to the means and method of attainment of the goal of *Purna Swaraj*.]
>
> The second amendment would be to replace the four-anna franchise by the delivery by every member to a Congress depot of 2,000 rounds (one round equal to four feet) per month of well twisted even yarn of not less than 15 counts spun by himself or herself on a spinning wheel or takli.
>
> The third amendment I should propose would be that no one shall be entitled to vote at any Congress election whose name has not been on the Congress register continuously for six months without default and who has not been a habitual wearer wholly of khaddar for that period.
>
> I would have an amendment reducing the number of delegates to not more than 1,000, nor more than one delegate per every thousand voters.

Had we belonged to the Congress party it would not have been difficult for us to accept the first and fourth amendments. The second we could not have accepted. The third we could have accepted, were it declared that Khaddar meant hand-spun and handloom-woven cotton, silk and woollen goods. It is not for reasons of luxury or show but for those of health that one may have sometimes to use silken and woollen goods.

Empire Won & Kept by the Sword

In the course of the debate on the Indian Army Bill which has since been passed, the Commander-in-Chief of India is reported to have said that the British people have won their Empire by the sword and have kept it

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by the sword. The British Empire covers an extensive portion of the earth. But the majority of its inhabitants live in India, and when Britishers have to refer to or speak of the large countries of Canada, Australia, South Africa, etc., they say that these latter parts of the earth are included in the *British Commonwealth of Nations*, refraining from using the expression British Empire. Moreover, the Commander-in-Chief was speaking in India mainly to Indians. Therefore, by the British Empire he must have meant India above all.

Now, if he reads Indian history, even such Indian history as has been written by British authors, he will find that it was not by the sword alone that India was won. And whenever and wherever the winning was by the sword, it was mostly the sword of India. It is no pleasure for an Indian to mention this fact—it has to be mentioned only for the sake of historical accuracy.

As regards keeping the Empire by the sword, the Commander-in-Chief may be reminded of the implications of what he has said and of what many Viceroys and other British statesmen have said before him.

If the people of a country are loyal, there can be no need to use the sword to keep them in subjection. If it be true that that country has to be kept by the sword, that would imply the existence of a rebellious spirit.

On the other hand, many Viceroys and other British statesmen have told the world that the teeming millions of India are thoroughly loyal. If so, it is not by the sword that the Indian Empire is kept.

Either these personages or the Commander-in-Chief can be held to be right, not both the parties.

Sir C. C. Ghose

Sir C. C. Ghose, who was in his 61st year at the time of his sudden and quite unexpected death, retired in January this year from the Calcutta High Court Bench. He was a distinguished judge and had officiated as Chief Justice four times. After his retirement he was invited in February this year by the Governor of Bengal to accept the office of a Member of his Executive Council upon the death of the late Sir Provas Chunder Mitter. Sir Charu Chunder was already in a poor state of health at the time. So the exacting duties of his new office told upon his health and he resigned. He was a Vakil of the Calcutta High Court in good "junior practice" when he proceeded to England to study law. His career as a student of law was brilliant. As a barrister at law he had a lucrative practice before being appointed a puisne judge.

Before that appointment he was prominently connected with the public life of Bengal. He and the present writer were fellow delegates to the Madras session of the Congress in 1898 over which the late Mr. A. M. Bose presided. When he and Lady Ghose went to Berlin, the writer met them there. He was noted for his genial and charming disposition. He was connected with many educational and philanthropic institutions and was twice President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It was expected that, after being restored to health, he would re-enter public life as a member of the Liberal Party. But that was not to be.

Kumar Manmathanath Mitter

The late Kumar Manmathanath Mitter was 68 years of age at the time of his death. He was a wealthy landholder and was sheriff of Calcutta for one term. But he was a people's man, and it is said that there was no oppression in his zamindary. When he took part in any movement for the public good, it has been observed that no one who did not know him good guess that he was a member of the aristocracy. After the Bengal Partition he took part, with devotion, in the movement for the production of Swadeshi goods. The National Fund was established for that purpose. He was one of its secretaries and treasurers, and not only contributed to it but begged barefooted from door to door to collect money for it. At the Sangit Samaj building in Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, he gave freely of his time and energy to establish a school for teaching hand-spinning. The plot of land in Balaram Ghose Street on which the Calcutta Orphanage stands was his gift. He gave liberal donations also to the Deaf and Dumb School, Blind School and other philanthropic institutions. Owing to the benevolence of him and his brother Kumar Narendranath many poor men received free meals and free treatment and medicine, when ill, at the Kumars' ancestral house in Jhamapukur Lane. Arrangements for such charities have been placed on a permanent footing, and Kumar

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Manmathanath's nephew Kumar Hiranya Kumar Mitter has effected improvements in these arrangements. Kumar Manmathanath was a man of culture with a fine literary taste, and a connoisseur of precious stones.

What Sir N. N. Sircar Really Said

In the report of the debate on the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Bill in the Legislative Assembly which appeared in the Press, Sir N. N. Sircar's speech was so misreported as to create the impression that he considered the Bengal Bill (now an Act) to be "milk and water." Consequently, misled by that report, we along with some other editors criticized him. What really happened was this :

In his speech Sir N. N. Sircar started by saying that it was a "very drastic measure," by which executive opinion was substituted for judgment of Courts. He conceded it was 'repression,' but said that such repression had been enacted by the Bengal Legislature. Later on during the speech he was interrupted by the 'interjection,' "Is there such repression in any other country ?" To that he put the counter-question : "Is terrorism so much prevalent anywhere else ?" On this two members said : "Germany, Ireland, Russia." In answer to that the Law Member said that, compared to what was happening in those countries, the provisions in the Bengal Act were milk and water. When reporting the speech most of the papers omitted the context showing that comparison was being made to what was happening in Germany, Ireland and Russia.

Solicitude for the British Steel Industry

We read in *Forward* dated the 7th September last :

> The following extracts taken from the report of proceedings of the executive committee of the British Iron and Steel Federation leaves no room for doubt that the British Steel Industry had full access to the Indian Tariff Board's Report on protection to the Steel industry prior to its publication here on July 1. last. It also appears that they were aware of the intention of the Government of India to impose an excise duty on Indian Steel.
>
> "Mr. Elliot, (the head of the delegation of the British Steel industry who appeared before the Tariff Board for oral examination), stated that a brief summary of the recommendations of the Indian Tariff Board had been circulated to all members at the end of last week. The British Government had been favoured with an advance copy of the report and as the representative of the industry in the proceedings in India he was privileged in confidence to study this report and in consultation with Sir William Larke, to comment on the proposals for the assistance of the Board of Trade.
>
> ". . . It was understood, however, that the Government of India would adopt a method of obtaining revenue from the Indian producers by means of an excise duty on ingot production of 4 Rupees per ton, with an adjustment of 1-1|3 for the finished product, that is, an excise duty of 5-1|3 Rupees per ton on the finished product."
>
> We are not only not surprised at this breach of confidence by the British Government but unhesitatingly admire their anxious solicitude for the welfare of the British Steel industry which their action displays.

It seems then that the plan to recoup the loss of revenue, due to the preferential treatment of some British steel articles, by the wholly unjustifiable imposition of an excise duty on Indian steel, was an affair prearranged behind the back of the Indian Legislative Assembly.

Application for Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Release

An Associated Press message, dated Allahabad the 25th September, tells the public that

> Mr. Girdhari Lal Agarwalla Advocate, taking off his gown and appearing as a member of the public, moved an application today before Mr. Justice Kisch under section 491 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, read with the General Powers of the High Court (habeas corpus), for the immediate release of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.
>
> The application after reciting the facts relating to his temporary release, stated that there was no warrant of law to arrest and imprison the Pandit again after he was once released and that he could not be re-arrested or imprisoned again without a fresh trial. Mr. Agarwalla prayed that the Pandit might be set at liberty and that, pending disposal of the application, he should be released as his wife was seriously ill.
>
> His lordship ordered the matter to be placed before him when the Government Advocate was present.

As the printing of the present issue of this Review will be finished today (26th September), we shall not be able to notice the result of this application in this issue.

Apart from the legal aspect of the matter, it has been the opinion of the public all over India that Mr. Nehru ought to have been allowed to remain by the side of his wife at least till she was pronounced completely out of danger, if not till her complete recovery.

The Question of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose's Release

The two letters which Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose has written to the Home Member of the Government of India and in which he has tried to refute the unproved allegation of

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latter that he was deeply involved in the rrorist movement, having been published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and other papers, has become incumbent upon Government ther to release him unconditionally or to ove the allegation made by the Home mber by bringing Mr. Bose to trial before tribunal indentical with or similar to the suggested by the latter. Otherwise the blic will be entitled to believe that all that Bose has said in his letters is accurate. vernment may, of course, try to show the rrectness of his statements by issuing a mmunique. But that will not be accepted the last word. And an indefinite number replies and rejoinders from the parties ncerned cannot be thought of as within the ge of practicability or probability.

It is true, the Simla correspondent of Anglo-Indian daily has tried to discredit me of Mr. Bose's statements. The former be officially inspired. If so, the official spirer or inspirers concerned should come t in the open and enter the lists against Bose. Fighting from behind a *Shikhandi* uld not be considered satisfactory. It is what Englishmen call cricket.

e Teaching of Journalism

Journalism, like other professions, requires rious preparation. It may be true that st, if not all, Indian journalists took to rnalism without any *direct* preparation for But those of them who have made their rk in the profession were able to do so cause of the general education they had ceived and because they liked the work and oured persistently to become more and re efficient. Of course, they must have had some special aptitude for the fession. But whatever their success, eryone of them would have been better some *direct* preparation for their oretical education can be a substitute practical training and experience. That also ecessary.

Mr. Mrinal Kanti Bose, president of the dian Journalists' Association, in his instruc- and interesting university extension lecture the place of journalism in society, has tried dispel the wrong notion that "journalism uld be left outside the scope of study in university, school, or college." As he has correctly pointed out, journalism is a subject of study in schools, colleges and universities in educationally advanced countries. He has dwelt on the intellectual training and equipment and the moral qualities which make for success in journalism, and on the power of the Press. He has done very well to point out that education in journalism is not merely for those who want to be journalists.

> It is commonly supposed that Journalism is for one who is definitely out for a journalistic career. From what I have said above it will appear that journalistic training and education has a value of its own and is of great use to persons who will not or cannot adopt journalism as a living. The two hundred and thirty Universities and Colleges and the fifty-five schools in the U. S. A. and the Universities and schools in England that include in their curriculum journalism as a subject of study turn out graduates and certificate-holders by hundreds every year. All these people are not and cannot be absorbed in the profession of journalism just as all holders of degrees in Law do not become lawyers by profession. As a liberal education, journalism is of the highest value.

Mr. Mrinal Kanti Bose's lecture and the waiting of a deputation of journalists upon Mr. Syamaprasad Mukherji, the present vice-chancellor of Calcutta University, asking that arrangement for teaching journalism be made by the University, have revived the question of the University taking up this duty. If Mr. Syamaprasad Mukherji succeeds in making provision for education in journalism, such achievement will be highly appreciated by the public. It will greatly redound to his credit. Some years ago a committee appointed by the Indian Journalists' Association, of which Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal was the most active and zealous member, drew up an elaborate syllabus and curriculum of studies. It was sent to the Calcutta University. But nothing was done by the University.

Floods and Storms

The present year is a year of great calamities. The earthquake in Bihar has been followed by devastating floods in that province and in Bengal and Assiam. The recent typhoon in Japan has been terribly destructive of life and property.

All sufferers in all countries deserve the fullest sympathy and help.

The Japanese people and Government are very energetic and have control over private purses and the public purse. Therefore, they

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were able to do more in the course of a few weeks to repair the ravages of the cataclysmic earthquake in that country some years ago than the people of Bihar and Government have been able to do in the course of more months to repair earthquake damages in that province. It is noteworthy, moreover, that the British people gave more help to the Japanese in their calamity than they have given to the people of Bihar. We hope, with their characteristic energy the people and Government of Japan will soon be able to do all that is necessary and humanly possible to repair all damages.

With regard to the floods in our country, we join in the appeals for help issued by various relief societies. In addition, we again remind our people and Government that modern science has made it possible to train rivers and control floods to some extent. And, therefore, as proposed repeatedly by Professor Meghnad Saha, river physics laboratories—at least one such laboratory—should be established. Neither the initial cost, nor the recurring charges will be large. Details are to be found in Dr. Saha's paper on the subject in the commemoration volume issued on the occasion of the completion of 70 years of the life of our youthful countrymen Sir P. C. Ray.

Soviet Russia and the League of Nations

Soviet Russia has become a member of the League of Nations.

GENEVA, Sept. 18.

The Assembly has granted the Soviet a permanent seat on the League Council. Nobody voted against, but ten abstained from voting. The galleries were packed to hear the debate on the Soviet's admission. Senor Madariaga transmitted the Sixth Committee's recommendation to M. Sandler (Sweden), who is the chairman of the Assembly. After the Assembly had voted the Soviet a permanent seat on the Council, M. Litvinoff and two co-delegates entered and took their seats. A few minutes later the chairman announced that henceforth the Soviet Union would be part of the great world family co-operating to safeguard peace. He invited the Soviet delegates to take their seats. Loud laughter was proclaimed when M. Litvinoff forestalled the invitation. M. Litvinoff then rose and declared that the Soviet had joind the League as the representative of a new social economic system not renouncing any of its special features, and like other countries preserving its personality intact, and promised to make itself felt as a powerful factor for peace in the council of nations.—Reuter.

Japan's aggressiveness and power on the Asiatic continent has had much to do with Soviet Russia's desire to enter the League. French diplomacy has helped that State to fulfil its desire. Notwithstanding M. Litvinoff's declaration, only the future can show whether capitalistic imperialism will be able to preserve its sway over League affairs and world affairs. Such imperialism has not hitherto made for peace.

Though not surprising, it is significant that Soviet Russia starts with a *permanent* seat on the League Council. India has been a foundation member of the League from the start and stands sixth in the list of contributors to the League's expenses. Yet she has not yet been given a seat on the League Council for a single year. This is due to her inferior political status as a subject country. The Council consists of 15 members, of whom five—Great Britain, France, Japan, Italy and Germany—have permanent seats. Japan's withdrawal created a vacancy, now filled up by Russia.

India and the League of Nations

Ever since the latter part of 1926, when we went to Geneva on the League's invitation, we have repeatedly drawn attention to the inadequate discharge of its duties to India by the League. Perhaps we were the first to do so. One of India's grievances has been that very few appointments made by the League have so far gone to Indians, and the few Indian officers that there are in the League all hold subordinate posts. The League's expenditure is divided into 1,013 units, distributed between 57 member states. Of these India pays 56 units, or 5.5 per cent. The number of secretaries and clerks appointed by the League is 700 in round number. Out of these only 6 permanent and 3 temporary jobs have fallen to the lot of Indians. If the 3 temporary jobs were made permanent, even then Indians would have less than 1.3 per cent of the League jobs.

"Muslims Have No Right to Live in India"!

Under the above heading *The Bombay Chronicle*, edited by Syed Abdulla Brelvi, published the following in its issue of the 7th September from its "own correspondent":

ALIGARH, Sept. 3.

Several important zemindars of U. P., including the Nawab of Chhatari, Nawab Jamshed Ali Khan, M.L.C., and Khan Bahadur Ubaidar Rehman Khan Sherwani, M.L.C., had an opportunity last night of feeling the pulse of Muslim youth when at a debate held by the Muslim University Union there

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activities were condemned by student speakers. The subject, which was moved for discussion by Mr. Abdul Latif Puri, was,

"That in the opinion of this house Musalmans have now no right to live in India."

The proposer who spoke at length condemned the activities of the so-called leaders of Musalmans. He deplored the attitude of those Musalmans who were against the national movement and said that they could give no proof of their service in the cause of the country. Recalling the great and splendid past of the Musalmans, he compared it with their present condition when they had not self-confidence and were suffering from an incurable inferiority complex. Musalmans, he said, will continue to exist but this existence was that of serfs and slaves and they could not claim to live as Musalmans.

The Nawab of Chhatari, speaking against the motion, said that socialism was the most popular creed today and further declared that Islam was the most socialistic of all creeds. He wanted the Musalmans to revert to their past traditions of equality and brotherhood when even the Caliphs got the same share from the State treasury as any other Musalman.

Khan Bahadur Ubaidar Rehman Khan Sherwani opposed the motion and said that a community which could produce great men like the Nawab of Chhatari and Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan had no need to fear anything. The Nawab of Chhatari, he said, had been in charge of Law and Order in U. P. for more than eight years and not a single Hindu or Muslim had any complaint against his administration.

Mr. Ansar Harvani, an under-graduate, supporting the motion, challenged the Muslim leaders to prove their "bona fides" to speak for the masses. It is one thing, he said, to become a Minister through the help of the Government and quite another to serve the country. "I am sorry," he said, "that reference has been made to the so-called services of men like the Nawab of Chhatari and Sikandar Hayat Khan." He was ashamed, he said, that it was under the regime of a Musalman when men, women and children were persecuted in U. P., not because they were thieves or vagabonds, but because they dared stand for the rights of their country. He reminded the house that mankind was no longer divided on religious or racial but on economic basis. Islam, he said, was a socialistic religion, but the irony of it was that Muslims had forgotten the teachings of their faith. So long as they did not identify themselves with the cause of the masses, they had no right to exist as Musalmans.

A number of other speakers, mostly students, supported the motion, which was declared carried on a division.

Commenting on this debate, *The Mussalman* makes the concluding remark :

We are glad that the majority of those who participated in the debate showed manliness worthy of the great community to which they belonged.

Defeat of Mr. Bakhale's Bill for Helping Harijans

The Bombay Sentinel writes :

There was no doubt that the Government would oppose the Bill brought forward by Mr. Bakhale in the Bombay Legislative Council for the removal of the Disabilities of the Depressed Classes in this Presidency. The Home Member opposed it uncompromisingly in a lengthy speech and enumerated, what he called, "the practical difficulties which will arise by carrying into practice ideals of this kind." The Government attitude in this matter at least was of a strictly practical kind. Apparently they are not bothered by any ideals. As we said yesterday, if there are defects in the Bill, they could have been removed in the Select Committee, and we do not suppose Mr. Bakhale would have opposed any such amendments, since his main anxiety is to improve the lot of the Harijans by every possible means.

It is unfortunate that the real question was sidetracked by a great deal of casuistry, and since the non-Brahmins and Muslims were equally opposed to the measure along with the Government, there was no difficulty whatever in defeating its first reading by a majority of twenty votes. It is curious that the Non-Brahmin Party, which generally allies itself with the Harijan members whenever any spoils have to be divided by an alliance with the Government, should have deserted the Depressed Classes at this juncture and left Mr. Bakhale to his own resources.

The Servant of India says in the conrse of its comments that "Government had no excvse excuse whatever to oppose it" (the Bill).

Pocha and Sons' Golden Jubilee

On the occasion of the golden jubilee of their House, Messrs. Pestonjee P. Pocha & Sons, the famous seed merchants of Poona, have issued a nicely got-up and illustrated souvenir brochure narrating the history of the firm. It was founded in the year 1884 by the late Mr. Pestonjee P. Pocha, and the business has gone on expanding ever since. That shows that it has been able to satisfy its customers, who are to be found all over India, Burma, Ceylon, Further India, and even in Japan, Persia and Africa. Besides vegetable seeds, herb seeds, flower seeds and other garden seeds of all kinds, as well as bulbs, it supplies garden tools and implements, lawnmowers, fertilizers, insecticides, &c., and books.

NOTICE

The Modern Review Office will remain closed on account of the Durga Puja Holidays from the 14th October to the 28th October, reopening on the 29th October. Communications received during the holidays will be attended to on and from the 29th October next.

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UTTER INCOMPATIBILITY OF COMMUNAL DECISION & SELF-RULE

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

SELF-RULE means that people are ruled either by themselves or by their representatives who have been elected by them. In ancient times in very small city or tribal republics, the citizens themselves in meeting assembled could transact the business of the state and govern themselves. In our present-day really self-ruling States, the government is "of the people and for the people," but literally not *by* the people, but by representatives elected by the people. But under the Communal Decision, in the Central and Provincial Legislatures the statutorily fixed majority parties will consist either of Hindus elected exclusively by Hindus, (as, *e. g.*, in Madras or U. P.) or of Musalmans elected exclusively by Musalmans (as, *e. g.*, in the Panjab or N.-W. F.) or of Musalmans elected exclusively by Musalmans *cum* Europeans elected exclusively by Europeans (as in Bengal). Therefore, neither in India as a whole nor in the Provinces will there be representative self-government, but government by statutorily fixed communal majorities, elected, not by voters of all communities, but by voters belonging to the particular communities concerned. In the Muslim-majority provinces not a single legislator of the majority party will be elected by a single non-Muslim voter and in the Hindu-majority provinces not a single legislator of the majority party will be elected by a Muslim or a Christian. And even such majority parties will not be the real rulers of the country. They will be only nominal rulers. Their "government" will be a sham, as the real power will remain in the hands of the Secretary of State, the Governor-General, the provincial Governors, and the foreign bureaucracy in general, known as the "steel-frame"—an expression coined by Mr. Lloyd George.

One of the essential conditions of democratic and responsible government is that what is to-day a minority party may become the majority party to-morrow by the conversion of its opponents to its way of thinking or owing to other causes. In this way all groups have an effective chance of giving the nation the benefit of their wisdom, capacity and public spirit. The changeability of the personnel of the ruling party gives the ruling majority for the time being a sense of its real responsibility to the nation, and exercises an effective check on arbitrary, irregular or corrupt methods and actions. But if a constitution makes any religious community as a community, the permanent ruling majority, there cannot be any democratic and responsible self-rule in the country, and all the advantages of such rule, pointed out above, are lost. The Communal Decision militates against the essential conditions of democratic and responsible government, and would, if given effect to, keep India deprived of all the advantages of such government.

Under a system of joint electorates, to whatever religious community or communities, classes, castes, interests or races the majority of the members of Central and provincial councils might belong, it could be said that people of all communities had helped to elect them and were responsible for choosing them. So the members also would feel their responsibility to and would and must try to promote the interests of all the people of all these groups. But under a system of separate electorates, in some cases the majority would be elected exclusively by the Hindus, or at any rate by non-Muslims and non-Christians, in some cases the majority would be elected by Muslims, and in one province (Bengal) the majority would be either Muslims or Muslims-*cum*-Europeans elected exclusively by their co-religionists or compatriots. Hence each province of India would be ruled *by* a foreign bureaucracy (for British *domination* would continue) *through* a majority of legislators for whose election people of all the groups would not be responsible and who would not feel responsible to and would not in consequence ordinarily try to promote the interests of all groups. This would be a highly undesirable state of things. It would not be self-rule or representative government. It would be rule by a bureaucracy, mostly British, in the name of a majority with whose election whole groups of people had nothing to do.

I do not lay stress on the fact that the Communal Decision has been grossly and insultingly unjust to the Hindus. For, even if it had been possible for it to be fair to the Hindus and all other communities, *separate* and *communal* and *class* electorates would have remained a great evil against which the nation must wage unrelenting war.

It has been necessary to explain the sinister significance of the Communal Decision in order to make it easy to understand why organized opposition to it is necessary.

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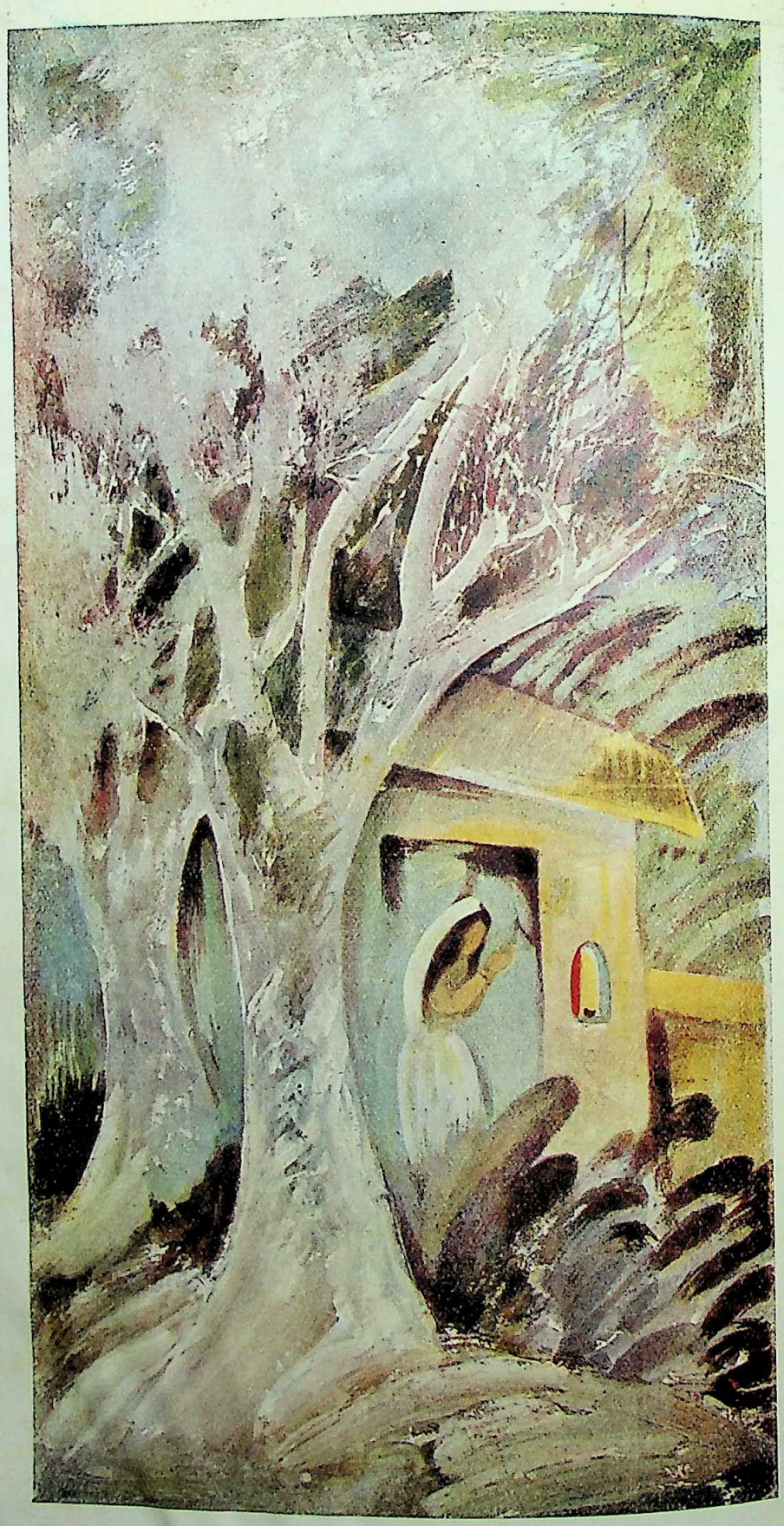

THE EVENING LAMP
By Nanda Lal Bose

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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SANTINIKETAN TODAY

BY C. F. ANDREWS

THIS week, which has been passed at the Poet's Asram, in Santiniketan and Surul, has given me one of my happiest experiences of India during this visit.

There is an often-repeated Sanskrit prayer ich runs,—"Lead me from the unreal to the al, from darkness to Light, from death to mortality." In Rabindranath Tagore's Asram constantly feels that this transformation is eady being accomplished. For here is the real ha both in the villages and among the students. ere is also an immortal spirit manifest in this ation of the Poet's genius.

The Poet himself, as he sits before sunrise his verandah, watching the first streaks of rn, is a symbol of ageless Youth. For he ains astonishingly young, and his massive ellectual powers show no sign of senile decay. ing his long life of three quarters of a tury, he has passed through adversities which uld have made the stoutest heart despair; but remains serene. The analogy with Goethe, he held his commanding intellect high above military violence of the Napoleonic Age, has en come back to my mind as I have sat by his e this week each early morning and felt the ness of his inner spirit.

Nearly twenty years ago, in Tokyo, when lie Pearson and I were with the Poet, we ched together a critical audience at the perial University remain blankly silent, as he nounced in unmeasured terms Militarism and tionalism,—the two idolatries, which were ong the beauty of the soul of Japan. In the rd-fever of those days, such a prophetic warn- was an act of daring which received the 'prophet's reward' of misunderstanding. Only in later years have the best minds in Japan rendered thanks to him for that brave and timely utterance. Tagore has never succumbed to the clamour of the post-war world, with its racialisms run mad. He has welcomed to his Asram men of every race and creed and given them a home in his heart.

During this visit, I found him turning away from his songs and music to plunge into the details of village reconstruction work carried on by the students of his Asram. This enterprise among the villagers is dearest of all to him. For the happiest years of his own life were intimately bound up with village Bengal, and he loves the patient, simple, kindly Bengali villager with a poet's love. When he was quite young, his father, Maharshi, wisely sent him away from crowded Calcutta to take charge of the family estate on the banks of the River Padma. There for nearly twenty years he lived among his own people and became their Poet. Now, in his old age, all his thoughts are bent towards them.

Santiniketan itself stands on rising ground with a sandy soil beneath. It is completely free from malaria, because it quickly drains off the monsoon rains and the anopheles mosquito cannot breed there. But the villages near at hand, made up of mud huts upon mud soil are decimated by the malarial pest.

Into the work of removing this incubus from the land, Tagore has thrown all the indomitable energy of his tireless spirit. The battle has gone against him, times without number; but still he persists, calling into requisition every latest dis-

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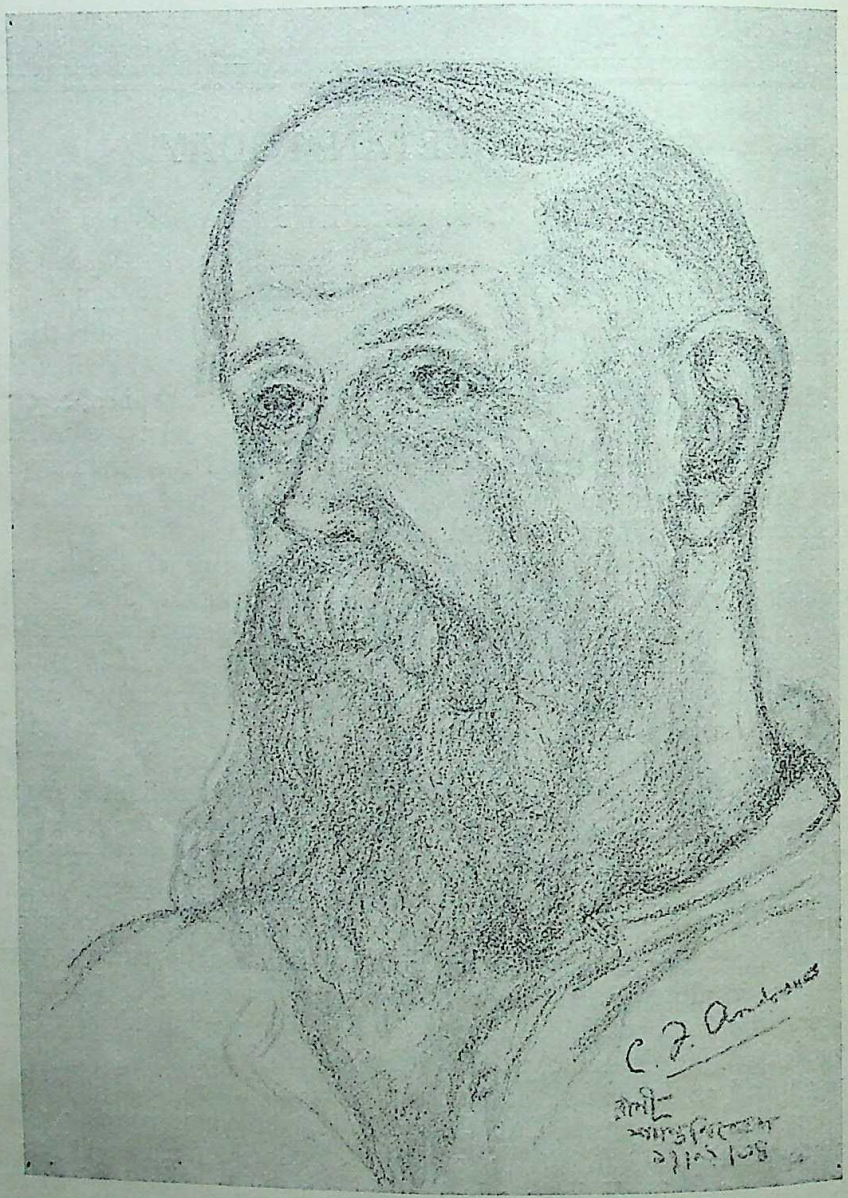
covery of scientific skill and economic planning, in order to circumvent the terrible scourge. Some of the noblest of his workers have been driven from the field by repeated attacks of the disease, but still the gallant fight goes on. Only a few months ago, one of the most brilliant of his scientific workers, Dr. Harry Timbres, was so saturated with malaria and kala-azar that he nearly lost his life. On the very eve of an important scientific discovery, he was obliged to leave for America, where he is now writing his Report. The Society of Friends, at Philadelphia, had sent him out with his wife and children to take part in this heroic work, and they have helped him through his convalescence.

Sjt. Kalimohan Ghose and other workers, equally heroic, have suffered from the malarial scourge in the same way. Their names deserve equally to be remembered; for they have borne the burden and heat of the day. While the scientific workers have been carrying on their minute investigations, others have been raising the standards of village life and education, thus rebuilding an economic prosperity which may help the villager to resist the inroads of disease. They have covered large areas with a network of co-operative societies, which are endeavouring by mutual aid to clear away the jungle, fill up holes where stagnant water accumulates, and render first-aid during the malarial season. By these



Mr. C. F. Andrews
from a pencil sketch by Mrs. Rani Chanda

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efforts, they have already brought about a marked improvement in the health and prosperity of the villages.

Year after year, Tagore himself on special occasions visits these areas and inspires the workers. In addition, they come to him almost daily,—as he sits in his chair on his verandah—seeking his advice and counsel. No problem is too small for him and they go away encouraged. It would be difficult to represent a better example of the true meeting of East and West than this work of recovery and peace.

Less than a hundred years ago, there was no malaria at all in these villages. People used to come out here by easy stages from disease-ridden Calcutta and to look upon this place as a health resort. Bungalows still remain where they lived in the cold weather. Now the malaria plague has stricken the whole area, and until it is removed nothing can be accomplished.

Thus the Asram at Santiniketan is not merely a home of music and song, but also a hive of industry. It is not self-centred and wrapt up in its own improvement, but it takes care of the poor and sick at its own gates. It is attempting to solve the wide problem, not only of Bengal, but of India and the Far East, by bringing back to these village populations renewed health, prosperity and peace. The words of the Psalm are becoming true:

"Then shall the Earth yield her increase, and God, even our own God, shall give us His blessing."

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF IRRIGATION IN BENGAL

By SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS, M. A., Ph. D.

IRRIGATION has been spoken of as the "wedding of the sunshine and the rain". It reclaims arid wastes, makes a country prosperous, causes the desert to blossom and overcomes the destructive effects of the parching winds, multiplies the productive capacity of soils, destroys insects and worms and ensures good health, lessens the dangers of floods, makes the farmer independent of rainfall and lastly creates wealth from water, sunshine and soil.

The province of Bengal for the purpose of a study of its irrigation problem should be divided into four areas, each with its own regional problem, that of the whole province coming in as a co-ordinating one. The usual process of thought on this subject runs in the old groove and classification is based upon the three types of activity, namely, those of irrigation proper, embankments, and drainage and navigation. This classification is wrong since it turns away thought from its proper channel and the consideration of the problem becomes clouded. The four areas of the province for this purpose are the following :

1. Western Bengal, *i. e.*, the area west of the Hooghly River (Bhagirathi) and south of the Ganges ; 2. Northern Bengal, the area north of the Ganges and Padma and west of the Brahmaputra and Assam ; 3. Eastern Bengal, South of Assam, east of the Brahmaputra, Jamuna and Gorai ; and 4. South Bengal, sometimes described as Central Bengal, east of the Bhagirathi, south of the Ganges and Padma and the west of Gorai.

Each of these tracts has its own peculiar conditions as regards soil, crops, health, drainage and navigation ; and, in spite of the diversity of these conditions, these tracts present on the whole a problem of the general level and slope of the province, its health and population, its productivity and its water-traffic.

The main features of the problem are therefore, the following :

Not only should water be brought down to the localities to be irrigated, but it must be done in a manner which will not interfere with the subsoil moisture for a considerable period during at least two crops a year in Western

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Bengal. As far as possible the silt-laden water of the rivers must be allowed to flow freely over countryside and in places where the existing embankments interfere with such overflow, adequate devices should be adopted to minimize the evil. Railway embankments should not only have more abundant openings but their position and construction should not direct the outflow of the flood in a particular channel or direction, but enable the whole country to be equally watered. Special precaution must also be taken so that subsoil moisture is retained as a result of the modification of the water-openings in these Railway embankments. The Railway embankments have proved a thorn in the sides of both the Government and the people. When they were constructed, and even now when Railway alignments are made, no proper thought was or is bestowed on this very important problem and the result has been disastrous. Similar remarks apply to road alignments both under provincial and district schemes. The reason lies in the want of knowledge of facts relating to natural solpes, drainage and requirements of the Province. Since there is no use crying over spilt milk, the people of the Province should unanimously ask for a revision of the policy, open discussion and compel the Government to take systematic and co-ordinated action which is scientifically and economically sound.

The problem of North Bengal is one of the clearance of dead and dying channels and treatment of Railway embankments ; those of Eastern Bengal is the fighting down of the water-hyacinth and regulation of natural flow. The problem of Central Bengal is rather intricate and difficult. The chief function here should be of restoring the old rivers and proper drainage of the country which, in the words of Sir William Wilcocks, is the ancient overflow irrigation of Bengal.

Regarding the difficulties created by the Railway embankments late Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal put in a novel suggestion that may also be seriously considered jointly by the railway authorities, the village communities on the railway lines, and the Government.* The railway lines in most parts of Bengal have an unbroken series of dug-out land where water is collected and confined during the rains which offers favourable breeding ground not only for the malaria parasites but also for the germs of cholera and other fatal diseases. It seems to the lay mind that it may not be very difficult, much less impossible, to convert these dug-out lands into regular canals which may serve partly as a source of water-supply for agricultural purposes as well as for fish-culture, yielding a very decent income to the railway authorities. There are canals of the same kind along some railway lines in England. It cannot be beyond the conception of modern engineering experts to plan a continuous system of this canal, along the entire railway line from Calcutta to Goalundo, for instance, or from Sealdah-Beliaghata to Port Canning or Diamond Harbour. The former may be connected with the Padma and the Gorai and the latter with the Matla and the Hooghly, with lock-gates at either end. The idea is fascinating to the lay mind and may be considered by engineering experts for what is worth.

Regarding surface drainage the first step in any scheme is the carrying out of a drainage survey and the construction of a drainage map noting therein if the old drainage channels can be traced at all. This has been done by the Irrigation Department of the Government. But it is a general complaint that the Irrigation Department is not so much active as the people would like it to be. However, the Department has at long last drawn up a map of the drainage of the province. This map will show the drainage lines and the public as well as the Government can so regulate the construction of railway lines and embankments as to keep the drainage of the province uninterfered. After this has been done, the ryot can be educated to construct shallow surface drains, provided with slightly raised grass borders so as to afford a free passage to the surplus water, and to assist absorption and prevent erosion.

Dr. C. A. Bentley has briefly summarized the measures to be adopted as follows

(1) Prohibition of further embankments ; (2) survey of existing embankments and their water-ways ; (3) survey of river-channels and

* *Vide* B. C. Pal's paper on "Rural Reconstruction in Bengal", *Bengal Co-Operative Journal*. Vol. XIII. No. 4.

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other water-courses ; (4) the mapping out of local spill areas and lines of drainage ; (5) improvement of existing water-channels ; (6) examination of the local water-table.

The evidence incriminating embankments as the cause both of agricultural decline and increased malaria is so overwhelming as to warrant immediate action to prohibit the construction of any new embankments. As the existing legislation cannot do this, emergency legislation will be necessary. Roads, railways and embankments are, no doubt, a necessity ; but their interests must be subordinated to those of agriculture and irrigation. However, schemes of irrigation always include improved communications and irrigation projects also require the embanking of the rivers in order that they may be adequately controlled and their waters properly utilized.

A complete record with full particulars of the various types of embankments that exist in Bengal is not available. But such a record is absolutely necessary, and it must include detailed information regarding the number, character and size of the water-ways, and the areas within the sphere of influence of any particular length of embankments. A preliminary survey must, therefore, be carried out in each district of all existing major embankments, including those for flood protection and for communications, such as, railways and roads. This preliminary survey may be done in one dry season. In this connection arises the question of the water-ways in embankments. Although bridges are always necessary where an embankment crosses a definite water-way, for the preservation of the embankment itself, the more or less haphazard provision of an extra number of culverts beyond those required for this purpose is an expedient of very doubtful value.

A survery of all existing water-courses in every district is also essential. Water-courses require to be examined from three points of few : (*i*) drainage, (*ii*) irrigation and (*iii*) communications. As regards drainage, this function of the water-courses is not generally overlooked. But it is necessary to emphasize the importance of water-courses from the point of view of irrigation and transportation, because these two important functions have been grievously neglected in the deltaic tracts of Bengal. Only second in importance to irrigation is the question of transportation. In every part of Bengal, the condition of the water-ways has an immense bearing on the question of malaria, and one of the best ways of keeping delta tracts healthy is to preserve the channels and use them both for irrigation and navigation. The malarious northern portion of Faridpur district, where there are roads and railways, exhibits a striking contrast with the healthy south-western area where the rivers and streams are very numerous and serve every village throughout the year and where all trade is carried by water.

The mapping out of local spill areas and lines of drainage is also of great importance in this connection. The question of spill areas and lines of drainage is bound up with the regime of delta channels ; and an adequate survey of the latter necessitates the careful examination of the former. Accurate information regarding this matter can only be obtained during the flood season. As in the case of the survey of embankments and minor water channels, this work can be best undertaken by the engineering staff of the district and local boards, assisted, where necessary, by officers of the Irrigation Department of the Government. The preparation of drainage maps on the lines suggested by the late Sir Edward Buck, K. C. S. I., showing by an arrow the main-drainage lines which carried the drainage water out of the village, should be taken up by every district as part of a general programme for the prevention of malaria and agricultural decline.

Next in importance is the survey of the water-table. It is probable that throughout the deltaic tracts great fluctuations take place in the height of the water-table at different seasons of the year. The yearly rise of the rivers and the rainfall are undoubtedly the factors exerting the greatest influence upon the height of the water-table. Annual and seasonal variations are governed by these two factors. It is conceivable that the presence of embankments may also in certain circumstances increase and in others reduce the mean height of the water-table very considerably, and modify the normal seasonal fluctuations in the one direction by

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the shutting out of flood-water and in the other by the checking of the "run-off." According to Dr. C. A. Bentley the simplest method of making observations regarding the water-table is to record the height of the water in wells, and the corresponding level of the water in rivers and streams. In addition to taking water levels, investigations into the character of the ground-water will have to be undertaken as in Egypt.*

But the most important part of Irrigation in Bengal is the improvement of the existing water-channels. No really adequate scheme of improvement of the main channels can be undertaken in the absence of comprehensive surveys of the larger rivers and the smaller water-courses. Sir William Wilcocks entered into this aspect of the Irrigation Problem of Bengal with the authority of a world-renowned expert and the zeal of a true philanthropist. His suggestions on this question are bound to be studied with the utmost attention they deserve. On this subject his views are diametrically opposed to those of the Irrigation Department of the Government. He says that the Irrigation Department has tried its hand at every kind of project it could imagine except "overflow irrigation" which is the only one adapted to Bengal; the resulting poverty of the soil, congestion of rivers, and malaria have stalked the canals and banks, and the country is strewn to-day with the wrecks of useless and harmful works. According to Sir William Wilcocks† the works needed in Bengal were :

(1) The clearing out of the ancient "overflow canals" and the strengthening of their banks or the making of new banks with the excavated material.

(2) Providing the "overflow canals" with regulating heads and sluices and adding new sluices every year.

(3) Strengthening the river banks, providing paved water-ways in the banks for the feeding of the smaller canals; allowing breaches to be made annually at approved places in the banks when the fear of an inundation had passed; and allowing breaches to be made annually as a matter of course, at approved places in the banks where the country was high-lying and there was no danger at any time. As time went on, and the important canals had been provided for with masonry regulations, the secondary and tertiary canals would have been provided with suitable sluices. Such action would by this time have provided the country with perfect overflow-irrigation.

According to Sir William, in Central Bengal the most pressing work is the "overflow irrigation" of the poor sandy districts of Murshidabad, Nadia and Northern Faridpur. In these sandy tracts the old "overflow canals" have been in many places ploughed up and levelled and their traces have been destroyed; but there are still traces of old canals in many places and the best of these might be made a beginning with. When these sandy lands are high-lying and abandoned, powerful pumps might be put up and channels led off and experiments made in irrigation with the rich muddy waters of the early floods followed by the less muddy waters of the ordinary floods. Similar experiments might be made on the Bhagirathi near Berhampore.

Sir William Wilcocks has said that through the overflow canals alone will be done the fertilizing of the fields with rich muddy deposit of the river floods, and the more concentrated attack on malaria. These overflow canals have to be made serviceable once more, by having the channels cleared to full width and depth, and banks made with the earth taken out of the beds. This can be done gradually. After a couple of years of experiment, according to Sir William, it will be easy to establish some form of cheap serviceable temporary works which will hold their own for 50 years, if necessary. In digging down the centre lines of old canals between the Hooghly and the Damodar, the cleared channels should be allowed to go down the middle lines of the once magnificent water-way and they should be put in communication with every filthy pool and tank on either side which are there today.*

* For a detailed account of the above suggestions *vide Malaria and Agriculture* by Dr. C. A. Bentley, pp. 67-82.

† Sir William Wilcocks, *Ancient System of Irrigation in Bengal*, page 38.

* For a detailed account of Sir William Wilcocks' suggestions *vide* chapters III & IV of *Ancient System of Irrigation in Bengal*

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When the flood irrigation has been secured Central and Western Bengal, it will be time think of reservoirs in the catchment basin the Damodar for the provision of October winter water to the lands between the modar and Hooghly in place of the water hich they have been deprived of.

Regarding the water control for agricul- al purposes the Royal Commission on riculture has very wisely recommended that cultivators who are the actual consumers the water, should be associated with the igation Department in the distribution of ter by means of Local Advisory Committee hich will study local needs and enquire into grievances of individual cultivators. These mmittees might also be utilized for the rpose of pushing on necessary agricultural rms or the introduction of new crops. Co-operative Organization Societies could started of the Maclegan type, or Irrigation nchayats could be organized, the work of management of the minor distributories ld be entrusted to them.*

In this connection it must be mentioned at the co-operative movement has done mense good to the people by tackling the igation problem with all the seriousness it serves. Some interesting schemes for irrigation co-operative principles have been tried in United Provinces. One of these is the nawar Co-operative Society for pumping out ter from the Gumti at a place in the nnao district for distribution in the fields members of two or three adjacent credit cieties. In this experimental undertaking Government of the United Provinces bore initial cost which was realized in instal- nts from the societies. The latter levied a te from each member according to the area rigated. The first irrigation society in Bengal as formed in the year 1916 at Khelar in the strict of Midnapore by the combined efforts members of two successful rural co-operative cieties in the area. The object of the society as to construct a dam across a natural stream d to distribute the water in the fields of the mbers by means of artificial channels. The t of the scheme was met from shares subscribed by the members. The society has removed a real want in the locality and is generally appreciated by its members. The formation of the co-operative irrigation societies has recently come to prominence owing to a strong demand for such societies in the district of Bankura in Bengal. With the single exception of an irrigation society at Khelar in the district of Midnapore organized in 1916 which, however, did not lead to any further movement in this direction, the beginnings of organized effort for the solution of the irrigation problem in Bengal date from the middle of the year 1919. In April 1919, a movement was started by the Agricultural Association in the district of Birbhum for the re-excavation of irrigation tanks and *bunds* in that district through the agency of the Branch Agricultural Associations. Over a hundred irrigation societies were formed in the district of Bankura for the execution of irrigation work entailing an expenditure of over 3 lakhs of rupees. For the success of the irrigation movement by co-operative means it is very desirable that the societies should be organized with great caution. In particular, it is very necessary that there should be a careful estimate of the cost in respect of the projects for which societies are organized. Owing to the absence of a whole time agricultural engineer, difficulties were previously experieneed in preparing careful estimates. The Government of Bengal have, however, appointed an Agricultural Engineer who is expected to help these societies with his expert advice, and hence it is probable that no more difficulties in this direction will crop in future. A Central Co-operative Irrigation Bank has been formed to finance the irrigation societies in Bankura. Regarding the good effect of these societies, Mr. G. S. Dutt, then Collector of Bankura, said: "Already the effect wrought by this co-operation has been almost magical. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the whole outlook before the people of the district has been altered in the short space of five months. Wherever an irrigation society has been formed disunion has given place to close and active co-operation, fatalism in despair and in action has given place to activity and the spirit of a new life." A concrete instance of

* *Vide* B. B. Mukherjee's *Co-operation and Rural Welfare in India*. Chapter II.

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what co-operative irrigation can achieve in the domain of rural progress in the life of an agricultural community is the story of the wonders wrought by co-operative irrigation in America. Harold Powell, writing on co-operation in agriculture, dwells on the striking fact that in the United States of America in 1909, of the total irrigated area of the land, *viz.*, nearly 14 millions of acres, no less than one-third was under co-operative enterprises, and he goes on to say that "in no other industry in the United States is there so large a percentage of co-operation as in irrigation."

The problem of irrigation in the shape of drainage and waterways in Bengal is really not so difficult as it appears on the surface. But its solution, of course, presupposes a knowledge of the slopes and requirements of the Province. The ancient system of irrigation that obtained in Bengal about a century ago must be carefully studied and an attempt must be made to restore it, as far as possible, by the co-ordinated action of the Irrigation, Agricultural, Co-operative and Public Health Departments of the Government and the joint action of the people.

THE PROBLEM OF THE PACIFIC THROUGH ORIENTAL EYES

By TARAKNATH DAS, M. A., Ph. D.

V

RECENT developments in American-Japanese relations indicate that statesmen of Japan and the United States are anxious to solve American-Japanese problems amicably. Japanese statesmen as well as those of America realize that a war between these two nations would be a very costly affair and, whatever may be the outcome of the conflict—and there is every reason to think that there would be ultimate victory for the United States—would be a serious economic loss to both the nations. Viscount Ishii, in one of his recent interviews to the editor of *Japan Advertiser* (Tokio), an American paper, pointed out that a war between Japan and the United States would be profitable to those nations which are anxious to re-capture the markets from Japan and the United States in various parts of the world and specially in the orient. It is the opinion of many Japanese and American students of international affairs that economically and commercially the interests of Japan and the United States are not competitive, but supplementary; and therefore there is no serious economic rivalry between these two nations. Study of recent trade statistics will show that the United States of America is not suffering from Japanese trade competition. It is quite apparent that the nations that would be most benefited by a war between Japan and the United States would be Great Britain and Germany. Russia and China would also gain some benefit. This fact must not be ignored that a defeat of Japan would upset the balance of power in the Far East, which would not be to the advantage of the United States.

One may point out that when General Araki resigned the position of the Minister of War, it was the beginning of serious efforts on the part of Japan to settle all outstanding problems between Japan and the United States through negotiations. Recent exchange of notes between the American Secretary of State Mr. Hull and the Japanese Foreign Minister Mr. Hirota might be regarded as the beginning of such negotiations.

President Roosevelt by ordering that the United States Atlantic fleet, which was concentrated in the Pacific, would be removed from the Pacific, has given an indication that the United States has no aggressive intention towards Japan. This has resulted in change of attitude among the Japanese public. Furthermore, the signing of the Philippine Independence Bill has created a profound impression regarding American World Politics. The people of Asia, including the Japanese, realize that American policy is not to use the Philippines as the advance base for the establishment of an Oriental Empire as other nations have done. Japan welcomes this move more than any other nation; because it will eliminate one of the causes of possible friction between Japan and the United States. It is of great interest for all students of colonial administration that what is happening in the Philippines would have a tremendous effect in rousing national aspirations of other oriental peoples who are labouring under foreign domination. The Philippine Independence measure is not heartily

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...ormed by European Powers which have ...ests in the orient; and some of them think ... this American measure would make the ...ippinoes as future prey of Japanese Impe... But it has been reported from ...on that the Japanese Ambassador ...shington two days after the passage of the ... Saito, two days after the passage of the ...ppine Independence Bill, took the initiative ... the Japanese Government would begin ...versations with the United States authorities, ...ding the steps which would guarantee ...pendence of the Philippines through inter... agreements among all the powers who ...ssess vital interests in the Pacific. If Japan can ...re equal opportunity for trade in the Philippines, ...would be more profitable for her to let the ...ippinoes govern their country, than attempting ...le them. This would remove some of the un...rable impressions regarding Japan's policies. ...fact, Philippine Independence will be an asset ... Japan. It may also be mentioned that ...rican domination over the Philippines is a ...ity from the standpoint of American ...national economic policies as well as military ...naval strategy. Mr. Bywater, the British naval ...ert, in his excellent work on the "Sea Power ...the Pacific" expressed the views of a ...guished American naval officer, on the ...ect in following words:

"The Philippines are there for Japan when... she likes to take, and nothing can prevent ...from seizing them when she feels disposed ...to so. As at present circumstanced, we could ...nothing whatever to protect them in time of ...If we were foolish enough to locate a fleet ...Manila the history of Port Arthur would ...at itself, with us in the rôle of the Russians. ...expeditionary force consisting of 18-knot ...ports, guarded by a squadron of reasonable ...gth, could leave the southern ports of Japan, ...Manila in three days and can make ...ute master of Luzon, before succor could ...e from Hawaii our nearest naval base which ...60 miles away."

The above opinion of an American naval ...rt, expressed in 1921, remains substantially ...today. While the United States is preparing ...abandon the Philippines, she is augmenting ...naval strength at Hawaii which is purely ...sive in character; and the Japanese cannot ...do not take exception to it.

Some of the European statesmen think that ...authorization of a vast naval programme, as ...as the programme of construction of ...anes by the United States, and the ...sed naval and military forces of Japan ...egarded as a prepartion towards an inevitable ...t between these two Pacific Powers. These ...n of the United States should carefully read ...ident Roosevelt's declaration in connection ...the signing of the recent Navy Bill. He ...s it clear that America was only adopting ...ey which she was free to adopt, but did not make the necessary appropriation for the whole of the naval building programme. Critics of America, specially British statesmen, should remember that America did not build up her navy to the limit of the Washington and London treaties, hoping that there will be some action regarding disarmament; and now she is taking steps to build her navy so that she will not be at a serious disadvantage when the next naval conference convenes in 1935-36. The critics of Japanese naval and military policy should also remember that if Russia is free to augment her land and air forces in the Far East which may threaten Japanese position in Manchuria and Korea and even Japan proper by air raids, and if Great Britain is free to develop the most formidable naval base at Singapore where the whole of the British fleet might be concentrated against Japan and her ever-growing over-sea-commerce, is it a crime for Japan to take the necessary steps for augmenting her naval and military strength without violating any of the existing treaties? Here I again wish to point out that there should not be double standards of international morality—one for the Asiatics and the other for the Western Powers.

One of the causes of the existing American-Japanese misunderstanding is that Japan has been refused immigration quota in the United States. This is bitterly resented by the Japanese people, as an expression of "racial discrimination". It has been recently reported that the U. S. Secretary of State, Mr. Hull, has expressed his willingness to extend "quota rights" regarding Japanese immigration, because by such a concession America would lose nothing, as only about one hundred Japanese would be allowed to immigrate into the United States annually. Such a solution would create better feeling between these two nations; and the most enlightened American public opinion is in favour of according equality to Japan in matters of immigration.

It has also been reported that the Japanese Government wishes to open negotiations with the United States regarding various outstanding problems, including the signing of a Non-agression Pact or a general arbitration treaty; and also to discuss mutual policies regarding the coming Washington Naval Conference of 1935-36. Here it may be said that the Japanese are afraid of any possibility of an Anglo-American Naval Pact or understanding before the next Washington Conference convenes in 1935-36.

It is quite clear that unless the United States Government takes an aggressively hostile stand against Japan in the Manchurian question, and if Japan does not take any further aggressive measure in China, there is some reason to think that the American and Japanese governments would consolidate their friendships of eighty years' standing; and there would be no American-Japanese War in the Pacific. Strengthening of

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American-Japanese friendship does not mean that America would be less anxious to maintain her traditional friendship with China. American Pacific policy is to maintain her own rights in the Pacific region through cordial relations with all the great Powers in the Pacific. There are many reasons to think that Japanese statesmen, for the promotion of best interests of Japan, would do their best to come to an understanding with America on all outstanding questions. It is quite possible that they would succeed in their efforts; because there is no economic rivalry between Japan and the United States. The real economic rivalry in the orient is between Japan and Great Britain; and there is serious difference of opinion between British and American economic policies all over the world.

VI

Since the resumption of diplomatic relations between Soviet Russia and the United States, there is much talk of a possiblity of a Russo-Japanese war, in which Russia might receive financial and moral support from the United States as well as Britain against Japan. A section of British politicians may be favourable to a Russo-Japanese war, because it would weaken Britain's two rivals in Asia. But it may be safely asserted that the present government of the United States would not act in such a way which may encourage a war between Japan and Russia. It is to be hoped confidently that the United States Government would use its influence and pressure for peaceful solution of a possible Russo-Japanese dispute.

In spite of much talk of the Soviet leaders that they are prepared to meet Japanese invasion, Russia's industrial and economic condition, her external relations in Europe are in such a condition that no sane Russian statesman would court a war with Japan. A Russian defeat in a war would result in a possible Revolution and the present rulers are not likely to take chances by provoking a war with Japan. Russian transporation system is far from being in a fit condition to meet the demands that will be made on it in case of a war in the Far East. Although Russia has made great progress in improving the communication system in the Far East, during the last two years, it is far from satisfactory. Russia's diplomatic relations with various European nations have improved considerably, through the signing of non-aggression. pacts with France, Poland, Roumania, Czechoslovakia, Italy and the Baltic States. However, the advent of Hitler regime in Germany has practically dislocated German-Russian relations. There are rumours that although Hitler regime is anti-Asiatic in its outlook, it would rather support Japan against Russia, in case of a Russo-Japanese War; because anything that will weaken Russia would weaken communism and make it easier for Germany to carry out her programme of eastward expansion as expounded by Herr Rosenberg and to bring about the fulfilment of the idea of New Middle Europe, under German hegemony. The Japanese are willing to promote German-Japanese friendship; but they are quite aware of the fact that German motive behind supposed friendship for Japan is nothing more than what was the policy of Germany under Kaiser Wilhelm II, who favoured a Russo-Japanese war to strengthen German position in Europe. Furthermore, the Japanese are also aware of the fact that Germans are most anxious to aid the Chinese in developing steel industry which may help China in her efforts to arm herself, and there are German officers who are in the employ of the Chinese Government to reorganize Chinese army. Japan would not depend upon German support and attack Russia; because any attack on Russia by Japan would alienate French support to Japan.

It may be said that Japan has no real fear of Russia commercially as well as militarily. (Japan does not under-estimate Soviet Russia's military power.) Unless Russia goes against Japan, and decides to co-operate with China actively against Japan, there will be no Russo-Japanese War; because Japan would not force a war on Russia.

Japan depends considerably upon French support in international politics. It is reported that a French syndicate would invest a very large sum, to develop Manchukuo, as a joint enterprise of Japan and France. It is also a well-known fact that Japan and France are bound by treaty to respect their mutual interest in the Far East. France does not wish that Russia be involved in a war with Japan; because such a war will be of great disadvantage to France both in Europe and Asia. A Russo-Japanese war may develop into another World War and France has nothing to gain through such a development in world politics. Therefore it is to be hoped that through the moderating influence of the United States of America and France and possibly Italy which is in very close relations with Soviet Russia, there would be no war between Japan and Russia.

However, one cannot ignore, the war-like preparations in the Far East. According to the well-informed special correspondent of London *Times*, "the total strength of the Far Eastern Army of Russia including some 10,000 cavalry is about 150,000 men with something over 200 heavy guns, about 500 field guns, a similar number of light mortars, 300-400 light and a few heavy tanks, 4000-5000 machine guns and 300-400 aeroplanes. There are besides a division of O. G. P. U.'s special troops near the Manchurian frontier and at least one division of cavalry in Outer Mongolia trained on the Soviet model and at the disposal of the Soviet. An aeroplane base has been organized at Irkutsk, and chemical works for producing poison-gas at Kemerov.

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East Siberia, where the necessary materials are ...ose at hand. Great reserves of oil fuel are ...id to have been brought to the Far East ....e aeroplanes of the Far Eastern Army include ...t 50 heavy bombers with a radius of action ...ge enough to take them to the west coast of ...pan, but Tokyo and most of the other ...portant centres are too distant to be in serious ...nger of destruction from the air. According ... Bluecher, Commander-in-Chief of the Far ...stern Army, there are in Manchuria 130,000 ...panese troops or one-third of the total Japanese ...my, 110,000 Manchukuo soldiers, and 12,000 ...lled "white-guards" under Japanese command. ...ese figures are, he says, "absolutely exact". ...s, April 4, 1934)

It has been recently reported that the Soviet ...vernment have chartered several British and ...ch freighters to transport ammunitions from ...ssia to Vladivostok. The Soviet Government ...s also appropriated several million dollars for ...ring immediate improvement of the port of ...ilivostok. Furthermore, it is generally con-...ded that a Russo-Japanese war would benefit ...eat Britain, China, Germany and even the ...ited States and all economic rivals of Japan; ...erefore, there is some possiblity of a Russo-...panese war, which can be and should be ...erted.

It is my personal opinion that Japanese and ...ssian statesmen, as realists, would solve their ...standing differences without a war; because ...y realize that a war between them would not ...to their real advantage. If Russia recognizes ...panese interests in Manchuria by recognizing ...nchukuo, and if Japan shows proper ...gnition of Russian spheres of influence in ...ter-Mongolia and Chinese Turkistan, then ...pan and Russia may even form an alliance ...secret understanding verging to an alliance. ...e Russo-Japanese understandings of 1907, ...; 1916 and 1920 supply us food for thought ...alling such a possibility.

VII

Prof. Tyler Dennet of Princeton University, ...f. George Washington Hall (generally known ...Upton Close) and many American authorities ...ld that the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese ...ance in 1921, at the Washington Conference ...s really a parting of ways between Japan ...d Britain. Today there is no part of the ...rld especially in the orient, where Japanese ...d British economic and commercial interests ...not conflict.

As early as 1915 and 1916, the Japanese and ...e British began to suspect each other regarding ...ir policies in the Far East. Japan was ...termined that Britain must not acquire any ...onopoly in China even as a leasehold. This ...as one of the real reasons for the so-called ...Twenty-one Demands" of Japan, by which, ...among other things, Japan forced China to agree that she would lease, cede or sell any of Chinese territories or ports or islands to any third Power. The Japanese are fully convinced that during and after the Washington Conference, Britain followed a policy which was detrimental to Japanese interests. The Japanese feel that the Lytton Commission was engineered by Britain to bring about moral isolation of Japan in the field of diplomacy. The Japanese are quite outspoken that the Singapore Naval Base is a direct menace to Japan.

In the meantime, Japanese economic competition, in spite of the existing Imperial Preference, has undermined British commerce in all parts of the world, even in British colonies, dominions and in India. Today the nature of economic war between Britain and Japan is of much more serious character than it was between Germany and Britain before the World War. The failure of recent trade-negotiations between Japanese delegates and Lancashire business men is an indication of the depth of the conflict.

It is generally expected that many of the Western nations which are also suffering from Japanese competition would blame Japan and side with Great Britain. But is Japan really to blame for her marvellous economic and industrial developments? In this connection, might not Japan ask the Italian people if they are to blame because they have developed the fastest and best passenger service between the Orient and Europe, which is hurting British shipping?

What was the cause of the failure of the recent trade-talk between Japan and Great Britain? British business men demanded of Japanese delegates that Japan and Great Britain should agree to divide up markets of the whole world amongst themselves regarding certain class of goods. The Japanese on principle suggested that they preferred "equal opportunity and no commercial discrimination" as their policy. However, they were willing to come to an agreement with Great Britain regarding markets of Great Britain proper and her crown colonies and not regarding her dominions and markets of other nations. I believe that no fair-minded person would take exception to Japanese stand.

This commercial rivalry between Britain and Japan is a real menace and gives rise to a belief that if these two nations fail to adjust their differences, there may be a war in the Pacific. British naval experts know that Japan can take Hongkong without much difficulty; and therefore Great Britain has developed the Singapore naval base as the most formidable naval establishment in the world. According to recent reports published in the *Daily Telegraph* (London) and *Chicago Tribune* and some German papers, it is claimed that new fortifications of Singapore are impregnable. In addition to these reports, one should take into consideration

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the recent British Empire naval conference held at Singapore, the details of which have been very closely guarded. However, it may be safely asserted that Singapore naval base is not directed primarily against China and Russia whose naval strength are in no way dangerous to Britain. Obviously, Britain has no designs against the United States in the Pacific. There is no doubt that Japan is the real objective.

It is also reported that the Governments of Holland and Great Britain have secret agreements so that the British fleet and Air Forces would use Dutch territory in the East Indies, to prevent Japan from getting hold of Java and other islands containing vast oil resources. Of course, this report has been denied; but one cannot take the denial very seriously. If the Dutch have no understanding with Britain regarding the defence of the Dutch East Indies, then it would not have been possible for the Dutch government to reduce its naval strength now when the situation in the Pacific is so uncertain. The understanding between Holland and Great Britain may be something like a secret offensive and defensive alliance.

One should know that Great Britain would never go to a war with a first class power and in the orient, unless she was sure that she would be able to utilize the resources, man-power and strategic position in India. Just as a few years before the outbreak of the World War, Britain made a great concession to the Boers, granting them full self-government, with the understanding and expectation that a contented Boer people in case of a war against Britain would not make a common cause with Germans in Africa, similarly Britain is going to give some concessions to the Indian moderates and Princes who would be willing to stand by Great Britain against Japan, as Gandhi and others did during the World War. The programme of separation of Burma from India, as advocated by the British Government, is more for military and strategic reasons. Burma possesses valuable oil and other mineral resources which must be reserved for British exploitation. Furthermore, Burma can serve as an important supporting base to British naval base at Singapore. One may also point out that recently British forces have penetrated into Yunan through Burma. Furthermore, Burma may serve as an excellent base of operation against Siam, in case the latter country decides to support Japan.

There are more reasons than one to think that if Japan and Great Britain fail to solve their differences, during the coming Washington Conference of 1935-36, then the present Anglo-Japanese rivalry may lead to a war in the Pacific. Although I may be mistaken, but it is my conviction that when the Japanese naval and military authorities were demanding, a few months ago, that Japan for her self-defence should have a strong navy and army, they were possibly thinking more of the possibility of an Anglo-Japanese conflict, than an American-Japanese war or a Russo-Japanese war.

It may be safely predicted that in spite of great resources of the British Empire and superior navy, Britain would not pick up a quarrel with Japan, unless she was sure of getting American and Chinese support. It is generally regarded as certain that China—the Cantonese faction—would range against Japan in favour of Great Britain. Therefore, the future of Anglo-Japanese relations largely remains in the hands of the United States of America, and she, I hope, will use her policy of benevolent attitude in solving the increasing difficulty between these two nations.

Furthermore, developments in European politics will have a determined effect in Britain's attitude towards Japan. Britain must protect her supremacy in the Mediterranean. She cannot fight Japan and maintain her position in the Mediterranean, unless she can get an ally in the Mediterranean. Many think that Italy is committed to aid Britain in the Mediterranean but nothing definite is known about it. However, the possible development of a German navy with the pocket-battleships, increase of Russian naval power in the Baltic and the Black Seas and the programme of the development of Turkish navy which, according to the report of *Chicago Tribune* (Paris) of March 24, 1934, has been entrusted to Japan, and increase of Spanish navy in the Mediterranean may complicate the existing situation. In this connection, Italy becomes a vital factor in any possible development in Anglo-Japanese relations.

An Anglo-Japanese war is not inevitable, although it is probable. It can be and should be averted by statesmanship. It has been reported that sober British statesmen are urging British business men to settle economic difficulties with Japan through negotiations and co-operation. There is every reason to believe that another Anglo-Japanese conference will soon be held to solve the problems of trade competition. Japanese statesmen, specially the Japanese Foreign Minister, Mr. Hirota, have made it clear that Japan would do her best to maintain friendship with Britain.

VIII

Japan has everything to gain from avoiding a war and much to lose in case of a defeat. This is fully realized by Japanese statesmen who are carrying on a policy which would protect Japan from a diplomatic military and naval defeat. However, there are ultra-nationalists and militarists in Japan who are short-sighted and often talk of war. They are apt to overestimate Japanese strength and therefore think that Japan can, without difficulty. defeat Russia, America or Great Britain. They generally forget that in case of a war against Japan, Japan may be

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completely isolated as was the case with the German Empire, during the World War. They also forget that Japan's defensive position is not impregnable.

In 1921, Mr. Nakamura, a Japanese writer of note, wrote about the difficulties of Japanese national defence in the following way:

"Japanese control over the Sea of Japan and the Yellow Sea may not protect her from blockade. At no period of the World War did Germany lose command of the Heligoland Bight or of the Baltic, and she was therefore able to guard her coastline from naval attack. But this did not save her from the fatal pressure of the blockade, the operation of which was the real cause of her defeat. Nor, in our case, would the undisputed command of the Sea of Japan protect us from blockade. It would be within the power of a superior naval opponent to strangle our commerce and cut off our supplies without sending a single ship into the Sea of Japan. The majority of the merchant ships entering Japanese ports traverse certain steamer lanes which the enemy would have no difficulty in closing. Having established a blockade, he would certainly endeavour to undermine our resistance by attacking exposed ports of the coast with battleships, submarines and aircrafts. Many of our great commercial and naval harbours would be open to attack and the enemy, being well-informed as to our resources, would know in what direction to concentrate his efforts. On the Pacific Coast the capital of Tokyo, the huge *entrepot* of Yakohama, would lie open to the visitations of hostile flying machines. Osaka, the heart of our national industry, would not be beyond any enemy's reach, and the swarming industrial lives of Kyushu would present him with invulnerable targets. Our coast defences, submarines and torpedo boats might be able to prevent the near approach of hostile armourclads; but they could do nothing against an invading air-fleet. The sole defence against this form of attack is a battle-fleet of sufficient power to sweep outer seas and make it impossible for the enemy to send out his air-craft carrying vessels. Sea-power and air-power have already become synonymous terms; but above and beyond all we must provide ourselves with an adequate battle fleet, if the safety of the Empire is to be assured." Bywater: *Sea Power in the Pacific*, p. 305-306.

The above statement of a Japanese gives a warning to Japan; and it also explains which might be the policy of Japan regarding her future naval defence. Japanese jingoes should know this fact that if ever the combined fleet of Britain and the United States, supported by China, Russia and other powers, attack Japan, then Japan's very existence will be threatened. Japan, therefore, has much to fear from a possible diplomatic defeat.

A British naval expert in 1921 held that there was a possibility of a war between Japan and the United States and sounded the following warning to Japan:

"To foreign observers it seems that Japan has everything to lose and nothing to gain by a policy of aggressiveness. By sheer hard work and indomitable courage she has triumphed over the handicap of scanty natural resources and raised herself to a commanding position in the world. The problem of overpopulation has been solved in part by annexation of Korea and Formosa and of late years a new outlet, practically limitless in possibilities, has been found in China. It is here if anywhere that Japan may realize her true destiny, and it is there her claims for priority are less open to challenge than in any other quarter. There is plenty of resources in China for all legitimate interests, if Japan would bring herself to discard the methods she has borrowed from Prussia, in favour of a policy of conciliation and genuine friendship with the Chinese people, she would eventually acquire in that quarter a predominance which could never be seriously contested. It remains to be seen whether her rulers and statesmen have sufficient acumen to seize the unique opportunity thus presented to them instead of hazarding the fortunes of Dai Nippon in a militant gamble more reckless even than that which causes the ruin of the German Empire"—Bywater: *Sea Power in the Pacific*, pp. 318-319.

What Mr. Bywater had to say in 1921 may be well applied today in case of a war in the Pacific in which Japan may be involved. Japan has everything to gain by avoiding a war. It may be said that a victory in the battle-field or a naval war will not be sufficient. She may face a concert of Western powers and a diplomatic defeat which may be disastrous. *Furthermore, if Japan loses she will not only endanger her own destiny, but her defeat by any combination of Western powers will be a crushing blow to the cause of Asian Independence. It is my earnest hope that the Japanese people will win greater victory by following the path of conciliation and peace.*

IX

I have already mentioned that every nation which has commerce in the Pacific and plays an important part in world politics is directly or indirectly involved in all problems of the Pacific. Italy as a great Power is directly interested in all the developments of events in the Pacific. Furthermore, Signor Mussolini, as the head of the Italian Government, has made it clear in his two recent speeches and one special article that Italy has great interest in cultural and commercial expansion in the orient as a whole.

During recent years, Italy has been taking special interest in Chinese affairs. Italy was a party in suppressing the Boxer Rebellion and thus extracted an indemnity from China.

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However, on October 1, 1925, Italian and Chinese governments signed an agreement regarding the Boxer indemnity fund due to Italy and made arrangements that certain part of this amount should be spent by a Sino-Italian Commission "for educational, philanthropic works in China as well as enterprises and works of public utility, the materials for which shall be bought in Italy." This may be regarded as the beginning of farsighted cultural co-operation and commercial expansion of Italy in China.

On November 27, 1928, Italy and China signed a new treaty of amity and commerce which went into effect on May 21, 1929, upon the signature of the protocol of ratification. By this treaty it was agreed to accord *favoured nation treatment* to each other's citizens regarding customs and all related matters. The article of this agreement is very significant: "The nationals of each of the two High Contracting Parties shall be subject, in the territory of the other, to the laws and jurisdiction of the law courts of that Party to which they shall have free and easy access for the enforcement and defence of their rights."

This means that the Italian Government showed its willingness to concede to the demands of the Chinese regarding the abolition of "extra-territoriality", provided the Chinese Government could make an arrangement with all other Treaty Powers on the subject. The Chinese government made it clear that "Italian subjects shall be amenable to Chinese laws and jurisdiction from the date to be fixed by China, after having come to an agreement for the abolition of extra-territoriality with all the Powers, signatory to the Washington Treaties, it being understood that such a date shall be applicable to all such Powers."

This makes it clear that Italy is not opposed to abolition of "extra-territoriality" in China. This fact has brought about much cordiality between Italian and Chinese governments. Recently, several Chinese missions—educational, financial as well as military—have visited Rome and received cordial attention of Italian authorities. The Italian Government has lent the services of one of the best Italian airmen, Col. Bernardi, who is now in China to help the Chinese authorities in the field of consolidating and improving Chinese Air Service. Slowly but surely, Italy is spreading her influence in China; and Italian policy is definitely in favour of a free and independent China, extending equal opportunity to all nations for trade and commerce.

In the past Italian relations with Japan were most cordial; because Italy and Japan had practically the same problems—problems of population, raw materials, etc.,—to face. It is my impression, which may not be correct, that during the last few months, Italian press and public men have given expressions which have not been entirely welcome by the Japanese people as well as the government. Some people think that this is due to the fact that Japanese commercial expansion has invaded such regions—even in Africa and the Near East—where Italy held a special position. Furthermore, Italian foreign policy in Europe is at the present to be on very cordial terms with Great Britain and Russia, the two nations which are opposed to Japanese economic and political ascendancy in the Far East. Italy, to be sure, has no reason to be antagonistic to Japan and I am inclined to think that the two governments will maintain cordial relations. Yet Italian authorities, who are duty-bound to promote Italian national interests, may regard that intimate relations with Great Britain, Russia and China may be more valuable to Italy than the goodwill of a nation which is competing with Italy in international trade. However, it should not be overlooked by Italian statesmen that Japanese friendship is not a negligible factor in the world politics of today or tomorrow.

Signor Mussolini has repeatedly said that Italy's mission is to promote better understanding between the East and the West. In carrying out this mission, one of the most important factors is to do all that is possible to bring about better understanding between China and Japan, so that the most important causes of friction and possible conflict in the Far East may be removed. Secondly, one may expect that Signor Mussolini, with his personal influence with the Soviet Russian leaders, may aid the cause of better understanding between Japan and Russia. Thirdly, the Italian people and leaders should realize that *every far-sighted Asian is an advocate of Asian independence and racial equality before law.* There are Western Powers which are interested in keeping hundreds of millions of Asian people in subjection, which is a menace to the cause of World Peace. When the Japanese advocate "Asia for the Asiatics," they do not advocate that the Asian people should combine to fight the Western nations. They advocate that the Asian people should do their best to defend their homelands from foreign invaders; they must free themselves from the yoke of alien oppressors. Some of the Western journalists write about "Asiatic Menace", under the leadership of Japan. This is the product of "fear"—unfounded fear. Western Powers are quite willing to use Asian man-power and resources against themselves as they did in the World War; but they are mortally afraid of reawkening of Asia which may lead to loss of unjust privileges and profit of Western nations now dominating over certain parts of Asia. The real situation in Asia is this: there is a serious and growing opposition to European domination in Asia; but this does not mean that Asia is opposed to co-operation with those of European Powers which have no political control over Asian countries. If it is the mission of the Italian people to bring the East and the West

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mutual understanding, then every precaution should be taken against spreading any racial hatred against the people of Asia, especially against the Japanese.

In conclusion, I wish to emphasize that behind the so-called problem of the Pacific, there is the problem of India. In the most important drama of the twentieth century—in the struggle for Asian Independence as a whole—India will play the most important part. Awakened India will in course of time, recover her birthright of freedom and it will be the most important factor in all problems of the Pacific and World Politics.

Those who believe in the doctrine of co-operation between the East and the West—the Mussolini Doctrine—through the influence of Rome, should not forget that Italy cannot afford to be merely pro-Chinese or pro-Indian. Italy, maintaining friendly relations with India, Siam, China, Japan and other Asiatic countries, and at the same time maintaining her position as a Great Power in Europe, will be able to serve her enlightened interest most effectively and contribute her share towards peaceful solution of the Problem of the Pacific.

The late Prof. Dr. Paul S. Reinsch, former United States Minister to China, speaking of the American-Chinese relations, wrote: "By doing things in themselves worthwhile, Americans will contribute most to the true liberation of the Chinese." This motto may serve as a very sound guide to all Western Powers in their relations with the oriental peoples.

Rome, Italy
April 10, 1934.

PROGRESS AND PRECEDENCE IN A CENTURY OF PROGRESS EXPOSITION

By IDA M. GURWELL

IRREGULAR things are always happening in America. For the first time in history a great World's Fair is playing a return engagement.

The public said it couldn't be done, but the Administrators of the Century of Progress Exposition did it.

Clicking daily through the turnstiles of the gates stationed at intervals along a three mile front, come thousands of incredulous spectators. Some, this is the Chicago World's Fair but made over throughout. Even the sky line has been somewhat changed, and with the pronounced improvement in colour treatment, it has been possible to emphasize enchanting vistas that were not present before. Students of lighting and colour have been at work merging light and paint, and have achieved brilliant colour results worked out in satisfying combinations. The nights this year have unforgettable loveliness.

The World's Fair, Garagantuan in size, was conceived in a world-wide depression and born at the darkest hour. There was no illusion in June, 1934, about what must be done with the year old Exposition! Mistakes had been made. Capable nurses in charge knew that if the Fair was to live healthily through its second summer, they dare not feed it more obscenity; if poisons had been stored in the young exposition's system they must be speedily eliminated. True sufficient lime, in the form of cash, had been stored away to save the year old from rickets, and there were now no symptoms of malnutrition, a staff of Specialists had provided for this, but there were times, many of them, when it took courage to fight the ailments that a great enterprise is heir to, but those in charge of the precious bundle had something beside theory; 1933 had dealt them a hand of actual experience, so we find not only a well cared for investment but a prize winning Exposition. A stupendous achievement! The Officials of the Century of Progress Exposition have a right to feel proud.

The financial backers who did not have "cold feet," at least found the depression relentless and chilling. Some of them said, "Foolhardy! We must postpone this until better times." But the majority said, "The Century of Progress must open, and on schedule." Open it did.

The world should know more about the financing of this Exposition. It has not been easy. When we realize that not one cent of public funds of any sort, no donations, no loans or subsidies from any tax-paying body, Federal, State, county or municipal, has been asked or received for either the 1933 or 1934 Chicago World's Fair, this makes the Century of Progress unique among all major Expositions.

The Fair is gathering momentum; the success of the first year gave encouragement. There is little ballyhoo. The World knows the Fair is on, and that a choice of exhibits both old and new

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are there, and the attitude seems to be;—if *one* does not see it, it is *his* misfortune. There is a demand. This year at opening there was an advance sale of 4,000,000 tickets as against an advance sale last year of 2,300,000. Perhaps Americans have a little more money this summer, and perhaps one of the greatest reasons for the second year's success is that thousands of Americans will visit the Fair in lieu of a journey abroad because of the rate of exchange and unsettled conditions there.

How could the administrators of this vast project keep both exhibitors and public interested? How could the Exposition hope to pay out?

There is no precedent. Scarcely a person living who had been associated with the World's Columbian Exposition of forty years ago. The value of their experience was available only in old newspapers. It was suggested at a reunion of Press men that if the Century of Progress Exposition could be *immediately* repeated, a great contribution would be made to the science of expositional art, without breaking its continuity.

But such a gigantic enterprise must have tangible reasons for continuing, expressed in cold figures, before staking other added millions to an already colossal venture?

The Officials had facts gathered from 1933 and they started to compile them: They knew that seventy per cent. of the exhibitors who participated in the 1933 Fair had found it so profitable that they considered it a great waste of money and opportunity to quit when they had just started. A year was not enough. The seed had been sown, one crop had been reaped, they were anxious to harvest a second one.

$4,783,839 had been expended in 1933, in operating and maintaining the Fair for 170 days. The cost of operation by Governments, concessionaires, and exhibiting corporations probably exceeded those of the exposition, together they totalled $10,000,000.

The World's Fair attendance figure for 1933 was 22,565,859, the greatest number of visitors that ever attended an American Exposition.

More than $37,270,000 was spent by visitors for gate and concession admissions. $1.17 was the average expenditure per person, exclusive of the fifty-cent gate admission.

The bonded indebtedness of the exposition amounted to $10,000,000. Fifty per cent of that amount was paid to bondholders on November 13, 1933. The first time in history that so large a percentage of the bonded indebtedness of any exposition has ever been paid. Officials of the Fair after payment of all floating indebtedness had on hand $1,200,000 cash and current receivables. Surely a nice nest egg. Young 1934 Exposition was now assured the proper care through what might have been otherwise, a "colicy" summer.

There had been an insistent demand on the part of Chicago, after the Dress Rehearsal of 1933, for the show to continue. Last year's performance had been the salvation of business in this great industrial centre. National and International Conventions had been housed in Chicago by the score; Hotels that had previously had rooms closed save for an occasional dusting, were now filled to overflowing. The Fair was a good thing for Chicago, and Chicago sat up on its hind legs and demanded more Fair. Visitors from every part of the country wrote thousands of letters asking that the Century of Progress Exposition might continue, that they might have an opportunity to see the Fair; in many instances they expressed their convictions that they might have more money to spend in 1934.

An analysis shows that exhibitors wanted the Fair. The public was not so particular, but they could be depended on to come,—mob psychology would see to that: Chicago was clamouring for it; and the officials had already made a successful investment and wanted to continue. They knew facts. If only 13,000,000 paid admissions were rung up at the gates during the Fair of 1934, bills could be paid, and if by chance the admission equalled that of the first summer, in addition to the receipted bills, they would have a profit of many millions.

It would be difficult to estimate the value of the Century of Progress Exposition to the people of the world. Figures have not been compiled for 1934. It is estimated that in 1933, railroads brought 4,000,000 guests to the Fair. Motor buses brought an additional million. Automobiles, shiny and otherwise, loaded human freight to the tune of another 4,000,000, they occupied acres of parking space at the very gates, and spilled their dusty, carnival-spirited cargo into the grounds.

The exposition of 1934 is an improvement on its predecessor. There is more that is worth while to be seen. The second year reflects efficiency and finish in management too; in short it is a bigger and better Fair.

One hears on every side statements which while not *practical*, are *complimentary*; "This exposition should be made a permanent thing." This idea in the minds of the people is the highest tribute to the excellence of the achievement.

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THE VANISHING AMERICAN

By PASUPULETI GOPALA KRISHNAYYA, B.A. (Madras),
M.A., M. SC. (Columbia), PH. D. (New York)

"There are yet many thousands of Red Indians. The tribes, according to government estimate, are increasing in numbers, and yet the full-blood is everywhere becoming rare. "Civilization" has been fatal to the red man. In its environs he loses his vigor, languishes and falls an easy prey to its diseases. The frontier trading posts, where the Red Indian carried his furs and buffalo robes have passed; with them his source of furs and robes. Confined to "reservations" he must now trade with more or less honest merchants, paying for his purchases, with government money given him by the United States government or dollars obtained through the occasional sale of a horse. This dole, or annuity system, that seemed at the time of its establishment to be the best way to help the Red Indian, has proved itself a curse for it has robbed him of all initiative; and in maintaining it, the government is perpetuating pauperism. With this dole barely sufficient to keep body and soul together the Red Indian (and all his children-ons) become more and more dependent, and more and less able to care for himself—and less worthy. The old Red Indian, the warrior of his generation, presents no problem. He must be cared for until he died. But the young tribesmen, many of whom have gone to government schools, offer a grave problem, one that seems now to defy solution."

—FRANK B. LINDERMAN

NEW York is a world by itself. One can find in it practically all nationalities of the world. I had stayed in this metropolis for over a year and brushed shoulders with boys representatives of nearly all the countries in the world, except the real native of America, the so-called Red Indian. In the grand New York Zoo—the greatest in the world—they have a specimen of the bison that once roamed thousands over the plains of the New World, alas! extinct and to be seen only in reservations fostered by the government of the United States. There is yet another species which the government keeps in reservations and which has also vanished and which deserves a place in the same Zoo and that is the Red Indian—once the proud lord and master of these United States and now the little said of him better.

As I began, after a year's stay in this greatest city of the world, one evening I was speeding in the "Inter-Borough" on the crowded and fast New York sub-way, hanging by the strap when an individual approached me and congratulated me thus, "You are an Indian, arn't you?" I nodded and querried whether he was an Indian, because he looked to me as if he could be a lad from Bengal. He said, "Yes". I next asked from what part of India he hailed from? He replied, "No, I don't come from Indianna. I come from Oklahoma". By this time I understood my mistake and replied, "Look here. I am the true Indian and you are the false Indian". He flared up and said, "What do you mean?" I tried to explain and the fellow was ignorant that there was a great and glorious country called India, thousands of miles away from his, and by this time we had come to "42nd Street Broadway" where I had to get down and his parting shot at me was, "Hey, you are kidding me. You are an Inolian (he meant Red Indian) all right."

Since his advent in North America the European has met scores of tribes of people whom he called "Indians". He has fought with them, lived with them and yet he has never known them. Long association, even intermarriage, has failed to bring natural understanding. Unable to think alike the two races have remained distinctly apart, and yet each has influenced the other. Both recognize the bewildering barrier that separates them. Both understand that because of it the offspring of miscegnation are, at birth, expatriated from either. Mixed bloods, being neither red nor white, have bridged no difference between the races; on the contrary, they have seemed to emphasize them. Indeed there has been so little inter-breeding between the races that the theory of final assimilation seems to me absurd. The red race in North America, leaving a little of its blood to remind a few succeeding generations of white men that it once existed, will pass; in reality it has already passed. And what do we know about it? Almost nothing.

Every imaginable trait has been ascribed to the Red Indian. Many a truth concerning his customs, traditions and religious beliefs have been recorded; and not once has he protested. The old time Red Indian was, to the end, profoundly indifferent to the white man's estimate of him. He was a poor teacher, a difficult man to know. The young Red Indians know next to nothing about their people, their ancient customs, or traditions, and now it is too late to learn. The change from a normal to an uncertain and unnatural existence came so suddenly to the Red Indian that his customs and traditions could not flourish and they all but perished with the bison in the early eighties. One is startled that so brief a time could wipe away traditions ages old, and after contemplation

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wonders how much truth we know of ancient peoples.

His early experiences with the white men may have for ever estranged the Red Indian, since here, for the most part, the white man's record is bad. Anyway the Red Indian never had a fair opportunity to judge the white race justly. His estimate of it was formed by his association with white men he knew best, and unfortunately most of these were far from being fair representatives. Many of them were lawless men who had been banished from white society. Even in his dealing with the government of the United States he was sometimes cheated, and nearly always the treaties which he signed in good faith were broken by whites whose violations were upheld by the Government itself, so that long ago the Red Indian became distrustful of all white men.

The Red Indians were never saints. On the contrary they have many times qualified as nearly perfect devils. Their misdeeds have been told and retold ever since they first began to resent the white man's invasion of their land. But there is really another picture which has not been told. The Red Indian has a finer side. Any alleged wrongs he perpetuated are due to the fact that he was like an animal trapped and cornered. Here was the white man with his gun trying to deprive him of his land and possessions and the only weapon he had was the bow and arrow. The Red Indian, to his eternal credit, put up an heroic fight with such a handicap and let it be said that in the circumstances, he did behave better than his Christian invokers. With the provocation he had, his behaviour has been intensely humane.

The Red Indian is a tolerant man, a believer in one God. He has never been known to quarrel with his fellows, or with anybody else, over religion. He never manufactured an intoxicating beverage. He is not a stoic, but a natural man, who loves a joke. With friends his laugh is deep and hearty, and easily provoked. He is a thorough sportsman, the best of losers in games of chance, even in a battle to the death. He is not the petty thief that some interested people would like us to believe; and he is an individualist in all things whatsoever. He is a courteous being, a polite man, in his own lodge a gracious host. He believes in miracles (so do his conquerors if they really believe in their Bible) and his mind is as simple as a child's. He is superstitious to a degree that is beyond a white man's understanding, and he is deeply religious. And here are his conquerors bewildered.

The old Red Indian will not discuss his religion. Any tribesman who is easily led to speak of it has ceased to be a Red Indian. The old Red Indian will not often utter the name of his God aloud, and if you, in his presence, pronounce it you will feel his reverence. Instantly there will be silence, and the Red Indian's attitude will have changed.

The folk-tales of these people have interested me very much. They are as truly legends as those of the Norsemen, the Greeks, and the Hindus, but instead of representing man's combats with the elements as typified by the gods, they deal chiefly with the eccentricities of nature which they attribute to a strange character known among the tribes by various names, such as, Nahpee, Nulach-kin-nah, Esaccawata, Old-man, or Old-man-coyote, to whom the Almighty entrusted much of the work of creation. This strange character is always fickle, frequently fiendish, often foolish, and, on the contrary, sometimes almost sublime. In this you will recognize a wise provision, since it is evident that in his finding fault with created things, like the elements which sometimes tortured, the old Red Indian could not blaspheme against his God for whom he holds the greatest reverence. Speak of Nahpee or Esaccawata, Old-man, or Old-man-coyote, by whatever name he is known, and every old Red Indian will laugh merrily. They hold him in no reverence. But the pronouncement of the name of the Almighty is quite another matter. No man is more deeply religious than the old Red Indian; and no man ever loved children more. Knight-errantry, so highly respected in mediaeval times, flourished among the plains Red Indians of North America long before and long after it was known in Europe. Individual desire for fame was not alone responsible for the practice of "coupcounting"—the striking of an enemy with a bow, or cup-stick, while he was armed and fighting, without otherwise injuring him, etc. Tribal custom forcefully encouraged this to the end that young men might be brave, and through them the tribe maintain itself against the enemies. A young man could not marry until he had counted "coup," or had reached the age of twenty-five years. Even here custom made distinction in favour of valour. The young man who married at twenty-five, or after, and had not counted "coup," could not "paint his woman's face". She was obliged by tribal custom to ride with the women companions whose painted faces constantly reminded her, and the rest of the world, that their husbands were brave warriors who had distinguished themselves in battle. Any woman, white or red, would feel this, and inspire her husband to count "coup," and "paint her face". Besides the face-painting, a woman whose husband has counted "coup", was privileged to ride her husband's best war-horse, and to carry his lance and shield whenever the village moved; and it was always moving.

There were, among all the tribes of the North-western plains, clans and secret societies. These, especially the latter, possessed great influence over their members, so much that even to this day I believe them in a measure

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...sible for the lack of unity that ...times presents itself in the administration ... tribal affairs. The secret societies, one ... remember, were apart from the clans. A ... or woman was born to a clan, the ...'s clan, always. When a man married he ... obliged by tribal law to take a woman from ...er clan. He could not marry within his ... clan. The resulting children belonged at ... to the clan of their mother; a mother's ... determined both family and tribal relation-... The secret societies elected their own ...bers upon petition. There were the Mad-dogs, ... Back-fats, the Foxes, the War-clubs, and ..., each tribe having different names for its ... societies, and clans. I know of but one ... society that confined its membership to a ...ain class. This was the Fighting-bulls of the ... Its membership was confined to aged and ...ected warriors.

Today it is difficult for one to imagine a Red ...in without a few feathers. On Red Indian men, ...en and children, artists insist upon painting ...hers, so that we naturally suppose all Red ...in wear eagle feathers. And, today, they ... wear them; but this was not so when Red ...ins were real. The eagle feather was not ... for adornment. It was a mark of distinction, ... might be worn only by men who had counted ..." (excepting the war-bonnet, which is a ...rent thing than a single feather).

Nowadays, half the tribesmen, off their reser-...ions, are "chiefs," and every tribal flapper is a ...ncess." This is movie material, counterfeit ... cowgirl. I have never known a truly ...editary chief; and there never was a Red ...in "princess". The old Red Indian chief was ... wise to foster a belief in hereditary leadership, ... he never did. A man became chief of a Red ...in tribe by prowess, and held his place by ...onstrated ability. When he died, or was ...erseded, his son, if he possessed ability, stood ...tle better chance to succeed as a chief than ... other young man of the tribe. I have known ... to succeed his father as chief, but neither ...ool nor breeding had anything to do with his ...ection. Instead of a Red Indian chief being ... wealthiest man of a tribe, he is usually one ... the poorest. The reason for his poverty is that ... continually helps his tribesmen out of his store. ... a man has no horse he goes to his chief to get ..., that is, if he is unable to steal one from an ...my; and those days have gone. Last winter ... White-quiver, a blackfoot warrior, prefaced a ...y he told me with these words: "Long ago, ...en I first knew you, and it was honest to ...al horses."

The plains Red Indian is a great believer in ...ams. He will starve and torture himself in ...paration for his hoped for "medicine-dream," ... then repair to some difficult spot, usually a ...h mountain peak where, alone, without food or ..., he will spend four days and nights, if necessary, dreaming and appealing to "helpers." His condition, both physical and mental, is necessarily unbalanced by weakness brought on through abstinence from food, taking enervation sweat-baths, and otherwise courting fatigue. Some go even further, and deeply wound their bodies so that they may be severely weakened by loss of blood. Their resulting dreams are weird, sometimes terrifying, though often strangely prophetic of the future. In a "medicine-dream" a bird, some animal, or a "person" appears and offers help to the troubled dreamer. Sometimes, however, these apparitions only proffer advice, or teach lessons by parables which are later interpreted in council by the tribe's "wise ones," usually known as "medicine-men." Thereafter, or until he has a greater dream, which seldom happens, the animal, or bird that appeared to him in his dream, is the dreamer's "medicine." This term, "medicine", is altogether wrong, and yet it is with us to remain. "Medicine" is not particularly curative; it is more nearly protective in its qualities. It is a talisman, or charm, a lucky-piece that no old Red Indian will forgo. His "medicine" is of immense importance to an old Red Indian. He implicitly believes that the superlative powers of the animal or bird that appeared to him in his medicine-dream are his own to command in time of need.

I have used the term "person" here, and my readers will need some explanation. Old Red Indians, recounting their medicine-dreams, which they very seldom do, or in repeating folk-tales, often use this term. A "person," as used here, is a sort of apparition in human form, ghostly and capable of changing itself into an animal that is equally eerie. Old Red Indians have told me that a "person" as used here is one who lived "long ago without fire."

White men have tried in vain to establish some language that might be spoken by all nations. They go on fighting and trading in many different tongues; but this is not so with the plains Red Indians. There are many tribes of the plains, each inheriting hatreds for the others that are ages old; yet they have a common language. By comprehensive signs these tribesmen can converse, even at a distance, without uttering a sound. They can clearly express themselves under all circumstances, excepting in darkness, or when they are unable to see each other. Nobody knows when the sign-language came into being. It was in general use among the tribes of the plains when white men first met them there, and it has continued down to this day. It was never known far west of the Rocky Mountains, and perhaps not east of the Mississippi River.

Perhaps the true origin of the North American Red Indian is for ever hidden by centuries of transmutation. Who is he? From where did he come to North America? And how? He does not attempt to answer these questions himself.

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believing that his people have always been here. White men answer them quite readily, and yet they are but guessing. There are similarities of features, of customs, and sometimes even of folk-tales, that seem to point to definite directions, but in trying to follow them we end in tangling inconsistencies. A year or so ago I was in the Crow country, and met Plain-feather, the old warrior. I told him that there were quite a few similiarities between the folk-lore of the Red Indians and the Hindus. He was greatly impressed, as I knew he would be. After listening to this he stood for a time looking intently at the far horizon, his strong face a study, his eyes in a dream. Then he said softly, more to himself than to me: "These things are beyond us." They are, indeed.

SWEET NEPAL, A LAND OF FOLK-SONGS

By Prof. DEVENDRA SATYARTHI

SWEET NEPAL is Nature's cradle of beauty and lies on the southern slopes of the great Himalayas. Beneath the snow-clad peaks, these slopes look like a broad fore-head under an old saint's hoary head. Viewed from a distance, the Nepalese villages, situated amidst the lovely scenes and sites of Nature, appear to be the embodiment of some mystic poet's

Bhutia girls singing Nepali songs
Photo by Das & Co., Darjeeling

golden dreams. The blooming faces of the children of the peasantry, who pass their days and nights in the simple huts of these villages, shine among the many flowers that adorn the Nepalese landscape; and their hearts sing and dance to the tune of the rippling music of the innumerable cascades and falls of their native land. They are the nurslings of Nature and delight to frolic and gambol in her company. The "noiseless tenor of their days", is passed, in the words of the poet, along the cool, sequestered vale of life where the dust and din of modern civilization come but as faint echoes from a distant land.

Extreme sympathy and wide hospitality for all who knock at their doors, are the principal traits of the Nepalese village-folk's character. Their deep-rooted belief in the inherent goodness of mankind is seldom shaken by pride, doubt or fear. It appears that the natural simplicity of the earlier races of man has come to stay with them.

In the olden days the name 'Nepal' was confined only to the Nepal valley proper, but now it represents the country as a whole. The present Nepal is bounded on the west by the river Kali, in its east lie Sikkim and Bengal; on its north is Tibet, and the United Provinces and Bihar-Orissa are on its south. Its area is nearly 54,000* square miles and the population is about 55,74,756.†

One may divide the country into four parts:

1. The Terai. It lies a little above the sea-level and covers almost the whole of the southern boundary of the country. As low-land it is moist and swampy and therefore very malarious.

2. The Valleys. These are known as Dums.

3. The Hill-Country. Its average height from the sea-level is from 1,000 to nearly 4,000 feet.

* As given in *Gurkhas* (an army Hand-book, Govt. of India, 1915).

† As given in *Gurkhas* (an army Hand-book, Govt. of India, 1933).

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3. The Alpine Region. It includes the range of the Himalayas.

In Nepal we find all varieties of climate. Six seasons manifest themselves in full glory. Each season follows season and awakens the sleeping moments of the mountain Muse. During the rains Nepal looks like a land of clouds. The people in these days live amongst the clouds and sing the carols of their dancing beauty. The village-folks' minute observation of Nature shines forth in many of their songs, sung at the time of transplantation. Again, in spring, when the buds blossom forth, the youthful beauty and grace of Nepal rejuvenates her people and the praise and glorification of Nature find an echo in the village-girls' songs and dances, that welcome the happy advent of the new season.

Nepali girls playing on the flute

The Nepalese are primarily Hindus and are ruled by the only independent Hindu King. The Brahmins, the Chetris, the Thakurs, the Newars, the Gurungs, the Magars, the Limbus, the Raies, the Sunwars and the Tharus are the principal castes and tribes of Nepal. Of these the Brahmins, the Chetries and the Thakurs speak Nepali* while all others have dialects of their own.

In 1559 the Maharajah Dravya Shah, ancestor of His Royal Majesty, the present King of Nepal, conquered the petty state of Gurkha* and laid the foundation of the present independent Gurkha Raj. And since then the development of the Nepali language began. Now Nepali is the court-language of the country.

Before Gurkha Raj was firmly established, Kathmandu, Bhat Gaon and Patan, all the three capitals of Nepal, were the royal seats of three separate Newar states. These Newar states and many other petty states of the country were conquered in the course of time by the later kings of the same dynasty. The Newars now reside in the Nepal Valley and are great lovers of art. They have made considerable progress, especially in the realm of architecture. Cottage-industries, trade and cultivation form their principal occupations. In former days they were also great lovers of literature. The first book in Newari language was probably written in the fourteenth century, but according to Sten Konow books were written in this language even prior to the eleventh century.*

Children attending to the music of the wandering Nepali Minstrel

The Newars include both Buddhists and Hindus; the Buddhist Newars are known as Buddhamargis and Hindu Newars as Shivamargis. Both these schools of religion are in no way rivals of one another amongst these people. The Newari life may aptly be said to be a garland of festivals. The word 'Yatra' forms the synonym of festival. Some of their principal Yatras are: Bhairab Yatra, Gai Yatra, Indra Yatra, great

* The original name of the language is 'Gorkhali' Gurkha is a particular place near Kathmandu in those days it was a royal seat.

* There are many old manuscripts of Newari literature which are preserved with great care in the State Library of Kathmandu. But since the adoption of Nepali as the court-language of the kingdom, the Newari has lost its place of pride even among the Newars and the love of Newari literature has consequently declined among the natives.

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and small Machindra Yatra and Rath Yatra. Hindu and Buddhist influences have blended in these Yatras and it is not always possible to separate them from one another and dogmatize about their real origin. Songs and dances lend an additional joy to the Newari life, during these Yatras.

Excepting Nepali no other language or dialect of the country is of Sanskrit-origin. People speaking in different tongues are unable to understand one another. So, many people, who come in frequent contact with the Nepali-speaking masses learn Nepali and hence it is Nepali that serves as the *lingua franca* among the various tribes of the country. Many people have discarded their own dialects and have adopted Nepali as their mother-tongue in the course of time.

A peasant girl singing

Nepal may aptly be said to be a land of fairs and weekly markets, that are usually held at the pla es adjacent to the confluence of two rivers. People come from far and near to join in these fairs and markets. Along with trade, which seems to be the principal object of these periodical gatherings, interchange of culture, civilization, and id als, too, takes place. This is the time when dances and songs go hand in hand and contribute much to the social glee of the people. Different men and women of different castes and tribes love, learn and copy one another's songs and dances and derive immense pleasure by exhibiting them in their own villages after returning from these gatherings.

The Gurungs who are the residents of Central Nepal and are usually shepherds by profession, are great lovers of dance. Their dancing-hall, known as Rori Ghar (रोड़ी घर), is always adjacent to the village headman's house. A particular type of dance, that is called Sorti (सार्टी) and is very popular, takes place in the Rori Ghar during the harvest. Songs that accompany the Sorti Dance are named as Sorti Songs

A Gurkha mother with her baby in the cradle
Photo by D. Singh & Co., Darjeeling

(मोरटी गीत). In a year of rich harvest an additional grace and colour is lent to the songs and dances of Rori Ghar as the joy of the rustic folks knows no bounds. The Rori Ghar is confined to the young only and while dancing and singing in unison the youths and the maidens find their opportunity to choose their own sweet-hearts. Sorti songs as well as the rest that are sung in these days are usually love-songs and every year there is a rich extempore composition of many new ones that reflect deep

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sentiments of sex-psychology with all its light and shade. Along with the many songs in the Gurung dialect, some Nepali songs, too are sung.

Amongst the Limbus of Eastern Nepal, two types of songs, differing in tune from each other, are mostly prevalent—the Lai Bari Songs (लबु-बरी गीत) and the Hak Para Songs (हक-पारा गीत). There are also some minor types differing from these two tunes but they are almost negligible. As the Limbus happen to live far away from the Nepali speaking area, they find no opportunity of coming in touch with the Nepali songs. So, the Lai Bari, the Hak Para and the sets are always in the Limbu dialect. There is a pretty custom among these people. Occasionally

Girls singing *Bhaileni* songs during the Diwali days.

the youths and the maidens indulge in a contiguous exchange of answering songs. These songs are like the Amoebaean Contest of the Shepherds and shepherdesses or the Duets of the European music-halls.* The girl sings a love-song and the boy sings back a carol of passionate love in reply. If the boy wins, he can claim the girl as his bride; but if he loses, very sportingly he surrenders his chances to a rival who may be more fortunate than himself. Whoever defeats the girl has the right to marry her. Dancing accompanies many of the songs of these people and are mostly of two types—Langma (लाङ्गमा) and Ke-langma (के-लाँगमा).

* The Jubari Songs (जुबारी गीत) of the Nepali language, too, are similar to these songs.

Amongst the Nepali-speaking masses there are some wandering minstrels who are named as *aaine* (गाने) and who form a caste of their own. The singing is confined to their males only.* These minstrels sing of love, heroism

Wandering Nepali Minstrel known as Gaine, with the instrument *Sarangi*

and the glory of Nepal to the accompaniment of Sarangi, † a particular kind of harp, which they themselves prepare; they generally possess a cheerful di-position and fill the village-atmosphere with cheerfulness. It is really a matter of great pity that these rural bards, who add new life and colour to the national life of Nepal, are considered as untouchables.

There are many types of Nepali folk-songs, sung at special times and seasons; some of them differing from one another according to different castes and occupations of the singers.

The following are the main types of these songs:

1. JHIAURE GIT (झ्याउरे गीत). The word 'Jhiauro' in Nepali means :'thin' and

* Major W. Brook Northey and Capt. C. J. Morris, the learned authors of *The Gurkhas'* (published by John Lane, the Badley Head Ltd, London), did not perhaps receive correct information about these wandering minstrels and so roundly wrote: "There is a class of professional singing women, known as GAINIS in Nepal" Page, 101.

These professional female singers, who are akin to Nauch Girls of India, form a separate class of singers and are named as Bhanrini (भाँड्रिनी). The males who accompany them to play on the musical instruments are called Bhaur (भाँड़)

† The Sarangi of these minstrels differs in shape from that of Indian type.

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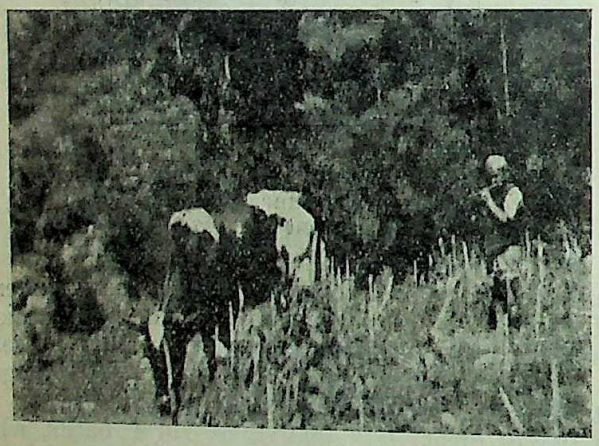
weak."* Jhiaure Songs are never longer ones and are generally quatrains. Love forms the subject-matter of these songs.

2. Swai Songs सवाई गीत). These are the songs narrating the popular stories, current among the masses and may aptly be named as ballads.

3. Malsiri Songs (मालसिरी गीत). These songs are sung during the Durga Puja festival. The victory of Mother Durga over the demons is the subject-matter of these songs.

4. Bhailo and Deusi Songs (भैलो तथा देउसी गीत). These are the melodious rhymes recited sweetly by the boys and the girls of the poorer classes who go singing from door to door demanding sweets.

5. Jubari Songs (जुवारी गीत).† Like the Jhiaure songs these also are quatrains and are sung in the form of questions and answers at the time of fairs and festivals; the singers are generally the lover and the beloved.



A cowboy playing on the flute

6. Sangini Songs (संगिनी गीत). These songs are sung by the women in chorus during the *Tix* festival. The women assemble in the village temple or under some banyan or pipul tree. They form a circle and two of them go in the centre by turns to sing and dance and the others standing away also join in the songs in a chorus. Many of these songs deal with the domestic life of the country. The women have a superstitious belief that, if they do not dance during these days, they will be born lame in their next birth.

7. Rasia Songs (रसिया गीत).§ The tune of these songs is deliberately drawn out and lengthened. The peasants, men and women, sing these love-songs while sowing the seeds and also when transplanting the paddy.

8. Balun Songs (बालुन गीत).* These songs deal with the stories of Hindu classics—the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and the Bhagavata and are generally sung by men.

9. Rateli Songs (रतेली गीत).† The night of the day on which the bridegroom's party leaves for the bride's home, is celebrated with songs and dances by the village women in the bride-groom's house. It is considered to be the happiest time in life and the women pass the whole night in singing and dancing.

A Nepali wood-cutter, mystic in appearance but more mystic when singing songs
Photo by Das Studio, Darjeeling

10. Nani-Phuloune Songs (नानी-फुल्यौने गीत) These are nursery-rhymes and cradle-songs.

11. Baramase Songs (बारामासे गीत).§ The heroines of these songs are those women who are suffering from the pangs of separation. These songs weave the natural beauty of Nepal at all times of the

§ The sick are often asked किन भयाउरो भये ओ (why have you grown so thin and weak?)

† जुवारी खेलनु to sing in answering chorus—Prof. Turner's *Nepali Dictionary*. P. 238

§ A particular kind of song...Prof. Turner's *Nepali Dictionary*. P. 530.

* A particular song in dance...Prof. Turner's *Nepali Dictionary*. P. 436.

† रतेली game played at a wedding by the women in the bride-groom's house in the course of which they sing amorous songs, dance and mock the bride-groom's mother...Prof. Turner's *Nepali Dictionary*. P. 528.

§ A song sung at all times...Prof. Turner's *Nepali Dictionary*. P. 435.

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...roar around the joys and sorrows of the women ...who sing these pathetic songs.

12. ASARE SONGS (असारे गीत). These are the ...songs, sung during the month of Ashar (June-July). ...The rhythm of these songs is always short and ...quick.

A Gurkha bride in her national Costume
Photo by D. Singh & Co., Darjeeling

13. SAUNE SONGS (साउने गीत). These are sung ...during the month of Shrawan (July-August). ...During these days the parents usually send for ...their daughters from their husband's home. The ...heroines of these songs are generally of two ...types: Those who are in their husband's home ...and are extremely eager to get back to their ...parental nest, and those who are fortunate enough ...to see their parents and are celebrating the rains ...with them.

14. CHAITE SONGS (चैते गीत). These are the ...spring-melodies sung especially in the month of ...Chaitra (March-April)

The charm of all these folk-songs lies in their ...original tunes and one would lose much of it, ...if they are put down to writing. Great allowance must, therefore, be made for translations which can never adequately convey to readers unacquainted with the Nepali language, the real charm of the original songs. Some illustrations of the folk-songs of Nepal are given below.

In the following song the peasant sings the joy of his life at the sight of a rich harvest :

A Gurkha mother feeding her child
Photo by D. Singh & Co., Darjeeling

Lovely are my brindled oxen,
And see my plough is lovelier still ;
Lovely are my fertile fields,
And see my crops are lovelier still.

Again he celebrates his love and respect for mother earth that sustains him :

The earth is both my father and mother,
Nourishing food from it do I get :
Blessed—O blessed, is Mother Earth, so dear,
To the earth goes all my love and respect.

The following is the song of a luckless one, not so fortunate as his brethren :

In ploughing have I spent all my years,
Oh ! the day of joy never came to me :
Too old—O too old, are my body and heart,
Joy's face, not for a moment, do I see.

Some of the songs are very charming in their expression of simple feelings artistically seen against the background of some of the local aspects of Nature. They, therefore, are not merely rich in their emotional quality but also for their observation and praise of Nature.

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The simple truth that the heart that once loves never turns back, is most beautifully depicted in the following song :

When—O when may snow gather
On the Himalayan peak's yonder part ?
Where, where—O where, will stop
The rippling stream and the flying heart ?

Love is compared here to a rippling stream ; the snow may impede its flow for some time but very quickly it thaws and again we see the rippling stream. Misfortunes cannot warp the flying heart of a lover.

A childless mother pours forth her sad heart in plaintive notes :

Withered looks the pipal tree of Terai
In the burning heat of the sun :
Oh ! of what avail is my beauty to me
As I've no daughter or son.

A Nepali peasant girl

A damsel compares her love with a musk-deer :

On the yonder side of the Himalayan peaks
Lo ! there grazes a musk-deer :
How handsome looks my love,
O lovely is he as the musk-deer.

A lover adores his sweet-heart's eyes :

Full of fruits and flowers is the garden
And side by side are the KARELAS,* my love !
Like fireflies are thy lovely eyes
And through the lids they twinkle, my love !

A bride, suffering from the pangs of separation from her love, asks a village-swain to stop playing on his flute :

How charming is the Himalayan peak
Like the cast-off skin of a serpent. it looks.†
Play not—O play not, on thy flute.
All the more sad, my sad heart, it makes.

Again, she sets her feelings to Music :

Nine lakhs of stars are all in the heavens above
I cannot—O I cannot, count them :
Up to my lips surge up the words of my hearts,
I cannot—O I cannot, utter them.

In many of these little songs as well as elsewhere love for golden beauty plays a remarkable part. It should not be taken as an idle play of fancy. Let it serve as the exponent of the Nepali's passionate fondness for the beauty of the golden colour as well as of his national lover for his native land when he sings of 'heaven-like golden Nepal', of 'Nepal's golden furnaces', of 'the golden streams of Nepal', of the golden birds of Nepal, and of 'village-mothers of Nepal, offering sweets to their sons-in-law in the golden plates.'

In the following song a happy bride sings a glad song of his moon-like sweet-heart :

How beautiful looks golden Nepal,
A heaven upon the world it is :
How beautiful looks my golden sweet-heart :
The moon of the world of love she is.

Again, she sings of flowers that adorn his gold-like face.

Three towns only are there in dear Nepal,
(In every house is there) a golden furnace :
A pair of flowers on thy turban do I see, my love !
They show that thine is a young gold-like face.

The heroine of the following song is glad to take her bath in some golden stream of her native land, but as she forgets to bring the auspicious vermilion to adorn her forehead according to the custom of the country, her glad heart becomes a little sad :

Here runs—lo here runs
Dear Nepal's golden stream.
My hair—O my hair, am I cleaning
In dear Nepal's golden stream.
My hair—O my hair,—I've cleaned
In dear Nepal's golden stream,
On a rock do I sit to sun my hair
(Near dear Nepal's golden stream).
Alas—O alas ! I left at home
The vermilion that adorns my hair.
Sad O so sad, is my heart
(For the vermilion that adorns my hair.)
How should I return to my husband's place
Alas ! the vermilion I left at home,
'Here comes back my careless girl'
Shall say my mother, if I go to her home.

Here is a sad bride, who is continuously reproached by her cruel mother-in-law and begs a sparrow to bear her pathetic news to her parents but to take care that her brother and sister should be ignorant of the real message, lest they be sad on her account :

Of how much love for mother dear
Should I sing, O golden sparrow !
Of how much love for father dear
Should I sing, O golden sparrow !

* KARELA is a particular vegetable.
† The peak of the Himalayas enveloped in snows is compared to the long white slough.

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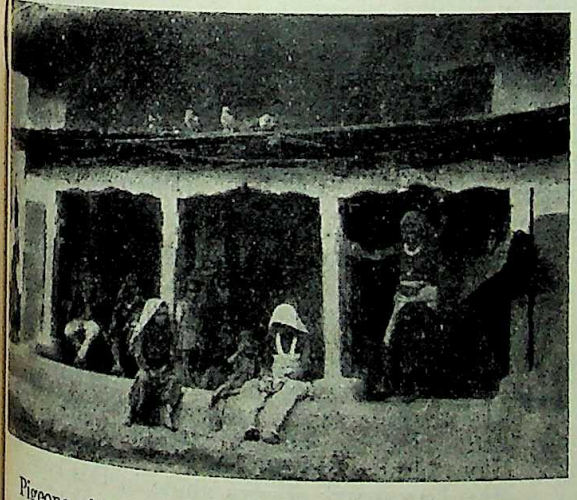
How sweet is thy song, O golden sparrow !
How lovely is thy flight, O golden sparrow !
Fly, fly—O fly to my mother's village
And carry my news, O golden sparrow !
If my mother questions thee tell her
For her mother-in-law's cruelty, thy daughter is dying,
Tell my brother, "thy sister is all right"
If he asks, O golden sparrow !
If my father questions thee, tell her
For her mother-in-law's cruelty, thy daughter is dying.
Tell my sister "thy sister is all right"
If she asks, O golden sparrow !
How sweet is thy song, O golden sparrow !
How lovely is thy flight, O golden sparrow !

The following song is sung by some mother-in-law :

Marsi *-rice in a golden plate, do I offer
But see our bridegroom eats not :
How lovely he looks when he comes
But even when addressed he speaks not.

Nepali girls seem to be very fond of pigeons. In the following song a girl asks for a pair of pigeons from her parents to whom she is bidding adieu :

'Nine pairs of pigeons are sitting on thy roof, father !
Give me—O give me, father, a pair of pigeons.'
'A cow—O a cow shall I give thee, daugher,
Sorry am I that I cannot part with a pair of pigeons.'



Pigeons sitting on the roof of a Nepali house
Photo by Das Studio, Darjeeling

'What will I do with thy cow, father,
Oh, luckless am I not to get a pair of pigeons.'
'An elephant shall I give thee, daughter
Sorry am I that I cannot part with a pair of pigeons.'
'What will I do with thy elephant, father !
Oh luckless am I not to get a pair of pigeons.'

Then the father, unable to see his daughter crying, breaks forth :

'Weep not—O weep not, daughter dear, weep not,
At once shall I give thee a pair of pigeons.'

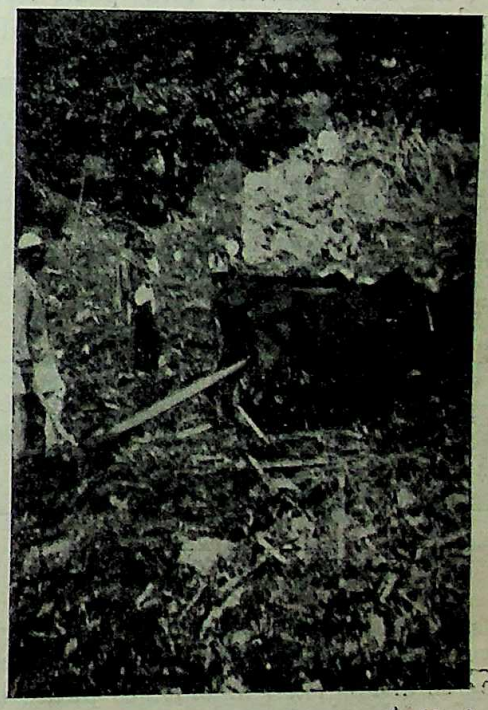
And the song ends with a note of joy that lights up the face of the girl :

'The household work at my husband's place,
Shall I always gladly perform, father !
Hearing the sweet cooings of the pair of pigeons.'

The following song shows the intensity of some mother-in-law's cruelty :

'BUHARI * ! O BUHARI !!' calls the SASU †,
'Yes, yes, O SASU !' replies the BUHARI,
'Who hath taken away, O BUHARI !
The ghee I kept in the wooden pot ?"
'I did not see it, nor have I heard about it,
How could I eat, O SASU ! ghee from the wooden pot ?"
'Thy lips look glossy with the ghee, O BUHARI !
The whole mystery do I conceive, O BUHARI !
All the doors shall I shut up,
And shall keep all the windows open :
Thou art my BUHARI, the thief of ghee,
Thy lips—O thy lips shall I brand.'

Most pathetic are the notes when the sad bride sings the tragedy of her life :



A Newari peasant ploughing and singing.
His wife and children are enjoying the song.
Ten miles down from Darjeeling.

In this strange land shall I die
And alas ! There is none to shed a tear for me !

Her next vein, too, is not less tragic :

Nothing but a defeated destiny is a woman's life,
Alas ! she is meant for slavery.

During the Diwali festival, when every member of the house wishes to have new cloths,

* Marsi is a particular variety of rich rice.

* BUHARI=a Nepali word for 'daughter-in-law' or 'son's wife.'

† SASU=a Napali word for 'mother-in-law'.

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the mother-in-law asks the bride if she wants any new costume. See how she refuses the offer, because she thinks that there is no heart behind the gift and prefers kind treatment to such a show of charity :

No bodice—O no bodice do I want
Nor do I want any PATUKA*
All I wish is love and affection
At the hands of my mother-in-law.

In the following song an exceptionally beautiful bride, who has become the object of her sister-in-law's† jealousy, thus describes her lot :

Mark of vermilion did I wish to put
On the parting of my hair
O my tiny darling sister-in-law !
But Ah me, I found not my mirror
To see in it my pretty face
O my tiny darling sister-in-law !

The implication of this song is that the mirror was hidden away by the mischievous sister-in-law.

Some soldier § has gone to the battle-field, see how his newly-married bride pours forth her heart in her sweetheart's absence.

Musicians in a Nepali marriage

Alas ! very uncertain is a soldier's life :
Even death in the battlefield is he to face !

The soldier's sister, in order to please the sad bride, says, 'My brother, thy love has returned'. But the bride cannot believe it and in the following song we find the conversation that followed between the two :

'Adorn—O adorn thy hair, O bride !
Here returns my elder brother to dear Nepal' :
'O why doth thy heart leap up for thy brother,
O sister-in-law !
In the field of battle has he gone far away
from dear Nepal.'

The hero of the following song is a soldier on his way to hunt tigers, and the heroine, who seems to be his sweetheart, is simply charmed by his lovely youth and beauty and is glad to see the lustre of heroism on his face :

Who art thou ?—O who art thou ?
O thou the hunter of the tigers !
Who hath given thee this lovely youth and beauty
O thou the hunter of the tigers !
'The son of a brave father
Am I, the hunter of tigers.
God hath bestowed this youth and beauty
Upon me, the hunter of tigers.'
The tiger is shot dead and heroism shines
On the face of the hunter of tigers,
Who art thou—O who art thou,
O thou, the hunter of tigers !

The following is the song of Queen Bibli, who is filled with joy at the approach of motherhood :

Ninth month ended and the tenth ran
Now queen Bibli's travail began,
So she broke forth as she got a flower-like son
'Study me, O astrologer ! the destiny of my son
'A pot full of gems and pearls is my share,'
said he,
'As you have got, O queen, a moon-like son.'
'What are gems and pearls ?' broke forth the Queen
'Half of my kingdom shall be given by me, the
mother of a son.'
'What will I do with the kingdom, O Queen !
Happy as a king am I in thy land, O the
mother of a son !'

The following is a *Deusi* song that the boys and the grown-up men of the poorer classes sing while asking for sweets during the Diwali festival. It should not be taken as a piece of flattery only. It may aptly be taken as an exponent of the people's felicitation for their patrons :

The pebbles which the mistress of this house
touches,

May they be turned into gems,
The earth, she treads upon,
May it be turned into grains.
The leaves, she brushes post,
May they be turned into silks.
The water, she touches with her hands,
May it be turned into oil.*
May LAKSHMI† always abide in this house,
May the young and the old grow like the
bananas,

May they all prosper like the *Dobi* grass,
May they stand like the banyan and the pipal
trees.

May this house be filled with rich raiments from
the plains,

May the salt of Bhot ‡ and the gold of Lhasha §
fill the stones of this house.

---

* PATUKA is a Nepali word for a girdle.

† Here 'sister-in-law' means 'husband's sister.'

§ The Gurkhas of Nepal are well-known soldiers not only of the army of Nepal but also of the British Indian Army. They have given a brilliant proof of their valour at various times.

* In a hill-country like Nepal where the means of conveyance for trade are very rare, oil becomes all the more precious.

† The goddess of wealth.

‡ § In olden days Tibet used to supply a good quantity of salt and gold to Nepal.

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May all sufferings and diseases of this house,
Be washed away by mother Ganges.
May all the troubles of this house be blown off
By the winds, above the Hymalayan peaks.*
May all the blessings come true that we the
Deusi-singers pray for.

The song of felicitations is ended
Come, ye brothers, let us return to our homes.

These songs paint the everyday-life of Nepal with its exact light and shade. The characters portrayed in this realm are essentially human and seem to be characters whom we have met in the streets and who are not above the veicissitudes of life, but they are all the more endeared to us by the confluence of their tears and smiles, joys and sorrows, hopes and despairs and various other happy and sad traits of life.

* The *Deusi*-singers perhaps do not have any sympathy for the Tibetans due to many wars that took place between Nepal and Tibet. So the singers find it a great fun when they sing that their troubles may be blown off by the winds above the Himalayan peaks (towards Tibet).

AN APPRECIATION OF "THE MODERN REVIEW"

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

I have long had in mind sending you [the Editor] some brief words expressing my high appreciation of the monthly magazine which for many years you have edited and published. I have taken it almost from the beginning of its issue, and consider it indispensable. It is a constant wonder to me on account of the breadth and wealth of its contents, covering as it does, and with such intelligence, the wide fields of politics, history, literature, art, education, economics, industries, social reform and religious reform. I speak with care when I say, that we do not have in America, nor is there in England, any monthly review that covers so wide a field, and does it with such accuracy of scholarship and at the same time so interestingly. One might well suppose that your Review would confine itself to Indian affairs. As a matter of fact, it gives a larger amount of important Indian matters than any other periodical with which I am acquainted, while at the same time it takes the world for its field, and is surprisingly rich in information regarding everything of most importance that is going on in all countries.

It ought to have a large circulation in foreign lands, as well as in India. I know of no other periodical that so truly and adequately represents the real India, giving to the world what the world ought to know about India's civilization, her great past, the present condition of her people, the real nature and effects of British rule, and the meaning of her great struggle for freedom.

I regard *The Modern Review* as not only an invaluable asset to India; but as a messenger to the outside world, the importance of which increases with every year of its publication.

My dear Mr. Chatterjee, I trust you will pardon these frank words from me, which I am sure will surprise you. But my personal debt to your able monthly is so great that I could not forgive myself if I refrained longer from expressing them.

New York, September 1, 1934.

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ELEMENTARY EDUCATION AT BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

By DEBENDRA CHANDRA DASGUPTA, M.A., ED.D. (Calif.)

BERKELEY is the seat of the famous university of California. The public school system at Berkeley is under a Board of Education consisting of five members, four of whom are elected by popular vote. The fifth is an ex-officio member—the Mayor of the city of Berkeley who retains his membership during his tenure of mayoral office. Berkeley is the first city in the United States of America to organize her school systems on 6-3-3 plan. The first six grades are organized into elementary schools, the seventh, eighth and ninth grades into junior high schools, and the grades tenth, eleventh, and twelfth into senior high schools. Hence we clearly see the American high school from the chronological standpoint is equivalent to our intermediate college though the standard is much superior to it. The unique feature of the public school system from the kindergarten to the University not only at Berkeley but also in the whole of the United States of America is that it not only offers free instruction to the citizens of the states but is also co-educational in character, though there are some private colleges such as Mills College at Oakland, California, for the exclusive education of the girls.

"Western Gardeners Corporation"—Columbus School

The kindergarten department of the Berkeley Public school system admits young children at the age of five and they stay at the school half a day where they receive training in manners and etiquette and undergo physical exercises such as dancing, singing, playing band, etc. Sometimes meals are served in the kindergarten schools where the children learn table etiquette. The children draw whatever pictures they feel like. In a word, the Kindergarten school does not attempt to impart any instruction to the children from books but it aims at social, moral and physical development of the young children at school. In the afternoon new batch of students attend the kindergarten schools when the old batch retire to their homes.

There are seventeen elementary schools, fourteen special classes and a sunshine school attached to the Thousand Oak School at Berkeley. The chief objectives of the elementary schools at Berkeley, as in other elementary schools in the United States of America, are to give the children a command of the fundamental 'tools of knowledge', besides a training in health, and citizenship. Briefly speaking, the elementary school authorities in the United States of America aim at the full development of the growing child. The American elementary school authorities regard the school child as a growing being and it is their sole purpose to develop the child as such and unfold his latent powers.

In order to discover the mental abilities of the child the Berkeley Bureau of Research and Guidance gives intelligence tests each year to all children in the fourth, sixth, and ninth grades. Such tests are also given to the senior high school students as well. Such intelligence tests are also given by the Research Bureau at any time according to its decision. But unfortunately the Indian school authorities give no such intelligence tests to the school children to classify them on the basis of mental abilities so as to develop their mental and physical well-being along the line of their growth. Instead the children are made to follow the courses of study in the same class and the inevitable result is that the class-room instruction cannot be well adjusted to the needs of the children who vary from each other in mental equipments.

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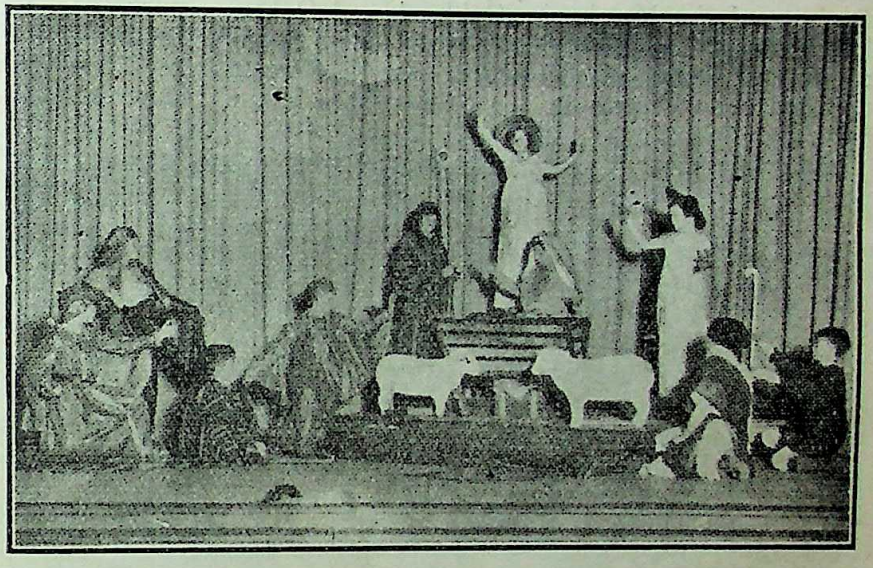
The children of the Berkeley schools system are classified into three groups, *viz.*, "X", "Y" and "Z" according to their abilities. The first group consists of children of superior intelligence who receive instruction under the same teacher in the same class and the students belonging to the second group receive instruction in another section. The third group children receive individual instruction. Children of exceptionally retarded abilities are not included in these groups but receive instruction in the special classes.

Children from the Kindergarten to the High school showing any remarkable interest or skill are reported by the teacher and the principal to the Bureau of Research and Guidance for test and observation. Each school child has a cumulative record in which his or her intelligence quotient, class progress, social interest, temperament, social status, and conduct are recorded for vocational and educational guidance. To encourage and inspire the gifted children they are sometimes introduced to "Big Brother" or "Big Sister" of the community which resembles the various honour societies of the American Universities enrolling members only on the basis of high records at the Universities.



Christmas Pageant, John Muir School

Each elementary school has one part-time counsellor, generally a lady, chosen from among the regular class-room teachers. The counsellor represents the central office of the school and makes constant investigation of the needs of the school children. Every child in every school is under constant observation and sympathetic guidance of the counsellor. The counsellor works in close co-operation with the class-room teacher, and looks after the needs of each child whether educational, mental, physical, social or moral. In case of emergency the counsellor is helped by the visiting counsellor, who investigates the case by visiting the home of the child and also the central office which records psychological, medical and psychiatric aid. The visiting counsellor who is in charge of the 'follow up' service, records the progress of the refractory child and recommends further treatment or examination according to needs. The vocational and educational guidance is a unique feature of the American school from the elementary class to the university—a feature which is quite foreign to the Indian school system.

The American schools, whether elementary or high, are a community within a larger community, and the school curriculum reflects the vital needs of the community and it is constantly changing with the moving needs of the time and society, whereas in India the school curriculum is static though recently it has shown a tendency to include some new items of courses in its fold. The elementary school curriculum at Berkeley is closely connected with the vital needs of society and it is organized on the principles of educational philosophy, and each of the courses has a well-defined objective. The curriculum of the elementary schools at Berkeley includes the following courses of study, *viz*, the three R's, history, elementary science, home economics, art, nature study, music, civics, physical education, gardening, and manual arts education. The school authorities aim at the full development of the elementary school children and they develop the reasoning or thinking powers of the children rather than pour mere bookish informations through improved technique or method at the cost of reasoning powers. The elementary schools make no effort to give vocational training to the children. Such training is deferred till they graduate from the elementary schools.

The school buildings are modern and furnished with up-to-date equipments for the purpose of imparting instruction. The school hours begin at eight in the morning and continue till three in the afternoon. Some children carry their lunch with them, some again take their lunch in the cafeteria during the recreation period. The school instruction runs for a period of five days a week and Saturdays and Sundays are observed as holidays. The classes at the Berkeley Public schools are organized on two semesters plan and the classes are called VI L (that is six low) and VI H (six high), and the students are promoted at the end of half a year. In some of the states the school authorities maintain quarter plan and the students are

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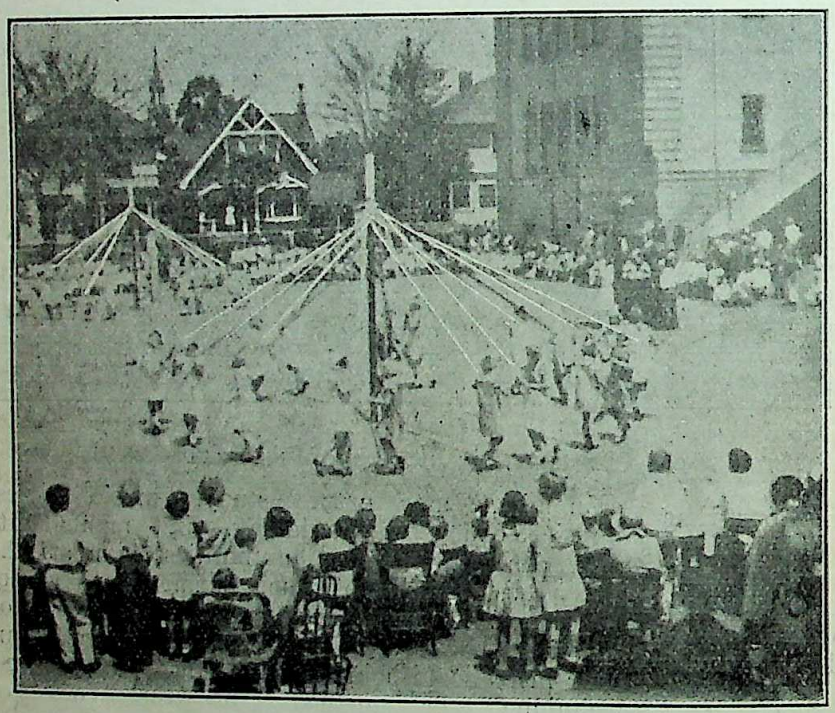
promoted at the end of three months. Such promotional plan has this much to say in its favour that if a student fails in the class he or she loses only half or quarter of a year.

The school teachers teach the children courses, particularly, natural science, manual arts, civics, and gardening, through an "activity programme." To illustrate the case let us narrate some of the courses of study at the Berkeley elementary schools.

In the natural science course, the pupils make excursion into the city parks, observatories, museums, Lake Merrit in Oakland, and Golden Gate Park in San Francisco. These observations are followed by discussions in the class-room and each child contribute his or her share in the discussion. These discussions are utilized by the teacher in stimulating the children in some activity, such as, making of class pamphlets, making of collections, planning of gardens, and in dramatizations depicting the various phases of nature work.



May Pole Dance—Washington School

In civic studies, the children depict the life of children or some aspects of social life. When the writer visited Longfellow school at Berkeley, he found the children engaged in the study of the social life of Arabia. The whole room was decorated artificially with Arabian scenes and a little girl who was describing the Arabian life was donned in Arabian dress and the teacher was giving aid only when it was necessary. Sometimes the school manages to invite foreign people to give talks on his or her country particularly on the social and economical aspects of life. When the writer visited the California University elementary experimental schools at Berkeley, the fourth grade students questioned him about the social and economic problems of Indian life. One student asked why some Hindu* woman covers her whole face with veil, whereas another puts the veil only in the middle of the head while some again do not use any veil at all. Another student questioned what his (the writer's) national colours were. Besides they asked the writer many questions about the types of houses the Hindus used for their dwelling purposes, and the types of food they had in India.

Trade and industrial education is also imparted to the children through an activity programme. The trade and industrial courses in the schools are the typical representation of trade and industrial activities of the local communities and through this activity programme the teachers attempt to discover the latent abilities of the children so that these may be utilized in the future vocational guidance. Through these courses the teachers also try to develop the character and sociability of these children. The following quotation from the Berkeley Public school leaflet shows the objective of manual arts education as follows:

> "Through the above activities it is hoped that children will be kept alive to the changing aspects of the out-door life about them, that there will be aroused desires to investigate on their own responsibility, to know more of the truth of the laws of nature. We hope that this will later help to make these children interested, active citizens in the larger communities where they will live and that they will help to frame and observe intelligent measures for the proper development and protection of the great out-of-doors."

Music is a required subject from the Kindergarten school to the high. Through music course the schools try to develop in the children an appreciation and love of music and to train them for citizenship. "Music makes for citizenship, the highest expression of which is service." Music lesson is given for 1 hr. 40 minutes a week from the Kindergarten school grades to the elementary. The elementary school also has music band.

* In U. S. A. the people of India are called Hindus regardless of religious affiliations. Thus in U. S. A. The Muhammadan is also called a Hindu. On rare occasions they also call us East Indians. Indians there means the aboriginal tribes of America.

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The physical education for the elementary school children at Berkeley includes a programme of instruction both theoretical and practical. A programme of activities such as stunts, pentathlon, and games is followed by a mass corrective work of five to ten minutes which is given daily to all children of the seventeen elementary schools. The students in the elementary schools, in addition to receiving twenty minutes' theoretical physical education, are given a half-hour dance once a week.

To test the physical fitness of the students they are medically examined at the time of registration. In addition to these medical examinations they are further examined in the presence of parents in the third and in the sixth grades as required by the California State Law. They are also examined by physicians often recommended by the class-room teachers and nurses. The nurse also makes physical examinations of the pupils when they return to schools after suffering from illness.

Thus the elementary school children at Berkeley receive both mental and physical education and the training of the mind as well as of the body is well-balanced. Through this training of the mind and the body the teachers attempt to make them good citizens of the State.

In the State of California the compulsory school law is extended to eighteen years of age. If a student can graduate from high schools at the age of sixteen he is exempted from further attendance in the school. Children who are not mentally fitted to proceed for the high school education are shifted into the continuation school after exploring their abilities in the junior high school. In the continuation school these children receive trade and industrial training for a period of four hours a week for one hundred and forty-four hours a year. The California State law passed in 1929 regarding the continuation school requires the unemployed children of school age to attend the continuation classes for three hours five days a week, The school attendance officer enforces the school law and students failing to attend the school are demanded satisfactory explanations. The law provides for both penalty and imprisonment of parents or guardians of children for final violation of the law.

Teachers in the State of California as in other States of the Union do not hold a permanent tenure of service. Generally they are appointed by school Board on the recommendation of the City School Superintendent. For one year the new teacher remains as a probationer and if she shows a satisfactory result then she is 'hired' for another period of time. The reader may question why the writer here used "she" instead of "he" for the teacher. The real explanation is that about ninetyfive per cent of the elementary and about ninety per cent of the secondary school teachers are recruited from the fair sex. The teachers of the elementary schools must be University graduates and must hold a teachers, diploma issued by the State of California. These teachers, though "hired and fired"* by the local school Board, may appeal to the State Board of Education for justice. The teachers though appointed and discharged by the local school Board are State officials in that they hold State teachers' diploma and the local school boards are the creations of the State to carry its educational programme. Even the private schools maintained by the Catholic orders are under the control of the local school Boards. The teachers though fresh from University do not find any difficulty in securing positions. Besides these teachers do not have to show their eminence before their appointment. Experience also counts little with the school Boards, because it has been found by experiment in U. S. A. that teachers after about eight years' service lose their teaching efficiency unless they take sabbatical leave of study to acquire fresh knowledge. The same is true of

Pageant of California History, Longfellow School

* "Hire and Fire" are common terms for appointment and dismissal in U. S. A.

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secondary school teachers and University professors. The elementary school teachers generally receive a salary of 125 dollars a month.

The Table* below shows the average daily attendance in the seventeen different schools at Berkeley for the year 1929-30.

School	Kinder-garten	Grades	Total
Columbus	46	474	520
Cragmont	35	300	335
Emerson	36	286	322
Franklin	45	534	579
Hawthorns	17	201	218
Hillside	23	209	232
Jefferson	57	550	607
John Muir	24	284	308
Le Conte	36	354	390
Lincoln	39	410	449
Long Fellow	57	486	543
Mc Kinley	27	259	286
Oxford	15	215	230
Thousand Oaks	72	554	626
UniversityElementary	34	196	230
Washington	60	546	606
Whittier	28	272	300
Total	651	6,130	6,781

The followingt table† from the same bulletin shows the sources of income for the public elementary schools at Berkeley :

July 1, 1929-June 30, 1930

I. Balance-June 30, 1929		$82,802·84
II. Received from :		
1. State	$224,816·98	
2. County	236,422·63	
3. District	219,020·23	
4. District Building	107,004·84	
5. City	340,799·64	
6. Miscellaneous	19,370·52	147,414·84

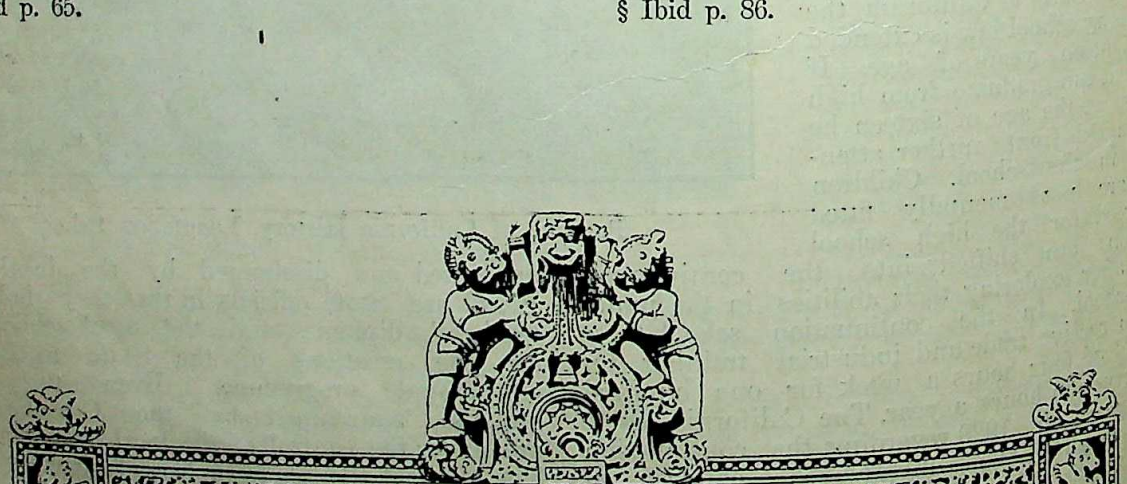
The table§ below shows the *per capita* cost on the basis of State average daily attendance.

Department	Elementary average daily attendance	Cost per capita	Per cent of total
General control	37,431.55	6.11	1.66
Auxiliary Agencies	20,873.99	3.40	.926
Co-Ordinate Activities	9,582.52	1.56	.425
Instruction	622,357.42	101.53	27.604
Salaries	577,020.77	94.13	25.593
Supplies & Other expenses	45,336.65	7.40	2.011
Operation	66,857.44	10.91	2.966
Maintenance	57,696.46	9.41	2.559
Fixed charges	13,212.69	2.15	.586
Total Expends Exclusive of Outlays	828,012.07	135.07	36.726
Outlays	109,113.37	...	4.84
Total Expenditures 1929-30	937,125.44	...	41.566

* Report of the Superintendent of Schools to the Board of Education, Berkeley Public Shcools, California, for the years 1927 to 1931. P. 94.

† Ibid p. 65.

§ Ibid p. 86.



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THE RESPONSIBILITY OF WOMEN AS CITIZENS IN THE INDIA OF TODAY

By Rajkumari AMRIT KAUR

In dictionaries "citizen" is defined as a dweller in a city—especially one who enjoys certain rights and privileges. But the meaning of words often changes with the progress of time and the term "citizenship" today should convey to us all something very much more comprehensive than a mere dweller in a town enjoying its freedom and privileges.

For the conception of the word "citizen" we have to go back to Greek and Roman times where "city" involved the ancient idea of the State or City-State and did not apply to the place but to the whole body politic. Aristotle defines a "citizen" to be one to whom belongs the right of taking part both in the deliberative, or legislative, and in the judical proceedings of the community of which he is a member. A citizen, therefore, can only exist in a free State and Aristotle felt that the State, as a body of citizens, was sufficient for the purposes of life. A citizen is, in short, one who rules and is ruled in turn and one whose aim is the salvation and safety of the community, its being and well-being. At first, the rights of citizenship in Athens and other Greek communities were readily attained by those who were not born to them, but at a later period when the organization of Greek civic life had reached a high degree of perfection, admission to the roll of citizens was procured with difficulty. The public ceremony, however, of the dedication of Greek youth to the service of the State was a most inspiring one and I often wish we, in our country, had something of the same nature for the guidance and inspiration of our youth. In any case the rights of citizenship in Greek and Roman times were a coveted possession and this association of rights with citizenship has lasted down to the present day. It is interesting here to note that when self-government developed in ancient Greece and Rome, women had no share in it. Citizenship rested with men solely and it was not until the 19th century that it was realized that it is a mistake to treat sex as a factor that should militate against one half of God's creation.

Civics, or the philosophy of citizenship, is today recognized Social science. By some it has been described as a science of civilization for the three words, citizenship, civics and civilization are all derived from the Latin word for citizen which is "civis." It is also interesting to note the close connection between politics and civis. Aristotle's definition of a "citizen," which I have already quoted is mainly political and relative to a State. The Greeks developed a vigorous social and political life in their city-states —the Greek word for City being Polis. The Romans developed the same type of government in their "Civitas" or City. Therefore, just as Politics referred to affairs of the City in ancient Greece, so Civics referred to affairs of the City in ancient Italy. But, though etymologically Politics and Civics mean the same thing the former, politics, has come, in our time, to treat specially of national and international affairs; it traces the evolution of political forms and institutions and lays stress primarily on rights and the ways of securing them—while the latter, civics, lays stress primarily on *duties* and on the education and character requisite for their performance. Civilization has progressed to such an extent that no side of life, whether economic, religious, social, literary or humanitarian can now be divorced from civics. European civics has been based on Greek and Roman traditions and has evolved in different countries according to varying national temperaments, characteristics and needs. In our own country Hindu ideology also laid down that one should give up oneself for the sake of one's family, one's family for the sake of one's village, one's village for the sake of one's country and the world for the sake of one's soul. The Hindu conception of citizenship has probably been more social, humanitarian and spiritual than political in that spiritual salvation of the soul has always been given the highest preference. Generally speaking, however, the modern idea of a good citizen is not merely that of one who is a member of a State or obeys its laws, but one who has an active sense of being an integral part of the State. He is not a part of it because he lives within its boundaries or has accepted its ideas or become naturalized in it *but* he is a part of it only in so far as he helps to make it and maintain it as a great civilized and civilizing group.

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Citizenship, therefore, is the right ordering of our several loyalties and the proper performance of our functions and duties in life and the correct balance and adjustment thereof.

Civics, as a social science, may then be stated to be:—(1) a study of what is really good life for oneself, one's society, one's country and the world in general and (2) the practice of the knowledge gained in the best ways of life which are consonant with one's past culture and present needs and environment. As a science it extends from local interests to national, international and human relations. It has to consider all aspects of life, individual and social, physical and moral and adjust activities in the light of past experience and future aims. It touches human interests so intimately that it calls upon its students to cultivate in themselves that understanding sympathy with the lives and general conditions of others without which no well-being or progress is possible. Aristotle laid down that man is a social animal—he is born in society and lives in society. From earliest ages he has built up for himself institutions such as family, clan, tribe, caste, community, village, town, province, country, empire, world, and has taken intense pride in the ever-growing and expanding nature of such progress. Today we are so linked with each other by scientific discoveries that it is not possible for any nation to live in isolation.

Being, therefore, members of society it is our duty to see how best we can contribute to the well-being of that society. The aim of society is the good life of the individual and certain rights which give free scope to the individual for progress are fundamental to our idea of a good society. The basic conception of such must, therefore, be one which sets out clearly as its end the realization of the good life for all its members through the maintenance of this fundamental rights. It is in the daily exercise of these rights and duties and in the opportunities which the State affords to the individual of developing his or her faculties that constructive citizenship is built up.

India today is standing on the threshold of a new life which is pulsating within her veins. We are struggling to find ourselves and evolve for ourselves what we consider to be our rightful place in the sun. In this transition period, as is only natural, there is in our country a conflict of opinion, an internal turmoil, which may, at times, obscure the goal we all have in view. The womanhood of India has awakened from an age-long slumber and the responsibility of seeing and feeling aright our duties at this critical period of our history is very great. The women's organizations of the country are today pressing for the recognition in the New Constitution of our inherent right to citizenship—citizenship which will give us the same political rights as are enjoyed by men. But I hope and believe that our conception of citizenship will teach us to reckon our citizenship as something very much higher and bigger than mere political freedom or privileges. Civic rights will mean nothing to us unless we realize to the full the *duties* that these rights imply. Rights and duties are surely interdependent—for what is a right in regard to oneself is a duty in regard to others. Mazzini said to the workmen of Italy—"Every right you have can only spring from a duty fulfilled." I would ask every Indian woman to remember his dictum.

The crying need of our country today is social and educational reform and the burden of social service lies heavily, at the moment, on the shoulders of a few selfless workers. If India is to progress along right lines it is incumbent on us women to seek to play our rightful part in the building up of a structure of society which shall have solid foundations.

1. In a land, such as ours, of universal marriage, motherhood as well as household work is in itself a vocation. The proper ethical training of children is the sacred task entrusted to women. To instil into their young hearts love of country, love of humanity, hatred of wrong, to train them to follow the paths of virtue and to live and sacrifice for truth is to make them worthy citizens of the India of tomorrow.

2. It is the bounden duty of women to see to it that our daughters as well as our sons are given opportunities for education and we must continue to press that such education shall be of the right type.

3. I feel very strongly that it *is* possible for a wife and mother to command sufficient leisure for an active interest in the wider life around her and contribute to the well-being and advancement of those less fortunate than herself in every way. There is room for endless voluntary workers in our schools, our hospitals, among our own servants, in our maternity and child-welfare centres, in our large industrial centres amongst our women labourers, amongst our fallen sisters—and, above all, in our villages where the large majority of our population lives and where ignorance breeds disease and increases poverty. I am sure that we who have had the privileges of education and live for the greater part in towns have been negligent of the needs of our sisters in the villages. Believe me when

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I say that there *is* an awakening amongst women in the villages; they are anxious to have schools for their daughters, they welcome with open arms those of us who can even ocasionally find time to go and talk to them and take an interest in their conditions of living. We owe an enormous duty to them and we should consider it a privilege to stretch out the right hand of fellowship and help to them.

4. We who are convinced of the terrible results of early marriage should band ourselves into groups pledged to banish this evil from our midst not only by non-co-operating with all such of our own class of society who still persist in following this custom, not only by doing our best to bring to book those who violate the Sarda Act, but also by doing endless propaganda among those who are victims of an age-long habit from sheer force of tradition and ignorance.

5. It should be our aim to create a healthy public opinion against such harmful customs as "pardah," polygamy, the dowry system, immoral traffic in women and children and others that still exist in our country. Social legislation, however necessary, can never wholly eradicate evils—but as soon as society realizes that an evil exists its day is, *ipso facto*, over.

6. We must believe in and value the dignity of human labour so that the sin of untouchability may be cast out from our midst.

7. One of the greatest contributions we women can make to India today is the creation within us and around us of that spirit of unity without which our true welfare is wholly impossible. If we ourselves realize that we are members one of another and that the gain or loss of one is equally the gain or loss of the other and if we inculcate this ideal in the minds of our children we shall indeed be laying the corner-stone of a national structure which shall endure. The value of co-operation cannot, in my opinion, be too highly estimated.

I have touched very briefly on the practical side of such work as I believe lies within the power of all of us to do. In particular I should like to appeal to the younger generation to come forward in their hundreds for the field of work is immense and the labourers few. It is not so much in the actual attainment of the goal as in the earnest endeavour to accomplish what we believe to be a noble purpose that the measure of success lies. It was so with Browning's Grammarian. Men laughed at him while he lived, but what did that matter? In the end they paid their homage to him and when he died they laid him to rest in the highest place they knew.

Aristotle's dictum that "The State comes into existence to make life possible, it continues to exist to make life good" is true for all time.

Lastly, therefore, and above all else the women of India must see to it that our State is a great moral agency. We must, at all costs, stand by principles for principles alone are constructive and ideals are never translated into facts without faith. Great things are never achieved except by "the rejection of individualism and a constant sacrifice of self to the common progress." Women as the embodiment of devotion and self-sacrifice have got to realize that the things most worth having cannot be had without much toil —and self-denial is a lesson that began to be inculcated while man was still a savage and has never ceased to be reiterated generation after generation. If, therefore, we want to become citizens in the fullest sense of the term we have got to give the highest place to the moral and spiritual values of life without which all material gain or political freedom is mere dross. "Religious thought is the breath of life of Humanity; at once its life and soul, its spirit and its outward sign." *But* it must not be the religion of dogma and ritual which breed superstition and intolerance; it must be the religion of love which "creates for us that theory of duty which is the mother of self-sacrifice which ever was and ever will be the inspirer of great and noble things." If this spirit of love dominates our lives, of it will be born the spirit of service—service in the sense of sharing our gifts with others—and that faith which can move mountains. It is through the religion of love that I would fain hope and believe that India's women will rise to their full stature and become worthy citizens not only of our own loved country but of the world. For it is the gospel of the brotherhood of all men that must inspire and guide us so that, rising above the man-made barriers of caste, creed, community and race, we may make our humble but lasting contribution towards the ushering in of a new era of peace and happiness into a stricken and a suffering world.

May each one of us strive to be as Browning so admirably put it:

"One who never turned his back but marched breast forward,
Never doubted clouds would break,
Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph,
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
Sleep to wake."

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SOVIET'S RELATIONS WITH THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

By BIMAL BEHARI BASU

REUTER has flashed across the wires the news of Soviet Russia's entry into the League. For months past rumours have been afloat and a flutter in the political dovecotes was visible. But all rumours have at last been set at rest and Russia's entry into the League has become a *fait accompli*. It is one of the most unexpected and paradoxical events of recent times. The post-War world is no doubt rich in paradoxes, but this beats them all. The only proletarian State in the world has thought fit to enter a League which she not long ago characterized as "wasp nest of international intrigue," "League of Capitalists against Nations," "an alliance of world-bandits against proletarians" and what not! It is also surprising to find France engaged in flirting with her former ally and later enemy. Not long ago, one of the most influential of French papers characterized the Soviet as "the most abominable regime of oppression and spoliation that the world has ever known." Yet France was the prime mover in getting the support of the major powers like Great Britain in inviting Russia to enter the League, though the smaller powers stoutly opposed the move. Russia was only too glad to enter the august portals of the League.

In order to understand the sequence of events, we have to trace the gradual change in the attitude of the Soviet towards the League and *vice versa*.

Russia has chosen to enter the League at a time when its prestige is at the lowest ebb. Its opinion is openly flouted with impunity and its function has degenerated into passing pious resolutions which nobody cares to execute. It serves as the most important platform for affording an opportunity to the Foreign Ministers of displaying their eloquence. But there are other causes at work which account for the changed attitude of the Soviet. The accession of Hitler to power has given rise to a new situation in international politics. Germany under Hitler has bidden good-bye to the defeatist policy so successfully and assiduously followed by the late Herr Stresseman and Chancellor Bruening. One of the most important planks in the programme of the Nazis is to scrap the Treaty of Versailles, if necessary by resorting to violence. Von Papen, the present Vice-Chancellor of the Reich, declaims: "Germany has struck the word 'pacificism' out of the vocabulary"; and Baron von Neurath, the Foreign Minister in the Hitler Cabinet, thunders: "Germany will re-arm, never mind what the result of the Disarmament Conference is." Finally, her withdrawal from the League caused profound uneasiness in France who, therefore, wants to strengthen herself. She sounded Russia, who readily fell in with her suggestion. Russia, too, is mightily perturbed at the anti-Soviet policy of the Nazis and the political designs of Hitler. Hitler, she says, is secretly trying to come to an understanding with Poland whom he promised to help in wresting the Soviet province of Ukraine in return for the Polish Corridor. Further, he had not made any secret of his desires to expand on the West and proclaim the divine mission of Nordic domination over the Slavs.

Threatened on the European front, Russia was still more alarmed at the militaristic policy of Japan, who was directing her covetous eyes towards the rich resources of Siberia. But here the question arises, why should Russia look upon the League as a guarantor of her safety? Was not the lesson of the Sino-Japanese war a sufficient warning to her? This is all the more puzzling when we consider the contempt in which the League was held by the Soviet. In 1924, her Foreign Minister, Chicherin, refused to join the League on the ground that that would be helping the capitalist States in their aggressive designs. Yet ten years later, his successor, Litvinov, eagerly seeks an opportunity of joining the League.

It has to be remembered, however, that the Soviet has never objected to the aims of the League, *viz.*, the maintenance of peace. She has consistently pursued this aim and her foreign policy is conspicuous in this respect. The objections of the Bolshevists against war is fundamental. Since it is the masses who suffer most in any international war, the Soviet, as an expression of proletarian dictatorship, can ill-afford to engage in wars. That would be, according to it, distinctly criminal and foolish.

The Soviet peace policy has found expression in the advocacy of total disarmament and,

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...ally, the building up of a network of non-...ression pacts with foreign powers. She has ...ctically directed all her attention towards ...ring this purpose. The declaration of her ...e intentions has drawn sardonic smiles from ...e capitalist Powers, who describe them as "an ...ction of good-will advertizement." But a ...ent of international politics cannot fail to ...e that the Soviet is sincere in championing ...e cause of peace, if not for any other reason, ...r her own interest. We can trace her efforts ...is direction from 1922 when at the Genoa ...ference she laid stress on disarmament as a ...ude to re-construction. Again, before the ...paratory Commission of the Disarmament ...ference in 1927, she courageously pleaded ...e total abolition of the army, navy, air force, ...departments, war education and war budget. ...Powers assembled at the Conference scorn-...rejected the scheme as utopian. Undaunted ...this, she submitted a second draft treaty ...ating their partial abolition, but this also ...with the same fate. Having been foiled in ...attempts, she declared her intention of co-...ating with other Powers in any arrangement, ...ever incomplete, that represented even a slight ...ce towards disarmament. Moreover, in all ...subsequent Disarmament Conferences she was ...picuous in not insisting on any reservation ...d on her own requirements. Unfortunately, ...example did not commend itself to other ...ers.

Realizing that disarmament was impossible ...e present state of affairs when Mars seemed ...e in the ascendant, the Soviet persistently ...ht other means of practical safeguards and ...ously built up a network of non-aggression ...s with other nations, which by this time ...ber 14, including those on her borders. ...e it is that we find the amazing spectacle ...capitalist France and Fascist Italy entering ...an alliance with the only Proletarian State ...e world. Great Britain, Japan and China ...d outside this chain of pacts. The efforts to ...e to an understanding with Japan proved ...tive.

The Soviet system of alliances stands in ...ct contrast to the policy of the League which ...s to prevent wars by means of arbitration, ...sion and collective responsibility of members. ...Soviet, on the other hand, makes no secret ...e fact that her alliances are guided by ...ical necessity and are, therefore, of a ...porary nature, and are not based on collective ...nsibility, or on the contrary principles of ...ality and non-aggression.

According to Soviet definition, aggression means all economic boycotts, intervention and hostile acts short of war; neutrality means neutrality in the case of unprovoked attacks.

By this network of treaties, the Soviet has established a regional system and her contribution is great towards the maintenance of peace. It may be stated that by this means she has established virtually an Eastern Locarno.

Though so far as the maintenance of peace is concerned, the Soviet has been at one with the League, she had so long kept aloof from it as she considered it to be an impotent machinery for achieving the ideal. Moreover, she could not easily forget the memory of the active help rendered to the counter-revolutionaries within her borders by the members of the League. The anti-Soviet tendencies of the League only served to kindle the bitter memories afresh and her relations with it "varied from correctness to hostilities." When Germany entered the League as a result of the Locarno Pact, the Soviet had strained every nerve to the utmost to dissuade Germany from doing so.

The Soviet's participation in the League's humanitarian and scientific fields of activities has been little, although during the first few years of the post-War period she actively co-operated with the League in coping with an outbreak of epidemics within her borders. Her adherence to the League's treaties regarding non-controversial matters amounts so far to six only.

Apart from Disarmament Conferences, she took part in the World Economic Conferences of 1927 and 1933. In 1927, the first signs were visible of the Soviet's changed attitude towards the capitalist Powers. In the Conference of 1927 her representatives repudiated any intention of coming into conflict with them and advocated a proper understanding of, and an intimate contact with, the Soviet. She stressed the fact that a practical understanding between the Soviet and other Powers was possible, feasible and desirable. The Soviet delegates also took advantage of the international conferences to advertize the stability of her economic system and to point out the immense potentialities of her markets. They also protested against the prohibition of the import of Russian goods into other countries. From 1931 onwards the Soviet succeeded in concluding a number of economic non-aggression pacts. This economic co-operation with capitalist Powers undoubtedly paved the way to political co-operation.

So far the Soviet's participation in major works in the settlement of international disputes

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was unthinkable. In 1920, Persia had applied to the League against the Soviet aggression, but it was peacefully settled through direct negotiation. In 1923, Georgia, then an independent Republic, sought the League's protection against absorption by the Soviet, but beyond passing a sympathetic resolution, the League could do nothing. In 1922-23, Finland appealed to the League on behalf of the Finnish residents of the Soviet province of Carelia. The League referred the matter to the Hague Court, which after some deliberation refused to move in the matter, as Russia did not recognize its jurisdiction. It was for this reason that China did not refer her dispute with Russia in 1929 to the League and Chiang-kai-Shiek had to remain satisfied only with making bitter complaints against the Red Imperialism.

In the Sino-Japanese war of 1931 the interests of Russia as well as of the League were vitally affected. But even then, the Soviet could not persuade herself to co-operate with the League; she refused her co-operation to the Lytton Commission. The report of the Commission was followed by the creation of a committee of 29 which invited both the U. S. A. and Russia to sit on the Committee. The U. S. A. accepted the invitation, but Russia declined on the ground that she could not be expected to deliberate with the committee, for more than half the members were not in diplomatic relations with her.

But an indication of the change was visible in February 1933, when Litvinov, on behalf of the Soviet, accepted Chapter I of the French plan of November, 1932 which provided for consultation among the signatories of the Kellogg Pact in the event of any threatened or actual aggression, the launching of a drastic economic sanction against the aggressor and the enforcement of the Stimson doctrine of non-recognition. The Security Committee of the Disarmament Conference accepted with some modifications the Soviet definition of 'Aggressor' on the 24th May, 1933. According to it, an aggressor is any State that invades or otherwise attacks another State with or without any declaration of war. Moreover, acts otherwise aggressive should not be justified by any consideration of political, economic or strategic necessity.

In a speech delivered before the All-Union Executive Committee on 29th December, 1933, Litvinov spoke of the Soviet attitude towards non-aggression pacts in these words: "There should be no question of military alliance on old lines, but co-operation for the rightful self-defence of all those who are not interested in violating peace, so that no one could think of infringing it. The U. S. S. R. is ready to participate in carrying out this task." Stalin is reported to have said in an interview with an American journalist, "If the League is only the tiniest of bump—somewhat to slow down the drive towards and help peace—it is not excluded that we should support the League despite its colossal deficiences." The Soviet Ambassador, Troyanovsky, spoke before the American Society of International Law on the 28th April, 1934, on the wisdom of international organization for peace. These all pointed to the same direction, *viz.*, the Soviet's desire to co-operate with the League as an international organization of nations.

During the past few months negotiations were being conducted behind the scenes and frequent consultations between the French and the Soviet Foreign Ministers gave rise to widespread speculation that something was being staged behind the political curtain. On May 18, 1934, the French Foreign Minister Barthou discussed with Litvinov the question of the Soviet's entry into the League in Geneva. On May 20, 1934, articles appeared in the leading Soviet newspapers welcoming the French suggestion. They, however, opined that it was not the Soviet which had changed its policy, but the League which had given up its Anti-Soviet bias.

This, in short, is the history of the Soviet's connections with the League and shows how its attitude underwent a gradual change under the stress of world conditions.

As a great Power, the Soviet will be given a permanent seat on the League Council, though this will cause dissatisfaction to Poland, which failed to obtain a permanent seat in spite of strenuous efforts. This may have a repercussion on the Franco-Polish *entente cordiale.*

The entry of the Soviet into the League is a great political event. This indicates a new orientation in the Soviet international policy and may be put on a par with her far-reaching new domestic economic policy. The Soviet has no intention to expand her frontiers and she has ceased to espouse the cause of International Communism and World Revolution. The Third International has ceased to be militant. As realists the Soviet wants to be let alone in her efforts to build up the new social and economic order within her own borders on a permanent footing. Though she believes in the ultimate inevitable establishment of world socialism, the new Stalinist doctrine recognizes the peaceful co-existence of Marxism and Capitalism.

The question naturally arises, how long will this co-operation continue? It depends on

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...ode of the capitalist nations. Undoubtedly, ... Soviet will defend the Red Flag to the last ... if she is threatened with a capitalist attack. ... so long as the necessity does not arise and ... long as capitalism remains strongly entrenched, ... will prefer to co-operate with others instead ... remaining in splendid isolation.

The Soviet's entry means a tremendous ...ition to the League's prestige and power. ...t it lost by the withdrawal of Germany and ...an, it has regained by the joining of the ...iet. Of the two great world Powers which had so far kept aloof, one has joined the League at the present critical juncture of international politics; it remains to be seen how long America persists in standing out.

Those who see in this departure in the Soviet foreign policy an indication of her gradual inclination towards Capitalism, are sadly mistaken. So far as fundamentals are concerned, the Soviet is, and will for ever be, a Socialist State. This is evident from her drive towards collective agriculture and farming and the progressive decline in the number of small shop-keepers.

A PLEA FOR A COMMISSION ON THE LEGAL DISABILITIES OF WOMEN

By RENUKA RAY, B.SC. (Econ., London)

THE legal position of Indian Women is undoubtedly one of the most inequitable in the world today. It has entailed so ...h suffering and misery to the women in ...ia that, were it not for the extraordinary ...bility of the social conscience, it could never ...e been tolerated for so long. Changed ideas ...arding the position and status of women in ...ope came into England and the West only ...t a hundred years ago. At one time, not ...long ago, the status of English women in ...was extremely low, and far more unjust as ...pared to that of women under Muhammadan ..., and the Hindu Codes of Ancient India. ...t today they have already attained a position ...equality in law in regard to property and ...cial rights. In India, too, a changed outlook, ...regards the rights of women, has been ...ermible for some time among a small ...ority of the progressive and liberal-minded, ...o have striven to bring about the regeneration ...women; but the larger majority of Indian ...men have so long been entirely untouched ...this newer spirit of progress. During the ...fifteen years, a fundamental and momentous ...ge is making itself manifest. True, women ...y have not attained a tithe of their just ...they still suffer under innumerable ...abilities in law, countless numbers are often ...ded to a miserable existence due to the ...ing social customs, but their 'Pathetic ...tentment' is broken at last, they are alive ...pulsating, and every year brings an ...easing and more insistent demand from ...that their just rights and duties be ...ded to them once more. Much still remains to be done, but it is significant that so many of those who in the past used to suffer in silence are no longer inarticulate. Many of us find it difficult to realize to what extent the laws of the land have been accountable for the unjust and oppressive treatment meted out to large numbers of women.

This position has clearly arisen because both Hindu and Muhammadan law are based on religious enactments, and it is upheld that these are immutable and cannot be changed. The policy of non-intervention which the Government of India have pursued in religious matters, have led them to leave the greater part of the Legal Codes entirely unaltered, and so they are perpetuating and upholding a system of laws which can have no place in a progressive and ordered modern State. Law can no longer remain static in a dynamic society. It is the duty of the State to adjust and suit the laws of a country to the requirements of the times. In spite of all sacraments and religious injunctions, the history of Hindu law will show that it has continually changed with the changing times, right down to the advent of the British period. When law and order prevailed in Vedic India, both the legal Code and social customs accorded a large measure of equality to women. It was during a period of strife and conflict, when ordered conditions of society could not prevail, and physical valour was the primary need of the day, that woman gradually lost her status in society. When times of peace came again, the demoralization of women was almost complete. As seen during the period of the Smritis, there was a continuous and long struggle between the

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different law-givers as to the position of women and many contradictory enactments came into usage, according to the social ideas of the day. When the laws were applied during the British period, grave injustice was done to women, as the Pandits and Priests who were asked to expound the laws, gave the most reactionary interpretations in respect of women's rights, so that the little that law still allowed them was further curtailed.

In order to understand and appreciate the present position it is necessary to give a few broad general characteristics of the disabilities women suffer in law, in our country. There is a great diversity in law in India and it is necessary to deal with the different Codes separately. A minority of the people are governed by more liberal and progressive laws, such as the Parsis, Christians and all those who come under the Special Marriage Act and the Indian Succession Act. Women governed by these laws do not suffer any particular disabilities as regards their marital and their property rights. Those who are married under Act III of 1872 are governed by saner laws of marriage but it is one of the anomalies of the legal system that in regard to inheritance, they are guided by customary laws, which means that the inequitable laws of property of the older Code are enforced. For the vast majority of Indian women who come under either Hindu or Muhammadan law, the position is quite different.

Hindu Law is not uniform all over India and differs, according to the diversity of interpretations given, to the Vedic and Smrity texts in later times by successive commentators. This has given rise to the different schools of law. The Dayabhag and Mitakshara are the two main systems of law. Broadly, the former is prevalent in Bengal, and the latter in the rest of India, with the exception of Bombay, where the Mayukh school of law holds sway. The Mitakshara law again is not uniform and has sub-divisions, probably to suit the customs and requirements of the different parts of the country. So far as the rights of property are concerned, it is true of all the schools of law that a woman has no absolute rights of property, except under certain circumstances. In other words, she cannot dispose of, or sell property at her will. It is only in certain specific cases of "Stridhan" ("woman's property") known as "Saudayik" that this right accrues to her. She cannot even dispose of "Stridhan" which comes to her after marriage, without her husband's consent, even if it be her self-acquired earnings. It should be noted here that, apart from the fact that a wife cannot be ejected from the dwelling house, and that the obligation to maintain her remains binding on the husband, the latter can do as he desires with his property without consulting her. As the money is earned and contributed by him, the justice of this principle is not disputed in any legal code. Is it not only fair that a wife too should have complete right of disposal of the income she has earned by her own endeavours? Absolute right over property is only recognized by the Mayukh school in Bombay, so far as a daughter's right is concerned. Here the daughter is entitled to an absolute share in her father's property. The Mayukh law differs from the Mitakshara Code only in regard to the daughter's rights of inheritance in her father's property. Under Dayabhag law in Bengal, a daughter has no right over her father's property. If she is an unmarried daughter, she is only entitled to bare maintenance and marriage expenses. The married daughter has no right of inheritance at all so long as sons, grandsons, widows. unmarried daughters and daughters' sons are alive, who inherit in the above order. Under Mitakshara law the position of the daughter is even worse as due to the system of survivorship, if no immediate male heirs are alive, the property reverts to the coparceners. It is often held that once a Hindu woman is married, she belongs entirely to her husband's family where rights and duties are accorded to her, and so it would be unfair to the sons if women should also inherit property as daughters from their father's estate. If we probe deeper into the matter we will find that a woman's rights in her husband's family are very precarious. It is true that under Dayabhag law a woman who has no sons is given a limited interest in her husband's property; but she cannot dispose of, or sell or gift away this property, except under certain cases known as legal necessities. Often her heirs or 'reversioners,' as they are legally called, harass her and question her actions to such an extent when legal necessities arise, that even under these circumstances, she finds it difficult to sell her property except at a great loss. "Widow's Estate", as this property is commonly called, gives rise to so many law suits that few people are willing to take the risk of buying such property unless they are amply compensated. Whenever bills are brought forward to improve the position of women in regard to inheritance, a protest is invariably launched by certain reactionaries in Bengal, that under Dayabhag law, women's rights of inheritance are equitable and require no redress, unlike the law in other parts of India. The case of the widow with sons, who is given a limited interest in her husband's property, is cited to uphold this argument. Yet they forget to mention that a widow with sons is only entitled to bare maintenance. If there is a partition of the property then a widow is entitled to a share, but this is entirely at the will of her sons as she cannot sue for a partition. If her sons misuse her husband's hard-earned money, which occurs oftener than we imagine, she has no legal redress as long as she is given bare maintenance. As long as

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father is alive, a "son's childless widow" is not even entitled to bare maintenance and her fate is most pitiable. Neither in her husband's family nor in her own has she any right. Married in childhood, and entirely helpless and unable to fend for themselves, these poor women are frequently left without any means of subsistence when they become widows. Few of us realize how many of these unfortunate women are ultimately compelled to lead a life of shame. Under Mitakshara law, a widow and a son's childless widow are both entitled to bare maintenance. The widow does not even inherit 'Life estate' in her husband's property even if she has no sons, for as shown in the case of the daughters, if there are no male heirs the property reverts to coparceners.

In the normal happy home, legal distinctions do not matter, and it would be a gross exaggeration to say that the majority of women in India are not happy or treated well because their legal status is so low, but as in the case of the widow in regard to property, so in the case of the married woman, if she does need redress, the law of the land is against her. A Hindu woman has no choice in marriage. In a way it may be said that she merely changes the guardianship of the father for that of the husband when she marries and as things stand no matter what he is, he has almost absolute right over her. She has no redress, whether he be suffering from the worst diseases, or be guilty of adultery, cruelty or desertion—and as such is the irony of fate, that she has no redress even if he marries again in her lifetime, because that is not only allowed by law, but considered only right and just if she be childless. So for all practical purposes, a man has the right of dissolution of marriage and his wife can only claim bare maintenance of him. Divorce is strictly banned by Hindu law and society, as marriage is a sacrament, but no sacrament holds, when a man takes unto himself a second wife, and this is considered entirely equitable if the first wife is given maintenance and a right to live in the dwelling house. Even judicial separation is not allowed in Hindu Law, except if cruelty can be proved to amount to a personal danger to life. According to recent rulings of the Courts, marriages to lunatics are considered invalid, but under no other circumstances can a Hindu woman be freed from an unhappy marriage. Aborigines and those Hindus who do not come under Brahminical law, have rights of divorce. Women who are the home-builders, the mothers of the race, surely cannot want to break up the home and family life, and yet there must be some reason why thinking men and women consider that the rights of divorce should be allowed. We do not want divorce to be introduced for any flippant reason but for only those reasons brought under the light of modern conditions, which even the old Hindu system considered right and just, as expounded in the Smritis of Narad and Vasista.

The guardianship of children is another matter which is of special importance to the women as the mother. Not only the wishes of the father but even of other male relatives, such as the maternal uncle, take precedence over those of the mother in regard to her children, under certain circumstances. We hear so much of the glories of motherhood, and yet the mother, whose natural and moral right cannot be denied, is by a system of retrograde laws deprived of her greatest right, because she does not earn her living and agrees to give her life to rearing the family instead. Can anything justify such a system ?

As regards the adoption of children, a Privy Council Ruling allowed certain rights to accrue to woman,—but only recently there was a Bill in the Bombay Legislature to preclude her from this right.

When we turn to Islamic Law we find that the rights of property are far more equitable to woman. Although a daughter is not given an equal share with the sons, she is given a definite share of her father's and also of her husband's property. But a grave injustice is done to the women of many Muhammadan communities in parts of Bombay, Gujarat and Kathiawar, as these communities are not governed by Islamic Law but by customary law. Consequently the rights of Muhammadan women of these communities are guided by the unfair Hindu laws of property. As regards marital rights, the Muhammadan woman is often in a far worse plight than her Hindu sister due more to the backwardness of her community as a whole than to her position in strict law. Plurality of wives is not only allowed by law, but even today it is frequently found that a man has more than one lawfully wedded wife. Recently due to the advance of modern ideas and the exigencies of economic necessity, there is a great decrease in this practice and number of such cases. Amongst Hindus, although law allows a man to marry again if his wife is childless yet cases of this nature, if not non-existent, are extremely rare. The principle of divorce is recognized in Muhammadan law, but it is only at the will of the husband that a woman can obtain a divorce. A man is entitled to obtain a divorce at his mere will to do so, and so a woman not only does not receive redress when she is in need, but also may find her home broken up, at the mere caprice of the man, as her consent to the divorce is unnecessary. It must, however, be admitted that the law of dower mitigates to a certain extent the harshness of the provisions relating to divorce. Sometimes she can purchase her divorce by giving up her property, and this is called "Khula", but even here the husband's consent is necessary. The usual mode is 'Mubarat', where the woman receives back her

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full share of the property when divorce takes place. So we find that alterations in Muhammadan law are also necessary.

In Hindu law a wholesale revision is absolutely necessary as regards inheritance and marriage, if we are to remove the disabilities under which women suffer. We have had great champions and liberators from time to time, from Rammohun Roy downwards, who have espoused women's cause and sought to redress her grievances. But it is clear that individual efforts alone will not suffice to ameliorate the legal position of women. Even today with the championship of Rai Harabilas Sarda Bahadur, and Sir Hari Singh Gour and other liberal-minded men, efforts are being made again and again to improve the legal status of women, but in spite of all their gallant help it cannot be denied that redress is slow to come. Mr. Harabilas Sarda's efforts to remove the legal difficulty with regard to women's rights of property and inheritance, are a clear indication of the slow procedure. His first Bill which aimed at a real removal of grievances was thrown out completely by the Assembly, and even his Widow Maintenance Bill, which was very much a half-measure, has not been taken up by the Assembly this year. The Council of State is now considering a Bill on women's inheritance, but there is little chance of its becoming law. A complete change and wholesale revision is necessary. Palliatives and half-measures cannot do any longer. Apart from these, anomalies will always creep in when laws are amended by a patchwork method. As in the case of Sarda's Child Marriage Restraint Act, amendments will become necessary to enforce the provisions of the acts passed. For all these reasons, the representatives of India's women, at the last Session of the All-India Women's Conference, considered that an Enquiry Commission should be set up to suggest reforms under the light of modern conditions and ideals, and that the recommendations of this Commission should be set forth in a Bill before the Assembly and passed into law. They feel that if the Government of India realizes that they are earnest about their demands and that it is the express desire of thinking men and women from all over the country, we shall be able to obtain the establishment of this Commission of Enquiry. It should have a large non-official element, including prominent lawyers and liberal-minded men. Women should also be adequately represented by their chosen representatives. The work of the Commission will help to create a widespread public interest and opinion in the matter, and to lay bare to the country at large the great evils that are rampant as a result of the present legal codes. The materials collected by the Commission will help them considerably to suggest a simplified system, which will recognize a code of laws, where women will be given equal rights with men, and which will yet be in conformity with true Indian culture and traditions. The enlightened States of Baroda, Mysore and Travancore have already reformed their laws regarding the disabilities of women on the recommendations of Commissions of enquiry set up by them, and the result has been very satisfactory. It is surely not too much to expect that women in British India will be afforded a similar concession.

The Hindu Widow Remarriage Act gives the widow a legal right to marry again, but few widows use this privilege that law allows them, and so, it is sometimes argued that a removal of the disabilities in law will not alter the status of women, to a considerable degree, as custom is rigid, and until the prejudices are removed from society, the law will be a dead letter. It is true that social prejudices hamper the work of reform considerably, and law cannot alter these, if changed ideas do not come in simultaneously. The propaganda and work the Commission will do while it is holding its session, will have a tremendous effect on the popular mind. Apart from this, social conventions are already changing rapidly and women have shown that when their help is needed in the social or political sphere, they have proved themselves more than equal to the task. Not only is it unfair that the legal system should hinder them from attaining their emancipation, but until an atmosphere of comradeship between men and women pervades society and the social environment is unfettered by legal restrictions and blind prejudices, it will not be possible for India to work up for herself a position of dignity and equality in the comity of nations.

[NOTE. Rammohun Roy has shown in his pamphlet on "Brief Remarks regarding Modern Encroachments on the Ancient Rights of Females,..." that according to the ancient legislators, such as Jajnavalkya, Katyayana and Manu, the daughters are entitled to one-fourth part of the portion which a son can inherit. In this connection reference should also be made to another paper of Rammohun on "The Rights of Hindoos over Ancestral Property, according to the Law of Bengal." Ed., *M. R.*]

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AN ASPECT OF MAHATMA GANDHI'S GREATNESS

By Pandit VIDHUSEKHAR SHASTRI

RECENTLY an attempt was made on the life of Mahatma Gandhi by means of throwing a bomb; but he had a providential escape. Indeed the unfortunate man who threw the bomb knew not what he did. But what did the Mahatma himself think of it? What did he say about it? Only what could reasonably be expected of a real devotee, and a true Vaisnava, as he himself is. And so he is reported to have said:

> I have nothing but deep pity for the unknown thrower of the bomb. If I had my way and if the bomb thrower was known, I should certainly ask for his discharge, even as I did in South Africa in the case of those who successfully assaulted me.

Naturally it reminds one of what Jesus Christ said once under similar circumstances:

> Father forgive them; for they know not what they do. Luke xxiii, 34.

Readers of the Bible know the details of this attitude in the life of Jesus Christ, which has a striking resemblance to that of a true Vaisnava. About the end of the year 1500 A.D., in the time of Chaitanyadeva in Bengal, there was a great devotee Haridasa by name. By birth he was a Muhammadan,* but became a follower of Chaitanyadeva. Being a Muhammadan he was regarded by the Hindus as untouchable. Yet, he was very saintly, and the following passage taken from an authoritative work† on Vaisnavism will clearly show what regard Chaitanyadeva himself had for him.

> Once Chaitanyadeva having seen his other disciples came to meet Haridasa who had paid his respects to him prostrating himself before him. Chaitanyadeva made him rise from the ground and embraced him. And both of them were so glad and so much moved to meet each other after a long separation that tears flowed from their eyes, remembering each other's kindness. Haridasa then said:
>
> "Don't touch me, Lord, for I am very inferior, low, and untouchable."
>
> But replied Chaitanyadeva: "I touch you to become pure. The pure *dharma* that is in you is not to be found in me; for every moment you take bath in sacred streams, every moment you perform sacrifices and practise austerities, and scriptures you read always.* You are the most purifying one, greater than a Brahmin, greater than one who has renounced the world."
>
> The Muhammadans got very angry with Haridāsa, because in spite of his being a Muhammadan he became a Vaisnava. The Muslim ruler of Bengal at that time remonstrated with him again and again to give up the religion which he had adopted, and threatened him with severe punishment if he did not obey his orders. But Haridāsa could not do so. He said:
>
> "If even my body is cut to pieces and my life goes out, I will not give up the name of Hari".†
>
> Judgment was delivered in the court that he was to be beaten in each of the bazaars of the town, so that he might die of its effect. The orders were carried out immediately and there was none who was not moved at the sight or did not try his best somehow to save him from that punishment. But what was Haridasa himself doing all the time? He was remembering his Krisna feeling the happiness arising from muttering his name. He did not feel the physical pain, but was very sorry in his heart only for those who were beating him mercilessly, and made devout supplication to his Krishna saying, "Be kind,

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* Some say that originally he was a Hindu but was brought up in a Muhammadan family.

† *Caitanyacaritāmṛta, Madhyalīla*

* This is, in fact, from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, iii. 33,7.

† खण्ड खण्ड हय देह यदि यय प्राण।
तभो आमि वदने ना छाड़ि हरि नाम॥

Caitanya bhāgavata, Adikanda xi

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O Krishna, to these creatures! may they not be considered guilty owing to the harm that they have done to me'*

* ए सब जीवेर कृष्ण करह प्रसाद।
मर द्रोहे नहु ए सभार अपराध॥

These words are, in fact, almost identical with those of Jesus Christ and Mahatma Gandhi only in different languages or phrases. The *Bhāgavata Purāna*, which is the most authoritative work on Vaisnavism is full of this kind of mental attitude on the part of a true devotee.

A REVIEW OF REVIEWS

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"But, when all is said, the taste, which is an essential quality of a critic, is something with which he is born. It is something which is not born of reading Sophocles and Plato, and does not perish of reading Miss Marie Corelli. This taste must illuminate all the reviewer's portraits. Without it he had far better be a coach-builder than a reviewer of books."—Mr. Robert Lynd in *The Art of Letters* (T. Fisher Unwin : 1920).

I

IT has been declared, by one who ought to know, that it is not everybody that says, "Lord! Lord!" who can enter the Kingdom of Heaven: a truism that has, I venture to think, the merit of being meticulously true. Mere shouting at the top of one's voice does not, it is clear, unlock the gates of anything: if it did, matters would become wonderfully (and, sometimes, even woefully) simple. Everybody has heard of the sorry plight of the lady who protested too much: why, the poor dame was not believed at all. Similar is the case with your spiritual gentleman, falsely so called: the more he mentions the name of God, the more he takes God's name in vain.

II

A reviewer, in my opinion, is in a like predicament. Every review of a book, or a series of books, does not necessarily deserve that cognomen. On the contrary, it may, very often, be even a complete travesty of it. Not one in a dozen reviewers, I dare to say, can, if put to the test, fully sustain his claim to that title. He occupies that position—if the truth is to be told merely on sufferance. The fact is that there is a rooted misconception in the public mind about this matter of book-reviewing. Unhappily, it is regarded as the simplest possible affair: one, for instance, as easy as falling off a cliff, or sliding down an inclined plane. It would be well if someone took courage in both hands and came forward to dispel that illusion lock, stock, and barrel: it has, Heaven knows, wrought enough mischief even as it is. Book-reviewing, I should like to lay down with all the emphasis at my command, is no more capable of achievement by all and sundry than, say, astronomy, or mountaineering, or nunismatics is. There is, one ought to bear in mind, such a factor as "aptitude" even for this seemingly colourless stuff: the plain truth being that some can review books well, and that some cannot: just as some can play lawn-tennis or Rugby-football, or contract-Bridge, better than others. It is all, I suggest, a question, in the last analysis, of where your interest, your mental-alertness lies: the wind, as always, blowing where it listeth.

III

There is, of course, another aspect of the problem. After all, the reviewers—or the most of them—may not really be so blameworthy as they seem. In many instances, it is fairly apparent, they are compelled to do that for which they have neither the will nor the inclination. The unpleasant job is, more often than not, *thrust* upon them: with the result that we see for ourselves almost daily. Even a willing horse, as everyone knows, must not be worked too much. The best rule, here as elsewhere, is moderation: the willingness to work within the frame-work of your capabilities: not, as some erroneously put it, finding out what you cannot do, and then going to do it. Public prints are not, I take leave to point out, exactly the places wherein to experiment with your heroism. The entire trouble, however, has—or so it seems to me—arisen in this way. There are so many papers in the world at the present time: likewise there are so many books that are being published day in and day out. What can the poor editor do in such circumstances? Book-reviews are, unfortunately, a "feature" in almost every journal of any

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...sions; and the hapless editor has, if only ...the satisfaction of not being outdone by ...others, to follow the prevailing mode, the ...ested fashion. Of course, if he were a man ...frustating originality he would throw con...porary usage to the winds, and would cease ...display this "feature" the moment he found ...some: he would rather *not* "clutch the ...ishable hope" of being able to make it a ...ess. But generally, as we all know to our ..., he is not a person of outstanding "guts," ...marked freshness of vision: the editor of ...treme originality being as rare as the flowering ...the aloe, or the laying of the phoenix's egg. ...he runs about hither and thither among his ...ends and begs of them the favour of reviewing ...books under the weight of which his table ...groaning. Muttering comminations within ...self he abjures them to do the thing somehow ...other. Well, to cut a long story short, they ...it. The result may be disappointing but what ...can one expect? One cannot gather grapes ...thorns, or figs of thistles; and by the same ...en, one cannot hope to get masterpieces of ...ticism and composition from those who simply ...e not the root of the matter in them. Let us ...once, face facts: in book-reviewing, as else...ere, many are called, but few chosen.

IV

This "disease" of modern life, if I may bodily ...e over a phrase of Mathew Arnold's and ...ly it to some modes of reviewing, admits of ...one remedy. I suggest that only those journals ...can afford both the space and the material ...ght to go in for this luxury: the rest mean...e being content to exercise a wise self-control ...not even trying to touch that which they can...t hope ever to adorn. And some books, let ...say as gently as possible, ought not to be ...ewed at all. Selection and centralization—...se are the two things that are greatly to be ...iderated. It would be best, of course, if one ...ld bring out a special supplement every week ...this purpose. The proprietors of the London ...es were never so happily inspired as when ...originated a separate publication under the ...name of the *Times Literary Supplement*, which, ...about question, is unique in its own *genre*: ...Cowley said of Pindar, it forms "a vast species ...ire pages every week, or even twice a week, ...ially for book-reviews: as is done, for ...tance, by the *Morning Post*, the *Daily Telegraph*, ...the *News-Chronicle*. Much useful work is ...ge performed in these papers by Miss Rebecca ...st and Sir John Squire and Messrs. Osborn & ...ld.

V

Something now remains to be said about ...w a book-review should be written. The ...thor's point of view must, in all cases, be kept before the reviewer's mind. Some sort of indication must be given about the former's trend of thought; and, however reprehensible it may seem to be, the latter must not lose his or her temper. I am perfectly aware that there are some situations when it becomes almost impossible to follow this injunction. Suppose the book under consideration is *Mother India*, or its sequel, *Slaves of the Gods*, written by that exemplary virgin, Miss Katherine Mayo, of Philadelphia, U. S. A. Suppose, further, that the reviewer is an Indian—preferably a Hindu. Well, I can, as the saying is, by all Lombard Street to a China orange that the latter will not be able to keep his head while reviewing the afore-mentioned books. On the contrary he will be tempted to explode: every cell of his body and mind being, if the expresion be allowed, on fire. But even in this extreme instance he will, I have not the least doubt, do well to a keep a tight hold upon himself. Our calumniator-in-chief may have, after all, a message to impart to us: and though that message is difficult to isolate from the heaps of vulgar abuse surrounding, and all but smothering it, like a costly jewel embedded in innumerable folds of cotton-wool, still the time, in my opinion, is not ill-spent, of the effort wasted, in "putting it across" to the millions and millions of people who inhabit our country. So long as a book is written with a definite and ascertainable purpose, that purpose must, it seems to me, be done full justice to, no matter what the extraneous circumstances may be. The only thing that we must not, on any account, tolerate is pretension: what the Americans call "high-falutin." Whenever, and wherever, this is detected we must take care to give a resounding thwack upon its back: such a thwack as Meredith extols in his famous extravaganza, *The Shaving of Shagpat*. For the rest, a little kindness is never out of place.

VI

Having said so much about a review being a faithful portrait of the book in question, I should like further to state that it should not, by any means, be a mere synopsis of it: else, where does criticism come in? A reviewer is a critic in little: at any rate, that is what my conception of him is. If one has sufficient space at one's command, one may let oneself go while one is reviewing a book: the only condition being that the book merits such treatment, and that the reviewer is a competent writer—one, that is, who can write simply and elegantly and interestingly. In such circumstances, one may, without great risk, write an independent essay on the theme of the book, at the same time keeping an eye on its central point, or points. And why not? A review should not be a mere catalogue or prospectus: it should have a life of its own. Some of the most distinguished reviewers have adopted this mode; and are, to put it mildly, none the worse for it. What, else, did the late Mr. T. Earle Welby—"Stet," of happy

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memory—do? Yet he was acknowledged to have been a prince among critics, the noblest Roman of them all. Mr. Robert Lynd, however, is of the opposite opinion. He advises a reviewer to go straight to the point, to pounce upon it like an eagle upon its prey. All I can say in reply to this is that in literature there is no such thing as going straight to the point, or pouncing upon it like an eagle upon its prey: in fact, there ought not to be. It may be the correct thing in science. But literature is something quite different, and we prize it for its delicious irrelevancies, for its majestic asides. To what does *Tristram Shandy* owe its well-merited fame? Or *Moby Dick?* Or *The Good Companions?* Or Mr. Shaw's prefaces? Or any of Mr. Chesterton's multifarious writings? In literature everything is excusable so long as it is not slipshod or uninterestingly done.

VII

Finally, no one, I venture to think, should write upon a book, or upon an author, with which, or with whom, for one reason or another, he does not happen to find himself in sympathy. Destructive criticism is the easiest thing on earth, and anybody can perpetrate it. Indeed it is quite possible, on this hypothesis, to write a damaging estimate even of Shakespeare that shall show him to be no better than an amateur in literature. This, however, is not to say, that criticism should flow in one uninterrupted stream of applause: it would be to err at the opposite extreme. No author,—not even the greatest that ever was,—is immaculate. Homer himself is said to nod. Taking the example of Shakespeare again, an excellent article could be written proving what a bad craftsman he was. There never, perhaps, was a more careless writer. Everyone remembers the famous retort of Ben Jonson when somebody was praising Shakespeare for not being in the habit of blotting out a single line of his manuscript. "Would to God he had blotted out a thousand!" All this, however, does not invalidate my argument. Some sympathy is demanded of him who sets out to appraise the works of an author. Moreover, if one examines critical writings closely, one will find that the best criticisms have invariably been laudatory. That is why Pater, as Mr. Robert Lynd has noted, called his book of criticisms, *Appreciations*. That is why, Mr. Chesterton's *Dickens* is the best book that has as yet been written upon that great novelist. My point is very simple. The critic, or reviewer, should not, as far as possible, say gloatingly: "I have come to bury Caesar, not to praise him." He should, on the contrary, come to praise him: all other things, of course, being equal. Else, let him keep away: there are others to do the job better than he.

PROMETHEAN CONQUEROR

By VERRIER ELWIN

Descendant of a royal race,
My coolie stumbles on ahead,
With body bent and weary face,
And an uncertain tread.

Across his back a pole is laid,
To either end of which he ties
A heavy basket, richly weighed
With Western luxuries.

He mounts upon a little rise,
His arms outstretched from side to side;
I see him dark against the skies,
Weary and crucified.

My comforts load him wearily,
His arms are stretched to hold them still;
His is a very Calvary
Upon that little hill.

Across the sad world endlessly
The humble suffer for our pride;
On the grim cross of luxury
The poor are crucified.

And to a million Calvaries
The poor are nailed by heavy toil.
We sit below, their garments seize,
And gamble for the spoil.

Yet even now our victory
Must on their cross depend;
That sad and solemn agony
Will conquer in the end.

And then the rich to beg will come,
In days of mental dearth,
And plead outside the poor man's home
For treasure not of earth.

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BOOK REVIEWS

BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

FALL OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE: *By Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Kt., C. I. E. Vol II. 1754-1771. M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Ltd. Calcutta. 1934. Price Rs. 5.*

This is the second volume of Sir Jadunath Sarkar's great work on the fall of the Mughal Empire, the first instalment of which was reviewed in these columns some months ago. It carries the history of the empire down to 1771 and covers eighteen eventful years, the principal theme of which is the Afghan-Maratha contest for the lordship of Delhi. It is a story of horrors and rapine and political incompetence, redeemed only by the consolidation of British power in the Eastern, and Sikh power in the Western extremity of India. Sir Jadunath has treated his subject with a fulness of detail not to be found anywhere else and a competence which it would be impertinent to praise. Many doubtful points in the history of this obscure period have been cleared up in the light of sources not utilized before. The new volume of his latest, and we hope not the last, work makes us look eagerly forward to the instalments still to come.

GARGANTUA AND PANTAGRUEL: *By Francois Rabelais. Translated from the French by Sir Thomas Urquhart and Peter le Motteux. Newly annotated. The World's Classics. Oxford University Press. 3 vols. 2s. each.*

The Oxford University Press continues its services to culture by adding the famous work of Rabelais to the indispensable World's Classics Series. The version reproduced in these volumes is that of Sir Thomas Urquhart and Peter le Motteux, which if it do s not give us the exact word of Rabelais is certainly as fine an approach to the original as a translation could reasonably be expected to be. Besides the work is a classic of English translation-literature. Its value is enhanced by an introduction summarizing the latest researches on Rabelais and explanatory notes.

N. C. C.

RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY: *By Nalin C. Ganguly. Y. M. C. A. Publishing House, 5 Russell Street, Calcutta. 1934. Pp. Crown 8vo. 229+10. 7 illustrations printed separately. Popular Edition, Re. 1-12; Cloth, Rs. 2-8.*

Within the compass of 229 pages Professor Nalin C. Ganguly has given a very interesting. instructive and readable account of the life, achievements and personality of Raja Rammohun Roy. The book is well documented. Considering the multifarious activities of the Raja and the wide range of subjects—spiritual, theological, political, social, administrative, educational, economic, literary, etc.—dealt with in his writings, it cannot be expected that all his biographers will pronounce the same opinions on them. Mr. Ganguly's opinions, like those of other biographers of the Raja, may, therefore, be considered debatable by some. That does not in any way detract from the value of the book. What is commendable in it is that the author is not dogmatic, but gives reasons for his conclusions. He has worked hard and has succeeded in producing an impressive picture of his hero.

C.

NEO-HINDUISM: *D. V. Athalye. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay. Rs. 5-8, pp. 220, 1932.*

This is not a mere biography of Swami Vivekananda but it aims also at summing up his teachings which are grouped here under various heads. In times like these we cannot ignore the lessons which were taught by the great Swamiji who meant so much to Bengal and to India. He was an inspiring presence, and the book is a suitable introduction to the study of the

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great personality. Mr. Athalye has already established himself as a biographer of repute, and his exposition of Swamiji's conception of Vedantism will be generally found useful.

There are, however, several inaccuracies and slipshod expressions in the book; *e. g.*, 'U. S. America' (p. 1), 'of so prime importance' (p. 21), 'low' for 'slow' (p. 12); Narendranath did not pass the 'Matriculation' Examination but the 'Entrance', and the groupings in the earlier University Examination results are called 'divisions', not 'classes' (p. 2); further, the Gazipur saint is 'Pahari' Baba, not 'Parari' as on p. 11. It may be fairly expected that these will be rectified in a later edition.

THE LAST ENCHANTMENT: *G. K. Chettur. The B. M. Bookshop, Mangalore. S. India. Rs. 5 net. 1934.*

Mr. Chettur had spent some memorable years of his life 1918-1921 in that city of serene intellectual atmosphere, Oxford, and we are treated here to a book of recollections, most of which, if not all, were published in the different periodicals between December 1921 and October 1933. The introductory chapter has lent its name to the volume. Mr. Chettur's verses and short stories have been appreciated by the reading public and his reputation as a writer of English is maintained in this volume. The book is both informative and pleasant reading and it succeeds in making Oxford (residence in which is justly considered as in itself a real help to a liberal education) and its influence felt by the reader. Dr. Spooner, poets Yeats and Masefield, Rabindranath and Sarojini Naidu, Arthur Symons and Canon Streeter,—are some of the figures which caught his notice and his comments on them as well as the social side of Oxford's life—not excluding College servants—are enjoyable. Mr. Chettur regrets there is no suitable translation of Rabindranath's verses and he doubts if he has risen to the "height of spiritual passion and loveliness" achieved in *Gitanjali*! This is a remark which will not be accepted as sound by those who have read the poet in his original Bengali,—but Mr. Chettur, we forget, has not read Rabindranath in Bengali.

While writing of Oxford's influence, the author fondly yearns after its parallel in the East, and longs for an institution "where adequate facilities are provided for the co-ordinate study of all the different cultures that have contributed to India's art and civilization—the Vedic, the Puranic, the Buddhist, the Jain, the Islamic, the Sikh, and the Zoroastrian, as well as the Chinese and the Thibetan (*sic*)," and where side by side with all these would be found the Western. The Calcutta University, in spite of its many deficiencies and limitations, has set forth this ideal envisaged by the writer in the passage quoted above, and sought to combine the different streams of culture into one full river; the success or failure of such a plan only the future can show.

We are, however, in perfect accord with the sentiments expressed towards the close, sentiments which do credit to an Oxonian and show the soundness of his training:

"We, who have been so ready to assimilate a foreign culture and a foreign language, must not forget that we have a duty owing nearer home; that whatever treasures we may gather unto ourselves, and however proud we may be of an accomplishment acquired, or of an understanding enlarged, little of value attaches to these, unless we are prepared to offer them in the spirit of devotion at the altar of the realization of our ideals and our nationhood."

PRIYARANJAN SEN

THOUGHTS FROM THE GITA: *By R. Krishnaswami Aiyar, M. A., B. L., Advocate, Tinnevelly. Published by the Madras Law Journal Press, Mylapore, Madras. Pp. XVI+191. Price Re. 1 only.*

Students of the Gita will find the book interesting in many ways. The author is a profound scholar and professes to give us what he calls a popular presentation of the teachings of the Gita. The Gita has been interpreted in so many ways and by so many persons that the addition of one more book to the existing literature on the subject will not materially increase the labours of the student. The jungle of scholarship through which he has to wend his way is already thick enough.

INDIAN SPIRITUALITY: *By Mohini Mohan Chatterji. Published by J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., London. Pp. 253. Price 5s. net.*

This book contains an eminently well-written account of the travels and teachings of an Indian Saint. Those who wax warm over Indian Spirituality as well as those who do not, will find enough food in it for meditation. It is an informing book and will amply repay perusal.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

ON THE NATURE AND DESTINY OF MAN: *By Seyuan Shu. Central National University, Nanking. (Author's own Copy-right.) Pp. 183.*

Disclaiming all 'originality', the author of the book under review endeavours to present, as he writes in the *Preface*, those thoughts that have occurred to him during lucid intervals of the 'unrest and storm' he has had to pass through. Nearly all the greatest artists of the world confess having received their 'baptism of fire' during the *Sturm und Drang* periods of their lives; and Goethe, whom our author hails as 'a great master in the art of life' has evidently proved for him the abiding source of inspiration. Whatever their genealogical history, there is no gainsaying the point that these thoughts, although based on 'personal experiences', actually 'felt and lived', do nevertheless claim a universality of appeal.

We intimate in advance our agreement with the author's dictum that "the more I find to admire in the West, the more I have cause to love our own culture and the hoary wisdom of our ancient philosophers" (*loc. cit.*) To the purists in Aryanism, wedded to cultural exclusiveness, it comes, with the added authority of personal experience, as a timely warning! Instead of dogmatizing on the question the author remarks with pointed emphasis thus: "Profoundly as I have been influenced by Western thinkers, my views as here presented will be found, I presume, to be almost in perfect accord with the teaching of Confucius in its original purity and splendour." (*loc. cit.*) It is, therefore, no wonder that one, internationally-minded like him, should bear testimony to this effect: "The belief daily grows upon me that nationalities are nothing else than our accidental trappings, and humanity is one and the same everywhere." (*loc. cit.*) This luminous

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...ght, it is refreshing to note, has been pressed ...the service of that perfecting of human relation... ...by means of "the same nobler instinct which is ...everyone of us and is in a sense divine." (*loc. cit.*)

We are introduced in Book One to the 'Sense ...the Tragic' which, as born of 'the disparity ...between the Ideal and the Actual world', has 'a ...similarly uplifting power' (p. 3). It is here, in ...the "discontent divine," that we discover 'the origin ...of every genuine philosophy of life'. (*loc. cit.*) In ...Chapter II ("On the Soul"), he prefaces his general ...survey of the inner world 'with the distinction be... ...tween the Mind and the Soul, or between the Under... ...standing (*Verstand*) and the Reason (*Vernunft*)' (p. 6) ...in the manner of Kant whom he claims to be 'a safe ...guide in philosophic thinking' (*Preface*). Developing ...this distinction he designates Mind 'the faculty of ...Concepts', and the Soul 'the faculty of Ideas'. Now ...Philosophy, it is interesting to learn, 'is no mere ...business of the Understanding'; it 'must spring ...immediately from a man's whole heart and soul, being ...a truth no less impassioned and personal than ...art' inasmuch as 'one thinks and knows only to ...the extent one feels, and what one feels is always ...conditioned by the kind of man one is' (p. 15). In ...fact, 'philosophers are only poets become perfectly ...objective' (p. 28). Discoursing 'on Religion', he ...says that 'it is nothing but the feeling of Ought ...that forms the ultimate basis of Religion' and ...Religion alone 'reveals the supreme End to which ...everything is to be subordinated (pp. 21, 22). Chapter ...III dwells 'on the Constituents of Personality ('A ...Study in Characterology')—on 'sensuality', 'desire' ...and 'love'. 'As desire is the principle of our sensual ...nature, so is Love the principle of our Soul. The ...object of desire is the pleasant, that is, whatever ...merely pleases for the moment; whereas the object ...of Love is the Beautiful, which while possessing a ...value at once intrinsic and permanent, reveals itself, ...though only imperfectly, in Nature, in Character, ...and in Art' (p. 39). 'Love alone admits us into the ...world of Ideas. There we behold the images of the ...Good, the Beautiful, and the Divine'. Finally it is ...the Sense of Duty that reveals the truth to us that ...we are not mere passive creatures, but also free and ...active Beings, that is, in a sense, creators, who can ...comprehend and can freely participate in the shaping ...of our Destiny' (p. 53). 'On the Nature of the ...World' (Chap. IV), he enunciates a creed that is ...thoroughly in tune with the Vitalism of our times. ...Life is exuberance, freedom and activity, that is, ...whatever springs from the expansion of Life, that ...constitutes the real and abiding Good, not feebleness, ...poverty, or constraint (p. 61). In chap. V ('On the ...Freedom of Will') our author gives a simple solution ...of the age-long, knotty problem of "free will"—a ...solution which might well redound to the credit of ...any professional philosopher. 'Man as well as every... ...thing else is conditioned by his immediate past, but ...he is also incessantly moulding and shaping his ...future' (p. 79). 'On Immortality,' (Chap. VI) he ...thinks, 'the only justification we can offer for our ...belief in Immortality is that most vital feeling of ...humanity, that the Good ought to triumph over the ...Bad' (pp. 86-87). Further 'no Good is ever lost, no ...Good ever perishes, we feel instinctively persuaded' ...(p. 89); and in a matter like this, metaphysical ...argumentation does not avail, for, as Bradley puts ...it, metaphysics is the finding of bad reasons for ...what we believe upon instinct.' The seventh chapter ...deals 'on God', and is both instructive and illumina... ting. The Idea of God, we are told, 'springs from the spiritual or moral nature of man,' and 'is, like all other Ideas, dynamic' (p. 90). But 'the existence of God is neither capable nor stands in any need of proof. Man can become aware of the Godhead only through the immediate apprehension of his Soul, never by any inference of his Mind' (p 91). Accordingly, 'all vehement outcry against idolatry argues stupidity as well as narrow-mindedness. It fails to see the fact that with idolators it is spirits or powers that form the real objects of worship, not the mere idols as such. A. France is perfectly right. when he says of Polyeucte, the great iconoclast, that he did not know how much that is divine and adorable can be contained in a wooden God' (p. 92). Book I terminates with a dissertation 'on the Meaning of Life' (Chap. VIII), which closes on the high-pitched key: "Life and whatever promotes Life is the Good. Nothing else is. And let there be the Eternal Yea" (p. 103).

Book Two similarly abounds in characteristic flashes of insight on cognate topics, such as, the 'Hedonistic Morals' 'Kant's Ethical System' 'The Ethics of Schopenhauer' 'Virtue and Knowledge' 'The Doctrine of the Mean' and 'Wonder, Reverence, and Mercy'. We regret, however, that the exigencies of space-economy would not allow as liberal quotation here as in the case of Book One.

SAROJ KUMAR DAS

THE GREAT DESIGN: *Edited by Francis Mason. With an Introduction by Sir J. Arthur Thomson. London, Duckworth, 1934. Pp. 324. Price 8-6.*

These are the days for symposia and omnibus volumes. Though written by fourteen scientific experts the *Great Design* does not weary the reader with much technical detail. Primarily written for the man in the street, it has its peculiar appeal for the earnest and advanced student of some of the intricate verities of the universe. Is the World a soulless mechanism; is it a work of blind chance; is materialism true? These are the main trends of the argument used and answered by these experts. As Sir Arthur Thomson puts it: "The study of Nature is as preoccupying as are the everyday interests of our life, yet in both fields we are continually pulling ourselves up and asking what it all means. At every corner there stands the great mark of interrogation, the Riddle of the Sphinx. Science has its own questions and answers: Whither, and How but beyond science is the not less inevitable question Why." This volume attacks the Why of the phenomena of the Universe and brings out the order and intelligence in nature. Beyond this nothing can be adequately described of the fourteen chapters which go towards making this volume. In the solitude of one's own library the *Great Design* is sure to yield thoughts and consolation which cannot be purchased. A great book indeed!

LANKA SUNDARM

THE SONG OF THE CARAVAN: *By Mirza Ahmad Sohrab, New History Foundation, New York, pp. 410.*

Four hundred and ten pages of weird writing, teaching the "ideals of new humanity" and imparting the message of "the Spirit of the World's Teacher." There is a weary series of sameness throughout the book, in all the battles, the adventures, the hair-

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breadth escapes. The author is no doubt the consummate master of high-flown language, and the many examples of attractive Americanism have decidedly stimulated his ingenuity. But literary skill has failed to make his seemingly luminous account of the Gor-Gor and other supernatural characters interesting enough for the reader. In perusing the chapter "Devil's Kitchen" we thought that after labouring through 314 dreary pages of flowery language we had at last some fun in store for us,—"the Devil loves his stomach best," but as one proceeds the description of the kitchen supplies no appetizing aroma either, and even the feeder on the coarse Sexton Blake series is disappointed. There may be a sufficiency of grounds on which, in other quarters, the book may be regarded as a more heart-reaching production; but sustained scrutiny makes that theory also almost untenable. In the detective stories written in the U. S. A. the adventures have no connection with religion, and juvenile readers are easily attracted. The present work deals with Buddha, Mahomet, Christ and others. The Army of the Stars, the Vagabonds and other regiments can hardly be expected to satisfy young readers who do not thirst for a joke with a religious moral; and as the book is written in the ideal penny-horrible style, we think the argument is a spacious one that maturer readers too do not wish to be taught any "new ideals" in so Nick-Carter a manner; and it is difficult to expect the book to be anything else than an imperishable memorial of an outlandish teaching method.

CRITIC

SELF-REALISATION: *Life and Teachings of Ramana Mahanti: By B. V. Narasimha Swami. Published by Niranjanananda Swami, Secretary, Ramanasram Tiruvannamalai (Arunachala).*

Ramana Maharshi is a saint of Southern India. He was born on 30th December, 1879. Before he took orders his name was Venkataraman. But we will not pursue his uneventful worldly career, we at once begin and end with two quotations, and leave the reader to form his own opinion. In the foreword written by a Madras High Court Judge, Mr. K. Sundaram Chetty, we find the following as the saint's view on Happiness: "Happiness is really an inner attitude, or a subjective realisation of the mind, though many are under a misapprehension that it depends upon external conditions only." Though a Sannyasee in all outward appearance, there is nothing medieval about him. Rather, he is quite modern in his view of the self to be realized in this our mundane existence. He does not preach otherworldiness, which is the bane of all old orthodox religions. Says the author (p. 223): "The basic principles of Maharshi's saintly life,—*Ahimsa, Samatva* and *Sarvahitatva*, *i.e.*, Harmlessness, Equality and universal benevolence naturally lead him to approve of the liberalising and humanising aspects of social reform. Persons of the depressed classes have long been his immediate attendants and are treated exactly as though they belonged to the higher classes. The question was raised in 1917 whether women and sudras were fit to be given vedic teaching and to be inducted into the mysteries of Self-realisation. Maharshi without any hesitation answered it in the affirmative and has in practice imparted instruction to women and sudras, whatever the Brahmasutras and the commentaries thereupon might say. The tendency of spiritual aspirants has generally been to shun society, not merely in the initial stage of preparation but even later. Maharshi, on the other hand, is fully in sympathy with the tendency of present-day ethics to stress social service rather than the perfection of the individual ascetic in isolation, and to note the importance of society even for the perfection of individual character."

JESUS THE WORLD SAVIOUR AND COMING KING: *By B. L. Chandra, Rai Bahadur. Calcutta. Printed at Metropolitan Printing & Publishing House, Ltd. 56, Dharamtala Street.*

The author is dead but as the book has been sent to us we are obliged to make some remarks on it. The book has been written from a very crude orthodox point of view, quite oblivious of the higher criticism which has torn to shreds the traditions of Christ and Christian history.

DHIRENDRANATH VEDANTAVAGIS

NICHOLAS ROERICH, PAINTER AND PACIFIST: *By R. C. Tandon. Published by the Roerich Centre of Art and Culture. Allahabad, 1934.*

"This short Monograph was prepared for the occasion of the opening of the Roerich Hall of the Municipal Museum at Allahabad." It contains a short account of the various activities of the celebrated Russian artist. Roerich Museum has been founded by him in New York, with its branches all over the world. "There are today more than seventy Roerich societies dotted over twenty-four countries. Urusvati Research Institute is founded in the Himalayas at Kulu in the Panjab, where Roerich has now settled.

Roerich is a great explorer. He has been in "Little Tibet, over the Karakoram Pass to Chinese Turkestan, across Mongolia and Tibet, completely encircling the heart of Asia."

Roerich is a pacifist. He wants to bring peace in the world through art. His remark on art is "Art is for all———Bring art to the people—where it belongs."

We should have not only museums, theatres, Universities, public libraries, Railway stations and hospitals, but even prisons decorated and beautified. Then we shall have no more prisons.

MANINDRA BHUSHAN GUPTA

RUDIMENTS OF COMMERCIAL GEOGRAPHY: *by M. A. Ghare. Sajjangadi, Baramati. Price As. 8.*

A very indifferent compilation.

VARENDRA RESEARCH SOCIETY'S MONOGRAPH NO. 5: *Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, Bengal. 1934. Pp. 52 and 9 plates.*

The monograph contains a few useful and interesting articles on Epigraphy, Ethnology, Architecture and Literary Archaeology. Mr. Kalidas Dutta's description of "The Antiquities of Sundarbans" reveals the interesting fact that there were several examples of the *deul* type in that region. Our author equates them with the temples of Bhubaneswar; but they rather belong to a specific local type which grew up in West Bengal (Bankura, Birbhum and also Man-

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...ment in imitation of the Rekha temples of Bhubaneswar, but which had a sufficient amount of difference to mark it off from the parent style. Mr. Kshitish Chandra Sarkar's Catalogue of aboriginal rites and customs in Chutia Nagpur is very interesting, but it lacks details regarding the exact localitias where each ceremony is observed or the particular tribes or castes to which each is confined. If these details are added the paper would be of great scientific value. Dr. C. N. Ghoshal contributes an interesting history of a forgotten seat of learning named Somapura in North Bengal. There are a few more interesting papers on a very rare work on Sanskrit Prosody, namely, Purushottama Bhatta's Chhandomakhanta, one on a copper-plate grant of Ranavankamalla Harikaladeva, on the iconography of Aghora-Rudra and on the Vrindavanakavya and its author.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

MASS EDUCATION IN INDIA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY: *By R. V. Parulekar. Published by C. D. Barfivala for the Local Self Government Institute, 9, Bakehouse Lane, Bombay.*

In view of importance, the problem of primary education in India has not been studied to the extent to which it should have been. Hence this little monograph by Mr. Parulekar is a welcome addition to the existing meagre literature on the subject. Though he confines his study to the problem as it exists in Bombay yet it deserves attention from others in other parts of India.

The monograph is divided into two parts; the first contains his study of the position of primary education in the Bombay Presidency, discussions of what he considers to be its chief defects and his suggestions for remedying them. In the second part Mr. Parulekar has given some notes and documents illustrating relevant points in the condition of primary education in other countries and supporting his arguments advanced in the first portion of the monograph.

Mr. Parulekar rightly observes that "the progress of India is dependent largely upon the extension of mass education and that this reform cannot be delayed too long since on it hangs the future destiny of India." He says, "the problem is one of making the masses of this country literate." Now education and literacy are not synonymous though there is a close connection between the two; and herein lies the chief ground for criticizing all suggestions for the extension of literacy (as distinguished from education) among the masses in India. Mass literacy is not mass education and though literacy goes a long way towards education it does not, as has been abundantly proved in the West, necessarily lead to it. We however admit that literacy is a necessary tool and so if we cannot provide for education of the masses we can at least place that within their easy reach. But by doing so let us not have the false satisfaction that we are *educating* the masses.

Out of three children of school-going age only one is in attendance at the primary schools in the Bombay Presidency. Extension of primary education (as understood by Mr. Parulekar) in this case would mean making provision for the other two who are now staying away from schools. Mr. Parulekar considers the problem in that light and his recommendations are directed to that end. At the outset he makes the rather dismal statement that at the present time we cannot expect more money for education either from the Government or of the Local Bodies; and consequently we will have to carry on the programme of extension "within the possible resources at our disposal." Perhaps most of us under the circumstances stop talking about further expansion but Mr. Parulekar does not. He believes in number and in expansion and he is prepared to go on with his scheme at all costs. His suggestions for that purpose are (1) Reducing the period of primary School course from 5 to 4 years; (2) Raising the minimum age of admission from 6 to 7; (3) Simplifying the curriculum by concentrating on the bare essentials, *i. e.*, the three R's; (4) increasing the number of pupils per teacher from 30 to 60; and (5) adopting the Shift System or variation thereof.

We are prepared to agree with the first two suggestions. By adopting them we may certainly effect some economy and thereby help further expansion. Through effective teaching the primary course can be shortened without detriment to the pupils. It is a pity that while in the West the educationists are thinking of extending the scope of primary education to include the children of even the pre-primary level we in India, for lack of funds, should be compelled to raise the school-going age. But perhaps under the existing circumstances it cannot be helped.

When we come to the third suggestion of Mr. Parulekar, we think we cannot accept it. It goes against all modern ideas of education. Every educationist knows that over-emphasis on the three R's defeats its own ends. Certainly the curriculum should be simplified but not by the exclusion of essentials. Subjects are ever-shifting boundaries in the field of knowledge and over-emphasis on subjects *per se* is apt to hamper the unity of knowledge which is essential for education. It is only by treating these subjects as seperate entities that difficulty arises. Unfortunately we are very often given to that fault. But if these subjects are treated as natural interests of children their inclusion in the curriculum is not only essential but their exclusion may be harmful even for literacy. We are of opinion that history, geography, etc., should be included not as subjects but as activities and interests.

Unfortunately, in making this and the following suggestions (*re* the increase of pupils per teacher) Mr. Parulekar takes up the most unfortunate attitude of precedents and supporting his arguments by citing the practice in use in other countries, in the past. His idea that "what was considered good for the masses in England, Germany, Japan and other countries would not be considered as unwholesome for the good of the masses in India" (p 17) cannot but be too strongly condemned. We should never copy the mistakes of others but should learn by them. What was prevalent in other countries forty years or more ago when they first introduced primary education and suffered from inexperience in the matter should never guide our course. Even in those countries experience, matured considerations and enlightened opinion led to reformations. Instead of old practices these reforms should be our precedents. Whereas in other countries the movement is towards decreasing the number of pupils per teacher Mr. Parulekar advocates the retrograde step of doubling it. But he too has to confess that "the lesser the number of pupils per teacher the better it is for pupils" (p 19). It is hard to reconcile his confession with his recommendation. Only an over enthusiastic protagonist of expansion can agree with Mr. Parulekar's suggestion on this point.

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But perhaps a remedy can be found and this has been suggested by Mr. Parulekar in his fifth recommendation, namely the introduction of the Shift System. This system has been tried effectively in certain places and should be widely experimented with. That and the introduction of methods of plural class teaching may together allow us increase the number of pupils to some extent.

But after all one is not convinced that expansion rather than improvement should be our immediate objective in the field of primary education. For it still remains to be proved that bad education is better than no education.

FLYING VISITS BEING A RECORD AND IMPRESSION OF A TOUR IN EUROPE. *By S. M. Pagar. The Times of India Press, Bombay.*

One wonders why a book like this is written and published except if it be for dedicating it to noble personages.

ANATHNATH BASU

HITLERISM OR THE ARYAN RULE IN GERMANY : *By Saumyendranath Togore, pp. 106, Calcutta, 1934.*

It is an undeniable fact today that the apologists of Hitlerism have been carrying on a systematic propaganda in India for a long time. The propagandists, sometimes of Indian origin, out-Heroded Herod in their profession : it was highly amusing to all that when the Nazi propaganda minister Goebbels himself at Geneva deplored the excesses of Nazi storm-troopers, his agents in India never hesitated to declare all such rumours to be false. Obviously they counted on the ignorance of the Indian people. Now the inevitable reaction has set in and Mr. Tagore's book is perhaps the first of its kind in India and it is sure to be followed by others. The people of India, whose ignorance has been wrongly exploited by Nazi propagandists out of interested motives, will now get a glimpse and of the other side of the medal.

The volume under review is descriptive and not analytical. Perhaps it is better so, for it is written obviously for the purpose of counter-propaganda among the masses,—the emphatic expressions, of which the book is full, clearly show that it is not a dispassionate and objective criticism of Hitlerism. Yet the facts recorded in this volume cannot be denied by anyone acquainted with the real state of things in Nazi Germany. No amount of sophistry, paid or unpaid, can explain away the atrocious cruelty inflicted on Jews, socialists and communists; none but the blind will deny that a recrudescence of pre-War militarism is clearly perceptible today and that Odin and Thor are well on their way to being re-installed on the throne of Christ; only those who have never tasted the fruits of German art and literature will beam benevolence on this unholy fascist regime which spells death to refinement and culture.

Yet, something can be said in apology for Hitlerism. It would be doing injustice to Germany if we do not recognize that the German nation has completely lost its power of reasoning,—that Germany has been actually driven mad by the callous English and the vindictive French. Who was the greatest ally of Hitler in his struggle for power? Obviously the cruel and narrow-minded French premier Tardieu, who took every opportunity to inflict a crushing humiliation on Germany in bondage. He and his school rediculed Strasemann and Bruening when they demanded that Germany be granted what by right belongs to her, and at every fresh insult Germany growled in helpless rage. At last, driven into despair Germay threw in her lot with Hitler. Tardieu in Paris and Benes in Prague are trembling in their shoes today at the rise of Hitlerism, but it is they who are directly responsible for the successes of Hitler.

The rise of Hitlerism has been often called a unique event without parallel in history. But a student of history would hardly acquiesce to such a view. Hitlerism, rightly interpreted, would be found to conform fully to the historical tradition of Germany.

The Germans stepped into the history of the world for the first time when they dealt the deathblow to the fast disintegrating Roman empire. Satiated with culture and enervated by luxury the Romans had lost all capacity for organization and failed to adapt the old institutions to their own times. The Germans appeared on the scene, completely demolished the old social and political structure, and considerably simplified the older institutions and thus rendered them again useful to mankind. Many have shed tears over the decline and fall of the Roman empire but few have appreciated the great service rendered to humanity on that occasion by the Germans: when the antique world was passing away and all the nations found themselves entrapped in an *impasse*, out of which no way could be found, the Germans imported fresh vigour and gave the lead. If their first impact civilization doubtless sustained a tremendous set-back, but when it again resumed its onward march it far exceeded the highest limits reached by the older culture. Again towards the end of the mediaeval age the great Catholic Church which for a whole millennium had been the fountain-head of western civilization and culture, showed all the signs of senility and old age. The civilization had grown so complex and individualistic that no motif for collective culture could be found anymore The world was confronted with another deadlock of civilization. Again it was reserved for the German Luther to initiate the great Reformation which replaced the old complex religion by a simpler one and thus laid the foundation to modern civilization. At the present day the world is passing through another crisis of unprecedented magnitude. In spite of undreamt of advance in every branch of knowledge the modern man finds himself a complete bankrupt, unable to formulate even a tentative philosophy of life. The proudest products of modern civilization are all, without exception, prophets of pessimism and the prevailing mood is that of a tired indifference. A healthier view of life is necessary even if mankind would only consent to live. No sacrifice is too great for it, and the least that we should have to concede to is a partial curtailment of our modern civilization. Perhaps Hitlerism is nothing but this partial curtailment.

Hitlerism can therefore be fully explained by history. Perhaps in the long run Hitlerism will prove to be beneficial to human civilization just as the Germanic invasion of the Roman empire and the Reformation have been. Yet ordinary mortals cannot live beyond present actualities and the Nazis themselves are but blind instruments of history. Hitlerism too is therefore to be considered in the light of the usual ethical code which bases its judgment on immediate causes and immediate results. This code of morals will certainly give the verdict of guilty on Hitlerism.

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...ed the Nazis themselves are conscious of their ... They are trying in vain to drown the internal ... of their conscience by the pompous din of arms. ... Germany, defeated in War, conquered her conquerers ... commanded their respect. Her real debacle dates ... the day when Hitler rose to power.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

THE IDEAL DIET FOR PERFECT HEALTH AND REJUVENATION: *By Rai Bahadur Dr. L. N. Chaudhuri. Published by the Author from Jubbalpore, pp. 58, price paper board ... annas, full cloth Re. 1.*

The author has dedicated this book to his wife, ... lost her life through medical men's ignorance ... regarding food and dietetics."

The subject of dietetics has unfortunately been ... so far in the medical student's curriculum. ... recommend this book to them and also to the ... general public; it contains a lot of information about ... food we should eat to keep ourselves healthy.

The get-up of the book is excellent and price ... considering its usefulness.

SHALL CANCER CONQUER UNOPPOSED? *By H. Reinheimer Cancer Campaign Series No. 7. Pp. 44. Price 2 shillings nett.*

The author maintains that those who would ... free from cancer, must diet with integrity and ... aloof from vices.

Cancer problem does not look so easy as it appears ... the author.

A. K. MUKERJI

SADHU SUNDAR SINGH: *By C. F. Andrews. Hodder and Stoughton, London.*

This charming book is a personal memoir by ... Andrews of the great Sadhu. The writer knew ... in his youth, and from the pages of this book ... out the vivid picture of a sincere and spiritual ... man who left home, left everything that makes ... ease and comfort to search after God. Sadhu ... Singh embraced Christianity in his early ... and the story of his conversion which we have ... these pages, is as wonderful as it is convincing. ... was one of those rare followers of Christ, who ... to live as He lived and to act as He acted. ... life has a message for the whole Church both ... East and in the West.

In 1929 the Sadhu left India for Tibet on an ... of love and has never been heard of since. The ... Government of India sent out search parties along ... way he expected to travel but they failed to trace ... He was officially announced dead in 1933. ... Sundar Singh died as he lived, a great ... figure who chose to tread along the Christ-...

BIBHUTI BHUSAN BANERJI

SANSKRIT

BHATTADIPIKA OF KHANDADEVA BHATTA WITH BHATTACHINTAMANI OF ...NCHHESHWARA YAYYWA: *Edited and ...blished by late Mahamahopadhyaya Venkata ...brahmanya Sastri of Tirubeshlur and then ...ya...swami of Bugga. 668 pages, cloth bound, ... Rs. 6, printed at Madras Law Journal ...*

We do not know how best to express our deep ... of gratitude to the most revered Jagatguru Sankaracharya of Kanchi and Pandit Arya Swami Sastri for their persistent effort and zeal in bringing out this invaluable book of Mimamsa Philosophy notwithstanding the series of obstacles of which the editor has given a detailed account in the preface, caused by the lamentable death of two successively appointed editors, since it was first taken up for publication. For the complete mastery of the Mimamsa Philosophy and consequently of the Vedic principles, Bhattadipika of Khandadeva with its commentary Bhattachintamani by Banchheshwara Yayywa is considered absolutely necessary as Tattwachintamani of Gangesha Upadhyaya with its commentary, the Didhite, by Raghunath Siromani is regarded indispensable for the mastery of Nyaya Philosophy. As the precision and accuracy of Nyaya Philosophy culminate in its new school so they do in the Bhattadipika of the new school of Mimamsa. The appearance of Nabya Nyaya eclipsed the excellence of all other Phllosophies so much so, that in order to re-establish their pre tige and superiority Vedanta was recast by Anandabodhendra and then by Chitsukhacharya, and Mimamsa by Khandadeva and his followers. To understand Vedanta rightly just as Nyaya is considered indispensable, so is also the Mimamsa and even more. Thus by the publication of this volume yeoman's service is, no doubt, done to the earnest readers of Vedanta Philosophy. The editing, the printing and the get-up of the book are all excellent. The price too is inexpensive. The introduction is writ en in a true historical spirit, which is rare amongst the scholars of the old school. The language of the commentary is so simple lucid and elegant and just to the point, that both the tyro and the vet•ran will be greatly benefited by it and it will facilitate the acquistion by the reader of the highly philosophical and abstruse expressions of the Nabya Mimamsa, the Bhattadipika.

In short, I believe that if the example set forth by the most revered Samkaracharya of Kanchi, in encouraging the publication of such treatises, is followed by the heads of other *mathas* and religious institutions, who are in a position to command both men and money, then the immense mass of the Sastras, which is unquestionably still the only glory of our country and nation, will be saved from gradual decadence and destruction. In the meantime we shall be anxiously awaiting the completion of the book.

RAJENDRA NATH GHOSE

SANSKRIT—ENGLISH

ISTA-SIDDHI OF VIMUKTATMAN WITH EXTRACTS FROM THE VIVARANA OF JNANOTTAMA: *Critically edited with introduction and notes by Prof. M. Hiriyanna, M. A. Gackwad's Oriental Series; published at the Oriental Institute, Baroda. Price Rs. 14.*

Ista-Siddhi, the book under review, ranks as one of the most authoritative and comprehensive works on the Advaita Vedanta, specially on the side of its dialectics. Held in importanec, as great as Brahma-Siddhi, Naishkarma-Siddhi, Samkshepa-Sariraka, Panchapadika Vivarana, and Advaita-Siddhi, this book was once read by everybody aspiring to be an *Advaitin;* but if, unlike those other books, this one is comparatively unknown now-a-days, that is because it was not availible except in manuscripts. Prof. Hiriyanna has therefore earned the gratitude of

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all lovers of Indian Philosophy by bringing this almost lost treasure of our ancient culture to light.

The texts of the book edited from various manuscripts, as well as the numerous extracts from Jnanottama's tika on difficult passages, all point to the patient labour devoted by the editor to this work; while the elaborate notes as well as the introduction, characterized by lucidity, accuracy and cautiousness, are proofs of his scholarship. One has only to read the introduction,—particularly the part of it devoted to the discussion of the philosophy of our author—to be convinced of the vast erudition of the editor, his thorough grasp of the Advaita Vedanta and his charming method of presentation of the same.

The only instance where the editor seems to have discarded his habitual cautiousness, is where he makes an assumption in fixing the date of the author.

I cannot bring this to a close without a request to the editor, to consider the desirability of bringing out another edition of this book, preferably with a tika, but without it if necessary, and at a price within the means of the pandits and the students, who constitute the major portion of the readers of such books.

ISAN CHANDRA RAY

BENGALI

SRI NIMBARKACHARYA AND HIS DOCTRINE: *By Sj. Pulin Behari Bhattacharya, M. A. Judges Court, Sylhet. Pages 152. Re. 1-8.*

The book is organized into some eighteen chapters together with a foreword from the pen of Professor Nalini Mohan Sastri of the Murarichand College, Sylhet. Here, in this book has not only been given a biographical account of Sri Nimbarkacharya but also a history of the sect founded by him. The philosophy of the sect has been critically studied not in isolation but in comparison with the doctrines of the other systems of philosophy, particularly with that of the Advaita School of Sri Sankaracharyya.

The author has such an attractive manner of putting abstract things in simple language that an inquisitive reader will hardly leave the book aside, without going through the whole. He not only furnishes the reader with a lot of information on the subject, he has been avowedly writing, but on kindred topics as well. In short, it is so well-written and informative that we shall not be charged with exaggeration, if we characterize it as a *vade mecum* for those wishing to be acquainted with the tenets of the Nimbarkara School. Of late Nimbarkara School has become very popular, mainly through the untiring zeal and energy of Sri Santadas Babaji of Brindaban. To the enquiring layman, desirous of being enlightened on the teachings of this growingly popular School, we cannot recommend a better book than the one under review It is natural that in books of this nature discrepancies and inaccuracies may creep in here and there, we hope and feel sure, that the following instances, which we of course point out in a friendly spirit, would be rectified by the author in subsequent edition. In the first place, the date of Sankaracharyya is said to be 676-780 A. D. (page 56) and it is fathered on me, although my date is 686-720 A. D. Secondly, the author appears to have no right comprehension of the doctrine of Sankaracharyya, as is evident from his distorted explanation of the import of "mithya". Moreover, there are occasional instances of self-contradictions and want of logical application too. However, these are minor points, and should not be taken as casting any reflection on the general merit of the book.

RAJENDRANATH GHOSE

MARATHI

साम्राज्यासाठी (*For Empire*): *By Mrs. Shantabai Nashikkar. Pages. 366. Price. Rs. 2-8.*

This is a historical novel describing the kingdom of Vijayanagar. Abundant natural scenes are given, but all of them are unattractive and loathsome, a few Sanskrit words are used in wrong senses, though the writer is one of the eminent lady writers in Maharashtra. The Marathi knowing reader is puzzled at the identical proper names of different persons in the same chapter. The author has described the passages of love, murder and politics intelligently. Villains are depicted darker than what they are described in the history.

V. S. WAKASKAR.

GUJARATI

PANCHDAND IN VARLA: *by Shankar Prasad Chhaganlal Rāval, published by the Forbes Gujarati Sabha, Bombay. Thick Card Board. Pp. 171. Price 12 annas (1934).*

The Forbes Gujarati Sabha of Bombay owns several old Gujarati MSS, and as opportunity offers is making them available to the public one after another. About four such valuable MSS, have already been published with annotations. Mr. Raval has made researches in connection with one of such MSS. *viz.*, the poem of Narpati Kavi, composed *circa* S. Y. 1560, and published it under the name of the Story of Panchdand, one of the phases of the life of King Vikrama, who, Harun-ul-Rashid-like, used to go about at night in his capital city and learn its secrets. The introduction and annotations are very creditably written in a scholarly way which goes to prove the writer's love for his work.

RAM NAGAR NO RAJVI: *by Balakram Hari Narayan Pathak, printed at the Gandhi Printing Press, Surat: Cloth bound: Pp. 210. Price Rs. 2-8-0 (1934).*

The modern state of Dhurampur, near Bulsar (known as belonging to Prant Ram Nagar), is situated in what is known as North Konkan. Its *gadi* has been occupied by the Surya Vanshi Sisodia Rajputs, and it has played a very prominent part in the old and mediaeval history of Gujarat. It consequently possesses many brilliant Chapters, in which Valour, Courage, Chivalry, and the observance of promises given at final sacrifice, stand out pre-eminent. The story narrated in these pages deals with these praiseworthy characteristics of its rulers and begins with the times when its King Maharaja Somdev (A. D. 1680) was ageing but the state was still possessed of its pristine glory. It furnishes interesting reading.

K. M. J.

CORRECTIONS

October 1934 number of the Modern Review, p. 418. Gujarati.

Line	7.	*read*	Leaving	*for*	"learning"
Line	17.	*read*	"in this direction"	*for*	"misdirection"
Line	26.	*read*	"part"	*for*	"past."

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THE WATERS OF DESTINY

By SITA DEVI

XV

SUDARSHAN came forward with a smiling face as soon as he saw Suparnā alighting from the car. "Don't be frightened" called Amitā, "seeing that we have arrived minus food. It is in the car behind and will be within five minutes. The other cars were no ch for this one, though all three started at same time".

"It is a mercy that the car with the food did arrive first", said Sudarshan in reply. "It ld have proved too great a shock for me and ight have gone away in despair".

"Oh indeed!" said Amitā. "Though you are octor, you are quite good at making pretty ches".

Suparnā did not join in their conversation, went forward with Gargee. Sudarshan cast a of deep admiration at her, which caused a moil in her heart. She tried to thrust away e thoughts from her mind, but they insisted oming back again and again and attacking citadel of her heart. Everything seemed to be ling her towards a forbidden paradise. Even own mind was beginning to prove a traitor. he could not pull up in time, there was no ning where she might be carried away.

Seeing Suparnā walking away so fast, Amitā e chase and shouted, "Where are you running r, Su? Have you seen a tiger?"

Sudarshan was coming with them. He erstood this effort of Suparnā for getting away n him. He understood, at least partly, what ght underlay this effort. The god of love les his proteges to understand each other's even if they do not exchange words. The thoughts they try to hide behind a thousand s become clear like reflections in a mirror.

"Let us go and have a look at the garden- ngements as I could. But I am no good at things and must have committed a thousand ders".

They all advanced towards the garden-house. e garden was very large and very well-kept. garden-house was not very big. The owner old and broken down with sorrow and care. as he was a rich man, the place has not entirely neglected. The house consisted of stories. There was a big hall on the ground- and another on the first-floor. There was a very big portico. There were smaller rooms bathrooms also. Both the halls were very furnished and decorated. The sunlight shone full on huge mirrors, hung on the walls, and large oil-paintings could be seen everywhere.

Most of these paintings were of beautiful women. A few of these paintings were covered with brown cloth. Amitā smiled and pinched Indu on the sly. She could not say anything aloud, as Sudarshan was with them.

Both the halls were carpeted with rich Persian carpets. Sudarshan had made the servants take away the carpet from the lower hall and had left only a *durree* there. He looked at Amitā and said, "We can have our feast here and the men can also kick up as great a row as they please in the afternoon, in this place. So I have had the carpets removed. What is the good of destroying a beautifnl thing? The upper hall I have not touched. You can use it."

"But where are the rest of your party?" asked Indu. "We don't see anyone besides ourselves."

"They have not all arrived," said Sudarshan. "Six or seven are here, they are walking about somewhere in the garden. Why don't you come also? What is the use of getting indoors so early?"

The gardener came up to them running and said that two other cars had arrived and a gentleman was asking for Sudarshan.

"Then aunt and the others have arrived at last," cried out Amitā. "Let us go and see whether the curries and the sweetmeats are safe."

"What could happen to them? asked Suparnā. "Nobody could have eaten them up on the way."

"But they could have fallen down on the way." Said Indu.

They all went up to the gate again. Taran Babu was alighting from the car with his party. The car containing the food was ordered to drive up to the garden-house, where the servants took down everything and carried them indoor. These things were locked up in a small room.

"Now we can walk about, all we like," said Amitā, "without any fear for the food."

The party began to walk about again. Taran Babu asked Sudarshan, "Has not your father arrived?"

"He will be here after a while," said Sudarshan. "It is too early yet for him to move about."

In the course of their walk, they met Sudarshan's friends. They were introduced to the ladies, but they could not make good use of the occasion. The ordinary Bengali youth is unaccustomed to talk freely to unrelated women

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or to behave in a natural manner in their presence. So after a while, they dispersed again. Taran Babu got tired after a while and returned to the garden-house. "I shall go and sit inside," he said to Sudarshan; "when your father arrives, I shall talk to him."

Amitā's aunt was not for retiring so soon, but she saw that her presence was acting as a check on the high spirits of the girls, they were afraid to let themselves go. So after a while, she sat down on a bench and said, "Run along, girls. I am too old to run with you. I shall rest my old bones for a bit, then walk on by myself."

The girls were quite willing. They ran on and soon disappeared, leaving the old lady behind.

Sudarshan was accompanying the girls, as it was part of his duty, as a host, but mainly because he could not bear to let Suparnā pass out of his sight. But he was afraid that his own friends might feel offended and pass unfavourable comments, if he left them too much to themselves. He was trying to find out a way, by which to bring them all together. There was a beautiful stone-built sitting-place in the middle of the garden. He came up to it and said, "We can all sit down here and have some music. It is not too hot yet."

"That is a good suggestion," said Amitā. "I say Gargee, where have you left your *Vina*?"

"She could not have carried it on her shoulder all this way," said Indu. "If you want it, then Sudarshan Babu will have to fetch it."

"With the greatest pleasure," said Sudarshan. "I shall also bring along the audience with me."

Sudarshan went off with rapid strides. After a few minutes, Amitā suddenly gave a jump and cried out, "Have you got my keys, Su?"

"Why should your keys be with me?" asked Suparnā in surprise. "Have you lost them?"

"Goodness gracious!" cried Amitā in dismay. "Those keys were very important. Where could I have dropped them? If I have left them somewhere in the garden, then we are all done for."

"You left your fan, scarf, handbag and many things else in the big hall on the upper floor. Have not you left the keys there also?" asked Suparnā.

"Please go and have a look, Su," said Amitā anxiously. "I shall look in the garden in the meanwhile. If I don't find them, it will mean disaster for us all."

Suparnā got up without demur. If the bunch of keys was really lost, it would mean serious inconvenience, they might have to go without food even. The key of the storeroom was in that bunch.

As soon as Suparnā had gone out of sight, Amitā burst forth into a peal of laughter.

Gargee could speak Bengali very well, though she was a Deccani by birth. She gave Amitā a playful blow on the back and said "Why are you laughing like that, you monkey?"

Amitā took out a bunch of keys from inside her blouse and held it up for them to see.

"Then why did you send poor Su, on a wild goose chase?" asked Indu in surprise.

"I have not sent her to chase a wild goose," said Amitā in great glee. "I have sent her out in quest of the flower of heaven."

"Was there a conspiracy between yourself and Sudarshan Babu?" asked Indu. "I hope you have extorted the promise of an adequate reward from him." All the girls began to shout with laughter.

Suparnā covered the way with rapid steps and reached the garden-house very soon. She found that Sudarshan's father had arrived and was talking to Taran Babu in the lower hall. Though he was not very old in years, yet he had become quite decrepit and could not move about without help from others. He was seated in a big armchair, wrapped up in a big shawl.

As soon as Suparnā entered, Sudarshan's father asked Taran Babu eagerly, "Is this your daughter?"

"No, this is Suparnā," Taran Babu replied. "My daughter also must be somewhere near."

Suparnā came forward and bowed down to the old man. He placed his hand on her head and blessed her, saying, "May you be ever happy, and make all happy."

Suparnā moved off hastily. The old man seemed to have heard about her. He could have heard it only from Sudarshan. A flush rose to her cheeks at this thought.

She came up to the upper hall, but stopped at the door in surprise. Sudarshan was standing there alone and looking at something intently. He had not heard her light footsteps. She advanced a few more steps and saw a scarf of printed Jaipur silk in Sudarshan's hand. It belonged to her, and she generally used it while out motoring.

She was thinking how to announce her presence to him, when he did something that took her breath away. He held up the scarf and kissed it quickly. Then he looked up, startled perhaps at the sound of her deep breathing.

Both were silent for a minute. Suparnā felt like a criminal, her breath came in gasps, her face had turned white as a lotus, she could not even lift up her eyes to Sudarshan's face. Sudarshan's lips held a slight smile, he was not looking at all embarrassed. He appeared to be trying to put his thoughts in words.

Still, it was Suparnā who spoke first. She cleared her throat with effort and asked in a low voice, "Has Amitā left her keys here? She cannot find them."

"No, I have not seen them," said Sudarshan. "I came here to get the *Vina* and was detained.

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Suparnā become silent. Sudarshan understood and said, "Don't you think that what has happened, has happened for the good? I wanted with all my heart to make you understand what I felt, yet I could not find words to express it. It is well that you know it now. I am a rough medical man, and have no command over language, but I feel no less than the greatest poet on earth."

Suparnā was moved to the core of her being. Yet she tried to move off. She saw paradise gleaming before her, but alas, she had no right of entry there. God had exiled her forever from this realm of happiness. According to the laws of society, she had no right even to listen to these words. What could she answer then?

"Have you nothing at all to say?" asked Sudarshan. "Cannot I even expect a reply to my words?"

Suparnā turned dizzy with conflicting emotions. She covered her face with both hands and cried out, "Please don't ask me anything. I have nothing to say."

But her manner of speaking, her expression, her voice, belied her words. Sudarshan came and stood by her. He took away her hands from her face by force and held them in his own. "Why Suparnā?" he asked in a tone of deep emotion, "have I no hope at all? Then tell me that."

Tears rolled down Suparnā's cheeks. These tears roused fresh hope in Sudarshan's heart. He released Suparnā's hands and drew her into his arms and crushed her to his heart. "I know you love me, my darling," he said, "then why don't you want me to know it? I know I am not worthy of you. But make me worthy. I cannot live without you."

Suparnā struggled out of his arms. She felt ready to faint. She moved off slowly and said in a trembling voice, "You are mistaken, I cannot love anyone."

Sudarshan came close up to her again and said, "Why do you say that? Nobody would believe it of you. It may be that you do not love me. My own feelings have made me mistrust you. Is not that the case?"

But Suparnā had nothing to say. She only bowed and wept. Sudarshan saw that she was trembling violently. He put back her scarf on the table and said, "Please sit down here and rest. I am going away. No one will disturb you. And forgive me for having caused you pain needlessly. But it is all a mystery to me. I have not understood you clearly."

He picked up Gargee's *Vina* and went down. Suparnā flung herself down on the carpeted floor and wept tears of agony. She had hidden her feelings in the darkest depth of her heart and never acknowledged it even to herself. But this blow which was destroying all her hidden hopes, had also made everything very clear to her. Only in the moment of losing everything, had she understood what she was losing and how empty her future life was going to become. Only to-day did she understand how deeply she had loved Sudarshan. A life without love was more terrible to a woman than a barren desert. Her heart felt ready to burst with fear, sorrow and hopelessness.

The picnic was a total failure. The feast was finished somehow and everyone went back home, as early as possible on the pretext of Suparnā's illness. The real state of affairs was known only to two persons. Amitā guessed part of the truth, but she too kept silent about it. So to her friends she said, "Su is so delicate. Even this heat has proved too much for her. How she will bear the strenuous life of a doctor, passes my comprehension."

Perhaps Gargee and Indu too understood the truth, but they remained silent.

As Sudarshan saw them off, he said, "Please forgive me. I wanted to give you joy, but have succeeded only in causing you trouble."

The person to whom he spoke really lay half-fainting in a corner of the car. She looked at him once, but Sudarshan could not understand what her looks conveyed.

XVI

As soon as Suparnā reached home, she went up to her own room. She wanted to hide herself somewhere. "Go, my dear, and lie down," said Taran Babu. "I cannot understand why you fell so ill suddenly."

Amitā followed Suparnā into her room and began to assist her in making up the bed and changing her dress. The sight of Suparnā's face had made even this talkative girl silent. She could not understand what could have happened within these few hours. But Suparnā was looking dazed, so helpless, as if the earth beneath her feet was giving way, as if she had nothing to which she could hold fast. Amitā knew Sudarshan from her childhood. She could not believe that he could do any wrong. And Amitā believed, too, that he loved Suparnā with his whole heart. She did not exactly know the state of Suparnā's heart. But even if she did not love Sudarshan, she had no reason to be hurt so much. If she loved him, it would have settled matters for good to-day. Amitā was very anxious to know the truth, but she could not muster up courage enough to ask Suparnā.

She placed her hand on Suparnā's hair and asked, "Shall I brush and plait up your hair for you?"

"Yes, do," replied Suparnā in a tired voice. "And please take up these clothes from the floor and arrange them on the clothes-horse. The sight of clothing, scattered everywhere, makes me feel very uneasy."

"You would keep your fastidiousness even at the hour of your death," said Amitā. "Let me bring my French comb. It soothes the head very much, when you comb your hair with it."

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As soon as Amitā had gone out, Suparnā got up and began to fold up her discarded clothing neatly. The sight of untidy rooms really upset her very much. She was feeling very weak, yet she knew that she would not be able to sleep in the present excited state of her brain. She wanted to keep her mind engaged somehow, she was afraid to think any more. Her brain was feeling benumbed yet excited at the same time. Amitā had thrown Suparnā's blouse and scarf on a table. As she took up the scarf in her hand, Suparnā felt about to suffocate with suppressed emotion. It still held the dear touch. She stood still for a minute with the flimsy thing clasped in her fingers. Then she opened her ward-robe and hid it in a corner. She would never use it again.

As she took up the blouse, something dropped on the floor. It was a letter, the servants had placed on the table. Neither Suparnā, nor Amitā had noticed it before. Suparnā picked it up and saw by the handwriting that it had come from her father. She had not heard from him for more than a week and had been feeling a bit uneasy. But such silence was not unusual with Pratulchandra. Whenever he went out of town, such delays occured. So Suparnā had not attached very great importance to it. She opened the letter and began to read.

"My dear daughter,

"I have got all your letters in time. I am very glad indeed to learn that you have obtained such brilliant results in your examination. I hope you will continue to do so in future.

"Perhaps you are feeling anxious at not hearing from me for a long time. I am well, physically, but have been much perturbed by a sudden event, so I could not write to you. I have thought much, but could not yet see my way clear. So I have decided to let you know everything. You will know what to do. I have the fullest confidence in you. A human being ought to be able to decide for oneself. Once others have played with your young life and caused disaster. I am trying my hardest to prevent a repetition of the mistake.

"About two weeks ago, Shribilas suddenly appeared at my place. It was very easy to get my address. So it was a wonder that he had not come even earlier. I heard from him that his mother was dead. He also said that he could not do his duty by you up to this, as he was too much afraid of his mother. But he had not married again in spite of repeated requests. He had recently passed the final B. L. examination and was practising as a lawyer.

"He seemed very eager to get you back. He told me repeatedly that if you consented to go to him, you would never have cause to repent it. As far as I can understand human nature, he appeared to be posing. But I might have been mistaken.

"I have not given him any answer. I have not let him know either, where and how you have been living, but he can easily procure that information from other sources. So do not be too much upset, if you see him at Delhi. He will try his hardest to get you back. But I believe you will never submit to force in any form. I have tried to train you up to be strong and independent. But the law is on his side. He may not succeed in taking you away by force, but he can cause you a good deal of annoyance. It is better to be prepared for that.

"But on the other hand, he might really have changed. If you think that he ought to have an opportunity for retrieving his past mistakes, you can easily give him that opportunity. I have no objection to that. But try to know your own heart fully before you do anything decisive. If you feel the slightest doubt, don't go to him again. It would be an insult to your womanhood.

"I hope, you won't be too much upset by this letter. Try to make up your mind calmly and dispassionately. I may go to Delhi next month. Take my blessing.

Yours affectionately,

PRATUL CHANDRA MITRA."

Suparnā felt as if her head was becoming empty. The letters began to dance before her eyes. She failed to understand their meaning. Her brain was too tired, she could not endure anything more. Suddenly she fell down on the bed in a dead faint.

When she came round again, the room was full of people. Amitā sat by her bed, fanning her. Her aunt was applying eau-de-cologne to her head. Taran Babu sat in a chair, looking very anxious.

As soon as Suparnā opened her eyes, Amitā cried out, "How did this happen, my dear? You did not seem so very unwell in the car?"

Suparnā understood that her father's letter had not yet been detected. Her past life held no sinful secret, yet Suparnā would rather have died than let anybody know about it. She wanted to forget it herself. The spectre of the past had risen again and was coming to confront her with its horrible visage. But there was no use in letting others know about it. Let Suparna's unbearable sorrow, her despair, the storm threatening her whole future, be hers alone. They would only be food for curiosity to others.

The letter lay under her, on the bed. She left it there. She took it out and put it under her pillow. "Whose letter is it?" asked Amitā.

"It is from father," replied Suparnā. Amitā did not ask anything more about it.

"Get well speedily, my dear," said Taran

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...ion. "You gave all of us such a fright. Don't ...et up to-day, but have a good rest. Our doctor ...e unfortunately gone to Meerut on a call. So ...ave phoned Sudarshan."

Suparnā turned pale as death. So they were ...nging Sudarshan again to her, to show him ...w weak she was? Poor Suparnā had become ...st a plaything in the hand of fate.

Sudarshan arrived within a few minutes. He ...et Taran Babu at the foot of the stairs and ...ked, "What is the matter? Is she really ill?" ...e was really in great distress.

"I don't know what has happened to the poor ...rl," Taran Babu replied. "She fainted on ...aching home. She has regained consciousness ...w. Come with me, you must examine her ...oroughly."

Sudarshan felt ill enough to need a doctor ...mself. But he could not forget his duty as a ...edical man and followed Taran Babu into ...parnā's bedroom.

The room was a study in dazzling white. The ...ngings were white, the decorations were white. ...n a spotless white bed, lay Suparnā, looking ...e a white lotus herself. Sudarshan felt a ...rning pang of repentance. Was he guilty of ...ying to tarnish this beautiful whiteness? But ...e had no sinful thought in his heart. He had ...ly tried to offer to her the richest treasures of ...s heart. But sometimes fate causes one to ...ke one's nearest and dearest, unintentionally. ...ch a fate had befallen Sudarshan.

Amitā alone noticed that Suparnā's pale face ...shed as soon as Sudarshan entered the room. ...darshan hardly glanced at her, perhaps he was ...id to do so. "How are you now?" he asked.

"Much better," replied Suparnā. Sudarshan ...k out his stethoscope and asked again, "Did ...u ever become unwell like this, before?"

Suparnā shook her head, implying that she ...ver had.

Sudarshan took up one of Suparnā's hands ...his own, to feel her pulse. Her hand trembled ...e a frightened bird in his clasp. This surprised ...darshan very much. Suparnā had tried to ...e away from him with all her might, only ...e hours before. Then why was she so much ...ated at his touch? There is a saying that ...n the gods fail to understand the working of a ...man's heart. So, how was he, a poor mortal, ...understand it?

He examined her thoroughly. There was ...thing much wrong with her, only she appeared ...be extremely agitated and excited. He could ...t understand the meaning of this. He could ...t ask her to explain, as the room was full of ...ople. So he left the room after advising ...mplete rest for a couple of days and prescribing ...nic for her nerves. Amitā and her aunt ...ted him to stay for tea, but he made an ...use and went off. He promised to call and ...e Suparnā again the next morning.

In the years that followed Suparnā could not remember exactly what had happened during these two days. She had remained half dazed all this time. Her brain felt benumbed as after a severe shock. Her father had told her to consider everything well, but she seemed to have lost the power of thinking clearly.

At night, Amitā's aunt slept in her room. Amitā, too, came twice or thrice, during the night. Suparnā did not have any more attacks. But she could not sleep. Endless thoughts surged through her mind. She could not make up her mind about anything.

She fell asleep, exhausted, towards the small hours of the morning. The rest of the family got up, but no one disturbed her. Sudarshan arrived punctually at eight, and Amitā took him to Suparnā's room and woke her up. Taran Babu was usually too busy in the morning with his clients, to attend to anything else. Amitā's aunt, too, could not be found just then. As Sudarshan was regarded as one of the family, practically nobody stood on ceremony with him. So Amitā took him straight to Suparnā's room.

Sudarshan examined her pulse and asked, "Have you got a thermometer?"

"Yes, there is one in father's room," said Amitā, "I shall get it for you."

As soon as Amitā had gone out, Sudarshan looked deep into Suparnā's eyes, his own eyes full of burning love. Tears sprang into her eyes. She turned away her face in great haste.

"Perhaps I was wrong in letting you know my heart," Sudarshan said, "but I never expected the result to be like this. Please forgive me Suparnā. You cannot know how I suffer for having caused you suffering."

Suparnā turned towards him again and said, "I have nothing to forgive. It is not you but God, who has caused me this suffering." Amitā came back at this moment, preventing her from saying anything more.

There was a slight rise of temperature. Sudarshan told them to continue yesterday's treatment and left. He knew that his presence caused Suparnā to feel very much agitated. So he told Amitā, "There is no reason to be anxious about her. But if her temperature rises again, send for me. Otherwise, if I come continually, it will only serve to make her more nervous. She will begin to think that she is really ill."

Suparnā's temperature did not rise again. So Sudarshan did not come any more.

Amitā tried to cross-question Suparnā, in order to get the truth out of her, but Suparnā remained obstinately silent.

Amitā's aunt was returning to Calcutta. Her home could not spare her any longer. Suparnā suddenly said, "I shall go with her. I want to stay with father for a few days."

Taran Babu was a bit surprised, but he raised no objection. He thought it natural on the girl's part to be with her father, as she was

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feeling unwell. "All right, my dear," he said, "Go and spend a few days with your father. But don't absent yourself needlessly from your college."

Suparnā began to pack up. "Goodness!" cried out Amitā "How long do you propose to stay that you are taking two trunkloads of clothing?"

"Who knows!" answered Suparnā. "I might be late in returning. It is better to be prepared."

"We are going to be left alone," said Taran Babu. "Even Sudarshan is leaving us."

"Where is he going?" asked Amitā, eagerly.

"He is going to Mysore,' he replied. "He has got a fine job there. There are very good prospects."

(*To be continued.*)

POSSIBILITY OF PRODUCING DATES IN INDIA

By J. N. BOSE, F. R. G. S.

THE date is the fruit of a species of palm, *Phoenix dactylifera*, a tree which ranges from about 15° to 40° north latitude, from the Atlantic coast of Africa to the western portion of India. It has been cultivated and much prized throughout most of these regions from the remotest antiquity. Its cultivation and use are described on the mural tablets of the ancient Assyrians. In Asia it goes back to pre-historic times. Both Arrian and Strabo mention the palm trees and dates on the Indian frontier as the principal food of the inhabitants when Alexander the Great marched through the country in 326 B. C. and it was by obtaining a large supply of dates that the remnant of Alexander's army was saved from destruction for want of food.

The date palm matures its fruit only in a rainless land of intense prolonged heat, rain preventing fertilization of the flowers and the ripening of the fruit. On the other hand, the roots require to be liberally supplied with water so that the habitat of the tree is limited to irrigable dry belt in tropics. The tree was introduced by the Moors along the Mediterranean shores of Europe, but as its fruit did not ripen so far north for a long time, the European plants were only used for garden ornamentation.* But now the trees in Southern Spain are yielding fruits.† Date was also introduced in the new world by early Spanish missionaries, but without success. Its cultivation is now extending gradually in the dry districts of the south-western portion of the United States and Mexico.§ The cause of yielding fruits is probably due to these areas being desiccated gradually.

The dried fruit, as is usually found in the market, contains more than half its weight of sugar, about 6 per cent of albumen and 12 per cent of gummy matter. The fruit varies much in size, colour and quantity under cultivation. It is an article of food alike pleasant and healthy. It is the staple food of millions of men and animals living on an area of about 1/20th of the land surface of our earth.

All dates belong to the species *Phoenix dactylifera*, and varieties have not been distinguished by Botanists, but it is well known how nicer to the palate some kinds are than others. Date palms grow all over India. These are called *Phoenix Sylvestris* or wild dates. Being not cultivated properly, they are tapped for juice which when fermented produce Toddy—a cheap country liquor. In some localities, as in Bengal, the date juice is also boiled to produce molasses and sugar. The fruits from these wild dates are not taken, consisting mostly of stones and skins only.

The largest single area of date cultivation in the world is probably in 'Iraq' along both banks of Shat-al-Arab for about 110 miles, and total number of palms is about 16 millions.* The quantity and value of date fruits imported into British India by sea and total export from 'Iraq' are given below.†

	Imports into India from 'Iraq'		Total export from 'Iraq'	
	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value
	tons	Rs.	tons	Rs.
1929-30	42,660	57,86,843	129,988	1,87,63,588
1930-31	45,221	44,79,475	153,640	1,05,69,012

The above export figures represent excess of production over local consumption, because we know that date is the staple food of 'Iraq' in most of the places.

No statistics of production of dates in India is available. The Peshawar and Dera Ismail Khan districts of North-West Frontier Province produce some dates, but they are not sufficient

* *Encyclopedia Britannica*, vol. vii, p 845., 11th Ed.
† *Geographical Journal*, 1929. p. 607.
§ The date palm, U. S. Department of Agriculture. Bureau of Plant Industry Bulletin No. 53.

* *Geographical Journal*, 1922, p. 379.
† Figures kindly supplied by the Director General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics.

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local consumption even. Baluchistan, how- has some records of date production. The ran and Kharran districts are famous for ; throughout Makran the staple food is and the date of Panjgur is declared even Arabs to excel that of Basra. More than lakhs of date trees are said to be in existence Makran, exporting dates worth about 5 lakhs rupees to Sind only.

Now, whatever is cultivated in Egypt, in ia, in 'Iraq' and in the country bordering Persian Gulf may be grown with success Sind and Western Rajputana, since these ntries are equally characterized by intense mmer heat, little tempered by rain, severe cold ter, a dry soil and similar geological forma- s.

The most suitable area in India for date ivation is the banks of canals controlled by yd Barrage at Sukkur constructed at an penditure of Rs. 200,000,000. There are no than 6,166 miles of these canals and channels reading over an enormous area. They will be ns of bringing over 7 million acres of ched and waste land under cultivation upon ch will be grown 2 million tons of valuable ps—wheat, barley, cotton, sugarcane, etc., worth t Rs. 275,000,000 per annum.* These ls require constant dredging at some s for their maintenance against drifted sand, h may be dispensed with if the banks are ested with date plantation. It will cause nomical flow of water in the canals checking page due to excess evaporation, temperature the surrounding land may also be turned d and further expansion of desert area may checked. Date trees are planted seven to fourteen s apart, and if on the average ten yards apart planted, in one mile along both banks of canal two rows $1760/10 \times 2 \times 2 = 704$ trees may be planted. e actual weight of fruit produced per tree is ult to estimate. The average produce of ripe t from a single tree is from two to three maunds, ough some trees yield as much as six maunds. if we consider $2\frac{1}{2}$ maunds per tree, in 1 mile 0 maunds of date are expected, and if we sider the price Rs. 5 per maund the price per e will be Rs. 8,800. But these figures are n 10th to 15th year of cultivation started. er some 20 years five times yield may be taken account owing to formation of clusters with suckers for each tree planted. Thus in 1000 es along both banks of the canal dates worth t Rs. 8,800,000 per annum may be grown success.

Baluchistan is probably the nearest and best e for selecting offsets for starting date cultiva- in Sind. As for the origin of dates in uchistan, it seems possible that offshoots of from Arabia and Euphrates valley have been introduced from time to time in Makran. There has been from times immemorial a great deal of traffic between Gwadar and other parts of Makran and Muskat and the names of some of the species of dates are probably Arabic in a more or less corrupted form.

The date tree is almost invariably raised from a selected offset. Trees also grow from seed, but the fruit is poor, and it has been noted that the fruit of a tree grown from seed does not resemble that of the parent tree. When the date tree is young it produces a number of root-suckers round the root. Out of these root-suckers three or four offsets are selected and the remainder are cut off, as they take much nourishment out of the parent tree. Once the root-suckers are removed new ones are seldom made. At the time of removal of offsets some of the root-suckers are permitted to remain attached to the parent tree, these even attain a height equal to that of the parent tree stock, gradually separate themselves further and further from the main stem, and in five or six years attain a man's height. They produce fruits like the ordinary trees and sooner than trees grown from offsets.

The offsets selected for the growth of new trees are allowed to remain with the parent tree for a period which varies from three to ten years; the more valuable the tree the shorter the time for which the offsets are allowed to remain with the parent stem, but the minimum period must be three years. The leaflets of an offset attain full size when it is only two years old. At this time however the plant is only three feet high and it is a curious fact that it seldom makes much further growth up to the time of its removal from the parent stock.

At the end of three to eight years the time comes for transplantation to the cultivator's fields. The offsets are now brought, all leaflets on the lower part of the main stem are cut off and are used for binding together the upper leaflets round the main stem, which are also cut off at a point about six inches above the top of stem. The whole of that portion of the offset which will be above the ground when planted is now wrapped in date fibre or in matting made of the palm. This protects it from the heat in summer and from the cold in winter. The offset is then put in one of the holes and rammed tight with earth. Very few of the offsets fail.

For forty days after planting water is given every alternate day. After that water is required every fourth day for a year. At the end of this time leaflets begin to grow and to appear above the wrapper of date fibre, but the wrapper is not removed until the upper end of the stem has made its appearance.

At the end of about four years the stem has grown about 2″ high and presents the appearance of a dwarf tree. From this time it begins to fruit, generally bearing 2 or 3 bunches which nearly touch the ground. By the time it is eight

* The Modern Encyclopedia for children, Carrel. p. 495.

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years old the tree attains a man's height, and is known as a full-grown tree.

After the first year it is given water every 7th day, as soon as its roots have penetrated into the surrounding fields, it no longer requires a special supply of water or manure, but obtains the necessary moisture and nourishment from the field on which it stands. The strength of the tree, however, and the quality and quantity of fruit depend largely on the soil and the supply of water it gets. It grows very rapidly when young, and if it gets plenty of water experts say that it will retain its youth for about 180 years. If, on the other hand, it gets little water it soon grows old, and both the quality of fruit deteriorate. A tree which has been well cared for attains a height of 80 to 100 feet and a girth of about 5 feet.

Soon after the middle of February the terminal branch or heart of green leaves begins to produce 10 or 20 brown-coloured sheaths or spathes. Those of the female tree are about 2 feet long and 4 to 6 inches wide. While those of the male tree are rather broader. The spathe is conically shaped at the bottom and wide towards the top. When the female spathe has come to maturity it cracks exactly in the middle of one side. The time has now come for impregnation. The spathe of the male tree is not allowed to open as by so doing the pollen which it contains becomes ineffective. Before opening it is detached from the stem and the *holumb* is extracted. The *holumb* consists of a central stalk containing 40 to 50 small flexible springs, along each of which grow small grains or seeds in which is contained some white powder or pollen. The springs from the *holumb* are now taken to the female tree and are inserted into the spathe which has cracked. Fertilization takes place within three days, after which the services of the male springs are no longer required.

Some trees require more twigs to effect impregnation than others. The better sorts, which produce large and heavy bunches of dates require as much as ten twigs, while for inferior sorts a single twig is sufficient. If any male spathes are ready for impregnation, the cultivators preserve the male springs by extracting them from the spathes and hanging them up in their homes away from exposure to wind and rain. Springs thus dried will last for several months, but they are not so effective as the fresh ones. In a few cases natural fertilization takes place, the pollen from the male spathe being carried by bees, or blown by the wind to the female dates. But as a rule resort is had to artificial impregnation.

The interior of the female spathe contains twelve or fifteen small yellow-coloured flexible twigs about 18 inches long and on each of these twigs appear twelve or fifteen eyelets. If the fertilization has been insufficient, or even if fertilization has not taken place, each of these eyelets, produce four grains which constitute fruit in embryo. If on the other hand full fertilization has taken place, a single date forms on each of the eyelets and no grains make their appearance.

Thus enough may be said about the possibility of plantation and production of dates as is done in Kharran and Makran districts of Baluchistan. The cost of plantation may not be regarded much considering the benefits that may be derived from protection of the banks of canals against the action of the winds.

KEY TO THE FRONTISPIECE

The Evening Lamp

There is a custom prevalent among the Hindus to illumine, at the approach of darkness, holy places, such as, temples, and altars dedicated to the Basil god. Young ladies, aglow with the light of the flickering lamp, bow down to the presiding diety in the ecstasy of prayer so that their heart's desires may be fulfilled by the latter.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Importance of the Paharpur Finds

Bengal's contribution to the store of ...ological finds during recent years has been ...less valuable than that of Sind or Southern ...a." "RKLG" gives sufficient proofs in favour ...his statement in an illuminating article on ...e Plaques of Paharpur" in *Indian State Railway* ...zine. Part of it is quoted below:

Easily the most impressive collection among the ...s is in the department of plastic art. Though the ...orm is somewhat crude, the artists have put so ...h life into their handiwork that the Paharpur ...ques rank among the most popular presentation of ...ature in plastic relief. For it was as literature ...nnected with religion that Paharpur has, in a way, ...e an outstanding contribution to the world. The ..., though not as skilful as of Sanchi or Amravati, ... certainly excelled in mastering the difficult technique ...brief yet effective visualization of the no less ...ctive *Panchatantra* stories—which top the list of ...e Indian folk-lore.

Among the more noteworthy representations of ...e at Paharpur may be mentioned the story of the ...ng deer, "the winning of friends"—with the crow, ...se and tortoise; the mongoose and the cobra; ...e middlesome monkey—all highly instructive tales ... not a little element of humour in them.

Subjects with a religious significance also find a ...ce in Paharpur. The form of Buddha in different ...ects is often met with there. Brahma, Vishnu and ...a (the Hindu triad) also figure prominently. Semi-...e beings, plant life and spirited animal life—typical ...Bengal—have received considerable attention at the ...s' hands. Men—warriors, musicians, acrobats, ...tics and others in their characteristic pose in life ...a remarkable feature of the Paharpur representa-...ns. Most of all the above come from the first and ...ond terraces.

Among the more later finds, in the course of the ...erations, the discovery of a plinth or replica of ...e main temple takes the place of honour. It bears ...ery close resemblance to the great central pagoda— ...contains also the same number of angels. Near ...were found five *vedis* or pedestals, made of brick ...in different styles and sizes.

Paharpur evolved a rather unusual technique from ...Gupta times, commencing with the fifth century ...extending through Brahmin (Hindu) and Mahayana ...ddhist) influences down to the tenth century. For ...e inexplicable reason, no parallel of it seems to ...e been developed within the borders of India. ...y in certain places in Java and Cambodia can some ...arpur influence be traced. A shrine in Central Java ...ms to present a striking resemblance to the features ...e second terrace of this great Paharpur monument.

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Architecture of Rajahmundry

Mr. Subha Rao writes of the sad fate of architecture of Rajahmundry, the ancient city of Chalukyas, in the same paper partly as follows:

Of the many ancient temples that once filled the city with beauty and splendour, not one remains to-day, all of them having been desecrated and turned into mosques at some period or other. The principal mosques or the Jumma Masjid as it is called, near the market was a Hindu temple in olden times as the sculptural designs on the front gateway strongly suggest. There is an inscription in Persian characters over the main entrance of it which places the fact beyond all doubt. Popular tradition tells us that at one time it was a temple of Vishnu under the name of Gopinatha and that it was destroyed, the officiating priests killed and a mosque built during the Muhammadan invasion, roughly six hundred years ago. It is said on the night of the brutal attack on the temple the remaining priests ran away with the deity, and installed it on the bank of the river and subsequently raised a small edifice which was afterwards enlarged and rebuilt. The abandoned temple had thus become converted into the mosques which can be seen today. The old sculptured stone gateway or the *simhadvara* is still there, but only with some of its beautiful human figures and other sculptural devices carefully defaced and mutilated so as to destroy every sign or trace of its Hindu or Brahmanical appearance. The tradition relating to the desecration of the Hindu temple seems to be true for it is said in the Persian inscription referred to above that it was built as the 'temple of God.' There is another mosque situated to the south of the 'Fort Gate' near the Godavari Railway Station as it is called even to this day, which has still traces of a Hindu temple dedicated to Siva. The architectural and sculptural designs as well as the existence of a *linga*, the emblem of Siva in the enclosure, on the top of the tomb are strong evidences of the fact of its having been once a Hindu temple. A third mosque is in the Kazi's street (also called Dada Saheb street), but unlike the other two is in a highly ruined condition. The locality in which this mosque is situated was once the *haveli* (palace) of the Muhammadan rulers of the Rajahmundry province and the mosque in question is said to be the private mosque of the royal family. Local tradition tells us that the site covered by this mosque is the hill Kamalachala on whose top once stood the temple of *Markandeya* and that during the days of Muhammadan occupation and rule, the temple was demolished, the *linga* pulled out and a mosque erected there during the sixteenth or seventeenth century. And that later on a potter's family picked up the *linga* and placed it in their house not knowing what to do with it. The potters' successors used it as a polishing stone for their pots, and later still in the beginning of the nineteenth century the *linga* was discovered to be that of *Markandeya* temple by Gundu Sobhanadri, the then

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Zamindar of Rajahmundry, who was a pious man. In or about A. D. 1810 he got the present shrine constructed on his private site and installed the *linga* in all pomp and ceremony. The mosque which is at the presant day in a ruined condition has still traces of its Hindu origin. As has been mentioned already the level of the town is rising rapidly like the level of the river bed itself. It is, therefore, possible to believe that the ancient town lies buried at least ten or fifteen feet beneath the level of the modern town, for huge massive structures in brick underneath the layers of earth when foundations for new buildings were found recently.

Some Fundamental ideas of Hinduism

Pandit Vidhusekhar Bhattacharyya, Sastri, writes in *The Calcutta Review* :

The human society is composed not only of the wise, nor only of the unwise, but of both of them alike. There are various kinds of men. They vary on account of the varying of their nature, intellect, temparament, and some other factors. Various are therefore their needs and requirements. And as such all of them cannot profitably be led along the same path. All the patients in a hospital cannot be cured with one medicine. Medicine varies according to the nature of the disease. A good teacher does not teach each one of his pupils even the same subject in the same way, but in meeting their individual needs he adopts different modes and methods. Realizing this very simple, natural and clear truth Hinduism bears all classes of members of the great human society, whether low or high, to the final goal of life, devising different means and ways, assigning thereby to its followers the greatest possible freedom of thought. Thus it does not leave anyone but, keeps all in unity in an atmosphere of unique tolerance. Here you can worship the Supreme Being as one without any form whatsoever, or as one with a form or forms in accordance with your liking or reasons. You may even deny Him altogether, if it pleases you. Yet Hinduism will show you a path by which you can reach your destination, which is, in fact, the one and the same. It teaches that truth is one but paths to reach it are many. We can only say that we require light, but we cannot say that all of us shall have a particular kind of light. In accordance with our circumstances some of us may have an electric lamp or a gas lamp, or an oil lamp, or any other lamp, that has been so far invented or may be invented afterwards. But in inventing and choosing it we must guard ourselves against dangers that may befall us. Here we apply our own discretion and in this lies the freedom of thought that leads us higher and higher.

Indeed, in Hinduism there are some ways which are direct and straight while others are indirect or curved, yet ultimately they all lead to the same destination. It depends upon you to ascertain which of them will suit you according to the circumstances under which you live. One of our great seers says :

"Different are the systems such as the Vedas, the Sankhya, the Yoga, Saivism and Vaishnavism, all advocating that this or that is excellent or beneficial. Yet, it is thou, and thou alone who art to be approached by men following a straight or a curved way in accordance with their own liking, just as waters flow into the ocean."

Finally, Hinduism has a marvellous power not only of taking whatever is good from others, but also of assimilating it completely in its own way though it takes rather a long time to do so.

The Jainas and Indian Literature

In an important paper in *Indian Culture* M. Winternitz attempts a resumé of the Jaina contributions to Indian literature. Of Nitivakyamritia, a Jaina work, he writes :

A characteristic feature of the Nitivakyamrita are the short pointed sentences some of which may be proverbial sayings. Here is a small selection of such sentences :

VIII, 6f. 'There is always dearth, where the king constantly exacts taxes. When the sea is thirsty whence shall there be water in the world ?'

The king is warned IX, 4 to inflict punishments only for the welfare of the people, not for filling up his own treasure, for : 'Is that a king or a physician who looks for offences (or diseases) in men only for his own living ?'

X, 48 : *svaminadhisthito mesop simhayate*, 'When set to it by his master, even a ram will become a lion.'

X, 84 : *dipte grihe kupakhananam kidrisam*, 'When the house is burnt down, what is the use of digging a well ?'

X, 87-91 : 'They who are friends in giving intelligent advice, in money matters and in war, are helpful men. Who is not anybody's friends at eating time ? As an unlearned Brahman is not in his place at a Sraddha, so a fool not at a council. For can a blind man see ? And will the blind man, dragged on by the blind, find the even road ?

XXIV, 54f. : 'If a dog be fed ever so well, will it avoid bones and unclean food ? Even when a snake is fed with a mixture of milk and sugar, it will never give up its poison. Verily, not even after a hundred lessons the ape will give up his unsteadiness.'

XXV, 38 : 'He who eats moderately, eats much.'

XXV, 53 : 'Thinking that for the strong one everything is wholesome one should not eat poison.'

Much bloodshed would have been avoided, and the world would have been spared infinite misery, if Somadeva's wise rule had always been followed (X, 101) : *Sastradhikarino na mantradhikarinah syuh*, '*Military authorities should not be authorities in (Political) counsels.*'

Village Dramas and the Tagore Players

The following occurs in an important paper in *The Twentieth Century* :

Tagore's plays, like his poems, are lyrical in their nature, and in their presentation resemble the Greek dramas. In fact, the ancient village dramas of India and the old Greek plays have much in common; and Rabindranath's unique contribution to the dramatic art of the world lies in his reviving and re-creating them in a manner acceptable to the modern world.

His plays in English do not give any idea of the beauty of sentiment that is the characteristic quality in the original, and much of their sweetness is lost when presented on the stage in dull dialogue forms. What makes Tagore's plays most interesting are their music, songs and dances.

Tagore has not fallen a victim to the modern craze of mechanizing the stage and sacrificing art to realism, beauty to facts of nature. Tagore, like all true creative artists, does not believe that the purpose of art is "to hold the mirror up to nature," and his characters do not portray individuals but types. His

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...is not a record of the history of his times—such ... art is common-place and mediocre—but a re-state... ...ent of the eternal verities in life and nature. The student-actors of Santiniketan are the truest ...erpreters of Tagore's moods, and through their ...ngs, dances and music they reveal not only the ...ckings of a poet's mind and heart but the sweetness ...d strength of his spiritual stature. The poet has ...r years written plays for his pupils who delighted ... staging them in seasonal festivals, often "Gurudev" ...mself playing the leading role along with his ...dents.

It was only lately that he ventured to take out ...s pupils and present his plays to the public in ...rowded cities. His first successful show was in ...lcutta and it marked an era in the history of ...matic art in India.

"Nateer Puja" was a gorgeous production, the ...t efforts of the poet and painters like Nandalal ...se, Abanindranath and Goganendranath Tagores. ...e play depicted the life of a dancing girl of the ...ddhist period, which part was creditably rendered ... the talented daughter of Nandalal, Gowri Devi, ...o looked a picture stepped out of the walls of ...nta.

Encouraged by the phenomenal success of this ..., Tagore took his troupe of student-actors to ...es like Bombay and Colombo, where they presented ...r musical plays of Tagore, which took those ...es by storm. One was a mythical story, ...ngmochan," and the other a comedy entitled ...e Kingdom of Cards," a subtle skit on some ...ects of modern civilization, in the inimitable style ...Rabindranath.

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Christianity and Indian Culture

It is a happy sign that the Christians in India ... emphasizing the need of Indianizing ...istianity. Miss A. B. Van Doren, M. A., ...usses the matter in *The National Christian ...ncil Review* as follows :

In considering the return of the Christian community ... a more distinctively Indian type of culture, there ... certain difficulties which cannot be left out of ... consideration. One of these is the strength of ...nservative Indian Christian opinion. An outspoken ...an gentleman once remarked that the one person ...der to move than the conservative missionary is ... conservative Indian Christian. This section of the ...mmunity is firmly wedded to old missionary tradition ... is emphatically not open to change. The ...estion of a church without benches, of the ...glish hymns, of the adoption of Indian rather than ...stern names—of Sarojini for Violet, of Prabhudas ... Victor—fills this type of Christian with dismay. ... the younger members of a Church to carry through ... such changes against the will of the 'Elders' is ...ost impossible. Another real difficulty is found in ...ain sections, such as the Panjab, where the ...istian Church has been strengthened by considerable ...session from Islam. In such cases to which form of ...den culture will the Church turn? What effect will ...e use of Hindu types of ritual, music, and architecture ... upon the Muslim convert? In the case of the ...uisitive enquirer, will they make it harder for him to ... the Christian way? Is this the place for a ...sible synthesis between Hindu and Islamic customs, or is the Western way the only common meeting-ground for traditions so opposite? To this question, the writer of this article has no answer to offer.

On the other hand, reasons for such a return are numerous and weighty. There is a need for making the Christian religion at home in India, no longer a delicate exotic, no longer open to the taunt of being a foreign religion, no longer identified with the ruling class. Such a naturalization would help to float the Christian community out of a backwater into the main stream of national life and influence. It will make Indian Christians more acceptable to their non-Christian neighbours and friends. The writer, during a sea-voyage, once listened to a discussion among Indian fellow-passengers, in which non-Christians besought a Christian woman doctor of the old school to give up her peculiar costume, and dress as though she were still a daughter of India. 'If only you wore our dress,' they said, 'we would feel that you belonged to us, and would welcome you to our homes.' Lastly such a return would be a move not only back but forward, for it would offer the opportunity for creating a new fusion of the best cultural values of the Panjab and Travancore, of Bengal and Bombay, of all communities and traditions.

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Art and Modern India

From aesthetic as well as commercial point of view the study of art has become a necessity. Mr. Nanalal C. Mehta, I. C. S., concludes his instructive paper on "Art and Modern India" in *Prabuddha Bharata* thus :

The language of Art is the language of humanity. It needs nothing beyond a certain amount of sensibility and life to react to aesthetic beauty No learned comments are required, for artistic creations are complete in themselves. They bring light and radiance, joy and happiness to all those who have the capacity to grasp them and to understand them. A long acquaintance with artistic creations brings a new understanding and reveals unexpected worlds of beauty even in regions where the ordinary eye finds nothing to arrest it or to impart a tinge of wistfulness. Aesthetic joy is like a mother's love, something indefinite but infinite, deep, silent and strong, disinterested and utterly selfless. It can be found and experienced even in the least promising circumstances. Its abode is not always to be sought in the palaces of the rich, for it can be found in the humblest home of our poverty-stricken countryside. It is something in the nature of an elementary urge which requires development and opportunities to come in contact with the immortal creations of the past and the monumental creations of the present.

An organized endeavour is needed to train up a whole people to rise to its native sense of aesthetic enjoyment. Art cannot be ignored or banished from the life of a nation without doing irreparable damage to its soul. It must have a place in the homes as well as in the class-rooms, in the temple as well as in the hospital, in places of amusement as well as in places of worship; for it is a thing of the spirit and no nation has yet arisen without the exaltation of the spirit. When the futility of mere literary training—of book learning—has been found to be more than a mere waste of time and opportunities, is it not time for the country to turn to something the results of which cannot for a moment be doubted?

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The past splendour of India lay not in her mythical wealth, but in the imperishable monuments of her artistic and creative mood.

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Are We over-educated ?

Mr. Jatindra Mohan Datta, M. SC., B. L., writes in *The Teachers' Journal* :

We often hear that there are too many graduates in Bengal ; hence all the available resources of the Government should be spent in developing primary education, especially as the figures for Literacy are too low. It is a question of policy whether primary education should be developed at the cost of the University or Collegiate education, or not ; but it is not a fact that there are too many graduates and under-graduates in Bengal.

In the following table, the proportion of students per 10,000 inhabitants in the different classes of institutions are given :

Number of students per 10,000 inhabitants.
(The figures are for the year 1930)

	In Universities & Higher Technical Schools	In General Secondary Schools	In Vocational Schools
Austria	34	78	160
Belgium	20	33	188
Czecho-Slovakia	24	64	178
Denmark	11·5	140	140
France	18	45	57
Germany	22	134	421
Holland	16	54	184
Hungary	18	...	...
Italy	12	36	51
Norway	12	90	71
Poland	16	66	68
Soviet Russia	17	25	95
Spain	19	27	...
Sweden	14	119	314
Switzerland	27	82	460
England & Wales	11	156	246
Scotland	31	316	405
Northern Ireland	11	76	190
Irish Free State	12	92	217
Canada	51	241	181
Australia	14	245	148
New Zealand	35	166	127
South Africa	38	516	164
U. S. A.	71	424	103

It will be seen that the smallest proportion of students in Universities is 11 per 10,000 and the largest proportion 71.

The corresponding figures for British India are 3·5 per 10,000 in Universities and 34 per 10,000 in the Secondary schools, and 11 per 10,000 in vocational schools of all grades.

The progress of British India during 1914 to 1930 is shown in the following table :

Proportion per 10,000

	1914	1920	1925	1930
University	2	2·5	3·5	3·5
Secondary	21	25	37	34
Primary	9	4	9	11

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The Æsthetics of Gujarat

Srimati Madri Desai discusses in *Triveni* the æsthetics of Gujarat as depicted by the poets over there. She writes :

It should be observed that these poets were pre-occupied with colour. Poet Premanand for instance, remarks that the pillars of the 'mandap' were covered with various richly coloured black, yellow and white cloth like, he adds, the 'saries' of the South. He also suggests the necessity for colour harmony in architecture. He speaks of the light green of the steps, the threshold and doors in red, white walls decorated with gold arabesque, and the decorative peacocks, blue and green on the lintel of the doors

On auspicious occasions and ceremonies like the marriage and thread ceremonies, and the anointing ceremony in the worship of Krishna, the poets describe the colours of dresses and 'saries' of women. They discuss the black 'kanchuki' with saffron tassels, red and green 'saries' with golden stripes, and saffron bodices. For the 'Holi' festival, generally, pinkish and yellowish 'saries' were used. 'Red chundadies' were particularly worn for 'subhsakun' as an auspicious token.

Similarly, the different kinds of ornaments were, poet Dayaram says, worn for different occasions. Generally, the poet says that rich jewelled bangles, jewelled earrings, noserings, and necklaces of diamonds were used by the rich women for marriage ceremonies. On the occasion of ordinary festivals they used to put on ornaments of gold. In describing the Krishna and Gopi dance he refers to ornaments like 'zanzer' (bells) on the feet, 'katimekhala' (girdle) with tiny 'ghughries', 'vank', 'makut' and 'mal'. Further, these poets suggest that along with diamonds and rubies, other rich glass pieces in blue, green or saffron colours were set in the bangles or necklaces, as a variety and as a colour harmony for the gold.

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Need for Co-operative Educations

Mr. V. G. Kale writes in *The Bombay Co-operative Quarterly* :

The recently published report of the Commission appointed by the South African Government to enquire into Co-operative Agricultural Credit contains a valuable chapter on the need of education in the co-operative movement. The Commission lays particular emphasis on the wide diffusion of co-operative knowledge and an adequate supply of trained leaders and managers. The Review of International Co-operation for July 1934, draws special attention to the fact that the Commission "defends the organisation of specifically Co-operative Education on the ground that educational agencies already existing are equipped mainly to supply the needs of commerce which differ in many important respects from those of co-operation." The Commission's observations regarding co-operative leaders are very instructive and deserve to be quoted here, as they are peculiarly apt and relevant to our present purpose. "It is more difficult," says the Commission, "to discover and train the required leadership in co-operative enterprise than in similiar leadership in private business because in addition to business capacity and managerial ability it is necessary for this leader in co-operation to possess an almost altruistic point of view specially in so far as personal gain is concerned. A Co-operator is not merely a person who applied and paid for

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membership. To be a real co-operator he must realise what membership entails." To create this kind of co-operative membership and leadership, is our most vital problem to-day. And only genuine co-operative members and leaders thus morally educated, can provide and sustain our movement in purity, integrity and strength.

The Co-operative Union of Canada, the National Federation of Canadian Co-operative Societies, has expressed the following views with regard to co-operative education and the duty of government towards it. "Everything possible with the limited means and facilities at its disposal, is being done by the Co-operative Union of Canada to teach Canadian citizens the principles of co-operation, and to give them guidance in the successful practice. While the fundamental principle of the co-operative movement is self-help and mutual help, and, therefore, State support and responsibility is inimical to its sound development, the State could do much to encourage the practice of Co-operation by using the educational and publicity machinery at its disposal for popularising the principles of the movement, and also by providing suitable legislation for the incorporation and regulation of cooperative societies. Several of the Provincial Governments in Canada have given definite and substantial assistance in the carrying on of co-operative education, and there are doubtless opportunities open to the Federal Government to give similar assistance."

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Ideals of Moslem Education

Everyone of us, especially the Muslims, should listen to the advice of Sir Akbar Hydari regarding the ideals of Moslem education in *Educational India*. He says :

The creation of segregate and special schools and colleges for giving Islamic tone and atmosphere to education may be desirable in many cases and in certain circumstances and times but is ultimately detrimental to intercommunal harmony and national growth, nor can it overcome the difficulties with regard to Muslims who reside in rural areas. The real solution, it seems to me, is for religious education to be provided for by private individuals and associations in institutions common to all. There is need of an enlightened agency for this work, possessing a thorough knowledge of modern scientific thought and of comparative religion. But mere theology without intense spiritual feeling and experience is only a dry husk, a lifeless thing, an encumbrance. It is only where true spirituality is found that religious tolerance can really exist. The saints of all religions are at one. It is only the sinners who would like to tear each other's eyes out. There is need for a school of modern and liberal theology in Islam. In a word there is need of a religious revival. We must think of the present and the future, not merely brood over the past.

There is need for a much greater advance in education. Indian Muslims, as a whole, are backward educationally. There is enormous wastage in the primary stage in spite of there being a higher percentage of pupils than in the case of other communities in that stage. I am strongly of opinion that we should begin to discourage and must eventually make up our minds either to abolish or completely modernize, our special schools, our maktabs and madrasahs which tend to fall below the modern standard of effective mental training.

—

Economic Nationalism

Mr. Khagendra N. Sen, M. A., F. R. E. S. (Lond.), writes on the above subject in *Landholders' Journal* partly as follows :

It is difficult to say whether the rational order of the future will simply be a relapse to the old competitive system. "There are certain indications which seem to point to a conclusion of that kind. If there is no free trade yet, there are, at any rate, ever-widening areas of freer Trade. The inter-imperial economic Conference that was held at Ottawa in July, 1932 is an instance in point. It is significant that the policy of Empire Free Trade was turned down by the Conference But it lightened the incidence of restrictive tariff within the Commonwealth. The French Government also contemplates closer trade relations with its Colonies. More significant are regional trade agreements and customs unions. These are particularly advantageous to those countries whose trade with each other accounts for almost the whole of their international trade. Even bilateral treaties in respect of commodities for which mutual markets may be found are a step in the direction of freer trade. The Oslo agreement between the Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands and Belgium is an instance of a multi-lateral agreement. The trade treaties of the Uni ed Kingdom with Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Argentine, Ireland etc., are instances of bilateral agreements. The latter are very difficult to negotiate not only because of the slowness and incompleteness of such bargains but also because of the triangular nature of most of our trade. *B* may provide the best market for *A* for the export of cotton goods, but *C* may be the cheapest market for her (A) to import raw cotton from. A bargain between *A* and *B* or *A* and *C* would, therefore, be incomplete and disadvantageous to one of the parties in any case, if the subject-matter of the bargain were raw cotton and cotton goods. Regional agreements, again, are difficult because suitable regions more or less economically self-sufficient and amenable to agreement are hard to discover. Even the British Commonwealth of Nations which satisfies these two tests as proximately as any single region can has only been able, through Ottawa, to secure diversion of trade instead of a net expansion. There is, further, always the threat of rataliation by countries which lose their export trade through such agreements by shutting down its own market to the exports of the offending countries. The only advantage secured by such agreements is that they give the parties concerned, through a stabilized market, greater bargaining power in negotiating with other countries.

What is true of trade and commerce is true also of finance. Though at present there is a sharp cleavage of opinion as regards the future monetary standard, the very inter-dependence of the financial mechanism of the modern world will sooner or later make for an international agreement The "sterlingaria" may fitly be the preface to such an endeavour in the future. In fact, there is reason to believe that an international monetary agreement shall be a prelude to the restoration of healthy competitive conditions in trade and commerce rather than a sequel.

By the restoration of healthy competitive conditions,

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I do not mean an uncritical return to the old *laissez faire*, but a competition based on co-operation. What form this co-operation will take, it is difficult to predict. The working of regional agreements and trade treaties, more particularly, the co-operation of Central Banks securing an international co-ordination of credit currency and investments, will have provided sufficient experience to define the nature of future co-operation and lay down its terms and conditions. One thing is clear now. National Governments will take a leading share in the future efforts for such co-operation. Trade and commerce will want it. Consumers will desire it. The necessities of the co-ordination of the economic activities of each country will require it. In other words, there must have to be national economic planning. One of the possible lines of future policy we see in the development of complementary production, such as characterized the Ottawa agreements. It will take the form of discouraging, as part of national economic policy, the less and encouraging the more efficient forms of production in each country. Thus will competition be raised to a more rational and therefore less wasteful plane. Its culmination will be international economic rationalism. Co-operation and competition will be the two sisters of the twin policy of economic rationalism and economic nationalism.

—

Safe Slimming—A Timely Caution

The following is taken from *The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health*:

A restricted diet does not necessarily mean a monotonous or disagreeable one, but one which is low in calorific value. The following is a suggested daily menu for a woman leading a sedentary life:

Breakfast.—Grape fruit juice, prunes, slice of toast, cereal drink or skim milk, one glass.

Luncheon.—Vegetable soup, small helping beans or beetroot, lettuce and tomato salad with lemon juice.

Supper.—Omeletts or jelly, fresh asparagus, fruit salad, skim milk.

Any of the following vegetables may be taken in addition to those mentioned: Cucumber, spinach, endive, celery, mush-rooms, brussels sprouts, water-cress, cauliflower, radishes, cabbage, and onions. They should be cooked without milk or oil and served without dressing, but in salads can be eaten with cottage cheese. No fried foods should be taken and no butter or lard used in cooking. All starch foods must, of course, be cut right down to a little toasted bread and an occasional baked potato. Fluids can be taken *ad lib*, but not in the form of sweet or alcoholic beverages. If as a result of such simple restrictions the general health and efficiency begins to be imparied it is by far the best plan to go to a doctor for his advice.

With reference to exercises for reducing purposes the following have proved very effective:

Hip Reduction

1 Lying on the back flat on the floor, with palms facing down roll the body as far as possible to either side keeping the shoulders flat on the ground behind.

2. Lying on the back with hands stretched above the head and grasping the feet of a chair at shoulders width apart, raise each leg alternately to a right angle with the body, keeping the knee straight. Repeat six times for each leg.

Abdominal reduction and strengthening

1. Position as above. Breathe deeply, and lift both legs to the right angle, and slowly lower again. Three or four times will be sufficient.

2. Lying with arms raised to the vertical position at shoulders width apart, raise the body quickly to a sitting position and swing the arms down so that the fingers touch the toes. Repeat six times.

Neck reduction

Standing with the feet slightly astride and hands on the hips, swing the upper part of the body round with a circular movement, the head being moved steadily round with trunk and bent over in the direction in which the body is leaning. Repeat four times and then reverse.

General reduction

For a young person, skipping is an excellent exercise if there is no marked obesity and the heart is not strained. Walk wherever possible in preference to riding, and take plenty of deep breaths at convenient times during the day and always in the morning and evening.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Nature's Divine Intimacies

Poets and philosophers through all ages have sung of the influences of nature in healing the wounds of humanity and they say, many of our difficulties arise out of our dissociation from her. So, *The Inquirer* observes:

Nowadays, however, most of us know our Earth Mother only at second-hand. We read books or newspaper articles about her, or maybe listen to talks on the wireless, too brief to be instructive, but just long enough to give us a whiff of nostalgia. Were we to be more intimate with her, to know her better and trust her more devotedly, perhaps we should be less sceptical than we are. Atheism is the product of the town, not of the country. The countryman is too reverent of life, too humble in the presence of forces which he well knows he is the servant, to be intellectually arrogant or emotionally rebellious. Scepticism is the child of the laboratory, wherein Nature is studied only when she is dead, dissected, analysed, bottled up and corked. Those of us who are town-bred do not dwell familiarly enough with her to woo her subtle secrets and to suffer her wayward, evanescent moods, and so come quietly under the spell of her long, slow-swelling tides of creative power. The countryman knows full well that he must trust her deep elemental forces if he would live at all, and thus something of the quality of those forces enters his soul, purifying him, purging him of pride and human conceit, and at times exalting him with the sense of their cosmic power.

It is impossible for an alert mind and quickened spirit to reflect on the wonder and the beauty of the world without becoming sooner or later aware of its ineffable sacredness and mysterious potency. Nature, to the sensitive soul, is the Supernatural made articulate; this universe is the Eternal contracted into a span; the Infinite made intelligible to finite minds. As a dew drop may miror the sun, so may the mind of God be mirrored in the wonder, aspiration and love of the human soul.

It is in this high sense that man is fashioned in the image of God, with the power to interpret and to explore the world as the workshop and the playground created by the Eternal Spirit for the edification and the glorifying of man's soul. Through his ever deepening discoveries of the realm in which he lives he grows in dignity of spirit and awareness of his larger destiny as a child of Eternity. The world so viewed is no unworthy setting of the solemn drama of the soul; a drama divine in plan and intention, human in its actors.

—

Japanese Spectacles for British Eyes

The following editorial observations have been made by *The People's Tribune* regarding the ensuing visit of Manchukuo by the representatives of the Federation of British Industries:

Assurances have been given by the British Government to Mr. Quo Tai-Chi, Chinese Minister in London, that the coming visit of Federation of British Industries representatives to Manchuria is solely for the purpose of investigating business possibilities in that territory. The Minister was also told that the coming of the F.B.I. Mission should not be interpreted as implying any violation of the principle hitherto observed by Great Britain of non-recognition of "Manchukuo." That a protest should have been made by Mr. Quo Tai-Chi in connection with this latest globetrotting picnic may seem to some evidence of China's super-sensitiveness in such matters. After all, if a British business-man wishes to have a look round Manchuria and see what prospects there are of doing trade, who has any right to question him? And if one, why not two, or ten, or twenty? The more the merrier. Shipping is suffering from the general depression, and the more Missions that go running round the world seeking for trade-openings, the more the shipping companies and hotel proprietors will be pleased.

But those who have thought Mr. Quo Tai-Chi was getting unduly alarmed about the F.B.I. Mission to Manchuria, and the possibility of important politico-diplomatic reactions from this jaunt around the world, are probably not aware of what has been said by certain members of the party as to their political views and their influence in political circles. That a party of British business men should be anxious to get some new business in these dull times perfectly natural, and that they should believe there is a possibility of securing substantial orders in Manchuria is a matter perhaps upon which they will be wiser when they return to England. But the actual position is not quite so simple as this.

The Japanese Press regards the Mission as being composed of men who are (1) friendly to Japan, (2) possessing considerable influence, and (3) having close relations with the British Government. Putting all these things together, the inference is drawn that the F.B.I. Mission, while unofficial in character, has the complete sympathy and support of the British Government. And, what is more important, there is an impression in Japan that—despite official assurances to the contrary—there is more in this British business-men's trip to Manchuria than meets the eye.

Even if the Mission is only engaged in a "quest for orders," into which "politics will not be permitted to enter," it would be better to have a few friends of China in the party instead of collecting a group so exclusively friendly toward Japan as this group appears to be. However, it is just as well to know how things stand, and if there are no friends of China in the deputation selected by the Federation of British Industries to seek orders in Chinese territory which is in the illegal occupation of alien forces, we must assume that the F.B.I. is not greatly concerned about the maintenance of friendly relations with us.

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A Well Advertised Mission

The Japan Weekly Chronicle also observes on the same subject:

In a somewhat heavy manner the *Times* has given its blessing to the mission of the Federation of British Industries which is on its way to Manchukuo—and perhaps other places. British industry, it says, has grown and prospered by bringing into the orbit of world trade territories which had been more or less stagnant in their economic life, promoting their development and profiting by the increase in their prosperity! This piece of ambiguity leaves it uncertain whether it is British industry which has spread into stagnant places or merely British goods. The same ambiguity persists as we go on. The field, we are told, has become more and more restricted, but "in the Far East there are still densely populated areas awaiting development by industrial enterprise." This however, seems a little clearer. "Development by industrial enterprise" cannot mean merely the purchase by a populous but stagnant country of British goods. Looked at in any logical manner it can only mean the creation of industries. In the case of most of these densely populated Far Eastern areas, unstable conditions discourage foreign co-operation. But Manchukuo is ceasing to be unstable It is rather a large assumption, however, that the land therefore lies open for British exploitation. To survey a possible market and to map out plans for establishing new industries are two very different things, but at this time of day it is necessary to know which is being done. British territories have in the past been very generally open to all sorts of exploitation; but in this age of intense nationalism and self-supply, it is doubtful whether such liberal conditions will persist even in the British Empire It is certain that Japan has not taken all the trouble that she has in Manchuria for the benefit of the Federation of British Industries The *Times* also gets a little away from a sense of reality when it talks of Manchuria as a densely populated area more or less stagnant in its economic life. But the whole point about Manchuria is that it is not a densely populated area.

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Child Labour in India

We take the liberty of summing up here the concluding remarks of Mr. Rajani Kanta Das, Ph. D. from his article on the above subject which appeared in *International Labour Review*, and of which we have a reprint:

Owing to the large percentage of the total population in the younger age groups, the low average length of life, the extreme poverty of the masses, and the absence of compulsory elementary education, the proportion of children in the working population is larger in India than in most other countries. The number of children employed as wage earners is, however, very small, and that of children in organized industries even smaller.

Children have always helped their parents in agriculture and handicrafts in India and the majority of children no doubt do so even today. But the specific problems of child labour arose mostly with the development of modern industry. The employment of children in organized industries under adequate control has, of course, some beneficial aspects: But to be beneficial the employment of children must be properly organized and regulated, otherwise it is liable to be a danger to society and to the children themselves.

The problems to which the industrial employment of children have given rise may be considered from three distinct points of view, namely: (1) working conditions, (2) living conditions, and (3) social policy.

Increasing attention has been given in India to such main problems of working conditions as the age for admission to employment, health and safety, hours of work, wages, and workmen's compensation.

Child labour legislation aims at securing health and safety for children and providing them with all the facilities for education in the period which is most suitable to intellectual development. This object is attained by fixing a minimum age below which they may not be employed and also a maximum age up to which they may work only under certain conditions.

The final solution of the problem of the employment of young children in India depends, therefore, to a great extent on the organization of a general system of compulsory elementary education.

Hours of work have been gradually reduced in both factories and mines, and measures are under consideration for their further reduction. Health and safety arrangements are generally satisfactory in new and large undertakings, but leave very much room for improvement in small, seasonal, and unregulated factories as well as in small mines and plantations. Wages have only been dealt with by legislation in India in respect of methods of payment.

A large number of seasonal factories, however, still remain uninspected, and under the present system, a causual visit to a tea garden is made by a subordinate officer only once in two years. Moreover, the employment of large numbers of women and children on plantations, and to a lesser extent in factories and mines, would seem to make the appointment of more women inspectors desirable.

The second class of problems concerns the improvement of living conditions with a view to creating a favourable physical and social environment for the development of childhood. The main problems of living conditions are those of housing and hygiene, maternity and infancy, and home and community. At present these problems in India are left to the welfare activities of employers and private organizations, with the exception of the grant of maternity benefit, which is dealt with by legislation in two provinces. The intervention of the public authorities in these matters, which are of such great importance for the moral and material welfare both of children and of the workers generally, is one of the most urgent needs of India.

The supply of housing accommodation by employers or landlords is undesirable, as it is liable to lead to servility, exploitation, and the growth of slums. It is the duty of public and semi-public organizations to provide housing accommodation for workers in industrial centres, so that they can live without fear of eviction and on the payment of a minimum rent.

Housing improvements must of course be accompanied by the provision of proper sanitation, including modern sewerage and water supply systems. Such improvements in housing and hygiene will do much for the protection of motherhood and infancy. Nevertheless, it is also important to provide recreational and cultural facilities both for children and for adult workers, and it is only under such sanitary conditions and salutary atmosphere that the real home and community life can grow.

What is still more important is the development of a social policy with regard to children in general

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child labour in particular. The various measures, ...ce or proposed, for the improvement of condi... of life and work in India need to be integrated ...n organic policy for promoting the well-being of ...children of India. The underlying principle of this ...y should be to secure the fullest and richest ...ible development of childhood, upon which depends ...continuous progress of society. The elements of ...s policy should be: (1) the encouragement of ...luntary and responsible parenthood; (2) the develop... of compulsory primary education; and (3) the ...tion of progressive social legislation.

Voluntary and responsible parenthood has a three-... object, namely: (1) the conscious control of ...ulation growth; (2) the securing of sound birth, ... freedom from congenital defects; and (3) the ...guarding of health during childhood.

The reduction of the birth rate is therefore essential ... the promotion of child welfare in India. In a ...try where there is a high rate of maternal mortality ... stillbirths, where about one-fifth of the children ...n alive die before reaching one year of age, and ...re a great number die before reaching manhood ... womanhood, birth-control becomes a national ...e. The initiative in the birth-control movement ... already been taken by the Indian State of Mysore, ... the Government of Madras has recently expressed ...ntention of introducing birth-control clinics. What ...eeded is the introduction of such clinics all over ... country.

The second main feature of this social policy is the ...sion of compulsory education for children, about ...sixths of whom are without educational facilities ...resent.

This general education should be accompanied by ...ational training, especially in India, which has lost ... of her once famous arts and crafts, and has ...e little progress in the technique of modern ...duction.

The last and, from the point of view of this study, ...most important phase of social policy is progres... social legislation. The object of this social policy ...o secure to all children the fullest possible oppor... for the development of their intellectual, moral ... spiritual faculties, so that when grown up they may ...me efficient workers, intelligent citizens, and res...ible men and women, for their own greater good ...well as that of society.

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...e re-orientation of Soviet Foreign Policy

...From a place of comparitive isolation, Soviet ...ssia has been emerging to play one of the ...ost parts in the game of European and ...rld politics. Mr. Harry N. Howard gives a ...ssential outline of Soviet's foreign policy from ...s inception of the revolution to the year 1933 ...*World Unity* which is quoted below:

"There has been a steady evolution of Soviet foreign ...licy from the beginning. When the Bolshevik ...volutionaries overthrew the Provisional Government ...November, 1917 they were determined to achieve ...new political, economic and social system within ...e confines of the old tsarist empire and to carry the ...volutionary gospel to the far corners of the world. ...It was a part of the policy of revolutionary ...ialism, the answer of communism to a very hostile ...actively intervening capitalist world. Only in a communist and Soviet world could a communist and Soviet Russia live. There must be permanent revolution until a world-wide communistic new heaven and new earth had been made. Revolution did break out in Hungary and in Germany and it did frighten the peace conference then sitting at Paris, but it did not succeed on the great scale which the Bolsheviks had hoped for. In 1920 peace had been established with Esthonia, Lithuania, Latvia and Finland. By 1921 the period of war communism, civil war and intervention had come to an end, the war with Poland was concluded and treaties were signed with Poland, Austria, Turkey and Persia. Soviet Russia was entering a new phase of her development both in internal and foreign affairs. During this second period, which lasted roughly from 1921 to about 1928, the Moscow government looked toward recognition by the great powers, began the development of a system of security treaties, and cautiously sought financial and economic collaboration with the rest of the world. Representatives of Soviet Russia sat in the conferences of Genoa and Lausanne in 1922 and 1923, and suggested at Genoa that world disarmament was a prerequisite to economic recovery. At Rapallo in 1922 close relations were established with republican Germany. By 1924 the U. S. S. R. had secured the recognition of some twenty-one nations, including all the great powers except the United States. Thanks to the stabilization of both the socialistic and the capitalistic worlds, the Soviet government announced in 1927 that the two could live peacefully side by side. By that year, too, the Moscow government had concluded non-aggression treaties with Turkey, Germany, Afghanistan, Lithuania and Persia. These were continued until by 1932 they included Finland, Latvia, Esthona, Poland and France, though the latter two were not ratified. It will be noted that they included especially the countries on the borders of the lands of the Soviets. Though not invited to participate among the original signatories of the Paris Anti-War Pact of 1928, the Soviet government was the first to put the pact into effect with her neighbours, Esthonia, Latvia, Poland and Roumania through the Litvinov protocol of February 9, 1929.

With the adoption of the *Piatiletka*, or Five Year Plan, in 1928, Russian internal policy was characterized by an attempt to industrialize the country, mechanize agriculture and socialize the entire Russian economy.

The Piatiletka emphasized and deepened the tendencies of the policy of peaceful collaboration with the capitalistic world. Any disturbance in the outside world was bound to have its influence on the fulfillment of the great plan, and the Soviet government—whatever the aspirations of the Third International—did not appear to want any upheavals abroad. Walter Duranty, the Moscow correspondent of the *New York Times*, wrote on November 23, 1932: "Far from trying to foment revolution, the U. S..S. R. today is ready and eager to co-operate in any sincere attempt to combat the effects of the depression and to restore the economic order." In foreign policy therefore the Russian government continued to negotiate political and economic non-aggression pacts, urged disarmament and sought the stabilizatian of its relations with the capitalistic world. Leon Trotzky, the apostle of permanent revolution was sent into exile.

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France and the War Debts

Michael F. Florinsky shows in *Political Science Quaterly* that the question of debt-repara-

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tions is the most vexatious topic in the history of the world since the Great War and suggests the all-round cancellation of war obligations. He writes :

The Johnson Act and President Roosevelt's war-debt message of June 1, 1934, were followed by the failure of all European debtors—with the sole exception of Finland—to meet the instalment of June 15.

These developments are another reminder of the fact that the most vexatious question which has poisoned the political atmosphere of the world for the last fifteen years and which has, no doubt, largely contributed to the depression, has not yet been solved.

Although at the present time the whole war-debt question seems to have been relegated somewhat to the background both in the United States and in Europe, sooner or later it is bound to come up again for public discussion and a new "final" settlement. In order to obtain a sober estimate of the chances of such a settlement it might be useful to recall the course of events which led to France's default and the arguments advanced in that country against the payment of the instalment of December 15, 1932.

It is not the purpose of this article to discuss the validity of the French claims or the soundness of the French contentions. Many of the elaborate legal theories devised in Paris cannot but sirike one as preposterous. But that this frame of mind exists in France is a factor of far-reaching importance, which should not be overlooked.

It has been said that a survey of the separations and war debts problem gives one the feeling of visiting a graveyard. It is with a sense of real and deep relief that one turns from this amazing and crumbling monument of human ingenuity to the simple and clear pronouncement issued by the British Government as far back as August 1, 1922. Great Britain, whose loans to her Allies very nearly doubled what she herself had borrowed from the United States, has been an early, consistent and, unfortunately, lonely champion of the all-round cancellation of war obligations. The Balfour note, which laid down the principles of British policy on this question, closed with the following appeal, which still retains all its force: "A general settlement [of war debts and reparations] would...be of more value to mankind than any gains that could accrue even from the most successful enforcement of legal obligations."

There are no Atheists

After carefully reviewing the utterences of famous atheists and agnostics *The Catholic World* says that, rightly speaking, there are no atheists. At least no thinkers are atheists. "Free thinkers" rise to that bait more surely but it is equally axiomatic that they do not think freely. We take only one instance and that of Darwin :

In *The Unknown God* Mr. Noyes reveals and comments upon many startling passages from the works of recognized agnostics and reputed atheists in evidence of God—not merely "a god of some sort," as Lord Kelvin says, but substantially and essentially the orthodox God, the God of St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas.

Take Drawin, who though himself no philosopher was the inspiration of Huxley, Spencer and a hundred other more recent evolutionistic thinkers. Darwin says of the evolutionistic process. "This grand sequence of events the mind refuses to accept as the result of blind chance. The understanding revolts from such a conclusion." None the less atheistic evolution *must* accept blind chance. The only thinkable substitute for blind chance is a Superintending Intelligence. But once an Intelligent Directing Power is admitted you have God. For as St. Thomas Aquinas says, "We see that things which lack intelligence nevertheless act for an end not fortuitously but designedly. Now whatever lacks intelligence cannot move towards an end unless it be directed by some being endowed with knowledge and intelligence. And this Being we call God." There is many a hard nut for the professed atheist to crack. And there is the first one on which he may sharpen his teeth—or more likely break them : "the understanding revolts from blind chance," very well, if not blind chance, what ? Any alternative will be as Aquinas says "What we call God." It is entertaining as well as enlightening to find Charles Darwin and Thomas Aquinas expressing the same truth, one negatively and by implication, the other positively and directly.

Darwin, as we have said and as all the world admits, was no philosopher. He was not even a logician, that is to say a close and relentless reasoner. If he had been, he would have followed his own lead. "If not blind chance, what then ?" Pursuing one "And then ?" to another "And then ?" he would have come to "What we call God." Darwin with what he thought Intellectual humility, said "Into these questions we cannot enter." But reasons like *das ewige weibtich zeibt uns hinan*, or like the gadfly it bids us, "nor sit nor stand but go." When reason urges us on it is not humble to refuse to follow. And if we follow reason we end with God. We need no theologian from the Middle Ages to return and tell us that. Socrates was no Scholastic, nor Aristotle, nor Seneca, nor Marcus Aurelius.

Twenty years after

Twenty years ago, the whole world witnessed the outbreak of a tragic catastrophe, the wounds of which we have hardly been able to heal yet, when another world war threatens us, in the near future. We all know to what extent civilization lost by that portentous lapse into barbarism, which proved the inherent rottenness of European politics. Mr. Joseph Keating in *The Month* sounds a note of warning and describes the horrors of the last war, so that a further outbreak may be averted once again :

The world drifted from crisis to crisis, each calling for an increase of armaments, and set its security on the "precarious equipoise" of rival alliances, until, in 1914, the political murder of an Austrian Arch-Duke in Serbia caused the mobilization of Russia, Germany's violation of Belgan neutrality to attack France, and Great Britain's declaration of war on behalf of Belgium. That so relatively slight a cause should have started such a cataclysm proves the inherent rottenness of the European political system which based security on individual strength and partial alliances, instead of on the automatic combination of all against any unjust aggressor.

A vivid picture of the War that ensued may be quoted from "The World's Crisis," by Mr. winston

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Churchill, a man who presents in singular combination a keen capacity for diagnosing international disease with total inability to perceive the remedy. He Writes: "All the horrors of all the ages were brought together, and not only armies, but whole populations were thrust into the midst of them....Every outrage against humanity or international law was repaid by reprisals, often on a greater scale and of longer duration. No truce or parley mitigated the strife of the armies. The wounded died between the lines: the dead mouldered into the soil. Merchant ships and neutral ships and hospital ships were sunk on the seas, and all on board left to their fate or killed as they swam. Every effort was made to starve whole populations into submission without regard to age or sex. Cities and monuments were smashed by artillery; bombs from the air were cast down indiscriminately; poison gas in many forms stifled or seared the soldiers; liquid fire was projected into their bodies; men fell from the air in flames or were smothered, often slowly, in the dark recesses of the sea."

The folly and unreliability of the old system having been thus dramatically exposed, and peace of a sort re-established at the cost of 10,000,000 lives and $30,000,000,000, it might be thought that the united wisdom of mankind would now determine to abolish the causes which lead to war, and to establish as firmly as possible the foundations of international peace.

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The Chinese Soviet Republic

The following review-observations have been made by the *Young Ceylon* regarding the fundamental laws of the Chinese Soviet Republic:

The Chinese Soviet Republics constitute a new force in Asia. It is a great attempt to guarantee the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry in an Asiatic country. It is a daring experiment for Soviet China which is one sixth of China. The area of France is equal to only 88.6 per cent of the territory of Soviet China. The area of Germany is equal to 65.9 per cent, of Japan (without colonies), 4 per cent. of great Britain (without colonies), 23 per cent of this extensive Soviet-territory. The Central District of the Chinese Soviet Republic alone is twice the size of Holland and Belgium taken together. The young Chinese Republic of Soviets must be regarded as quite a sizeable, state not only in the light of these comparisons with European countries, but also when compared with whole continents.

The constitution of the Chinese Soviet is a bold document, utterly democratic, radically socialistic and designed to eliminate exploiting elements in the State. It recognizes emancipation of women and freedom of marriage and divorce, right to education and religious freedom, offers asylum to Chinese and foreign revolutionaries and guarantees equal enjoyment of political rights to all foreign toilers.

Its system of agrarian Legislation, its Red Army and its Labour code are all adapted to serve the interests of the worker and to prevent his exploitation. The economic policy of the government is so based to develop an anti-Imperialism. It nationalizes all the key positions at present in the hands of the Imperialists concessions, customs, banks, railways, shipping, mines, factories and workshops). It is impossible even to summarize the actual details of this new experiment—and *mirable dictu* everything—economic labour and social policy—is set out in the minutest detail.

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The Saar Plebiscite

The Saar Basin had been the cause of many controversies and is still considered to be a storm centre by no less a man than Mussolini. Whether her reunion with Germany be a success or not, Hitler has opened his final campaign, on which *The Commonweal* observes:

On August 26, Chancellor Hitler formally opened the final campaign to induce residents of the Saar Basin to vote for return to Germany when the plebiscite is conducted on January 13, 1935. A gigantic assembly welcomed to Ehrenbreitenstein, across the Rhine from Coblenz, 150,000 members of the "Deutsche Front" imported from Saarbruecken and its environs for the occasion. This organization is that into which previously existing bourgeois parties in the Basin were merged during 1933. During all the years since 1919, when the Versailles Treaty "loaned" the region to France by way of compensation for the damage done to coal fields in Flanders, there was never any doubt that 99 per cent of the 800,000 inhabitants wished to live under German rule. Virtually every German government sought to induce the French to make an earlier settlement of the controversy than the one (a plebiscite in 1935) specified by the Treaty; and it is doubtless regrettable that this arrangement was not made. But now powerful opposition to reunion has manifested itself. A Left-wing alignment was able to secure from the League of Nations' promises that a vote for autonomy, subject later to revision in favour of Germany, would be possible, and that special police forces would be recruited to supervise the region during coming months. Catholic autonomists have also been very active; and in view of the circumstance that the bulk of the population is loyal to the Church the Holy See has appointed a special envoy to the Saar Basin. No doubt economic considerations will play their part in determining the outcome, since any drastic move toward *autarkie* in the Reich would emperil the market for coal. It is predicted that the vote will be very close, and considerable thought is being given by agencies close to the League to possible safeguards for minorities in case Hitler should win out. One protective measure is, of course, automatically operative—no German troops are permitted west of the Rhine. Defeat would seriously impair the prestige of the Hitler government.

—

Battle Grounds of Freedom

What Mr. William F. Anderson says of American universities can be equally applicable to ours. It is regarding the pernicious system of control of educational institutions (which are to be the "battle grounds of freedom") by the State. He says in *The Christian Century*:

The chief peril to freedom in education in our own country today lies in the relation of state legislatures to state universities. The threat to reduce appropriations, in case legislative committees find themselves in disagreement with university authorities, is an

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ominous club in times like these. And the cringing manner in which university authorities often seem to feel it necessary to curry favour with political authorities pollutes the very sources of education. Sinister political ambitions and influences are frequently to be seen behind the personnel of boards of regents and trustees. At its best, education under such auspices becomes hackneyed, impersonal and morally neutral. At its worst it becomes a positive debaucher of the stamina of the future citizens who come under its influence.

Two results of this involvement of education with the political machine are to be seen in many state institutions. First, there is a lamentable failure to preserve academic freedom and tenure. Professors become hopelessly timid; consciously or unconsciously the education which they give to the watchful youngsters in their classrooms teaches that success depends on pussyfooting. And in the second place, this political phase of state university administration opens the doors wide to militaristic propaganda. The college becomes an adjunct of the war department, and its faculty and regents dare not so much as seek freedom from military dictation lest they rouse the wrath of the American Legion and kindred bodies.

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The Indian Press

Sir James Crerar in a crowded meeting of the East India Association shows "The Logic of the Reform Proposals" in their different branches, of which we take only one from *The Asiatic Review* and present it before our readers:

It was obvious from the first that the Press would be at once the most capacious and the most formidable channel through which the heady new wine would flow.

Metcalfe abolished all Press restrictions on the ground that whatever the consequences might be, this was necessary for the spread in India of Western knowledge and civilization. The dilemma was and is one of extreme difficulty and gravity, but the record of our Indian Press legislation, with all its vacillation and incoherence, is not one which we can recall with much complacence. My own view has always been that, while we must tolerate for greater ends a great deal that is mischievous, there are definite and measurable limits to such toleration, and that a degree of control will for long continue to be necessary in India which in England, under different conditions, can safely be dispensed with.

The Press as a political organ, if we cannot assert for it so exclusive a paternity as for other indubitably native products of our soil, is an integral and characteristic part of our system. It is the Fourth Estate of our Realm, and the Freedom of the Press has been an ever more jealously guarded public prerogative since the days of "Areopagitica." We planted it in India and are ourselves largely responsible for the fruits which it has borne in that exotic soil. It would be a profound error to judge these solely by the too abundant yield of extravagance and malevolence. We may deplore that it has often grossly misrepresented our acts and our intentions, misreprentations of which some have not stopped short of incitements to crime and rebellion. We cannot complain that it has enthusiastically propagated, even though often enough with an incomplete comprehension of them, our own ideas. We cannot deny that in its better part and its calmer and wiser moods both we and India owe much to it. If we can by wise handling of the problems now before us remove or mitigate some of the present causes of distrust and hostility, I see no reason for doubt that it will be capable of playing a salutary and beneficent part under happier and more natural conditions.

—

Mongol Destiny of Manchoukuo

Mr. Owen Lattimore, editor of *Pacific Affairs* has given us a first-hand report of the situations in the Far East, extracts of which are quoted below from *Asia*:

Japan, in creating Manchoukuo, has founded a continental empire in Asia which is none the less an empire for being free of the title of Japanese sovereignty. The symbol of this empire is the Great Wall of China; for it is along the Great Wall that its destiny must be worked out. China and Russia are the natural empires of Asia; a mainland empire based on the islands of Japan can only be artificial. When the powers of the Western World succeeded at the Washington Conference of 1921 in making Japan consent to a radical cutting down of Japanese expansion in China and Manchuria, it seemed as if the future lay between China and Russia. It seemed as if these two nations must approach each other, absorbing or dividing between them the great domains of Manchuria, Mongolia and Chinese Turkistan until, along a continuous land frontier of more than three thousand miles, the greatest Asiatic nation and the greatest western nation would stand face to face and a momentous new chapter of history would be opened.

The action of Japan in 1931 shattered this mirror of history, and we do not know, when the fragments are pieced together again, what images will be reflected in them. From 1895, after defeating China, Japan had been working for a place on the mainland of Asia, but had been kept in check by the other nations of the world, which leagued together in various combinations to prevent final success. In 1931 Japan at last broke through the half-concealed, half-acknowledged cordon of restraint and made good the ambition of nearly forty years.

Since, however, the "man-made" position of Japan in Manchoukuo inevitably conflicts with the "natural" positions of China and Russia, Japan cannot halt at the present frontiers of Manchuria and declare a limit to the historical changes implicit in the creation of Manchoukuo. It is impossible to make the Great Wall the vital frontier between China and Manchoukuo only: if the Great Wall is to become once more a significant frontier, the change must apply to the whole length of the frontier. It cannot be limited simply to the eastern end.

—

The Business of Crime

Mr. Lyman V. Rutledge, after referring to the trials, recently held in Dedham, Mass, of Murton and Millen and Faber, who were convicted of murder and given death penalty, observes in *The Christian Register*:

John Dillinger held the United States at bay for months, and crime is on the increase. It is estimated that the cost of it is not less than fifteen billion dollars a year. We suffer from the extravagances of

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moral imbecility, and will never gain economic freedom until the bloody dictatorship of the underworld has been overthrown.

Much has been said about the motion picture and the public press as influences for good or evil. We had the privilege of interviewing a noted criminal recently on this point. He had stolen more than a million dollars during his amazing career. His brief comment was: "The movies are our most prolific crime breeders. The silver screen not only glorifies the criminal but teaches crime, showing how it is done, and making escape seem easy. As for yellow journalism, it is less guilty only because the printed page is less powerful than the motion picture."

Here then are two of the most powerful factors in civilization engaged in the business of promoting crime! From their point of view they are merely giving the public what it wants. The public is willing to pay for crime news. The public, too, is guilty, and the public is now paying the cost of its moral imbecility at the rate of fifteen billions a year, not to mention the economic chaos which rises like a cloud of dust in the wake of this wild stampede.

Still there are those who wonder if there is anything for the churches to do, or if there is any reason to promote religious education!

—

"Sad Englishmen in India"

Reviewing the book "Indian Patchwork" by Edward and Mary Charles, Mr. Frank C. Bancroft writes in *The Christian Century*:

For me the book solidified an impression which three years in India had only adumbrated: that the foreign rulers in that land are pretty miserable. It is nothing less than lyrical in its singing of this doleful song.

The authors, a young English academician and his wife, arrive in Central India to take charge of a college. "Indian Patchwork" is a double diary of the events and impressions which ensued. And the first recorded entry ends thus: "We've been here a hundred and fifty years; and what has it all been worth? We've never even established the legality of our tenure to the Hindu mind. Kindness has bred lies, and cruelty has bred silence. Why can't we get out? Is there no morality greater than expediency? Poor India..Poor, poor India. And we? We have meant so well."

The reader should remember that an educator is speaking, an educator who presumbly comes closer to the subject people than an army officer or a civil administrator. Hence the amazing quality of repeated passages like: "It is dirty work touching an Indian college. A 'wog' with a university degree is necessarily spiritually perverted. To a 'wog,' a knowledge of English, a knowladge of the drama, a familiarity with the abstractions of Mathematics, are all means to the end, which is deception."

One by one, frantically, Mrs. Charles tries to marshal assets to offset the terrific original liability of living in India; and one by one these assets themselves turn into wearisome liabilities. "But where are the compensations?" she wails. "Finding none, she is forced to the conclusion: "Almost everything we have imported into this country is makeshift, because we feel that it will be good enough for today, for tomorrow we shall retire."

Perhaps this is the first work by an Anglo-Indian frankly to admit, again and again, that the British tenure of India is approaching sunset. "India is heading—or ought I say drifting?—toward self-government. God knows what chaos and bloodshed will precede and follow the day when we shall drop the reins of government, but that day will come and fairly soon, I am convinced."

And the last lines are: "Meanwhiie our little ship pushes on, bearing us away further and further from that grim tragic, tawdry and pathetic country, India."

—

Russia Enters the League

Mr. H. N. Brailsford's concluding remarks regarding Soviet's Entry into the League are quoted below from *The New Republic*:

The issue that turns on Russia's entry into the League is then, one of "real politics" in the strict Bismarckian sense of that term. Russia enters in the hope that the League, which means for practical purposes the French group, will localize in the Far East the war that she expects Japan to levy against her. That limited reckoning, and not any conversion to Wilsonian liberalism, draws her to Geneva. Her calculation is probably sound, but only if the French are prepared to sink more capital in doubtfully remunerative Polish enterprises. The roots of war, as Lenin told Mr. Wilson, are economic.

—

Negroes in the South

The same paper remarks on the treatment which the Negroes in the South receive from their white neighbours:

In the Deep South, as everyone knows, Negroes are rarely allowed to vote, and certainly not in the Democratic primaries, which are usually the real elections. Plain extra-legal coercion is the device used: any Negro rash enough to consider appearing at a polling place knows he would be sure to get into serious trouble, and almost always he refrains. In the border states, however, the solution is not quite so simple. When the Texas state legislature passed a law whose effect was to bar Negroes from party primaries, the United States Supreme Court rebuked the legislators. The Democratic Party in Texas has now declared that it is a private club, in which Negroes are ineligible for membership. This view has been sustained in the local courts, although attorneys argued that the Democratic primary is in fact the election, and that the action of the party constituted disfranchisement. Now the matter will again have to go to the United States Supreme Court. In view of past precedents, it is reasonable to hope for a decision favourable to the Negroes; but in view of past history, it still seems likely that very few, if any, members of that race will be permitted in the visible future to vote in Texas no matter what the Court says.

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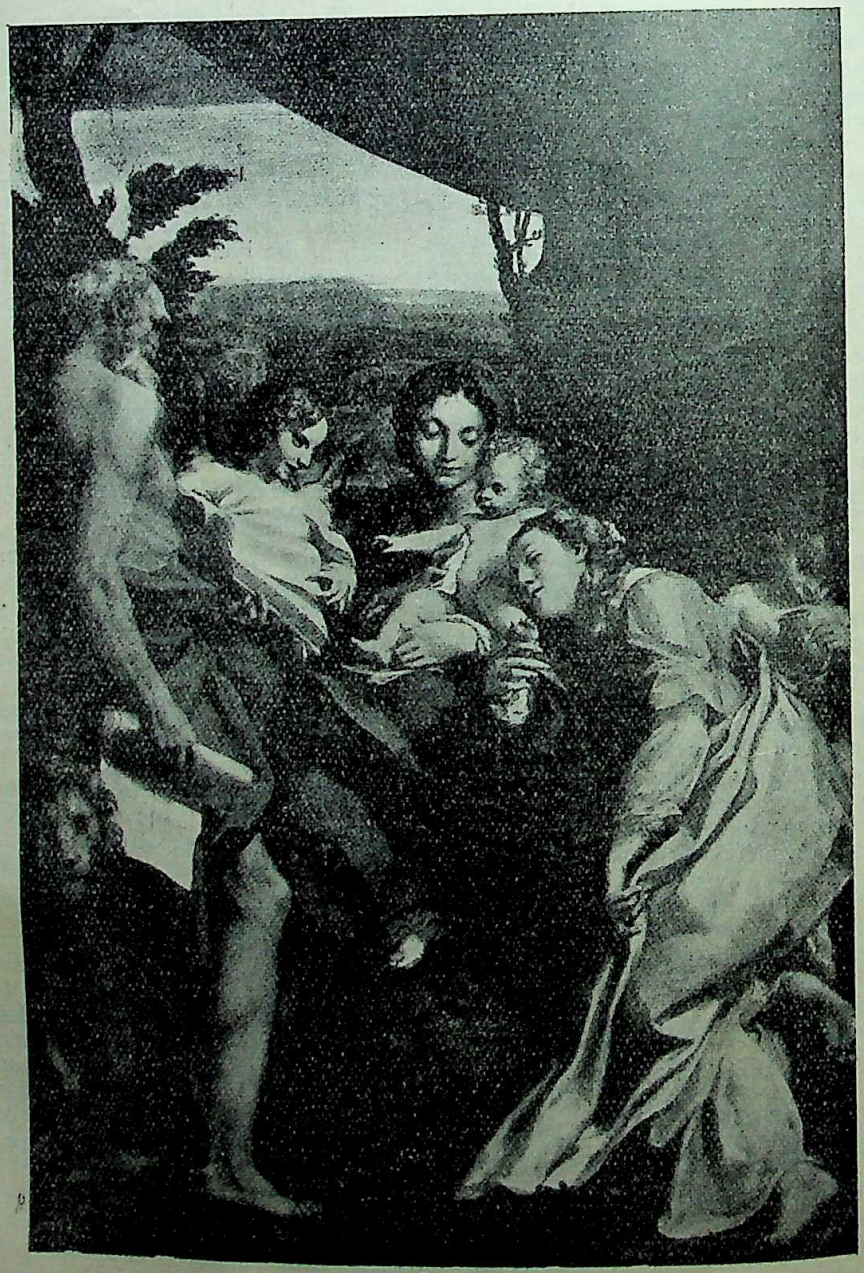
GLEANINGS

The Correggio Centenary and the Exhibition of his works at Parma

The fourth centenary of Correggio's death—his name was Antonio Allegri and Correggio was his native town—will be celebrated at Parma, the fine town in Emilia where the great painter spent most of his short life and left his best masterpieces. An exhibition of his works is being organized for next November which will undoubtedly be appreciated by all lovers of art in Italy and abroad since it will afford them the opportunity of admiring practically all his works.

Correggio is closely associated with the town of Parma, the scene of his labours, which has always been visited by artists from all over the world interested in the work of this master painter who possessed the gifts of realization to such an extent that he is considered an originator and an innovator even when compared with Leonardo and Titian. It was, therefore,



Parma—The so-called Madonna of St. Jerome by Correggio

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ost appropriate that this town should be chosen for e celebration of his fourth centenary.

Correggio's paintings scattered in various Italian and reign galleries sufficiently attest his celebrity, which, though not achieved during his brief lifetime, is now niversal. None of his paintings are equal in magnificence and beauty to the famous frescoes covering the mes of the "Cathedral," "San Giovanni Evangelista" nd the "Camera di San Paolo" at Parma. These rescoes are remarkable for the overpowering impression movement given to figures, the variety of their ttitudes and their bold foreshortening, while Correggio's technique reaches in them the highest and most odern development that characterizes Italian Painting nd his chiaroscuro, which is proverbially famous, his ffects of light and reflections and his perfect colouring scinate the beholder. Correggio's influence is still t today and evidence of this fact is afforded by the en interest and appreciation with which his works d style are still studied at present.

The monumental paintings of Correggio at Parma clude some of his masterpieces and suffice to attest s great powers.

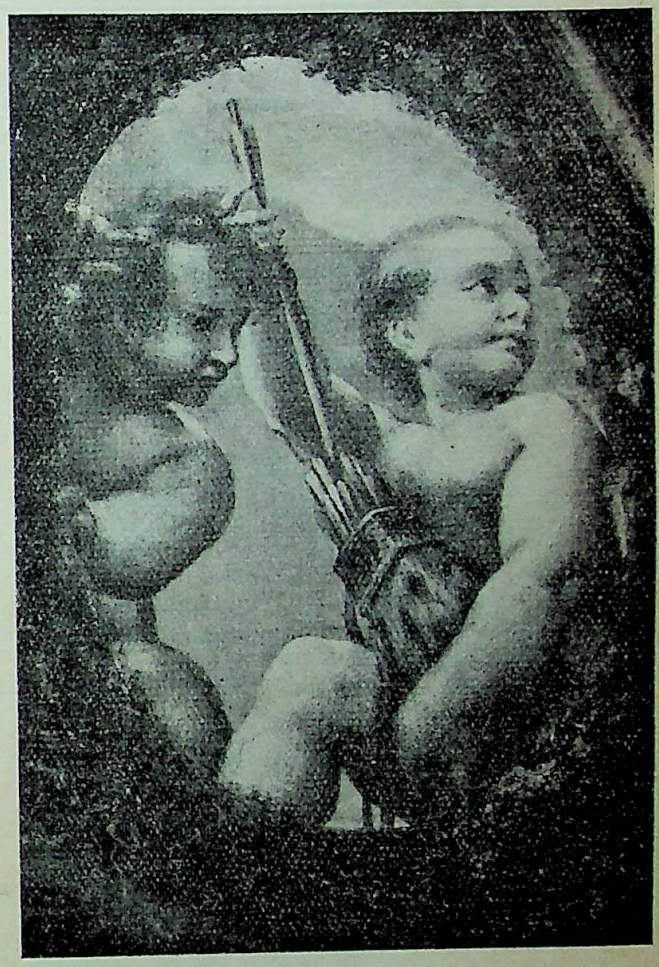
In the "Basilica of San Giovanni," besides the dmirably inspired Evangelist in a lunette over the acristy door, he frescoed the dome between the years 520 and 1524 and his wonderful composition can now e seen to the best possible advantage thanks to a pecial installation of light recently set up by the Municipality of Parma, which reveals all its beauties retofore in part hidden.

Correggio was the first painter who introduced bold nd admirably foreshortened figures in his imaginary upernatural compositions which have a most convincing ealistic character. Near the Basilica there is the dmirable and not less famous dome of the Cathedral kewise characterized by foreshortened figures and onderful chiaroscurose as well as by an abundant epth of feeling and charming gracefulness. Correggio, ho in his earlier works had portrayed the charm of fancy and later that of childhood which he immortalzed in his famous representations of "putti," here xcells in the painting of gay youth in the period of dolescence, and his figures float in a transparent tmosphere of gold seen at dawn, a short of golden-oseate mist, decidedly more superior in effect than the onochrome greys of Leonardo, the purple dusks of iorgione and the flaming reds of Titian.

One is overpowered with the vision of Correggio's rliest frescoes in the room of the Nunnery of San aolo which are of extreme beauty.

Four easel pictures complete the list of Correggio's asterpieces at Parma, namely, the "Madonna della codella" (bowl), a divine painting with marvellous gures to use the words of Vasari, the "Madonna di an Girolamo", perhaps the finest of his works, raculous in execution and colouring, the "Descent from the Cross" an indescribable expression of grief and the "Martyrdom of St. Placidus." in which tonalities are charmingly blended.

These [his masterpieces] will surely include the "Decent from the Cross" and the "Madonna and Child with Sts. Francis and Quirinus"' two of his early works with traces of Mantegna's influence, from Mantua and Modena



Parma—Particulars of a fresco by Correggio (Convent of San Paolo)

respectively the famous "Madonna" from the Uffizi Gallery whose figures recall those of Leonardo ; the "Holy Family" and the "Marriage of St. Catherine" from Naples ; the "Adoration of the Magi" and the "Nativity" from the Brera Gallery ; the "Danae" from the Borghese Gallery and many others,

Travel in Italy

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INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Miss Jethi Kripalani, was the first lady to be elected to the Karachi Corporation at the recent elections. She topped the polls in her ward. She is an active Congress worker and was jailed during the last Civil Disobedience movement.

Miss Jethi Kripalani

Srimati Sarala Devi of Utkal is the first lady to be appointed as a director of the Cuttack Central Co-operative Bank. Orissa owes much to her activity, both in the political sphere and social reform activities. She has given a strong impetus to the progress of the women's movement in that province. She has broken through the long-standing purdah system prevalent in her community. She is a member of the All-India Congress Committee. She presided over the Tamil Nadu Women's Conference held at Erode in the Madras presidency. She is a self-made lady, having fought her way in all her struggles with orthodox society and adverse circumstances. She rendered yeoman service during the Orissa floods.

Srimati Sarala Devi

Mrs. Kapila Bhagubai Desai has been nominated member of the Broach District Board. She is the first woman member of a district Local Board in the Northern Division,

Mrs. Kapila Bhagubai Desai

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...bay Presidency. She is the Vice-Chairman ...the District School Board, Broach.

Miss SUBHADRABAI GOSALIA, youngest daughter ...Dewan Bahadur H. N. Gosalia, Dewan and ...sident of the State Council, Barwani, is the ...Kathiawar lady to graduate in medicine and ...gery in the M. B., B. S., examination of the ...mbay University held recently.

Miss Subhadrabai Gosalia

BEGUM FURRUKH SULTAN MUAYYIDZADA, ...A., B. L., has been declared successful at the ...t Chamber Examination for the admission of ...ocates of the Calcutta High Court. She is the ...st lady in Bengal to have qualified as an ...ocate. Begum Muayyidzada comes of a gifted ...sian family, being the daughter of the late Aga Muayyidul Islam, "the father of Persian nationalism" and the editor of the Hablul Matin. Begum Muayyidzada has had a brilliant academic career and takes a keen and active interest in all movements for the social and educational uplift of women.

MISS SHUBH VATI SHARMA, B.A., daughter of Doctor Asa Ram Sharma, Late P, M. S. of

Miss Shubh Vati Sharma

Pattoki (Lahore), is the first lady to pass the B. T. examination of the Punjab University this year from the Sarswat Brahmin community. She has been appointed Head Mistress of the Arya Girl's School, Simla.

THE THIEF

BY ELIZABETH ROGERS

GANPAT stood at the door of his hut, gazing contentedly at his little field of ripe wheat and further off his larger field of *channa*, a pulse from ...ich forest tribes of Central India make ...arse flat cakes to vary their ceasless diet of ...stery rice. He was contented, because that ...ld of wheat had borne so well this year that, ...t only would it pay his land and cattle tax, ...ost due, but might even give him a few ...pees for a blanket to wrap himself in when ...e chilly night fell.

The sky, streaked with white bars of cloud, ...re promise of unsettled weather, but Ganpat knew that tomorrow's sun-shine would soon dry the crops even if a heavy shower should fall.

But as he watched his face grew troubled. Far off, spanning the valley from one range of hills to the other, he saw a barrier of cloud, a dark wall advancing towards him like an army on swift horses.

A minute later and the air shivered, then grew chill, and with a mighty roar the wind swept past. On came the monster; tearing, roaring, groaning, hurling all before it in its wrath.

Ganpat, from inside his thatched hut, groaned with the wind. One mighty shuddering blast and he and his young wife found

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themselves looking upward at the angry heavens where his poor roof now sailed in a million straws. Against their mud wall in the lee of the wind cowered Ganpat, his wife and her old mother, bent and knotted with poverty and premature old age.

Worse followed. A crackling noise, as of a firing squad practising at the butts, came on the heels of the wind. Great hailstones, large as peanuts, struck their shelter and brought the temperature down another twenty degrees. The wretched trio huddled together for warmth and support, each with the same picture which filled the cup of their desolution.

Ten minutes, and the hurricane had passed leaving a smiling blue sky in which innocent filmy clouds floated, and the benevolent sun smiled gently as a father at the impotent raging of his infant son.

But Ganpat did not smile. Once more he stood at the door of his hut, now a wreck, and gazed at his fields. There lay the yellow wheat, a tumbled mass of straw. There stood the *channa* field, but the gathered heaps of cut *channa* were scattered to the four winds. Home wrecked, food destroyed, no means of paying his taxes! No wonder if Ganpat and his women-folk sat that night rocking dumbly over the fire of dung-cake that did its best to cheer the desolate home . . . .

The spirits of the jungle crept softy from their hiding places in the black shadowy forest. Through the valley trailed the last of the village herd, the sweet jangling of cattle bells dying away with the last rays of light as the animals reached their byres and were safely barricaded against the attack of leopard or panther. The air held all the incense of evening; from starry jasmine that made a garden of every empty water-course; from smoking village fires fresh kindled with fragrant wood; from the dust kicked up by passing cattle till the golden air grew thick with dancing atoms. At this hour "*Go-dhuli*, the hour of cow-dust," as country folk call it, all the jungle that the sun looks upon settles itself with a quiet sigh for sleep. But the jungle known only to the moon and stars stretches itself, and strange low voices sound from every side, while twin lamps of fire and emerald glow as the darkness deepens.

Far behind the cattle, away on the age of the jungle, two mis-shapen figures appeared, hurrying towards the village. As they emerged from the darkness of the trees, they could be recognized as human, yet with a weight of more than human size balanced precariously on their heads. It was Ganpat and his wife, making their way with all possible stealth and haste after a day's poaching in the forest. Time was when their old folk could go without fear into the jungle their bountiful Deity had provided for them, when they had need of wood for building or fuel. That was a golden age far away. Now other gods reigned. Ganpat made no pretence of ignorance of the forest laws. He knew that the trees and supple bamboo of the jungle were no longer his for the cutting. But what could a man do when his house so urgently needed repair: posts to strengthen the walls, bamboo and grass for thatching, and he without wheat enough to sell for the payment of his taxes? With luck they would get home and no one be the wiser or the poorer.

But as the sparks fly upward, so were Ganpat's troubles. At the entrance to the village they met the one man most feared by all Gond villagers—the forest guard, resplendent in his scarlet-bound turban. In all that wild country it was not easy to catch a thief red-handed and the guards must give an account of their stewardship as protectors of the Empire's timber.

Ganpat and the woman stood with the silence of those who have no heart to resist longer, while the guard, finding no permit nor receipt for their burden, counted the bamboo poles and assessed the value of the wood they had spent all day cutting. At the end, with their aching shoulders drooping, they continued their way between the uneven street of huts, crept into their roofless shelter and began to prepare their dish of rice over a fire that smouldered cheerlessly.

Ganpat languishes in no debtor's prison. His bullock went for rent; his cow paid the tax on her own well-worn hide. He is now a hired hand working on another man's fields to earn the daily dish of rice for himself and his household. Having nothing left but his worthless body—of which there is always a surplus in time of peace—he has escaped the fine which justice should demand of those who poach from the jungles of the Empire.

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DEMOCRACY, FASCISM AND COMMUNISM —A COMPARISON OF VALUES

By Thakur HAR NARAYAN SINHA, M.A.,
Professor, Morris College, Nagpur

THE twentieth century, so far, has been an age of feverish unrest. Life seems to have been flung into a vortex of forces, which, let loose long before, ove difficult of control. There is a want of dm, that engenders a vitriolic temper ready explode at the slightest provocation. Once did, when, on the 28th June, 1914 a neteen-year-old student in Serajevo shot the strian heir-apparent, and the next moment rope was ablaze. Thus began an episode hich has not yet closed. For years Europe s been trying to prevent future war and t the embers of the last war have hardly d out. Even now Germany cherishes t war-dream in which "under the flags in Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, Bismarck's ich was born."* Her memory still fondly vers over those battle-fields of Leipzig and aterloo, of Königgrätz and Sedan, in which en of German blood found each other ain" and "before the guns of Paris and the palace of Louis XIV, the age-old eam of a German empire was fulfilled."† is not difficult to note the temper hind this talk of General Goering; but is is only a note in that dreadful mut the volume of which has been elling every moment. Other notes arise om other quarters, and all of them breathe spirit of unrest, defiance or protest against e present order of things. That is reflected r after day in the poetry, fiction and ilosophy of the age.

And yet the forces that have created this temper, are not carefully analysed and tionally controlled. It is hardly realized t the institutions that had their blossoming d fruition in the last century have oved inadequate to the needs of this century. What religion, for example, could offer a century ago is a mockery today. And Science has not been able to unmask the lights of heaven, by which religion afforded comfort to the multitude. Industrial power, either, has not brought relief; for, "despite its enormous profits it is clear that divorced from principle, the merely physical power to shape nature to our purposes is meaningless, unless power is informed by a consciousness of ends."* Science and industrial power, thus bankrupt, have joined hands with the State, of which the ideal form was democracy. Parliamentary democracy, from its nursery of England, once appeared to the world as the "way of life in which national salvation could be discovered." It "contained the secret of combining liberty with order." † It became associated in men's minds with the outstanding material progress, because "its period of consolidation was one of continuous and remarkable economic expansion." ‡ But with the dawn of this century that optimism disappeared, and the world received its rudest shock, when the democracies of the West drifted into the most terrible war ever waged in history. In a way that was inevitable; for, people still remained bewitched by the prospects of nationalism and democracy, and failed to take note of the new forces, which had in the meanwhile emerged and were operating to knit the world into a new type of economic and political unity. There had been glimmering on the horizon the faint, but nevertheless sure, outlines of a new order of things. The international incidence of economic functions—currency, tariffs, migration, foreign investment, the conditions of labour, had postulated an international

* & † *Germany Reborn* by General Goering, p. 13 lished, March 1934.

* *Democracy in Crisis* by Laski, p. 19 (Pub. 1932).
† *Ibid.* p. 31.
‡ *Ibid.* p. 33.

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consciousness, which was driving men to think in terms of international well-being. But petty men, the autocrats and diplomats all over Europe, refused to look beyond their national frontiers. And the result was a war—a war of disillusionment. It was not merely a conflict between nations, but between ideas, the repurcussions of which have been still reverberating in all the corners of the globe. Read in this light, the perspective of events changes, and Fascism and Communism acquire a new significance in relevance to the needs of this age.

Now whatever be the rationale of Fascism and Communism, in their institutional form they are, like Democracy, a political hinterland won for science and industrial power. Their validity depends upon the degree of success that they can attain in synthesizing the forces of the age. Industrial power, nationalism and internationalism, these are the forces of the age, which by their dynamic energy are transforming the outlook of the world. It is, indeed, their interaction, which has created currents and cross-currents of thought, fear, strife, and doubt which explain the peculiar temper of the age. It may be, therefore, worth our while to examine the competence of Democracy, Fascism and Communism to promise a release from this uncomfortable frame of mind.

But the competence of Democracy, Fascism and Communism is severely conditioned by their heritage. It is the legacy of the past century; and its foundations lie as far back as the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution. Democracy born of the first has transformed the character of "mere numbers" into self-asserting and self-conscious masses. Industrial Revolution has given birth to industrialism and capitalism. The combined genius of James Watt and Jean Jacques Rousseau has created such a stupendous force that the world has been conquered and even dazed. The story of this conquest is as grim in its details as it is distressing in its conclusion. It began with Sedan when Prussia cemented the German unity and embarked upon a scheme of industrialization under the guidance of Bismarck. Treading the same path as Great Britain she soon overtook her in all the markets of the world. Other nations followed suit and there arose the need for new markets for their expanding industries. This pointed the way for the land-grabbing operations of European nations.

> "Between 1870 and 1900 Great Britain acquired 4,754,000 square miles of territory adding to her population 88,000,000 people; between 1884 and 1900 France acquired 3,583,583 square miles and 36,553,000 people; and in these same years Germany, a bad last, gained 1,026,220 square miles and 16,687,100 people... Belgium absorbed the vast Congo territory seventy-seven times her size... Small wars abounded, wars of aggression in its most violent form, because the object of each war was conquest and, generally speaking, the total suppression of any form of national or local government in these areas absorbed".*

It was in this wise that democracy, and industrial power born of science, fell into the temptation of world-domination, and degenerated in their moral and spiritual content.

How far with this heritage can Democracy hold out promises of peace and good-will to the mankind?—that is the question. It is not enough to say that Democracy, which has certainly a pedigree at once honourable and great, has been discredited, and that Fascism, whether it be of Mussolini or of Hitler, with its technique of a corporative state, or Communism, with its "proletarian slogan" of "turning the present imperialist war into civil war" and "to unite the workers . . . . . of their respective countries . . . with the workers of all countries"† is the only way out of it. That is indicting democracy and exalting Fascism and Communism without a comparison of their values.

It is true that Jeffersonian democracy in America has reached a point of corruption that shames the very name of democracy.‡ In England the collapse of the two-party system and the emergence of a third party *viz.*, the Labour, the complexities of modern politics that "make the electoral task far harder than at any previous time, because the discovery of truth is so much harder,"§ the rise of a "new despotism",** the disparity

* "*War and Western Civilization*" by Major-General J. F. C. Fuller. (Pub. 1932).

† "*War and Social Democracy*" by Lenin.

‡ "*The Roosevelt Experiment*" by Sir N. Angell in the *Contemporaoy Review* of February 1934.

§ "*Democracy in Crisis*" by Laski, p. 70.

** "*The New Despotism*" by Lord Hewart—an illuminating survey of the encroachments of the Executive on Parliaments' rights.

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between universal suffrage and economic serfdom, an electorate with a type of mind, which could be taken in by the Zinoviev letter of 1924—all these are clear signs of a degenerating democracy. Indeed, a parliamentary democracy with its paraphernalia of colonies and dependencies often falls short of its ideal and resigns itself into the hands of an effective executive. It is this inadequacy that supplies the rationale to Sir Oswald Mosely and his followers. To Prof. Laski "crisis of capitalistic democracy is essentially a crisis of authority and discipline. The power to secure obedience to its principles has decreased because men increasingly refuse to accept its ends as obviously just. . . .Disrespect for authority is not due to some sudden burst of enthusiasm for anarchy, it is rooted in a disbelief in the principles for which authority has been organized in a capitalistic society." * In other words, so long as we have a Democracy based upon universal suffrage but not upon universal ownership of the means of production, there would be injustice inherent in such a system. This goes to liquidate its moral worth inasmuch as it foments class-conflict at home and militates against international well-being abroad.†

Now to meet the inadequacy of Democracy, so it is said, comes forward Fascism with its offer of the corporative state to secure class co-operation and national solidarity. It professes to quash class-conflict by superposing a system of state discipline and by assigning to each class and group its significant functions within the structure of the corporative state."‡ It seeks national solidarity and greatness by a "synthesis of all the material and non-material values of the race."§ Hence it claims to cure democracy of its diseases. But while curing democracy, it practically kills it; the remedy proves more disastrous than the disease. The Italian elections held on the 25th March, 1924, like others before, point to the same direction. For, the Fascist doctrine that society does not exist for the individual but the individual for the society resolves into a scheme of life in which the individual finds his fulfilment only by being swallowed up by the corporative state. When Parliament is considered as "the pestiferous bubo which poisons the blood of nations" and hence fifty thousand rifles are preferred to five million votes by the Founder of Fascism* it is not difficult to detect the nature of the remedy. Further, the corporative state cannot do without joining hands with capitalism. "Capitalism" says Mussolini "is scarcely at the beginning of its story. Immense tracts of Asia, Africa, even of America and Australia are still undeveloped. Capitalism, spreading from Europe, will cover the whole world. The shoulders of the Proletariat are not yet strong enough to bear the terrific burden of civilizing such areas."† This smacks of the German "Weltpolitik" of pre-War days. At any rate this attitude leaves no room for Internationalism. In a comparison of values, therefore, Fascism suffers more than Democracy.

But where Democracy and Fascism suffer, Communism claims, lies its strength. It seeks to eliminate their capitalism, which fosters class-war and anti-Internationalism. Its conception of Society is based upon the collective consciousness of the working class. It repudiates the capitalistic conception of individual liberty and rights of property. To the Communist "more real than the individual is the class—the body of persons who fulfil in the process of production at a given stage of social development a common economic function and occupy by virtue of that function a common economic status."‡ The working class thus becomes the foundation of the new order of things. For individual rights, rights of the class is substituted; and hence what is wanted is "a political instrument collectively expressing the will of the working class; and the question of individual voting seems . .quite secondary to this primary desideratum."§ Such a state stresses the complete merging of the individual in the working class; for, to

* "*Democracy in Orisis*" by Laski, p. 147.
† "*Economic Foundations of Peace* by Laski, in the "Intelligent Man's way to Prevent War."
‡ *Intelligent Man's Guide to Europe Today* by Dole, p. 629.
§ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, (13th Edition) Vol volume, p. 17.

* Mussolini's own words from *Life of Benito Mussolini* by M. G. Sarfatti, p. 327, (English translation, pub. April 1934.)
† "*Life of Benito Mussolini*," pp. 263-64.
‡ & § "*Intelligent Man's Guide to Europe To-day*" p. 659.

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the working class accrues all rights and privileges. It appeals to the class-consciousness of a type which is considered as the finest specimen of social consciousness. This consciousness is fed by a chauvinism that idolizes 'civil war' or class war between the Proletariat and the Bourgeoisie. This war is an antidote, as Lenin said, to the imperialist war which is only another name for capitalist war. On the whole with its ideal of proletarian unity throughout the world, and its technique of class war and the collective expression of the will of the working class it holds out new hopes to mankind, which are as rosy as they are elusive. One distinctive feature of communism is that it makes a powerful appeal to the oppressed and the poor, throughout the world, and thus bids fair to seek an international affiliation, in which consists its chief strength.* But even there it is vitiated by a spirit of antagonism. Its appeal for internatiodal unity is to a class only, in order to fight and eradicate another class. Thus its international affiliations retain the narrowness of nationalism common to Fascism and Democracy, while its chauvinism is even more infectious and far-flung than the operations of their capitalism. Instead of promising a synthesis of classes, and interests of national and human welfare, it drives a wedge between them, and strives to evolve a unity, that becomes a fruitful source of jealousy, fear and quarrel.

The deficiency of Democracy, Fascism and Communism leaves the supreme problem of the age unsolved, *viz.*, how to synthesize industrial power, nationalism and internationalism. It is folly to venture a scheme of synthesis; but yet, if the study of History could be relied on, the key positions of the future seem to be held by Democracy and Science alone, by the genius of Jean Jacques Rousseau and James Watt. Each contains the real secret of uniting the human race in good-will and peace. For, Democracy is essentially based upon a belief in the unknown excellences of the common man, and Science, upon the rational faculty of man. Each has a universal affiliation, as also a universal utili y. Springing from the sacred depths of human nature they know neither Jew nor Greek, neither bond nor free. Clime or colour has hardly any meaning for them. Besides, in an "interdependent world"* the property of each people must be the property of all. So far they have remained the property of European peoples (or offshoots of European peoples outside Europe) chiefly because the credit of having discovered them belongs to the Europeans. They have so far exercised a monopoly-right over their discovery, since by these weapons they have dominated the world. But European domination of the world runs counter to the growing sense of a world-unity. This has produced terrific conflicts in the past and tends to produce more in the future. The recent tendency of the Japanese Foreign Office for a "Monroe Doctrine" regarding China and the Far East is a mild manifestation of that desire. (*Vide* the Report and Comment of *The Times*, London, of the 20th April 1934.) To eliminate, therefore, the fruitful source of conflict we have to replace a dominated world by a really interdependent world. And that could be accomplished only if Science and Democracy become the free property of the whole human race. Not till then, and never in the pretensions of Fascism and Communism, shall we find an effective remedy for the distemper of the age.

* Refer in this connection to the contentions of Stalin r garding the scope of "Leninism."
Leninism by Stalin—Vol. I, pp. 13 and 14. (Published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 1928)

* "*The Interdependent World*" by Professor Ramsay Muir is an admirable work.

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SOME ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE WHITE PAPER:

II. COMMERCIAL DISCRIMINATION—LEGISLATIVE

By Prof. D. N. BANERJEE,

Head of the Department of Economics and Politics, Dacca University

THE general principles upon which the proposals of His Majesty's Government for the prevention of commercial discrimination by legislation, have been based, are the same as I have stated in my previous article in connexion with the question of administrative discrimination.

The proposals occur in clauses 122 and 123 of the White Paper. They 'were intended, broadly speaking,—(*a*) to invalidate certain classes of legislation with the object of giving a general protection to all British subjects in India, whatever their domicile, against discriminatory legislation (para 122), and (*b*) by the same means to *give a more specific protection* (para 123) on a reciprocal basis to British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom.'

The confidential Memorandum to which I have referred before, has elaborated what was intended under these clauses, and made the object of the Government more precise. I propose to examine the clauses together with the Memorandum in this article.

General Declaration as to British Subjects

It has been proposed in sub-clause (*i*) of clause 3 of the Memorandum that the Constitution Act should contain a general declaration that no British subject (Indian or otherwise) shall be disabled in British India from holding any public office by reason only of his religion, descent, caste, colour, or place of birth, nor, on the same grounds, from practising any profession, trade or calling. When the attention of the Secretary of State was drawn by Mr. Zafarulla Khan to the sweeping nature of the proposed general declaration, and, in particular, to the fact that Indians admittedly did not enjoy in British Colonies and Dominions the rights which it was proposed to confer upon their nationals in India, the Secretary of State first referred to the Charter Act of 1833, Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858 and the Government of India Act, and then said, among many other things, that it had been a part of British and Indian policy in India over a century not to draw any distinction in India itself between one national of the British Empire and another and that it was on that ground that he stood in making the proposal he did. He added, however, that if any Dominion passed restrictive laws or regulations against the people of India, then it would be open to India to use the powerful instrument of negotiation, namely, the refusal of the right of entry to the nationals of the Dominion. But it may be remarked here by way of comment that this power of refusing the right of entry cannot be applied to those British subjects from Dominions who have already entered India. Presumably, they are to enjoy equal rights in India with its people.

Special provision for persons who are British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom

Sub-clause (ii) of clause 3 of the confidential Memorandum deals with the cases of British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom in so far as they are not covered by sub-clause (i) above. It has been proposed in regard to these British subjects that (1) no laws restricting the right of entry into British India shall apply to them, except in the case of "undesirable persons": and that there shall be no statutory disabilities against them in respect of the following matters in British India, on the ground of domicile, residence, duration of residence, race, language, religion or place of birth, namely.

(a) taxation,
(b) travel and residence,
(c) the holding of property,
(d) the holding of public office, and
(e) the carrying on of any trade, business, occupation, or profession.

Special provision for companies incorporated in the United Kingdom but trading in India

As regards companies which are or may hereafter be incorporated in the United Kingdom and trading in India, it is proposed in the Memorandum [sub-clause (iii) of Clause 3], to prevent the imposition in British India of any discrimina-

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tory taxation or any statutory disability upon any such company, if the incidence of that taxation or disability is based upon

(a) the place of incorporation of the Company, or

(b) the domicile, residence, duration of residence, language, race, religion, descent or place of birth of its Directors, Shareholders, or Agents, or Servants.

Mr. M. R. Jayakar raised an interesting point before the Joint Select Committee in connexion with this proposal. He asked Sir Malcolm Hailey who had been giving evidence before the Committee along with Sir Samuel Hoare, what would happen to a Company which had been incorporated in England, but which was composed mainly or entirely of Colonials coming from a country which did not give an equal treatment to Indians with its own nationals? Both Sir Malcolm Hailey and Sir Samuel Hoare admitted that there was point in what Mr. Jayakar had asked, and agreed to look into it, although they did not disguise the fact that the question raised by Mr. Jayakar was a very difficult one. There the matter stands now.

Special provision for Companies incorporated in India.

In the case of a Company which is or may hereafter be incorporated in India, British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom will, it is proposed in Sub-clause (iv) of Clause 3 of the Memorandum, be deemed *ipso facto* to comply with any conditions which may be imposed by law on the Company in respect to the domicile, residence, duration of residence, language, race, religion, descent or place of birth of its Directors, Shareholders, Agents, or Servants. This proposal is subject, however, to special provisions in regard to bounties and subsidies to be stated later on.

The proposal itself is very complicated and perplexed even some of the members of the Joint Select Committee. The basis of this as well as of the previous proposal is the principle of reciprocity of treatment between Britain and India. "We undertake," said Sir Samuel Hoare, "that India will not take any action against a British Company that we here do not take against an Indian Company." The point of Sub-clause (iv) is, he continued, "to safeguard new Companies and to prevent the disabilities being inflicted upon new Companies that would not be legitimate in the case of old Companies."

Further explaining the meaning of Sub-clause (iv) to Sir Hari Singh Gour, the Secretary of State said, "This (Sub-) clause deals with the setting up of Companies in India. The Indian Legislature can make conditions, but if those conditions affect domicile, residence, duration of residence, and so on, *a United Kingdom Company incorporated in India would for that purpose count as an Indian Company.*" Thus 'a person domiciled in the United Kingdom shall, notwithstanding an Indian law to the effect that he shall be domiciled in India, be deemed to be domiciled in India for the purpose of this (Sub-) clause.' And 'people who have never been out to India, even for a month, under this extended provision will get all the benefits in reference to the conditions imposed on Companies, as if they had resided, been domiciled, etc., as in this Sub-clause provided.' Thus the Sub-clause would 'prevent legislation making *requirements* in the case of Companies which would act to the prejudice of the United Kingdom residents,' and the Companies will not suffer in any way as Companies if their directors, shareholders and so forth, are United Kingdom residents instead of being residents of India. The argument was that there was no discrimination in Britain against any English Company if there was any Indian associated in it or with it. The question, however, is how many Indians are so associated! Unfortunately, there are no statistics available on this point. Even if however there is no discrimination now against any Indian as such in the United Kingdom, I should be prepared to forgo that privilege as an Indian if British Companies agree not to insist upon an equality of treatment with Indians in India in respect of commercial matters.

Moreover, Sub-clause (iv) will, as the Secretary of State admitted in his reply to a question of Sir Hari Singh Gour, prevent 'the Indian Government from reserving the coastal shipping to Indian Companies domiciled in India.' And lest there should arise any misunderstanding on this point, Sub-clause (viii) of Clause 3 of the confidential Memorandum has suggested that a provision on the following lines should be inserted in the Constitution Act:

> "Without derogation from the generality of the provisions as to discrimination, ships registered in the United Kingdom shall not be subjected by law in British India to any discrimination whatsoever, either as regards the ship or her officers or crew or her passengers or cargo, to which ships registered in British India would not be subjected in the United Kingdom."

This provision is simply an elaboration of the relevant portion of Clause 123 in the White Paper, which runs as follows:

> "Provision will be made for equal treatment on a reciprocal basis of ships registered respectively in British India and the United Kingdom."

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Thus under Sub-clause (iv) and (viii) ships registered in India will have, as the Secretary of State himself admitted before the Joint Select Committee, no kind of preference over ships registered in the United Kingdom on the principle of reciprocity. But this principle of reciprocity is absolutely meaningless here as we shall see in other matters, since it is not possible for Indians to go to the United Kingdom in large numbers and compete with 'the very strong and powerful British shipping interests' there in the coastal traffic of the country. On the other hand it will mean in practice that Indian shipping, unable to compete successfully with "the all-powerful British shipping" in the coastal traffic of India, would never develop beyond what it is today and would probably be crushed in some places by competitive tactics pursued by the latter. Indeed, the competition between British shipping and Indian shipping in the coastal trade of this country will be as that between, to quote the words of Sir Phiroze Sethna, a giant and a dwarf. Special privileges will have to be granted to the latter if India is to develop its mercantile marine. It may be borne in mind in this connexion that if today, in spite of various adverse conditions like subsidised foreign competition, etc., the British Merchant Marine remains 'the largest and the most efficient instrument of sea transport in the world,'[1] the Navigation Acts of the English Parliament are not a little responsible for this. But under the proposals of the Government now under consideration, any kind of discrimination against British shipping in the coastal traffic of this country will be automatically *ultra vires*. Even under the existing Constitution of India it has been possible for Mr. S. N. Haji to introduce into the Legislative Assembly his Bill[2] to reserve the coastal traffic of India to Indian vessels. But it will be quite *ultra vires* for the Federal Legislature of India under its proposed new constitution to entertain any such Bill. Thus the position in this respect will be much worse under the new Constitution of India than what it is today, if the proposals of the Government are given statutory form.

1. Vide Sir Archibald Hurd's (Managing Editor of "The Shipping World") article in *Daily Mail Year Book*, 1934, pp. 39-40.

2. The Bill was introduced into the Legislative Assembly on the 9th of February, 1928. Its object was to provide for the employment of Indian tonnage in the coastal traffic of British India and of the Continent of India, with a view to the rapid development of an Indian Merchant Marine.—Vide the *Gazette of India*, Part V, February 11, 1928.

Provisions for Reciprocity

Sub-clause (v) of clause 3 of the confidential Memorandum has suggested that if any restriction, disability or condition of the kind, and based upon any of the grounds, indicated in Sub-clauses (ii), (iii) or (iv) as stated above, is imposed by any British law affecting in the United Kingdom Indian subjects of His Majesty or Companies incorporated in India, the provisions of those Sub-clauses will not apply to any Indian law imposing in British India the like restrictions, etc., based upon the same ground.

This provision for reciprocity may be of some theoretical value but not of much practical importance. The number of industrial or trading concerns *on a large scale*, owned and managed by Indians in Britain cannot be statistically known. Assuming, however, that there are a few such firms there, their number is negligible compared with that of British trading or industrial concerns in India.

In this connexion I should like to quote the following extract from the evidence of Sir Samuel Hoare given before the Joint Select Committee on November 6th, 1933:

> Sir Abdur Rahim: Secretary of State, I simply want information upon one point if you can give it to me. Are there any Indian Companies with Indian capital and directors trading in Britain?
>
> Sir Samuel Hoare: I could not say off-hand. I could find out and let Sir Abdur know.
>
> Sir Abdur Rahim: Do many Indian Companies like that have offices of their own here?
>
> Sir Samuel Hoare: There must be several; how many, I cannot say.
>
> Sir Abdur: Will you kindly let me know?
>
> Sir Samuel: If the statistics are available we will get them.

There is no further reference to this question in the concluding part of the evidence of Sir Samuel Hoare, and no statistics have presumably been supplied to Sir Abdur Rahim. On the 19th of August last, I myself wrote to the Secretary, Department of Commerce, Government of India, and also to the Director-General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, India, inquiring about the present number of Indian Trading and Industrial concerns, etc., in the United Kingdom. The latter has kindly written to me in reply that he regrets that he has on record no information on the points raised. There are no official statistics of such Indian concerns available, because I believe that their number and size are so negligible that the matter is not perhaps worth statistical investigation by any official agency.[2a]

2a. The Secretary to the Indian Chamber of Commerce in Great Britain has kindly informed me in a letter dated the 28th September, 1934, that there are at present,

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Moreover, it would be really difficult for Indians to compete with British merchants and industrialists in the United Kingdom. There are so many obstacles in their way.

The principle of reciprocity will, therefore, for all practical purposes, work to the advantage of only one party, namely, British subjects of His Majesty and British Companies trading in India. Mr. G. L. Mehta is not perhaps wrong when he says[3] that the provision for reciprocity is a joke for which its perpetrators deserve some recognition, but certainly not to the extent of securing an unhampered right to exploit Indian resources for an unlimited period of time.

These are the reasons why I have said in my previous article that the appearance of reciprocity is delusive.

Reservation of Bills which, though not in form, are, in fact, discriminatory

Sixthly,[4] it is proposed that the Constitution Act *shall* require the Governor-General or the Governor, as the case may be, to reserve a Bill for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure if he considers the Bill *to be discriminatory in fact, although not so in form*, against any British subjects or British Companies in India. Under this proposal, the reservation of the Bill for the signification of the royal pleasure will be obligatory. Thus this provision will act as an additional safeguard for the protection of British commercial or industrial interests in India.

The provisions against discriminatory legislation as described above will be subject however to a few exceptions. I may mention below the really important ones:

> (a) The Governor-General or the Governor, as the case may be, will be permitted to discriminate in the exercise of his special responsibility for the prevention of any grave menace to the maintenance of peace and tranquillity in his sphere of action.
>
> (b) A Federal or Provincial law, which might otherwise be void on the ground of its discriminatory character, will be valid if previously declared by the Governor-General or the Governor, as the case may be, in his discretion, to be necessary in the interests of the peace and tranquillity of India or any part thereof.
>
> (c) *Exceptions in regard to bounties and subsidies.* Thirdly, it is proposed that an Act, which, with a view to the encouragement of trade or industry in British India, authorizes the payment of grants, bounties, or subsidies out of public funds, *may lawfully require*, in the case of any Company not engaged in India at the time the Bounty Act was passed in the branch of trade or industry which it is proposed to encourage, as a condition of eligibility for any such grant, bounty or subsidy,—
>
> > (i) that a Company shall be incorporated by or under the laws of British India, or
> >
> > (ii) *compliance with such conditions* as to the composition of the Board of Directors or as to the facilities to be given for the training of Indians, as may be prescribed by the Act.

This particular proposal is intended to give effect to the recommendations contained in paras 27 and 28 of the Report of the External Capital Committee, 1925. The authors of this Report, agreeing with the views of the Indian Fiscal Commission and the Indian Legislature that definite restrictions might be imposed in the case of Companies receiving bounties or similar definite pecuniary assistance, recommended as follows:

> In the case of bounties or similar definite pecuniary assistance, we consider that restrictions might be imposed of the nature described in Section 5 of the Steel Industry Protection Act of 1924, namely,—
>
> (1) in all cases facilities for the technical training of apprentices, and
>
> (2) in the case of incorporated Companies—
>
> (i) that the Companies should be registered under the Indian Companies Act of 1913 with rupee Capital, and
>
> (ii) that a reasonable proportion[5] of the directorate should be Indian.

The proposal therefore provides for a kind of permissive discrimination against a new Company which is incorporated after there has been enacted some law granting a bounty or a subsidy. Its object is, to quote the words of Lord Reading, 'to prevent Companies coming and incorporating themselves in India for the purpose of getting a bounty or subsidy.' But this provision for permissive discrimination will not apply to Companies engaged in India in the trade or industry in question at the time the Subsidy Act was passed, and they will be eligible for such grants, bounties or subsidies equally with Indian Companies. Thus in the case of bounties, etc., 'there is a distinction drawn between existing businesses in India and future businesses in India.' The dividing line between them will be the date of the Subsidy Act and until that Act is passed there can be no insistence upon the kind of conditions set out in the Memorandum. The conditions may

as far as he knows, only 42 Indian Firms trading in the United Kingdom, including 10 Importing and Exporting Firms, 5 Exporting Firms, 5 Oriental Artware Firms, 3 Restaurants, 2 Condiment Firms, 4 Pearl Brokers' Firms, 1 Carpet Firm, and 1 Tobacco Importer's Firm, etc.

3. *Equality of Trading Rights* (p. 7), a pamphlet published in 1931.

4. Sub-clause (vi) of clause 3 of the Memorandum.

5. To be determined by the Governor-General in Council.

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imposed only upon the 'post-Subsidy Act Companies'. Explaining the ground of distinction between existing Companies and future Companies the Secretary of State stated to Sir Austen Chamberlain:

> We have felt that a distinction ought to be made, for this reason, that existing Companies have been working along existing lines for many generations, and that therefore you have got to be extremely careful in altering the conditions under which they are operating.....

In this connexion the following extract from the evidence of Sir Samuel Hoare may be of some interest to the reader:

> Marquess of Salisbury: In the future, compliance with future conditions may be imposed, may it not?
> Sir Samuel: Yes, after the Subsidy Act is passed.
> Marquess of Salisbury: So that as far as bounties on future businesses are concerned, there shall be, or may be, discrimination?
> Sir Samuel: To the extent of the permissive conditions that we have laid down. *Nothing would, of course, derogate from the Governor-General's special responsibility for safeguarding the position against discrimination.*
> Marquess of Salisbury: We are speaking of legislation all the time, of course?
> Sir Samuel: We are speaking of legislation all the time, certainly.
> Marquess of Salisbury: *And under the Legislative provisions, he can always veto, if he likes?*
> Sir Samuel: Yes, *the power of veto remains.* Constitutionally also, under his special responsibilities under paragraph 18 (of the White Paper Proposals), he could intervene either in the field of legislation or the field of administration. *There is no distinction drawn between his action in the one or the other.*

Thus it is clear from the above that in case of necessity, the Governor-General or the Governor, as the case may be, will exercise the power of veto for safeguarding the interests of British commerce in India.

Dominions

Although under Sub-clause (i) of clause 3 of the Memorandum British subjects as such are to enjoy the general protection in India that 'there shall be no disability imposed upon any subject of the Crown,' yet the object of the special provisions as stated before, is 'first and foremost and simply, to protect the citizens of the United Kingdom.' And it has been specially noted in paragraph 5 of the confidential Memorandum that Sub-clause (ii) of clause 3 thereof will not apply to British subjects domiciled elsewhere in the Empire than the United Kingdom, and, in particular, will not debar the Indian Legislatures from imposing conditions upon, or restricting, the entry of such persons into India. Thus a distinction has been drawn between the British Nationals of the United Kingdom and the Nationals of the Dominions and of the other parts of the British Empire. The Secretary of State made this definitely clear in his reply to a question of Sir John Wardlaw-Milne, a member of the Joint Select Committee. He said:

> The Dominions, of course, are equally entitled with any British Nationals to the general protection against discrimination and disability. In the case, however, in which Great Britain, from the fact of its long association with India, is receiving for itself *reciprocal* treatment with India there we felt that it was a matter of negotiation between the Dominions and the Government of India as to whether they should receive the additional advantages of reciprocity or not. It is therefore for the Dominions to negotiate agreements with India either upon the lines upon which we are making this agreement or upon other lines.

Further, he said that in each case there must be a separate agreement.

This principle, which will also apply to other parts of the Empire, is in complete accord with the following recommendation of the Indian Round Table Conference made at its second session:

> It will be for the future Indian Legislature to decide whether and to what extent such rights (*i.e.*, the right to enter and trade with India) should be accorded to others than individuals resident in the United Kingdom or Companies registered there, subject of course to similar rights being accorded to residents in India and to Indian Companies.

It is not clear, however, from this recommendation how the Indian Legislature is to deal with those nationals of Dominions who have already entered India and started their businesses here. Presumably, they are, as I have already hinted, to enjoy equal rights in India with its people.

In conclusion, I should like to state that, although any kind of discrimination, either in legislation or in administration, on purely racial grounds should be avoided, the proposals of His Majesty's Government as explained above have gone too far. The specific commercial safeguards embodied in them are intended to act 'as an insurance against anything going wrong,' lest goodwill should not be forthcoming one side or the other. But if they are incorporated in the Constitution Act, they will undoubtedly retard the growth of Indian industries and Indian Commerce in this country. I mean by "Indian industries" and "Indian Commerce" industries and commerce owned and managed by Indians. As Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. M. R. Jayakar have rightly said in their Memorandum regarding the proposed new Constitution of India, dated the 27th

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December, 1932, for the future development of Indian Industries, many of which are struggling in an impoverished condition, it is absolutely necessary to leave in the hands of the Central and Provincial Governments enough power to initiate, subsidise, and protect industries which can be briefly described as key or infant industries, even if such initiation, subsidy, or protection should occasionally look like discrimination.' But this will not be possible under the proposals of the Government. Besides, there is the danger of non-Indian industrial enterprises being established in India behind the tariff wall which its Legislature has gradually been raising for the protection and development of its indigenous industries. After all, if we Indians have asked for protection we have done so, as Pandit Malaviya has stated in his Note of Dissent appended to the Report of the External Capital Committee, 1925, in order to promote Indian enterprises with Indian Capital and under Indian control. Further, I must say that self-government for India will be a myth if it is not to have the "power to devise and follow a national economic policy, including the right, if its interests so required it, of making economic discrimination against non-national interests." Moreover, as Mr. G. L. Mehta has aptly observed, what is fundamentally objectionable is the constitutional restriction on the inherent right of an Indian Legislature to pursue whatever economic policy it considers desirable and essential in the interest of the people of this country. Such restriction upon the legislative competence of the Parliament of a Dominion is unthinkable today.

Lastly, what is *intra vires* for the Indian Legislature now will be *ultra vires* hereafter for the Federal Legislature of India, if the proposed commercial safeguards are incorporated—as they are likely to be—in its Constitution Act.

INDIANS ABROAD

Indian Repatriates of Akra

Harrowing tales about the plight of the repatriated Indians who are at Akra, have been published in the Press from time to time. About 500 repatriated, of whom nearly 40 per cent are children,—most of whom are colonial born, are on the verge of starvation if they are not already starving. They have no ostensible means of livelihood and public charity has unfortunately expended itself five or six months ago.

Even at Akra there is ample evidence of loss of morale on the part of these countrymen of ours. The pity of it is that nearly 100 persons in this camp are on the wrong side of 60. I have myself seen an old man of about 65 actually dying attended by his aged spouse without any medical assistance or other comfort. I have examined their cooking establishments and it is terribly distressing to confess that they are subsisting on a few handfuls of rice, which they succeeded in collecting from neighbourly people.

No words can adequately describe the plight of 500 colonial Indians who are now huddled together without any ostensible means of support at Akra.

Mr. G. S. Bajpai has told the Legislative Assembly on numerous occasions that the Government are watchful of the miseries of these people and that relief measures are undertaken from time to time. I am not denying the utility of the Bajagarah scheme which supplies temporary employment to a few of these people and which to a certain extent relieves the confession at Akra, but I want emphatically to declare that these 500 'left-outs' are now in the worst condition and they may be graded into defiant action if immediate measures of relief are not undertaken.

Relieving Distress

I have before me several cuttings from the *New Daily Chronicle* of George Town, British Guiana, where this matter was taken up with considerable avidity. It is unfortunate to realize from one of the interviews given by the Hon. A. E. Sreeram, the Indian representative in the British Guiana Legislative Council, that he does not believe that these people are actually starving nor can I lend myself to believing 'that the Indian Government would be so unkindly disposed as not to exercise the same paternal care for these people.'

No doubt Sir Edward Berham, the Governor of British Guiana, has promised to consider measures for the retransplantation of these Indians at Akra back to the soil of the colony, and I have much reason to believe that, provided the Government of India readily agrees, some sort

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speedy arrangements can be made towards relieving the distress of these people.

It was more than seven years ago that the Sahan-Lukhoo deputation came to this country from British Guiana seeking for the support of the Government of India for Indian immigrants to their country. Why does not the Government review the present situation at Akra with the gravest concern and allow these people to go back to British Guiana?

I myself had been in Malaya last year and can claim to know the conditions existing in that country. I have also inquired of the Akra repatriates about their willingness to go back to Malaya as labourers, and they with one voice assured me that they would go anywhere on any wage provided they are saved from actual starvation and slow-sinking death.

Tapping Work

I have been able to ascertain from these people as to their ability in doing tapping work in Malayan rubber estates. Quite a good few of them indicated their previous experiences in British Guiana and elsewhere of work of this kind. Everyone of them confessed eagerness to pick up this new kind of work in Malaya and to settle down there. Immigration to Malaya has been permitted since the past few weeks and the Malayan Government will pay the passage of these people provided the Government of India move forthwith and come to an agreement with the Government of Malaya on this question. The British Guiana scheme and Malaya scheme are to my mind the most important avenues for useful work being turned out today.

Less than a couple of weeks ago Babu Suklal Karmani informed the Akra inmates that they would have to break up the camp and hand over his properties to him. The matter is now in the hands of the police outpost at Maniabruz.

The repatriates sent in petitions to the effect that if they are driven out of Akra they will have to face innumerable difficulties since, being colonial-born, they are subject to social ostracism by the people in the villages. The pity of it is that nearly 96 per cent of these 500 people are Indians.

I have already seen evidence of the accommodating spirit which the police have shown towards these unfortunate individuals. The greatest calamity would be witnessed in Akra if these repatriates are evicted. I appeal to the Government of India and to the nation to take immediate steps towards a peaceful and honourable liquidating of the Akra Problem. I refuse to believe that India cannot support or find means of supply for 500 mouths.

During the past few months several developments have taken place at Akra. The following extract from a letter dated 14th September sent to me by one of these repatriates indicates the fearful position obtaining there:

> "Most respectfully I beg to write your honour the following few lines expressing, that the condition of our people is as miserable as possible. On the one hand, as is the case with the Behar earthquake sufferers, the people here in the Akra Camp are suffering from direct scarcity of food. On the other, a terrible visitation of Malaria fever has overtaken them, for the last two months. So this fatal disease has been raging here with appalling fury committing fearful devastation. At first it broke out in the west and south corners of the Akra Camp and then spread with astonishing rapidity, entering almost every house and carrying off a part of every family in the affected quarters. The same house has, in many instances, contained the dying and the dead. Short indeed is the interval between health and sickness. Only few people take the funeral to the burial ground. This is because oth rs' health is out of condition. Words are quite inadequate to describe the shock-scenes to be witnessed. In short, the place presents an aspect of woe and desolation, truly appalling. To add to the misery of the distressed, they are now forsaken by th ir friends and relatives. Many applications had been sent to the Government authorities to this effect, but up to this moment, nothing has been taken into effect.'

There is only one practical suggestion I can make. Provided generous-hearted patriots of Calcutta raise a subscription and pay for the transport of the Akra Indians from Calcutta to Madras, they might be assisted to emigrate to Malaya where there is ample scope for employment. I hope that this last appeal will not be fruitless.

Lanka Sundaram

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COMMENTS & CRITICISM

To

The Editor, *The Modern Review*

SIR,

In the September issue of your journal while discussing Muslim representation in the services you made the following observation:

"As the British Government is desperately in need of supporters for its imperialistic policy, Muslim Indians have seized the opportunity. But why do the All-India Muslim Conference and All-India Muslim League use the words "justice and fair-play" in the resolution in which unwarranted, unjust and selfish demands relating to the service are made?"

I can't understand what else can justify an observation like this other than anti-Muslim propaganda. Justice and fair-play certainly demand the adequate representation of the Mussalmans in the services who were till recently almost shut up from employment in Government Services. The policy pursued by the British Government after the down-fall of Muslim Rule in India helped to a great extent the dumping of qualified Hindus in the service-market. "The truth is," writes Sir W. W. Hunter, "that when the country passed under our rule, the Mussalmans were the superior race, and superior not only in stoutness of heart and strength of arm, but in power of political organization, and in the science of practical Government. Yet the Muhammadans are now shut out equally from Government employ and from the higher occupations of non-official life." "The neglect and contempt with which, for half a century, the Muhammadan population of Lower Bengal has thus been treated, have left their marks deep in recent Indian literature. The former Conquerors of the East are excluded from our Oriental journals and libraries as well as from the more active careers in life. The old Courts of Directors wisely shared its favours between Mussalmans and Hindus, and the admirable Arabic and Persian scholarship displayed in the earlier series of the Bibliotheca Indica was merely the literary representative of this political impartiality. But during the last fifty years the Hindus have extruded the Muhammadans alike from State literature and State employ . . . ." (*Our Indian Mussalman* by W. W. Hunter).

The British people have gradually realized the wrongs done to the Indian Mussalmans and the Government has by reserving 25 per cent of the services for the Mussalmans shown the gesture of "justice and fair-play".

You may dub the Indian Muslim as pawns in the game of Imperialism because they refuse to be camp-followers of the Hindus. We want democracy and not Caste rule.

Yours faithfully,
Syed Jalauddin Hussain Sekandar

Calcutta, 25h September, 1934

EDITORIAL NOTE.—The writer has ascribed to us a wrong motive. Our desire is that in India, as in all other civilized countries, appointments in the public service should go to the best qualified men. That is a principle which is good for the nation and all its component communities and classes.

As for the extracts from Hunter's book, we have not cared to consider them in their context. It is maybe a fact that there was a time when Muslims could not get as many jobs in Government offices as they desired. But for that state of things, their inability to adapt themselves to the new educational requirements was responsible. Because in some previous decades they could secure only a small number of posts in the public services, for that reason there can be no justification now for reserving for them, irrespective of their comparative merit, a larger proportion of appointments in the public services than their proportion in the population, *in addition to* what they can get in open competition. A stronger case for reserving for the Hindus and other non-Muslims a much larger proportion of appointments in the public services can be made out by following our correspondent's line of argument.

Mr. S. M. Hussain, M.A., D. Phil, (Oxon), writing on 'Islamic Education in Bengal' in the *Islamic Culture* for July, 1934, says:

"With the object of turning out recruits for public service and for the legal profession, the Calcutta Madrassah was established by Warren Hastings in 1781. Muslim Law and Persian naturally formed the main course of study in it. The Madrassah splendidly fulfilled the object for which it was established and its alumni *monopolized* posts of trust and responsibility under the Government. The Mussalmans thus continued to retain their *due share* in the administration of the country and its public life." (Italics ours. Ed., *M. R.*)

If, as Dr. S. M. Hussian asserts, Mussalmans for a time "monopolized posts of trust and responsibility under the Government," non-Mussalmans may claim to be compensated for their exclusion at that time by being given the monopoly of such posts at least for a similar period!

Further the figures given in Hunter's book show that the Hindus did *not* monopolize the higher ranks of services; the Muhammadans did get a share not far removed from their population ratio, if only the Hindus and the Muhammadans are considered.

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INDIA

By The Rt. Hon. GEORGE LANSBURY, P. C., M. P.

A Socialist Government will have very many difficult national questions to deal with. None of these will be more urgent or less difficult than the problem of India.

The Labour Movement is pledged to grant not self-government only, but self-determination to that great nation. One of the best pieces of work carried through by the Labour Government was setting Mahatma Gandhi free and bringing him as an honoured welcome member to the Round Table Conference. I do not object to the criti ism of those who say we have no right to claim to have kept our promises to the Indian people when (as they say) we put 50,000 Indians into prison, most of them without a trial. There is truth in that; even so, Lord Irwin and Wedgwood Benn never forgot that their main task was not coercion but conciliation. Though they did what all Governments do to maintain order, at the same time they made it clear that they considered the use of force a grim necessity, but understood that force was no remedy. Even while Gandhi and his friends were in prison they carried on negotiations under the most difficult conditions, and finally succeeded in gathering together the most representative conference of Indians ever held.

The Labour Government was driven out of office. The India Conference closed down never to be re-opened on the same representative basis. A Committee representing both Houses of Parliament, while I write this, is considering a White Paper submitted by the Government. This White Paper represents the proposals which the present Government will embody in legislation for the future government of India. I do not propose to discuss these proposals. As far as I can gather, all that is vocal and representative in India rejects the scheme as quite unsatisfactory. What sense, then, is there in discussing it?

Meantime, I am informed by all my Indian friends and by my English friends who have lately visited India that the economic condition of the masses goes from bad to worse; that millions are living lives of malnutrition and semi-starvation. The British Trades Union Movement has done splendid service, through its members on the Whitley Commission and the deputation it sent to India, in proving that apart from all questions of political change, the social conditions of the workers cry aloud for redress. George Hicks, David Grenfell, and other Labour M. P.s have impressed this side of Indian life on the Commons. No one denies the truth of this indictment. The official defence comes to no more than saying, "It might be worse."

I shall not attempt to prove that no Englishman has done any good in India. I gladly pay my tribute of homage and respect to the thousands of men and women who as civil servants, medical missionaries, and in many other ways have done their best to mitigate the ravages wrought by disease, evil customs, and starvation. Even so, in India, as in England, the charity which loving hearts bestow can never take the place of justice. The Salvation Army and other organizations spend huge sums of money here and give untiring devotion and work, striving to make life more bearable for slum dwellers. But none of us think this is any reason why slums should exist or should prevent us from doing all in our power to sweep the conditions which create slums and destitution off the face of the earth.

When we admire the hard work of those British who have tried to help the Indians, we must remember the true picture of Indian conditions. We must bear in mind the fact that every penny of wealth drawn from India to pay salaries, pensions and allowances to the multitude of British officials, soldiers, civil servants, viceroys, governors of provinces, etc., comes from a nation of 300,000,000 people, most of whom live at a standard of life which reduces vitality almost to vanishing point. Also, let us never forget that in making great reservoirs, building railway tracks and creating the New Delhi, the British

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take a very considerable toll from India in the shape of interest on loans and dividends for companies. These "benefits of British rule" are benefits paid for in hard cash, and well paid, too. This tribute is almost entirely spent outside India. I have tried to get figures to show what this total drain is, but no reliable figures are as yet available. But that a nation so rich and bountiful in the possession of natural resources should be so poverty-stricken, is a fact that should make every Englishman have the deepest suspicions.

Roman conquerors settled in their territories. They treated backward nations like ourselves very harshly, and often inflicted forced labour. But in those days the wealth wrung from the natives was largely spent in the country. Irish landlordism was one degree worse because rents were spent abroad, by landlords who never saw their estates. British and French loans to Ismail Pasha, the sometime Khedive of Egypt, were spent likewise in the haunts of gambling and vice outside that country. Britain as an Imperial power draws huge sums from India, and this is spent just as absentee landlords would spend it away from where it is earned. Much of the wealth of all of us comes to us in this way and is strictly parasitical. We shall have to be prepared to give this up, and we shall also have to leave the Indians to provide their own civil service, army and other services.

None of our fathers who conquered India went there to make her prosperous. They went for purposes of robbery with violence or—with the more civilized—as traders out to make a very large profit. Clive and Warren Hastings and all the long list of viceroys have been expected from the moment they took office to foster British prosperity. From time to time they would stop to assure the Indians that the interests of both nations are identical just as other people repeat the equally foolish phrase about the interests of capital and labour being the same. Of course, intelligent people who are intellectually honest know this is quite untrue. Not even Indian Capitalists believe it. Now that India has entered the field of Capitalism, and coal mining is in full swing, Indian Capitalists say their first need is protection by means of tariffs against British competition.

The over-riding fact which I desire to emphasize is that side by side with the political problem, there is the basic economic problem of the condition of the people, which means that a Socialist Government in power will have to face the terrific problem of how to keep millions of people alive while the future government and administration of India is being settled. We will be obliged to take on many of the financial burdens now being borne by these starving multitudes, and we shall be called upon to spend our own substance in efforts to create a new social order in villages and townships.

None of this work can be efficiently done by aliens—that is, by us. Indians may ask our help, but in the main if village life is to be restored and made of service, then the people who alone can do the job will be Indians. The terrible pity is that young India, like young Ireland during my generation, devotes so much time to politics that these conditions do not receive the attention they deserve. Indians will find, as Jawaharlal Nehru has told them, that they must turn their attention to the economic demands of the Indian masses as well as to their political needs.

What then is to be Labour's policy over here? Nothing new. We must stick to our oft-repeated statement that it is for India to decide whether she will join us as a partner, or break the connection and become a foreign power. The British governing class has received great benefits from India. The Indian Civil Service, the Native States, the Army, have all found for its sons innumerable well-paid posts and pensions. We ought to be willing to pay back some of the debt we owe. I am sure that the Socialist movement will only ask for partnership on terms of mutual aid and service to each other. We shall ask that the tie which binds us together will be one not of domination, but of brotherhood.

As to what form the Government of India should take: this must be settled by Indians themselves. There is not the least likelihood that any scheme formulated in London will ever be voluntarily accepted, and in this matter it is imperative that any scheme should be freely worked by Indians. All we have to consider is how we can best secure the drafting of such a scheme. We Socialists have

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declared that Indians must themselves choose whether to remain with us or no. How shall we settle this and the question of future government? I have come definitely to the conclusion that Annie Besant's scheme is the only way. She advocated the plan adopted in relation to Australia. Then Britain gave the Australian States the task of drawing up their Federal Constitution and merely endorsed it afterwards. Some years ago, Dr Besant and a group of representative Indians with the valuable assistance of our good friend and life-long champion of India, David Graham Pole, drew up a Commonwealth of India Bill which Harry Snell, John Scurr and myself and others introduced in the House of Commons. Our contention was that this scheme, with such minor modifications as Parliament should impose, would make a definite advance along the road to Dominion status. But the Bill never got a second reading. Now, years after; Englishmen are drafting schemes, which, as I say, and as they know, are certain of rejection. There is only one way out for a Socialist Government. We should summon or ask Indians themselves to summon a Constituent Assembly and hand over to that assembly the task of deciding the future government of India.

This is both logical and common sense. By this means we do give self-determination and self-government. There will certainly be an out-cry that "the Assembly will be captured by the extremists." Certainly Conservatives will raise that cry. But they will have far worse things to cry out about, for our own House of Commons will have been captured by "extremists"—themselves. Do not let us be frightened by noise.

More serious criticism will come from people who assure us that the racial and religious sects will never agree. This is not true. The one thing that is clear from recent history is that an outside power like ourselves never can secure harmony here. Only an Indian state stands any chance of doing so.

The main point for us is to make up our minds that we shall be prepared to leave to Indians the task of deciding with whom she will or will not federate, and the sort of federal government she will set up within her own dominions.

She might follow America and set up autonomous states, federated with the Centre; or she might choose government from the Centre. This is for them, not for us, to decide. I am certain that if those who speak for the Indian states and India under British rule are once convinced that they have free choice to remain with us or leave us, they will, on terms, desire to remain. That is of course, if we have been able to convince them that self-government means that Indians do manage Indian affairs just as Australia and Canada manage theirs.

We of the Labour Party have agreed with this, and have added the further stipulation that such membership must be the free will act of India.

Given equal status with all other Dominions, the people of India under the Statute of Westminster have the unequivocal right either to remain with us or go out. The Labour Movement in supporting the right of choice for India is only asking for her the same rights as those enjoyed by other Dominions.

The issues are already decided, and written down in official documents. All we have to do is to make up our minds to do what has been promised. The sands of time are running out. This nation of 300,000,000 people, occupying territory as large as Europe without Russia, awaits the coming to power of the Labour Party with its Socialist policy of democracy and freedom. I hope we shall be worthy of their faith and confidence. We have learned for ourselves that the true test of success in government is not the pomp and majesty of courts, armies and autocrats. The well-being of nations will be found in love and comradeship. The people of the East are awakening. We are alien in religion and race, yet we eat and drink, wake and sleep, suffer pain and sickness, poverty and crime together. We are part of each other, children of one Father.

It is our God-given opportunity to wipe away the legal and other measures which prevent India entering of her own free will into the family of nations. Let us all see that we do all that in us lies to ensure that opportunity shall not be lost because of ignorance or fear.*

* *My England* (Chapter XIII "India", pp. 168-175). By the Rt. Hon. George Lansbury, P. C., M. P. (Published by Selwyn & Blount Ltd. London. October 1934.)

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LONDON LETTER :

The Political Party Conferences, The Shadow of the General Election, Conservative Conference Resolutions, The Vote on India, No fighting Lead, Mining Accidents, Miners' Hours, Miners' Wages, Slum Landlords, The Labour Conference, Peace and Disarmament, Mussolini on Disarmament

FROM MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

THE POLITICAL PARTY CONFERENCES

SUMMER is over, holidays are ended, and the two chief political parties in England, the Conservative Party and the Labour Party, have just been holding their annual Conferences. It is a time of general stock-taking, of affairs at home and abroad, and everyone has an ear to the ground. For we seem to be living in more than usually anxious and challenging times.

No summer, surely, has seen so many disasters. Railway and flying accidents have followed one upon the other. A terrible typhoon has devastated part of Japan. The burning of the American ship, the Morro Castle, while on a pleasure cruise, was the worst shock since the Titanic. Most tragic of all was the fire at Gresford Colliery which trapped more than two hundred miners and even killed some of their would-be rescuers.

In the world at large there seems to be very little to smile about. The Depression may be over but Unemployment remains where it was before. The Disarmament Conference is neither dead nor alive and meantime all the nations are re-arming. In Europe Fascism, that irresponsible beggar on horseback, is doing its best to ride to the devil In the Far East, Japan's imperialism has embroiled her with Russia on the Asiatic mainland and is embroiling her with America in the Pacific.

As if all this were not enough, we are on the verge of great international decisions that must be made The future of Austria has somehow to be safe-guarded. In January 1935 the fate of the Saar district will be decided by plebiscite. Sometime in 1935 there will be held a Naval Conference, and all the signs are that it will break down over the 5-5-3 ratio (which at present rules for Britain, America, and Japan) because Japan is demanding parity.

Still, the world is not quite comfortless. The cause of Peace has been strengthened in a few directions. Russia has joined the League of Nations. The King of Jugo-Slavia is trying to reconcile the Balkan States with one another. The enquiry in America into the Private Manufacture of Armaments has shed a lot of daylight on armament rices between nations, and the ways in which they are promoted by private manufacturers.

THE SHADOW OF THE GENERAL ELECTION

At the moment of writing the Party Conferences, having just concluded, are occupying most of the news. The Labour Party opened first at Southport and the Conservatives followed later at Bristol. For some reason the Labour Party always takes the inside of a week for its discussions, while the Conservatives seem to be able to do on two days !

These Conferences have been eagerly awaited for all sorts of reasons. For one thing it seems to be the universal opinion that the General Election will come next year—perhaps in the autumn, but it can hardly be postponed beyond the Spring of 1936. In such circumstances statements of policy by political leaders are no longer of utopian but of urgent interest. Indeed one unkind Liberal newspaper has just remarked of the present Government: "All the plans for the coming Parliamentary Session are to be made by the Government with an eye on the general election. It will be twelve months of window-dressing with an elaborate display of attractive 'dummies' in the front to dazzle the public."

But if the Government has some nice dummies in reserve, none of them travelled in the train with them to Bristol. This year's Conservative Conference must be amongst the dullest and most reactionary on record. We were told to wait for Mr. Baldwin's speech, were told that it would give a real fighting lead. But it didn't make any impression at all. It was about as comfortable and lacking in definition as an eiderdown. "Writing with deliberation," says Mr. A. J. Cummings who, since he reported the trial of the Vickers engineers in Moscow, has been recognized as one of the astutest of political observers, "I would

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scribe his speech as the emptiest and most me I have ever heard from a prominent litical leader, not omitting the present Prime inister at his worst."

Conservative Conference Resolutions

The speech by the leader of the Conservative arty should have been of exceptional import- nce. For, apart from all the heraldings it had ven given in advance there were last moment asons to give it extra point. The delegates to is year's Conference had turned out to be ore than usually die-hard and unsympathetic. heir only human proposal was for a national ottery! Otherwise, they voted for increasing the ower of the House of Lords; for increasing nnaments; for compensating the slum landlord f which more later. And, having handed all ese bouquets (or boomerangs) to their own ss, they at the same time threw obstacles in e way of India's advance to freedom.

The Vote on India

It is for their vote on the Indian question at the 1934 Bristol Conference of the Conserva- ve Party will go down to history. As all the orld now knows, the Conference very nearly ave an adverse vote on the Government's India olicy. Sir Henry Page Croft, in a very bitter peech, had moved a resolution urging the overnment "to assent to no proposals which ould imperil the future of India." His speech eriously expressed the fancy of the Conserva- ve delegates; and when the Executive moved n amendment "to refrain from making a pro- ouncement until the report of the Joint Select ommittee had been received," it scraped through y the merest chance and only really by a ke. In all, the amendment was put to the onference three times. With a first show of nds, it seemed to be lost. With a second show f hands, the *Chairman* said it was carried. his led to a ballot being demanded, and only en did the amendment come out on top—with e tiny majority of 23! There voted for the mendment 543 and against it 520. But, and is is the heart of the matter, about 700 elegates did not vote at all. This 700, of ourse, will be disputed. But the official pologists cannot have it both ways. On the day efore the India debate the Press had been nformed that nearly 2,000 delegates were ttending the Conference. As they say, if the 00 is disputed the sum does not work out.

No Fighting Lead

The Conservative Party then has once more hown that it will never know in time the hings which b-long unto peace. But Mr. Baldwin as often spoken as if he did know ("Give eace in our time, oh Lord!" he once said in the House of Commons). Surely in his speech at Bristol therefore, on the day following that blind-hearted vote, he should have stood up to that vote and made a confession of his faith with regard to the future of India—have given those delegates something to chew upon, and India some guidance as to what that vote really amounts to. But instead of recalling the Conference to considerations of policy, he enlarged on the question of leaders and loyalties and the democratic approach thereto. It is the curse of the age that men follow leaders instead of principles.

As for the rest of his speech, it flitted over various urgent matters—unemployment, hours of labour, slum clearance. Nowhere was the fighting lead apparent. Action was promised "at the first opportunity" in the matter of the distressed areas. In this connection, perhaps, the Government has up its sleeve one of those afore-mentioned dummies. The four commissioners who investigated the distressed areas reported long ago. Their reports have been held up from publication for such ages that everyone has been asking how in the circumstances any useful action could be taken on them this winter. But perhaps they are to come into the shop window to grace the opening of the last session before the General Election.

Mining Accidents

On the subject of the shorter working week, the Conservative leader had nothing new to say. Once more we were told that the time has not yet come to adopt the Geneva Convention. Not yet come in these days of ever-increasing mechanization! But he "would like to see it in operation in the Mining Industry."

This really does call for comment—especially when the fire at Gresford Colliery is such a recent reminder of what a miner's life can be like In the first place it was Mr. Baldwin's own Conservative Government which, in 1926, put an extra hour on to the miner's working day.

The Mining Industry is in its nature an exceptional one and calls for exceptional consideration. On July 4th this year, long before the Gresford disaster, Official Reports were issued by the Mining Inspectors for Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, Westmorland, the North Riding of Yorkshire, parts of Lancashire, North and South Derbyshire, Leicestershire and the ironstone mines of Northants and Lincolnshire. These Reports pointed out "a disturbing increase" in the number of fatal and non-fatal accidents. In September, commenting on the Gresford fire, one authority wrote: "The price of coal in human life is nearly 1,000 killed every year and 150,000 injured. The latter number is the size of our first British Expeditionary Force." (But for the miners, their war is still going on.)

It is unfortunately the case that the provision of safety devices in the mines is largely haphazard and left to the choice of the mine-owners. Much more is going to be heard on

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this subject and it is to be hoped that Parliament has at last been shocked into doing its utmost to regularize the position. But perhaps, in passing, one suggestion which has been made is worth putting on record. This suggestion is that preferential rates of insurance should be given to a mine in accordance with the provision of safety devices made in that mine. Preferential rates should not as now depend on the accident rate: accidents may be rare in a given mine for one reason or another, but a combination of circumstances might bring about an exceptional disaster—and all circumstances should be provided against. Merit insurance, as it is called, should be the only form of Insurance in operation in the Mines.

Miners' Hours

But all the experts who have made themselves familiar with the problems of the mining industry are agreed that, in the last resort, it is the human factor that is the most important. Indeed in the anxious life underground, so important is it that everyone should be sensitive and alert to what is happening to the mine at every passing moment, that even the pit ponies have played an essential part in sensing danger.

All are agreed that safety in the mine depends on the efficiency and awareness of the miner. Yet we know that accidents are more frequent during the last hour of the shift—and how can we dare to say that the time has not yet come to shorten the miner's hours?

Miners' Wages

While he was glancing at the Mining Industry, Mr. Baldwin might have given a thought to the miners' wages and the strike which has only just been averted in South Wales. The men were asking for a restoration of the cut made in their pay in 1931. Their claim was backed up by that National Industrial Coal Board. And even if the cut were to be restored in full, the real wages of the lowest paid miner would still be lower than in 1914. The public are always fogged about the miners' wages because they hear that the miner gets say 7-6d a day and they multiply it by seven. But the truth is of course that very many miners are only working two or three days a week. Some of them are only bringing home £1 a week! In such cases, perhaps, they seek assistance from public sources. What gratitude on the part of the public to see their miners in such a pass! But supposing that even with such assistance their money adds up to the amount of the dole. Is that a suitable reward for men engaging in the most dangerous and arduous of industries? How can it be enough to fit them for the toil and anxieties laid on them? Even if they worked a full week the miners, at the present rates per shift, would be receiving a miserably inadequate wage.

But coal-getting and money-getting cannot go together. And the story of how men have tried to make profits out of coal is probably one of the most discreditable and sickening in the world. It begins badly with the reyalties paid to owners of the land in which coal has been found a tribute exacted by the landowners in return for no service on their part whatever.

Then consider the scandal of the position of the Fireman in the mine. Explosions in the mine arise from an increase in the percentage of gas in the mine. It is the duty of the Fireman to see that this percentage does not rise above 2½ per cent, and if it does he must withdraw the men. Yet this same Fireman is also given the duty of keeping up the output of coal! In other words, it is in his interest to keep the men at work in the mine as long as possible. How this works out in practice is indicated by a letter which appeared in the Press this week from one such ex-fireman. During the third week on the job, he writes, he discovered a quantity of gas in a certain working area. When making his daily report, however, he was "told by a superior to put down only a small quantity of gas, instead of giving the full figures." And he adds: "Owing to my refusal to do this, I lost my situation."

But the Conservative Conference worries very little about these things. At both the Conservative Conference at Bristol and the Labour Conference at Southport a collection was taken up in aid of the dependents of the dead Gresford miners. It is surely expressive of the approach of the two Parties to these questions that the 2000 Conservative delegates only contributed between them £50 while the 800 Labour delegates managed to raise £131.

Slum Landlords

The Conservatives were only roused to enthusiasm when they heard Sir Henry Page Croft downing freedom in India; Viscount Wolmer advocating increasing the power of the House of Lords; Mr. Neville Chamberlain hinting darkly at secret plans for strengthening our armaments; and when, amid cries of "Hilton Young resign!", they passed a resolution calling on the Government to be sure and compensate the slum landlords.

Sir Hilton Young once delivered himself of the sentiment that slum landlords had no more right to be compensated for their bad houses than butchers had to be compensated for the sale of bad meat. This the Conservatives, or the delegates they sent to the Conference, have never forgotten. Have they ever, one wonders, heard of the Potteries? In the Potteries the death-rate from consumption is 34 per cent higher than for England and Wales as a whole. It is 60 per cent higher than for the surrounding county of Staffordshire. And here is the reason. According to a Report published by the

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Burslem and District Co-operative Party, "One out of every six houses in the Potteries is unfit for human habitation, and one out of every five persons is living in houses which have been condemned for many years."

In Liverpool this last week a mother of nine children, who lived with her family in *two rooms*, died in child-birth. Ever since 1915 this woman had been applying to the Council for a house. On the day that she died a notice was received that she would be given the first four-roomed house available. Available! This scandal was revealed by a Liverpool Labour woman Councillor, Mrs. Braddock, who also stated that she was informed by the Medical Officer who attended the dead woman that "It was possible that the woman would not have died had proper housing conditions been provided for her."

Sir Hilton Young, in conference with the Plymouth City Council a week ago, foreshadowed a new housing drive, more especially in the matter of overcrowding. It is also prophesied that a young and lusty Housing Minister may be one of the other dummies in the shop window. A dummy it must remain so long as we are confronted by apathy such as seems to prevail amongst local councillors in Liverpool and the Potteries and not only there. Apathy encouraged now by an instruction from the Conservative Conference to see that slum landlords are compensated. And be it noted that in his speech at the close of the Conservative Conference Mr. Baldwin said that he would see what could be done to remove their anxiety.

The Labour Conference

If the Conservative Conference at Bristol showed the Party, within a year of the General Election, more reactionary than ever, the Labour Party Conference at Southport talked as if they were within sight of office already! This in spite of the fact that, according to one observer, the tacit opinion is that "before a Labour Administration returns to Downing Street, the Party in Parliament will have to trudge stoutly over at least six years of Opposition sand."

From the point of view of taking office, the Executive must be very pleased with the expeditious manner in which the Conference annihilated Sir Stafford Cripps and his Socialist Leaguers. The trouble with the Socialist Leaguers is that they have learned too much from their Conservative opponents and the use they make of Emergency Powers Acts and Orders in Council. They would like to proceed in a similarly undemocratic manner. Believing quite sincerely that Labour can never create a socialist system within the Capitalist State they would like, as soon as Labour is returned to office, to put their schemes into force by a series of emergency decrees. In this way they would proceed to take over the banks and the basic industries and to fight the House of Lords. In his speech to the Conference Sir Stafford Cripps even suggested that this would have to be done in a week or two if a Labour Government were to survive!

The answer to this quixotic proposal is, of course, the answer to all legislation or reforms imposed from the top. They never last. Because they have no roots, they wither away. And, however much you may disguise it, the sanction for such legislation will only be *force*. The evolutionary, democratic path may be terribly slow, but it is the only abiding and successful way.

Be this as it may, the Labour Party Conference voted down the Socialist League by 2,146,000 votes to 206,000. And the next day they completed the disarming of the Leaguers by admitting Sir Stafford Cripps to the Party Executive. As one critic wittily observed, they smacked him one day and gave him a bun the next!

Peace and Disarmament

But the event which will make the Southport Conference memorable was the adoption of Labour's peace and disarmament policy. This was carried by 1,953,000 votes against 269,000. This policy, in the words of Major Attlee, M.P., who spoke for the Executive, deliberately places world order before loyalty towards country. This means that the Labour Party places the League of Nations and collective peace above national armaments. Lord Hailsham, the Minister for War in the National Government, has seen fit to attack the Labour Party and to pretend that their policy is a threat to patriotism and loyalty to King and country. But the truth is that in putting world order before private loyalties the Labour Party is only re-affirming the ideals to which we are pledged in the League Covenant and the Kellogg Pact. As even the *Times* admits, they are but following "the professed aim, not of one particular party, or of one particular Government, but of every country which belongs to the League of Nations." To quote Nurse Cavell's last words that have an abiding place on her monument in London: "Patriotism is not enough.'

The debate on peace and disarmament touched a very high level and this was due to the presence of Mr. Arthur Henderson, the President of the Disarmament Conference. He made the speech of his lifetime and its influence hung about all the discussion. "Labour's policy," he said, "is directed towards the abolition of war through the League of Nations and the strengthening of the collective peace system." And he went on to emphasize that a collective peace system implies "pledges to refrain from war, *to accept community judgment* on what constitutes aggression, or resort to war sanctions, peaceful settlement of disputes and disarmament."

It should be plain, of course, that the heart of the matter lies in the pledge to accept community judgment. This is a surrender of national sovereignty: a surrender in the interest of the whole comity of nations. There were those in

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the Conference who disputed this essential point. As out and out pacifists they were anxious rather to pledge the Party to a policy of war resistance, and to the use of the general strike as a means of stopping war. But, though we cannot doubt the sincerity of these pacifists, their position cannot really be maintained in logic. So long as any section of the world community reserves to itself the right to make or refrain from war, wars will continue. Those who seek to arm the League of Nations are not in any way condoning armaments and wars. They are only giving the League the means of compelling the nations to keep the peace. There is no question that, by following such a policy, a Labour Government in England might find itself committed to joining in a capitalists' war. The armed forces of the League would not wage any war. They would merely knock the heads of the belligerents together and compel them to go to law to settle their differences.

"The Soviet Union," said Mr. Henderson, "when it entered the League, promised to fulfil all the obligations of the Covenant." And surely Russia has traversed all this ground. Indeed even in its present unarmed impotent state the League of Nations, the pale shadow of what it will one day become, is the best security there exists for peace. War between Russia and Japan has for some time seemed a probability. It still may be. But the fact remains that the moment it was known that Russia would enter the League Japanese bonds began to appreciate in the money market. Why? It was, in the words of the *Financial News*, because "the almost certain entry of the Soviet Union into the League increases the chances of war being avoided altogether."

Mussolini on Disarmament

Fascism, at all events, has not taken long to reply to Mr. Henderson. Yesterday Signor Mussolini, speaking at Milan to a meeting of 250,000 Fascists, opined: "All attempts at disarmament have failed. Mr. Henderson is tenacious, but he cannot succeed in reviving the Lazarus of disarmament, which lies buried under navies and cannon."

It is strange that the Duce should have spoken of the Lazarus of disarmament. He might have spoken of its "putrid corpse", which was the elegant manner in which he once described the state of liberty in Italy. For, after all, Lazarus did come back from the dead—even though the unbelievers laughed the idea to scorn.

8th October, 1934

An Autumna View

Artist—
Mr. Jajneswar Saha

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF MR. RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

AT THE ALL INDIA ANTI-COMMUNAL "AWARD" CONFERENCE, BOMBAY, 25TH OCTOBER, 1934

THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER'S INDIAN COMMUNAL DECISION

Sir Govindrao Balwant Pradhan, Fellow Delegates and Friends,

I thank you most sincerely and cordially for your kindness in electing me to preside over the deliberations of this very important conference, though I wish your choice had fallen on some active and leading political worker, instead of on a journalist.

Main Political Problem—To Win Freedom

The main political problem before us is how to win freedom for India. It is the bounden duty of all of us to strive to win it. Our opinions and methods may differ, but our object should be identical. It is my considered opinion that the Communal Decision is an obstacle in the way of our endeavours to win freedom. Whether this Decision remains or is rejected, we must persist in the struggle for freedom. But as in a well-thought-out campaign the general does not march forward towards the goal leaving a stronghold behind in the possession of his antagonists, so it would not be wise for us to advance without a simultaneous and strenuous endeavour at least to weaken, if not to eradicate, communalism. It is for this reason that, as a humble camp-follower of all soldiers of freedom, I shall try to expose the mischievous and dangerous character of the Communal Decision.

Not an Award but a Decision

I do not know who first called it the Communal Award. Mr. James Ramsay MacDonald, the British Prime Minister, calls it a decision. And a decision it is. The nominees of the Government who attended the so-called Round Table Conference did not all agree to accept the arbitration of the Premier. Hence, the decision which he has given is not binding on them as an award given by an arbitrator of their choice would have been. Moreover, even if they had unanimously chosen him their arbitrator, and if he had given an award as such, his award would not have been binding on the people of India, because the nominees of the Government who attended the so-called Round Table Conference were not elected by the people of India as their representatives.

Joint Action Made Impossible

No one can accuse our Government of being over-respectful or over-responsive to public opinion. It would not be difficult to mention occasions when Government have ridden roughshod over public opinion. One may, therefore, be curious to know why Government want us to be unanimous as regards the reforms we want, knowing all the while that every care has been and is being taken to prevent unanimity. When Britain gave Canada a self-ruling constitution, did she require all parties in Canada to arrive at an greed settlement among themselves?

One may also be curious to know why, before Government gave us any idea of the kind of constitution that was going to be given to us, there should have been such a hurry to give a communal decision. If Government had given us a definite promise of at least Dominion Status, it would have been comparatively easy for us to arrive at an agreed settlement. But to us was given first a Communal Decision! And it was of such a character that it could have no other result than to set different classes and religious communities —and even the two sexes—by the ear, thus making a joint struggle for freedom impracticable, if not impossible. One is considered to intend the usual and natural result of one's action. If so, it would not be unfair to hold that Mr. James Ramsay MacDonald intended that his Communal Decision should have the result which it has had. It has side-tracked the main issue. At the same time, it is not possible to tackle the main issue without attacking the side issue of the Communal Decision, because the latter lays the axe at the root of national unity. So long as the Communal Decision continues to be enforced, it will so vivisect and divide the nation as to make all mass action, all joint action, all national action, impossible.

Premier's Statement

On the publication of the text of the Decision of His Majesty's Government on communal problems, the British Prime Minister issued a statement, in the course of which he said:

"We never wished to intervene in the communal controversies of India. . . . We have realised from the very first that any decision that we may make is likely, to begin with at any rate, to be criticized by every community purely from the point of view of its own complete demands, but we believe that in the end, considerations of Indian needs will prevail and all communities will see that their duty is to co-operate in working the new constitution which is to give India a new place in the British Commonwealth of Nations."

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald added that the British Government had to undertake the duty of giving their decision on India's constitutional communal problems, because of "the failure of the communities to agree amongst themselves" and "in response to repeated appeals from representative Indians."

Communal Controversy Has British Parentage

In order to apportion blame fairly it is necessary to refer briefly to the origin of the communal controversies and their subsequent history.

It may be true, though one cannot be sure, that the present Prime Minister and his former and present colleagues, who had to do with the first and second sessions of the so-called Round Table Conference, never wished to intervene in the communal controversies of India. But who were responsible for the origin and growth of communal controversies in the field of Indian politics? It is a matter of common knowledge that our communal problems in their political aspects were virtually created by Governor-General Lord Minto in the first decade of this century. To prove this it is not necessary to state that the late Maulana Mohammad Ali said in his Congress presidential address that the Muhammadan deputation which waited upon Lord Minto, asking for separate favourable treatment for the Muslims

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as regards seats in the legislative bodies and appointments in the public services, was a "command performance," which means that the deputation was got up at the suggestion of some high-placed officer or officers of the Government; nor is it necessary to refer to a similar statement made by Maulvi Abdus Samad, M. L. C., as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Murshidabad Session of the Bengal Provincial Conference. For, Lord Morley, as Secretary of State for India, wrote on the 6th December, 1909, to Lord Minto:

"I won't follow you again into our Mahometan dispute. Only I respectfully remind you once more that it was your early speech about their extra claims that first started the M. (Mahometan) hare." "Recollections" by John Viscount Morley, Vol. ii, p. 325.

Other corroborative evidence, and that too from official publications, is also available. For example, the following passages are to be found in the Report of the Indian Central Committee, published by the Government of India—

"58. It was at the time of the Morley-Minto Reforms that the claim for communal electorates was advanced by the Muhammadans inspired by certain officials." P. 113.

Again:

"66. It is often said that we must adhere to the promise made by Lord Minto's Government to the Muhammadan Deputation that waited on him in 1907-8. We will not bring forward the fact, which is now established beyond doubt, that there was no spontaneous demand by the Muslims at that time for separate electorates, but it was only put forward by them at the instigation of an official whose name is now well known." P. 117.

These two passages are taken from the Memorandum by the Hon. Sir Sankaran Nair, Chairman of the Indian Central Committee, a Hindu, the Hon. Raja Nawab Ali Khan, member of the Committee, a Musalman, and the Hon. Sardar Bahadur Shivdev Singh Uberoi, member of the Committee—a Sikh. There is no criticism or contradiction of the statements made in these passages either in the body of the Report of the Indian Central Committee or the Minutes of Dissent submitted by different members, Muslim and non-Muslim.

Therefore, there appears to be no doubt that the device of the separate communal electorate can rightly claim British parentage.

Condemned even by British Historians

Separate communal electorates have been condemned in the latest British history of India, *viz.*, "Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India" by Edward Thompson and C. F. Garratt, as follows:

"Their effect was wholly bad. It is not only that they have led Indians to organize along sectarian lines, for this was probably inevitable, and caste grouping occurs even within the Hindu constituencies, but the system throws up the worst type of pugnacious fanatic, who loves 'to prove his doctrines orthodox by apostolic blows and knocks.' The feeling that great changes were going to take place and the prospect of some actual transfer of responsibility and control over appointments, have combined to rouse all the meaner political passions, especially in those provinces, like Bengal and the Punjab, where the two communities are nearly equal in number. Middle class unemployment and a family system which elevates nepotism into something like a virtue, have also helped to embitter the politico-religious struggle. A further and very grave disadvantage of the communal electorate is that an alteration in the parties can only occur through differences in the birth-rate. And both sides are stirred to new missionary enterprise, when the reward is not only a soul but also a permanent addition to one's voting strength. The activities of the Arya Samaj amongst the poor Muslim and the various Mohammadan bodies amongst the lower caste Hindu, have aroused the greatest bitterness. The politicians get all the support they need from an irresponsible press, while ill-feeling amongst the educated classes is kept alive by scurrilities like the 'Rangila Rasul.'"

I do not know whether the authors intend to suggest that nepotism is a failing peculiar to Indians, or that the community to which the writer of 'Rangila Rasul' belonged was alone responsible for scurrilities, or that the Indian Press has a monopoly of irresponsibility. But otherwise on the whole Messrs. Thompson and Garratt are quite fair and just in their criticism of separate communal electorates.

Partiality Shown to Muhammadans

Sir Bampfylde Fuller's "favourite wife" theory and Lord Olivier's observations on the British attitude towards Moslems are well known. For decades, there has been discrimination in favour of Mussalmans in the provision of special educational facilities. The reservation of large proportions of posts in the public services for Muslims, Anglo-Indians and the like, recently made, is another case in point. Both in the Morley-Minto and Montagu-Chelmsford Constitutions separate electorates were provided for the Mussalmans, thus whetting their appetite for such things. Lastly, during both the sessions of the Round Table Conference the Imperialist die-hards and the members of the European Association then in England had been constantly strengthening and stimulating the separatist communal zeal of the Muslim "delegates" to the R. T. C. The Prime Minister need not be reminded that all the Muslim "delegates" were separatists, except latterly Sir Ali Imam, who was not allowed to or did not take part in the Round Table Conference. Is it any wonder then that there was no communal agreement? More recently, the Hindu Leaders at the Unity Conference at Allahabad agreed to the Muslim Communalist demands, as far as they could, in order to secure Muslim support to the Indian Nationalist programme. It was agreed that Sind should be separated, some safe-guards being provided for the Hindu minority and a Muslim Hindu committee being appointed to find out ways and means for financing the new Sind province. This was, of course, a mere paper agreement, as the leaders of the Unity Conference had no power to separate Sind from Bombay and do the other things necessary to implement the agreement. Government is in a far better position—it can do things by its fiat. When the Hindus had agreed definitely to the separation of Sind, of course, on some conditions, Government came into the scene with a higher bid for Moslem support—Sir Samuel Hoare declared that Sind would be separated—unconditionally, of course!

The Unity conference at Allahabad had agreed also to give the Moslems 32 per cent of the seats at the Central Legislature. It was a paper promise made by persons who had no power to deliver the goods. Sir Samuel Hoare made a higher bid for Moslem Support. He promised to give them 33|1-3 per cent of the seats and he has the power to deliver the goods. So Moslem support went to him, the highest bidder, who can deliver the goods.

Government's Failure

The British rulers being thus, in part at least, responsible for political disaggreements among the com-

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...ties, it was their bounden duty to devise a scheme ...ch would tend to produce agreement among them. ...s they have not done.

The failure of Government's own nominated men ...come to an agreement cannot be rightly spoken of ...he failure of the communities themselves. Nor were ...e of them "representative Indians." It may be that, ...if the communities had chosen their own repre...atives, they too would perhaps have failed to reach ...agreement. That would, however, have been due in ...small measure to the communalist mentality created ...fostered by the Government's own policy and ...sures. But the British Government neither asked ...allowed the communities to choose their own repre...atives for the purpose of arriving at an agreement.

Perfect Unanimity Impossible

It has never also been definitely stated by the ...ish Government in Britain or in India what degree ...greement would be acceptable to them, assuming of ...se, without admitting, that they would really wel...e a communal agreement. If perfect unanimity were ...ired, that would perhaps be unattainable. Even in ...ain and other Western countries there is no unani..., there is great divergence of opinion, among different ...ies, in relation to many matters of the greatest im...ance. So, it ought to suffice, if in India important ...influential sections of different communities come ...n agreement on essential constitutional points.

Now, Nationalist Muslims, assembled at the Lucknow ...ference, voted in favour of joint electorates. At the ...ipur Conference they did the same. These decisions ...e approved and welcomed by the Hindus. The ...al Presidency Muslim League's resolution in favour ...int electorates was fully endorsed by Hindu leaders ...ll shades of political opinion, and this endorsement ...published in the papers. Similar resolutions have ...passed at meetings of other Muslim associations. ...a meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council, attended ...Muslim, Hindu, European and other members, a ...ution in favour of joint electorates was carried. At ...same Council, in the course of the debate on the ...icipal Bill a similar voting in favour of joint elector... took place.

Government's Anxiety to Safe-guard Muslim Interests!

But in spite of these clear indications that all ...dus and an important section of the Muslims are in ...r of joint electorates—at least in Bengal, the com...al decision was given in favour of separate elector... in all provinces. And why? Apparently because ...ction of Muslims want separate electorates. On the ...side, there were an important section of Musalmans ...all Hindus and many Christians, etc., in favour of ...t electorates; on the other, there was a section of ...almans in favour of separate electorates, to which ...Hindus were opposed. Hence, to all fair-minded ...it should have been clear that the preponderating ...ion was in favour of joint electorates. Under the ...umstances, it would not be unfair to conclude that ...Decision has gone in favour of separate electorates, ...se British Imperialists do not want a united India, ...want a divided India, and also because Britishers ...dia want a decisive voice in the government of the ...try by means of separate electorates. What they ...care for above all, is a separate electorate and ...effective voice for themselves in Indian legis...es. Instead of saying so plainly, they profess great ...y for safe-guarding the interests of Muslims and ...others by separate electorates. But sometimes in unguarded moments the real truth comes out. For example, in an issue of "The Statesman" of Calcutta it was observed:

"It is from the hands of Britishers that the new constitution must come, and in no circumstances is it conceivable that the British community here with its enormous stake in the country would accept annihilation."

It is understood, of course, that "annihilation," means "not having for themselves the casting vote," as it were, in the legislative bodies by means of over-representation by separate electorates for themselves—and by securing a permanent overwhelming statutory majority in the Councils for themselves and the subservient section of Muslims combined. This Calcutta British Organ advocated the system of separate electorates for selfish reasons, knowing quite well all the while that it is an evil thing. For, it wrote:

"Nobody will argue that separate electorates are beneficial, that they promote the feeling of nationhood, or that they do not tend to keep open sores and prevent the healing of differences."

Fate of Agreed Settlements

I have shown that there has been substantial agreement between the Hindus and an important section of the Muslims—the Nationalist Muslims, particularly in Bengal, in favour of joint electorates. Hence the British Cabinet should and could have given their decision in its favour at least in Bengal. The Premier has stated that the Government will "be ready and willing to substitute for their scheme any scheme either in respect of any one or more of the Governor's provinces or in respect of the whole of British India that is generally agreed to and accepted by all the parties affected." This assurance has been repeated in the Government's decision. Therefore, Government could have given joint electorates at least to some of the provinces, e.g., Bengal. That they have not done so, shows that they do not desire even a partial mitigation of the harmful features of their scheme, they appear to want from the vast population of India a complete scheme of which all points are agreed to and accepted by all the present and any possible future mushroom parties affected. It is and would be impossible to satisfy such a condition. For at any moment at the dictate of the British Imperialists, who are in a position to offer inducements, dissident parties may make their appearance. Hence, it would be foolish to build any hopes on the words in the Decision which say that Government "are most desirous to close no door to an agreed settlement," as "agreed" appears to imply perfect unanimity on all points on the part of all possible existing and future parties.

Another "agreed settlement" which the British Cabinet did not accept is the Rajah-Moonje pact between Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah, the leader of the vast majority of the Depressed Classes and Dr. B. S. Moonje, the then working President of the Hindu Mahasabha, according to which the Depressed Class Hindus were to have a number of seats reserved for them in proportion to their numbers to be filled by election by joint electorates. Mr. Rajah has pointed out that the Depressed Classes have got less seats by the award than they would have got by this pact. The White Paper proposals are partly based on the Communal Decision, and they also supplement it as regards the distribution of seats in the Federal Legislature. In that legislature, too, the Depressed Classes have got less seats. The professed leaders of the Depressed Classes in the R. T. C. entered into the Minority Pact with the Muslim delegates in that body. That the Depressed Classes were made cat's-paws will appear from the following figures:

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In British India, minus Burma, according to the Government Census Report, Moslems number 6,64,78,669 and the Depressed Classes number 4,02,54,576. In the Lower Chamber of the Federal Legislature Moslems are to get 82 seats, and the Depressed Classes only 19. In proportion to the Moslem seats they ought to have got 49 seats. The number of seats to be given to the Depressed Classes in the Upper Chamber is not even mentioned. Perhaps no seat is to be reserved for them.

Mr. MacDonald's Wrong Contention

Mr. MacDonald defends the continuance of separate electorates on the ground that they have been regarded by minority communities as an essential protection for their rights. But this is not true of all minority communities. For example: except in Madras, there have not been separate electorates for Indian Christians, and generally speaking, they have not asked for, but are rather opposed to, separate electorates; the most important organizations of the depressed classes who by the by are not a religious community by themselves, have insisted on joint electorates; and the foremost leaders of the women of India, who also are not at all a community by themselves, have been opposed to separate communal electorates. Yet all these groups have been cursed with that evil thing.

Even if Mr. MacDonald's defence of separate electoraes for minority communities were assumed to be valid, why has he given separate electorates to the Muslim majority communities in Bengal and the Punjab, where the Hindu and Sikh minority communities did not initiate the claim to protection by such electorates?

It is not true and it has not been proved that separate electorates give protection to minorities, or that their interests are promoted or safe-guarded when those of India as a whole suffer.

Premier's Illogical Reasoning

The Premier says in his statement: "I want to see greater and smaller communities working together in peace and amity." If he be really sincere, he must be blessed, or rather cursed, with a perfectly illogical and obtuse mind. For, with his colleagues, he has divided the people of India into political groups in such a way that, if they were not hitherto mutually suspicious and distrustful, they would henceforth suspect and be envious and jealous of one another, and, if already mutually distrustful, would have that distrust greatly increased. And having done this, he asks the world to believe that he sincerely desires the people of India to work together in peace and amity.

He says, "Government have to face facts as they are and must maintain this exceptional form of representation." But when will British politicians have the honesty and courage to face the other and prior fact that facts are as they are, at least partly, because it was Lord Minto's early speech about the Moslem's extra claims "that first started the Moslem hare," as Lord Morley put it, and that the Morley-Minto "reforms" and the Montagu-Chelmsford "reforms" have been such as to lead that hare to keep itself in evidence ever since?

Government and the Deperssed Classes

In the Premier's opinion,

"The anomaly of giving certain members of Depressed Classes two votes is abundantly justified by the urgent need of securing that their claims should be effectively expressed and the prospects of improving their actual condition promoted."

We do not object to the Depressed Classes having any real advantage. What is strongly objected to is their complete or partial separation from the main body of the Hindus. It cannot be admitted that Government have been in practice particular well-wishers of the Depressed Classes. Dr. Ambedkar's arraignment of Government in his Nagpur presidential address is well-known. Recently, the defeat in the Bombay Council of Mr. Bakhale's Bill for the removal of the disabilities of the Depressed Classes, has shown the real attitude of Government.

The enlightened and progressive sections of the Hindu community have been making considerable efforts to improve the condition of the Depressed Classes, so that they may not long remain depressed. But Government now in effect declare that all "caste" Hindus, as Britishers call them, are hostile to the Depressed Classes, or at least indifferent to their lot, and that therefore separate electorates are required for them to protect their interests against the imaginary attacks of the 'caste' Hindus. And Government have also offered inducements to these classes to continue to admit their "untouchability" and to deserve the title "depressed" so as to remain entitled to separate seats. Under the circumstances, "the prospects of improving their actual condition," social, educational and economic, must be poor indeed.

Representation of Women

Regarding the representation of women, Mr. MacDonald observes:

"As regards women voters, it has been widely recognized in recent years that the women's movement in India holds one of the keys of progress. It is not too much to say that India cannot reach the position to which it aspires in the world until its women play their due part as educated and influential citizens. There are undoubtedly serious objections to extending to representation of women the communal method, but if seats are to be reserved for women as such and women members are to be fairly distributed among the communities, there is in the existing circumstances no alternative."

I have already pointed out that the leading exponents of women's rights never wanted a communal distribution of seats for themselves. Hence separate communal electorates ought not to have been thrust upon them. The Premier talks of women playing their due part as "educated and influential citizens" for which education and interest and participation in public movements are essential, and he talks of a fair distribution of women's seats among the communities. I suppose that he nevertheless thinks that if women's seats are distributed merely by counting heads, and not according to the extent of education and the comparative absence or presence of public spirit among the women of different communities that is a fair distribution. It is well known that the leaders of the section of Musalman Bengalis whose views have found acceptance with the Government think that the women who would stand as candidates and cast votes, are undesirable specimens of their sex. It is also well known that female education has made comparatively much less progress among the Muslim Community than among the Hindus. And owing to their social and educational handicap, Muslim women can take very much smaller interest and part in civic and other public movements and affairs than Hindu women. In spite of these facts, the Premier thinks it fair to give the same number of seats to Muslim women as to Hindu women! Let me not be misunderstood. I cordially welcome the prospect of Muslim women taking part in public affairs. It is only the Premier's claim of fair distribution of women's seats which I repudiate.

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Attempt Fair and Honest!

One can imagine the inward glee with which the Premier rubs in the failure of the Government nominees the R. T. C. to produce an agreed scheme, by telling the Indian communities"—

"Let them remember when examining the scheme that they themselves failed when pressed again and again to produce to us some plan which would give general satisfaction."

Assuming that the failure of the Government nominees must mean the failure of "the Indian Communities," who did not choose them, is that any reason why the British Cabinet should feel justified in expecting the people to accept their manifestly mischievous scheme? The Premier thinks it a "fair and honest attempt." It does not seem axiomatic that it is either.

The Decision keeps old obstacles and creates new ones

He says: "The most that Government can hope for is that their decision will remove an obstacle from the path of constitutional advance." It is a curious hope, seeing that the decision keeps the old obstacles intact and creates new ones. There can never be any constitutional advance by means of constitutional methods without the joint endeavour of all communities: but the word "joint" is a taboo, and 'separate' is the word beloved of the rulers of India. Inconsistently enough, however, the Premier says to the Indian communities, whom the scheme practically requires to non-co-operate with one another, "their duty is to co-operate in working the new constitution which is to give India a new place in the British Commonwealth of Nations;" and he concludes his sanctimonious homily with the similar observation that "communal co-operation is a condition of progress and that it is their special duty to put upon themselves the responsibility of making the new constitution work." As Mr. MacDonald is neither Machiavelli nor Mephistopheles, but the Prime Minister of a great people, one ought to think that he is not indulging in a grim joke. It is my considered opinion that, in spite of the disruptive tendencies of what the British Cabinet have done, all Indian communities ought to co-operate—not, of course, for making the new constitution work, but for radically mending it, or if that be impossible, for ending it and making a beneficent one in its stead. For, even if it were workable, it cannot produce any balance of good result.

But Where is Swaraj?

What is the "new place" "the new constitution" according to Mr. MacDonald is to give India in the British Commonwealth of Nation? That of a habitation of helots who must not make any joint endeavours to be and remain free? What are the precious of rights of free men for which different communities and groups are going to scramble and fight? Of what kind of Swaraj, of what rights, are the communalists going to get a big share? The Premier's statement and the decision are both silent on these points.

Incompatible with National Self-rule

In the second paragraph of his statement relating to Government's Communal Decision the British Premier says:

"We have realised from the very first that any decision that we may make is likely, to begin with at any rate, to be criticised by every community purely from the point of view of its own complete demands."

As this sentence does not indicate the worst fault, mischievousness or maleficence of the decision, critics should not be put off the scent by it. The decision is not to be considered mainly as against the interests of this Indian community or group or that, but as against the national interest of all Indian as *pro*-Britain and *contra*-India. I shall show later on that the Decision is utterly incompatible with national self-rule.

One of the essential conditions of democratic and responsible Government is that what is today a minority party may become the majority party tomorrow by the conversion of its opponents to its way of thinking, or owing to other causes. In this way all groups have an effective chance of giving the nation the benefit of their wisdom, capacity and public spirit. The changeability of the personnel of the ruling party gives the ruling majority for the time being a sense of its real responsibility to the nation and exercises an effective check on arbitrary, irregular or corrupt methods and actions. But if a constitution makes any religious community, as a community, the permanent ruling majority, or the permanent tools in the hands of the alien real rulers, there cannot be any democratic and responsible self-rule in the country, and all the advantages of such rule pointed out above are lost. The Communal Decision militates against the essential conditions of democratic and responsible Government and would, if given effect to, deprive India of all the advantages of such Government.

It subjects the Hindus to grave, contemptuous and insulting injustice—perhaps because it is they who have worked for and demanded self-rule most. Under it their representation becomes distinctly weaker in some provinces without getting stronger anywhere, as I shall show later on. It must cause grave anxiety to all real patriots, as, under the circumstances, there can be no peace and no peaceful progress. For, lovers of non-violent methods will be untrue to themselves if they accept the Decision and co-operate to work a communalism-ridden constitution, and do not make the utmost efforts in a peaceful and legitimate manner to unsettle the Decision.

Though there is much cause for anxiety, there is none for being down-hearted. Difficulties exist and crop up only to try our mettle and manhood, which can be proved by overcoming them. Hindu and other Nationalists and Hindus in general, will not, cannot, be crushed.

More Than Communal

The communal decision or, to use the Prime Minister's exact language, "decision on communal representation," is something else in addition to being communal. Properly speaking, the communal decision ought to have assigned their respective shares in the legislative bodies only to the religious communities. But it has done more. Women are not a religious community by themselves; nor are Europeans and Anglo-Indians, Land-holders, Universities, Labour, and the Depressed Classes separate communities. But the decision assigns seats to all these groups—perhaps to maintain "the balance between the communities" desired by the bureaucracy in their own interests. In this there has been an irregularity or impropriety in procedure also. In Chapter XXI of the Indian Franchise Committee's Report, devoted to a discussion of questions relating to the representation of labour, landlords, commerce, and other interests not communities, it has been observed:

"We desire to add that some of our number have felt considerably hampered in dealing with the questions discussed in this chapter by the fact that the communal issue has not yet been decided, and they reserve their right to reconsider their recommendations in the light of the decision that may eventually be reached."

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The decision has deprived them of this right, as it has been made without consulting the Franchise Committee. And it is also to be noted that it has been arrived at without consultation with the Round Table Conference or the Consultative Committee or any other similar body.

The indications given in the decision that there may be second chambers, at least in some provinces, have also nothing to do with any communal decisions. They were probably meant to prepare the public for subsequent efforts to antagonize democracy by means of these plutocratic and pseudo-aristocratic bodies.

Makes National Action Impossible

The new constitution which the British Cabinet wants to give India proposes to do that which no free people or no people struggling to be free can put up with in any constitutional proposals meant for them. It intends so to split and divide the voters and the people of whom they are a part as to make mass action, national action, impossible. Without such combined action, freedom can neither be kept nor won. Nor can the bounds of freedom be made wider yet, without such action. Setting sex against sex, creeds against creeds, castes against castes, classes against classes, interests against interests appears to be the underlying mischievous 'principle' of the decision, though it is without any right principle and is full of anomalies. It is anti-national.

It was argued in favour of communal electorates that, as in litigation clients have the right to select their counsel, so voters ought to have the right to elect their representatives. Exactly. But do Muslim clients always choose Muslim advocates or Hindu clients Hindu advocates, and so on?

Undemocratic

The scheme is also undemocratic. In a democracy it is essential that those who are to conduct the affairs of the State as the representatives of the people should be chosen by them. If a country be inhabited by different religious communities of varying numerical strength and if at present or in course of time, these communities be equally educated, capable and public-spirited—which is desirable but which is not the case in India now, the numbers of the members of its legislature belonging to these different communities are likely to be roughly proportionate to their numerical strength.

If this ultimate ideal standard be borne in mind, it need not be considered a fundamental defect for a constitution to aim at the different communities and classes having proportionate shares in the legislature as the result of the open door to talent. What is fundamentally objectionable from the democratic point of view is the deprivation of entire groups of the opportunity of having anything to do with the election of legislators (and indirectly of members of the Cabinet) —specially of their majority, belonging to communties or classes other than their own. To take concrete examples:

Ruinous Effects of Separate Electorates

Mussalmans can vote only for Mussalman candidates, Indian Christians only for Indian Christian candidates, Hindus only for candidates who are Hindus, non-Muhammadans or non-Christians, etc. If in any place in the opinion of a Muslim voter a Hindu, Christian or any other non-Muslim candidate be the ablest and most impartial and public-spirited citizen, why should he be deprived of the support of such a Muslim voter? Again, if in any place in the opinion of a Hindu voter, a Muslim, or a Christian candidate be the worthiest of election, why should the Hindu voter be prevented from voting for that non-Hindu candidate and why should that non-Hindu candidate be deprived of the support of the Hindu voter? During the brief history of restrictedly representative institutions in India, many Hindus have voted for Christian and Muslim candidates, many Christians for non-Christians, and many Muslims for Hindus and Christians, and that with good results. Rank communalists may want to elect 100 per cent Hindus, 100 per cent Muslims, 100 per cent Christians; but it is more beneficial for a State to have as its legislators and rulers broad-minded, liberal persons who can look at things from the points of view of different classes and communities than to have narrow bigots, fanatics and obscurantists.

In the name of constitutional advance, and in order to get the support of communalists for foreign rule, the free or would-be free citizen's right to vote for a possibly worthiest candidate in his opinion, irrespective of creed or race, is being taken away, as also the right of that candidate to the support of all voters of all creeds or races who consider him worthiest.

Under a system of joint electorates, to whatever religious community or communities, classes, castes, interests or races, the majority of the members of a provincial council might belong, it could be said that people of all communities had helped to elect them and were responsible for choosing them. So the members also would feel their responsibility to and would and must try to promote the interests of all these groups. But under a system of separate electorates, in some provinces the majority of members would be Hindus elected exclusively by Hindus or, in any case, by non-Muslims and non-Christians, in some, the majority would be exclusively elected by Muslims, and in one province, Bengal, the majority would be either Muslims or Muslims cum Europeans elected exclusively by their co-religionists or compatriots. Hence, each province of India would be ruled by a foreign bureaucracy (for British domination would continue) through a majority of legislators for whose election people of all the groups would not be responsible and who would not feel responsible to and would not in consequence ordinarily try to promote the interests of all groups. This would be a highly undesirable state of things. It would not be self-rule or representative Government. It would be rule by people with whose election whole groups also would be inadequately served. Instead of the services of all members, they would be entitled to and would have the services only of particular groups. And the men elected would not necessarily be the ablest and wothiest available. Separate communal elections cannot conduce to the growth of capacity in a community, as outside competition is eliminated.

Opposed to MacDonald's First Pronouncement

Separate communal electorates with reservation of seats and weightage, are opposed also to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's definite pronouncements and to the principles underlying the League of Nations' Minorities Guarantee Treaties. In 1931, Mr. MacDonald said in the course of his speech on the subject of the Round Table Conference at the debate initiated by him in the House of Commons:

"If every constituency is to be earmarked as to community or interest, there will be no room left for the growth of what we consider to be purely political organizations which would comprehend all communities, creeds, and conditions of faith. This is one of the

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lems which have to be faced; because, if India is
to develop a robust political life, there must be
for National political parties based upon concep-
of India's interest, and not upon conceptions regard-
the well-being of any field that is smaller or less
hensive than the whole of India. Then there is
ified proposal regarding that: a proposal is made
there should not be community constituencies with
communal register, but that with a common register
certain percentage of representation should be
anteed to certain communities. It is the first pro-
in a somewhat more attractive, democratic form,
still essentially the same."

This passage would make out the British Premier
an opponent not only of separate electorates for
ing the separate representatives of different com-
ities and interests, but also of the reservation for
of a certain percentage of seats to be filled by
electorates.

The following extract from his speech on the same
sion would lead one to conclude that he was an
ment of weightage, too:

"It is very difficult to convince these very
ghtful people (advocates of communal representa-
that if you give one community weightage, you
not create weightage out of nothing. You have to
it from somebody else. When they discover that,
become confused indeed, and find that they are up
nst a brick wall."

It now appears that this brick wall was entirely a
ent of Mr. MacDonald's imagination. For, the com-
alists have not been confronted with any difficulty
getting nor the British Cabinet in giving weightage
the expense of the Hindus, and in Bengal at the
ense of both Hindus and Muslims—more at the
ense of Hindus than of Muslim—for the advantage
ly of Europeans.

The provincial cabinets have not yet been divided
water-tight compartments, but such a division may
up the British Government's sleeve. So let me quote
ther passage from his House of Commons speech:

"Another problem that faces us from that point
iew is, if your legislature is to be composed in these
ertight compartments, whom are you going to appoint
r Executive? The claim is put that the Executive,
the Administration, the Cabinet, shall also be divided
watertight compartments."

And, of course, the claim will be met, directly or
irectly. Some ethically squeamish people may think
. MacDonald has been insincere, inconsistent, and
on. But they must be wrong. He has had to play
different galleries at different times; that is all.
d he has a good precedent for his inconsistency. The
ntagu-Chelmsford Report argued against separate
presentation but decided in its favour.

How The League of Nations Tackled Minorities Problem

The Minorities problem in India ought to have been
ed according to the principles underlying the Minori-
Guarantee Treaties, concluded under the auspices
the League of Nations, of which, both Great Britain
d India are Member States and to which, along with
eat Britain and other States India was one of the
natories and contracting parties. It is obvious that
e principles which the collective intelligence, wisdom
statesmanship of the world laid down to deal with
e Minorities problem in some twenty States of the
rld and which were accepted and enforced by Great
tain and India in the case of those States, should
ve been followed in the case of India, too. Far from the Minorities problem being peculiar to India, it has been a more serious problem in many European countries, being one of the underlying causes of the Great War, and it has been dealt with everywhere there according to the general and standardized treatment laid down in the League of Nations' Minorities Guarantee Treaties. But, as in everything else, from the spiritual and moral principles embodied in the Sermon on the Mount downwards, India is looked upon as a peculiar and unique country where all that is quite inapplicable is right and applicable elsewhere. I know India is not a clean slate as regards the Minorities problem. But neither were those European countries such where the Minorities Guarantee Treaties have been accepted and enforced.

The question whether the principles underlying the Minority Treaties should be applicable to all Member States of the League has been repeatedly discussed in the League Assembly. Ten years ago in 1922 an agreement was reached and a resolution was adopted in the third Assembly of the League, of which the fourth paragraph is quoted below:

"The Assembly expresses the hope that the States which are not bound by any legal obligation to the League with respect to minorities will nevertheless observe, in the treatment of their own racial, religious or linguistic minorities, at least as high a standard of justice and toleration as is required by any of the Treaties and by the regular action of the Council."

But far from this resolution being adhered to, either in spirit or to the letter, in the case of India, it has never been even considered, although Mr. Arthur Henderson, the then British Foreign Secretary, stated in January, 1931, at the meeting of the League Council as its Chairman that "the system of the protection of Minorities inaugurated by the League of Nations was now a part of the public law of Europe and of the world." (P. 24 of The Monthly Summary of the League of Nations, January, 1931). But India is outside the world, and hence a "high standard of justice," or in fact any standard of Justice, need not be followed here!

The Minorities Guarantee Treaties give protection only to the racial, religious and linguistic minorities only in matters relating to their racial culture, customs, language, and things of that description. Separate commercial, economic or political interests of any group (like those of the European sojourners, the landholders or the merchants in India) are not recognized, nor are merely social minorities (like the non-Brahmins or the "untouchables") recognized, as minorities entitled to protection. Hence separate communal representation and electorates have no place in any of the up-to-date Western constitutions, including that of Turkey.

All persons in India, whether belonging to a majority or minority group anywhere, should bear in mind what objects were sought to be achieved by means of the Minority Treaties and what evil results sought to be prevented. As reminders, the following extracts will serve a useful purpose. M. Blociszewski of Poland wrote in his note of March, 1922:

"We must avoid creating a state within a state. We must prevent the Minority from transforming itself into a privileged caste and taking definite form as a foreign group instead of becoming fused in the society in which it lives. If we take the exaggerated conception of the autonomy of Minorities to the last extreme, these minorities will become disruptive elements in the state and a source of national disorganization."

Speaking at the League Council on December 9, 1925, Sir Austen Chamberlain said:

"It was certainly not the intention of those who had devised this system of Minorities protection to estab-

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lish in the midst of a nation a community which would remain permanently estranged from national life. The object of the Minority Treaties was to secure for the Minorities that measure of protection and justice which would gradually prepare them to be merged in the national community to which they belonged."

Speaking at the League Council on December 9, 1925, M. Dendramis, representative of Greece, said:

"A perusal of the Treaties showed that the Minorities concerned were racial, linguistic and religious Minorities. The authors of the Treaties had not intended to create groups of citizens who would collectively enjoy special rights and privileges; they had intended to establish equality of treatment between all the nationals of a State. If privileges were granted to the Minority in any country, inequality would be created between this Minority and the Majority: the latter would be oppressed by the Minority, and it would then be the Majorities question which would have to engage the attention of the League of Nations."

These extracts should suffice to show that the communal decision of the British Cabinet has sought to do that which the League of Nations strove successfully to avoid in its Minorities Treaties, and has avoided doing that which the League had in view.

Europeans in general, particularly those of the Anglo-Saxon breed, consider Asiatics as less civilized—if civilized at all—than themselves and less able to follow political principles of the right kind. But Asiatics can grasp and follow correct principles. Let me give an example. In "Prabasi," a Bengali magazine, Rabindranath Tagore has written in the course of an account of his travels in Persia and Iraq:

"In various countries of the world it has been held that it would not do for communal religion or creed to occupy all spheres of human life and activities. At a farewell dinner given to a high British administrative officer in Palestine, he said: 'Palestine is a Mahommadan country, and its government should, therefore, be in the hands of the Mahommadans, on condition that the Jewish and Christian minorities are represented in it.' Thereupon Haji Emin El-Huseini, the Mufti of Jerusalem, replied: 'For us it is an exclusively Arab, not a Mahommadan question. During your sojourn in this country you have doubtless observed that here there are no distinctions between Mahommadan and Christian Arabs. We regard the Christians, not as a minority, but as Arabs."

The words of the British officer and the Mufti's reply thereto have been given in English by the poet and reproduced above. The remaining portion of the extract has been translated from the Poet's Bengali article in "Prabasi."

The Mufti could detect the British officer's conscious or unconscious adherence to the *divide et impera* maxim. In relation to India, Britishers count upon the bulk of Mussalman Indians not perceiving, or not opposing, even if perceived, the adherence to any such maxim.

Hindus never demanded Special Rights

It has been already observed that the Premier's anticipation that the Decision is likely to be criticized by every community purely from the point of view of its own complete demands, may put critics on the wrong track. Quite irrespective of whether the Decision is just or unjust or partial to this community or group or that, it has been shown that it is a very baneful one. As regards the demands of the communities, the public have to be reminded and should bear in mind that the Hindu Community as a whole never demanded any special rights and treatment for itself. In the Hindu Mahasabha's statement on the question of constitutional reforms, issued in March, 1931, by its Working Committee and confirmed at successive sessions of the Mahasabha, it is written: "The Hindu Mahasabha desires to point out that it has throughout and consistently taken up a position which is strictly national on the communal issue." The Hindus of India as a whole or the Hindus of any particular province have protested only when the national democratic ideal has been or has been likely to be departed from and any other community or communities favoured at their expense. At this stage also, therefore, my criticism of the Decision so far as the Hindus are concerned, is not that the Hindus have not got any special rights or treatment, for they claimed none, but that their interests and the interests of all Indians have been sacrificed primarily in the interests of the British rulers and merchants and secondarily in the interests of the subservient sections of other Indian communities to be used as tools in the hands of the Britishers.

Multiplication of Electoral Compartments

The largest number of religious communities, classes, and interests for which separate electorates have hitherto been formed according to the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, is ten in Madras and less than ten in the other Provinces. It seems, in the opinion of the British Cabinet, constitutional advance connotes further multiplication of watertight electoral compartments. For, according to their new "communal" scheme, there are to be in the Provinces eighteen separate electorates of the following descriptions: General male, General female, Muslims male, Muslims female, Europeans, Anglo-Indians male, Anglo-Indians female, Sikhs male, Sikhs female, Indian Christians male, Indian Christians female, Landholders, Commerce Industry Mining Planting European, Commerce Industry Mining Planting Indian, Universities, Depressed Classes, Backward areas, and Labour. All these 18 electorates are not to be constituted in all the Provinces, but most of them are to be formed in most Provinces.

Will the Millennium ever dawn?

The Montagu-Chelmsford reforms were ushered in with the promise that at the end of ten years, there would be a revision. Those who have boundless faith in the perfectibility of British political human nature expected something like the millennium at the end of that decade. Here in the present Communal Decision is a foretaste of that millennium. The Communal decision now given contains a similar promise to the effect that:

"Provision will be made in the constitution itself to empower the revision of this electoral arrangement (and other similar arrangements mentioned below) after ten years, *with the assent of the communities affected*, for the ascertainment of which suitable means will be devised."

Were the words I have italicized above written with the draftsman's tongue in his cheek? It would be a rather tough job to get people fed and fattened on communal fare, to vote for the stoppage of such diet. If some classes are given a "privilege", why should they agree to give it up at the end of ten or even fifty years? Therefore, the apparently temporary arrangement would really turn out to be permanent if, of course, the domination of British Imperialists be permanent.

I have been trying to keep my mind undisturbed by the Decision; but I confess this fresh promise of revision after ten years has frightened me. What additional number of watertight communal compartments may a decade hence! But I find solace

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the thoughts that most probably I shall not live till ...and that sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. ...over, the young women and men of today who will ...older by that time have stronger nerves than mine ...withstand mental and moral shocks.

If, as in the case of the Depressed Classes, so in ...se of the Muslims, Sikhs, Europeans, etc., it had been ...ided that their separate representation by special ...stituencies "shall come to an end after twenty years," ...t earlier, with or without their assent, it would have ...n an incontrovertible proof of the British rulers' ...re solicitude for constitutional progress and national ...darity in India.

Positive Name Better than a Negative One

The Montagu-Chelmsford "constitution" gave the ...e of "non-Muhammadan" to all non-descripts like ...Aborgines, the Hindus, Jains, Buddhists, Zoroas-...ans, Jews, Brahmos, etc. The separate electorate to ...formed for this motley crew according to the latest ...mmunal scheme is to be called "General." For one ...ing, a positive name is better than a negative one. ...d one may hope that, in course of time, even Moham-...dans may not object to come under the category ...General", but it is not probable that very many among ...m would ever agree to become "non-Muhammadan." ...ere may be also a quite unintended compliment to the ...dus, the most numerous community in the group, ...the use of the word "General." For, it means: "com-...tely or approximately universal; including or affecting ...or nearly all parts, not partial, particular, local, or ...tional." And it is really a fact that it is the Hindus ...o have striven more than others for the political ...ancement of the whole nation, which fact as well as ...ir relative strength is indirectly proved by the un-...guised disfavour shown to them by the powers that ...This hostility reminds me that, down the ages, from ...ancient times, the Hindus have gathered new strength ...r even each conquest or subjection by alien peoples. ...these modern days also they should be able to weather ...storm. But for that they must set their own house ...order by radical well-thought-out reforms to achieve ...ganized social solidarity.

Anxiety to Placate Muslims

It is stated in the scheme that

"It is possible that in some instances delimitation ...constituencies might be materially improved by slight ...iations from numbers of seats now given. His ...jesty's Government reserve the right to make such ...ght variations for such purpose, provided they would ...t materially affect the essential balance between the ...mmunities. No such variations will, however, be made ...the cases of Bengal and the Punjab."

The anxiety to keep the communalist Mussalmans ...ated is quite obvious in the assurance given here ...t Muslim preponderance will not be interfered with ...Bengal and the Punjab. The same anxiety is dis-...rnible in the sentence:

"His Majesty's Government consider that the com-...sition of an upper house in a province should be such ...not to disturb in any essential the balance between ...mmunities resulting from composition of a lower ...se."

Lest anybody should suspect that the communalists ...y lose in the composition of the legislature at the ...ntre what they have gained in that of the provincial ...islatures, Government take care to state in paragraph ...that "they will, of course, when considering the ...mposition (of the Central legislature,) pay full regard to the claims of all communities for adequate representation therein." This they have done, as the White Paper proposals relating to the Federal Legislature show.

Figures of the seats for different constituencies have been given in the decision for the whole existing province of Bombay, as well as for Bombay without Sind and for a separate province of Sind, if and when constituted. This has not been done for Bihar and Orissa.

It would be idle to speculate what would have happened if the bulk of the Oriyas had professed Muhammadanism.

Muslims Favoured at the Cost of Hindus; and Europeans at the Cost of Both

The Muslim population form a majority in three of the existing provinces, namely, Bengal, the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province. In the last province alone the Hindus get some weightage. But as its legislature is to have only 50 seats, owing to its population being small—less than that of many single districts elsewhere, and out of this 50 Hindus and other non-descripts combined are to have only 9, this weightage does not affect the absolute Muslim preponderance in the least. They have gained in the two other provinces. In the Punjab they get 86 seats as Muslims in a house of 175 seats, and also 2 of the landholders' seats, and the one Tumandar (the Tumandars are all Muslim) seat will go to them. Hence a majority of seats is assured to them. It is also probable they will be able to capture one or two Labour seats. In Bengal the Muhammadans get as Muhammadans 119 seats in a house of 250. In this province 5, 5, 2, and 8 seats have been assigned to Landholders, Indian Commerce, Universities and Labour respectively—total 20 seats. If, as is very probable, Muslims can capture only 7 seats out of these 20, they will be a majority by themselves. In any case, they are assured of a predominant position by combining with the Europeans and Anglo-Indians.

Wherever the Muslims are in a minority, they either retain their present large weightage or obtain more. The Hindus and others included in the General constituency are in a minority in the two major provinces of the Punjab and Bengal. Far from getting any weightage in either, in both they get less than the number of seats which could have fallen to their lot in proportion to their numerical strength. It is true the Muslims also in these provinces get a little smaller number of seats than their numerical proportion in the population. But in order to give weightage to Europeans, Anglo-Indians, etc., more seats have been taken away from the Hindus and others of the General constituency than from the Muslims. But Muslims should bear in mind that what they have thus lost has gone to pamper their friends, the Europeans, who have made them their cat's-paw.

Bengal Hindus Rendered Impotent

The position of the Hindus and other General constituency electors in Bengal has been made one of utter impotency. They have got only 80 seats in a house of 250 seats out of which 30 will go to the depressed classes. Assuming that the Depressed Class representatives will side with the other Hindus and that the Hindus, etc., are able to capture all the 20 seats given to Labour, Landholders, Indian Commerce and Universities, even then they will have only 100 votes at their command in a house of 250. Yet, so far at least as Bengal is concerned, it is the Hindus who have striven most for political progress, as well as for the social, cultural, educational, and industrial advancement of the province.

It is noteworthy that, though the Moslems and

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Indian Christians also have their "untouchables" and depressed classes, these two communities have not been obliged to give any separate seats to their depressed sections. Mr. MacDonald's philanthropy is reserved only for the Hindu Depressed classes!

According to the existing Montagu-Chelmsford constitution, the Bengal Hindus have 40.3 per cent of the seats and the Bengal Muslims 34.2 per cent. In 10 years the Hindu Bengalis have become politically so backward as to deserve only 32 per cent of the seats in the new constitution and the Muslims have made such astonishing political progress as to get 47.6 per cent! The British Cabinet professed great solicitude for an agreed settlement. But such is their respect for agreed solutions that they have done away with the agreed Lucknow Pact without consulting the parties!

Hindus to Pay and Muslims to Spend

The very great weightage given to Europeans have been sought to be defended—particularly in Bengal, on the ground of their "stake in the country." But in Bengal 'the Hindus' "stake in the country" is very much greater than that of the Muhammadans, as the Hindus pay more than seventy per cent of the total revenues of the Province. But as they are politically obnoxious, they do not get the benefit of the "stake in the country" argument. Hence in Bengal the Hindus are to pay and the Muslims to spend.

In Bengal the total number of the European, Anglo-Indian and Indian Christians is 180,572 out of a total population of 50,122,150, or about one-third (1|3) per cent of the total population. But they get between them 31 seats, Europeans 11, Anglo-Indians 4, Indian Christians 2 and European Commerce 14), or about thirteen per cent of all the seats. This is fair distribution with a vengeance! Of course, the Indian Christians get very little; it is the European Christians, who are about 25,000 in number, who get 25 out of the 31 Christian seats. The Europeans in Bengal are one-two-thousandth (1|2000) of the population, but get one-tenth of the seats!

In Bengal the Buddhists (315,801) and the Animist Aborigines (535,656) far outnumber the Christians. It is really lucky that it has not been attempted to cut them off from the main current of national endeavour by giving them separate representation. Nevertheless, that such representation has not been given to them is an unmistakable proof of the fairness of the distribution of seats made by the British Cabinet!

CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE AND THE DECISION

Sitting on the Fence does not make for the Progress of Humanity

It is necessary now to consider the Congress Working Committee's position of neither accepting nor rejecting the Communal Decision while at the same time condemning it as anti-national and unsatisfactory. One of the reasons why the Committee has adopted this neutral attitude is that "the different communities are sharply divided on the question."

When Abraham Lincoln became President of the United States of America, he became theoretically the supreme representative of the slave-holding Southern States of the Union as well as of the anti-slavery Northern States. But, because the States were "sharply divided on the question of" slavery, did he say, "in view of the division of opinion," that he "can neither accept nor reject" slavery? Did he neither try nor not try to liberate the slaves? History tells that he struck a blow and freed the slaves. No cause espoused by anyone who dared, if need be, to be in the minority of one with Truth and Right on his side, has ever failed.

The cases are, no doubt, not parallel. But I have cited the example of what Lincoln did only to remind the public that on numerous memorable occasions sitting on the fence has not made for the progress of humanity. There is this much of resemblance between slavery and the Communal Decision that, as the United States of America could not possibly have remained united and become and remained really free if slavery had not been destroyed, so India cannot possibly become and remain united and cannot possibly become and remain free unless the Communal Decision is upset. That decision is not only the result but would also be, if not unsettled, the cause of the perpetuation of our subjection. That decision is objectionable, not mainly or merely because it gives Hindus less seats than they are entitled to on the basis of population or any other basis, but also because it is anti-national, anti-democratic, makes for the disruption and disintegration instead of the unification and solidarity of the communities and classes inhabiting India.

Therefore, Congress as a national organization ought to condemn and reject this wholly anti-national decision in unequivocal terms, even at the risk of having a smaller number of Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Sikh or other adherents. In the long run it is not number but strict adherence to right principles which tells.

Hope of Enlisting Muslim Support Not Fulfilled

The main reason which appears to have weighed with the Committee is that if they condemned the decision outright Muslim Congressmen would have no chance to enter the Assembly. Hence to give them a chance, the Working Committee have adopted a non-committal attitude. I shall be glad if this attitude helps Nationalist Muslim candidates for the Assembly. But will it? In any case, the Nationalist Muslims should feel grateful to the Working Committee for the friendly gesture made towards them by temporarily shelving principle.

Had the Working Committee rejected the Communal Decision outright, communalist Muslim candidates could have told their electors (all Mussalmans, mostly of the communalist variety, and supporters of the Communal Decision), "Do not vote for Muslim Congressmen, for Congress has not accepted but has rejected the Communal Decision." In spite of the Working Committee's non-acceptance and non-rejection of the decision, Communalist Muslim candidates may, however, now tell their constituencies, "Do not vote for Muslim Congressmen, for Congress has not accepted the Communal Decision. It is true that it has not rejected it either. But those who are not definitely with us are against us." Is there much practical and effective difference between these two probable exhortations to Muslim constituencies on the part of communalist Muslim candidates for the Assembly?

Nevertheless, I shall be sincerely glad if the appeals of Mr. Sherwani, Mr. Asaf Ali and other Nationalist Muslim leaders are largely responded to by Muslims and if in consequence large numbers of Muslims become loyal members of Congress and Nationalist Muslim candidates succeed in entering the Assembly. The strength of the Nationalist group in the coming Legislative Assembly depends on the success of the Nationalist Muslim candidates to some extent. If they can outnumber the Communalist Muslim M. L. A.'s—if in any case the Muslim and non-Muslim elected Nationalist M. L. A.'s combined can clearly outnumber any other elected groups combined, that would be some definite and tangible proof of the true fact that Nationalists

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present the majority of politically-minded Indians, even ording to the voters' rolls prepared by the bureau- , and that therefore Nationalist condemnation of White Paper is really practically entire India's demnation.

But if the Nationalist group in the Assembly be not large as Congressmen of the Swarajist mentality anti- te, the Working Committee's non-committal attitude the communal question would prove fruitless.

As the two biggest Muhammadan organizations, the All-India Muslim League and the All-India slim Conference, have supported the White Paper and Communal Decision the Congress Working Committee's e of enlisting greater Muslim support by its neutral itude has not been fulfilled.

Award would not Necessarily Lapse with White Paper

The Committee observe:

"The White Paper lapsing, the Communal Award st lapse automatically."

Not necessarily. For, it is only with regard to the mmunal Decision that Sir Samuel Hoare, cross- mined by Sir N. N. Sircar, said that "Government d said their last word;" that is to say, though other rts of the White Paper might be altered, the Com- nal Decision was a "settled fact." Of course, in itics there is no settled fact—other settled facts have en unsettled. But the unsettling has required long, nuous and immense struggle. Hence, the words of e Working Committee's resolution, "The White Paper sing, the Communal Award must lapse automatically," pear rather too easy-going. All the parts of the ite Paper do not so hang together that either all of m must be scrapped or all of them must be kept ct. It is quite feasible to scrap some, keep others act and alter the rest. And how is the White Paper g to lapse, what is the exact meaning of this lapsing, d who is to bring about this lapse and how? I con- I do not understand all this. The White Paper posals are not a house of cards to be blown down a Working Committee resolution or by an adverse olution carried in the next Legislative Assembly.

Working Committee One with the British Premier in Expecting the Improbable

The Committee say:

"The Congress claims to represent equally all com- nities composing the Indian nation and, therefore, in w of the division of opinion (on the Communal cision), can neither accept nor reject the Communal ard as long as the division of opinion exists."

Here the Working Committee expects something as probable, if not impossible, as the British Premier d Ministry seemed to do. The latter demanded an reed settlement as a solution of the communal blem. But as the so-called delegates to the so-called ound Table Conference (for which the British Govern- nt had selected as "representatives" of the Muslim mmunity only inveterate communalists and also from e Hindu and Indian Christian communities some in- erate communalists as their "representatives") could as was natural under the circumstances, arrive at present such an agreed solution, Mr. MacDonald his Communal Decision, miscalled an Award.

Of course, Mr. MacDonald wanted an agreed solu- from persons many of whom could never possibly knowing full well that there would not be any agreement and that, therefore, he would be able impose his will on Indians under the Communal Award as they had failed to agree among themselves, he had to give his decision perforce. On the contrary, the Working Committee really want an agreed solution from motives of the sincerest patriotism. I should be delighted if their optimism justified itself. But without in the least pretending to be a prophet, which I certainly am not, I doubt whether a time would come—at least in the near future—when "the division of opinion" on the Communal Decision would completely disappear from among all the different communities. So the Committee may have to keep up their non-committal attitude for an indefinite length of time. In the present state of the human group-mind it is too much to expect that those who have got an excessive advantage would willingly give it up, or that those who have been humiliated and deprived of their just dues, which they had earned by their ability, public spirit, sufferings and sacrifice, and who had been deprived of facilities for serving their country in due measure, would willingly submit to such humiliation, injustice and deprivation.

Departure from Nationalism

I am fully conscious that Congress has to tackle a very difficult problem and I recognize that Congress leaders are making sincerely patriotic efforts to solve it. Perhaps an absolutely national solution is not at present feasible. But the solution which, though falling short of the fully national view-point, should be acceptable to the Congress, must possess at least the minimum of the essentials of a nationalistic solution. Perhaps the leaders would cogitate and deliberate to determine this essential minimum. May it be hoped that this minimum will include joint electorates? Mahatma Gandhi fasted, unto death if needed, partly to bring about joint election of representatives by "depressed" and "upper" class Hindus. But now he appears to be prepared to give up the principle of joint election by Hindus, Muslims and others, for saving or securing the (nominal?) adherence to the Congress of a small number of Muslims.

In July, 1931, the Congress Working Committee, while deviating to some extent from pure nationalism by accepting the principle of reservation of seats for minorities, did not give up joint electorates. Is there going to be a still greater departure from nationalism pure, unadulterated and undiluted?

The Committee observe:

"……the only way to prevent the untoward consequences of the Communal Award is to explore ways and means for arriving at an agreed solution and not by an appeal on this essentially domestic question to the British Government or any outside authority."

I fully appreciate this self-respecting attitude. Moreover, if the communities concerned can produce an agreed alternative to the Communal Decision, Mr. MacDonald is pledged to accept it—though imperialist politicians do not consider their pledges inviolable. So, if any Indian party appealed to the British Government, an agreed solution would strengthen the appeal. Hence, I am in favour of trying to have an agreed solution.

But I am afraid, Congress leaders in their anxiety to secure surface unity may be led to accept an alternative to the Communal Decision between which and that decision there may be as much difference as between tweedledum and tweedledee.

By "any outside authority" perhaps the League of Nations is meant by the Congress Working Committee. But that authority, perhaps anticipating the attitude of the Congress Working Committee, has already neither accepted nor rejected the Communal Decision!

Will the Constituent Assembly Solve the Problem?

A part of the Working Committee's resolution runs as follows:

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"The only satisfactory alternative to the White Paper is a constitution drawn up by a constituent assembly elected on the basis of adult suffrage, or as near it as possible, with the power, if necessary, to important minorities to have their representatives elected exclusively by electors belonging to such minorities."

The mere fact that a constitution is drawn up by a constituent assembly, and not by the British Government, cannot necessarily make it satisfactory or more satisfactory than the White Paper constitution. To be satisfactory, it must in the first place be national—at least fundamentally and essentially so, it must not be anti-national, and in the second place, it must fulfil many other requirements which need not be specified. Considering the mode of election of the constituent assembly foreshadowed in the resolution, it is quite possible for a constitution, to be drawn up by it, to be vitiated by anti-national communal bias as the White Paper is—to a less or equal or greater extent. For, as the resolution concedes to important minorities the unnational method of separate exclusive communal election of their representatives to the constituent assembly "if necessary," that "necessity" is sure to arise—some community or communities are sure to ask for it and to get it; and representatives of those communities elected in that way are sure to insist upon the inclusion of separate and exclusive communal election of communal representatives in the constitution itself which is to be drawn up by the constituent assembly. And either the majority community and the Congress will have to yield to this communal demand, or there will be no agreed constitution; for, according to another part of the Working Committee's resolution, "the Congress is pledged . . . to reject any solution which is not agreed to by any of the said parties."

What are "Important" Minorities?

In our opinion, therefore, the passage quoted above from the resolution should have ruled out the possibility of any anti-national constitution being drawn up by the constituent assembly by laying down that the constitution must not be unnational or anti-national in any fundamental or essential respects. And the resolution should certainly not have started with a flagrant departure from national lines and principles by indicating its readiness to yield to the communalistic clamour for the exclusive and separate election of communal representatives. And supposing, without admitting, that minorities should have this "right," why are only "important" minorities to have it? What is the standard of importance? Is it not true that the interests of "unimportant" minorities are more likely to be neglected than those of "important" minorities?

"Among other things it will be the duty of the constituent assembly to determine the method of representation of important minorities and make provision for otherwise safe-guarding their interests."

Why is it assumed here that the method of representation of important minorities may or must be different from that of the majority and unimportant minorities? In the constitution of no civilized and modern country that we are aware of, is such a distinction made between the methods of representation of maiorities and unimportant and important minorities. In the League of Nations Minorities Treaties, which embody the political wisdom of most of the leading nations of the world, no such distinction is recognized. The United States of America is not in the League, it is true. But it, too, does not recognize such a distinction. Assuming, however, without admitting, that minorities require special treatment, the Working Committee's resolution should have definitely shut out even the suggestion or consideration of separate communal electorates, which are unnational, the special treatment being confined to the reservation of a number of seats for the minorities for a definite period or to a system of proportionate representation, or both, and the like.

Minorities Have No Separate Political Interests

As regards safe-guarding the interest of minorities, the League of Nation's Minorities Treaties do not recognize that any minority group has any separate political and cognate interests, the only minority interests recognized and safe-guarded are those relating to their separate languages, if any, separate religions, if any, separate personal laws, if any, and the like. The Congress practice should be like that of the League of Nations. To recognize the existence of separate political and cognate interests of minorities and in consequence to give them separate sectional representation by separate electorates is to plant a "state within a state" to prevent which, according to Mr. Austin Chamberlain, was the object of the League of Nations' Minority Treaties, and should be the object of all Nation-builders.

Does the Congress Represent All the Communities?

The Working Committee proceed to observe:

"Since, however, the different communities in the country are sharply divided on the question of the communal award, it is necessary to define the Congress attitude on it. The Congress claims to represent equally all communities composing the Indian nation and, therefore, in view of division of opinion can neither accept nor reject the communal award as long as division of opinion lasts."

No doubt, the Congress represents all communities in the sense that among Congressmen there are members of all communities or in the sense that members of all communities are eligible for membership of the Congress provided they accept its principles and "creed" and fulfil other conditions. But it can hardly be admitted that it represents all communities equally.

Congress Should Stick to its Principles

But from the fact that it represents all communities it does not necessarily follow that it can neither accept nor reject anything on which opinions are divided. On the contrary, it is or should be the privilege and the duty of the Congress to find out what is National and to inculcate it, never minding whether that would increase or reduce the number of its adherents. All sections of the Hindus do not support the anti-untouchability principles and activities of the Congress, and numerous Mussalmans are opposed to it for reasons which need not be stated. Nevertheless, it has never been said that the Congress can neither accept nor reject it. Similarly, in no community is there unanimous or practically unanimous adherence to the cult of the charkha. But the Congress enjoins the production and use of khaddar.

The Congress Committee reject the White Paper. But large sections of the Muslims have accepted it. Therefore, the Committee should have neither accepted nor rejected it, for Hindus are against it.

We have pointed out before that if the Congress wants to condemn and reject the Communal Decision only when all communities are against it, it will have to wait for an indefinitely long time, before which that Decision may perhaps break down owing to its innate mischievous, vicious and iniquitous character.

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What Course Congress Should Follow

In the meantime, being part of an official scheme, it to be given effect to and go on producing "untoward sequences," unless it is effectively opposed. One way to do so would be for the Congress to boldly denounce and call on all communities, including as many truly onal Muslims as possible, to condemn, oppose and ot it. Such action on the part of the Congress will e the further indirect beneficial result of enabling public to judge who are the genuine Nationalist slims and who are merely liaison officers of the com-alist Mussalmans. As in the opinion of the Congress king Committee, "Judged by the National standard Communal Award is wholly unsatisfactory besides g open to serious objections on other grounds," the gress would have ample justification for adopting course suggested above.

The other method of effectively opposing it, which been suggested in the resolution, viz., to arrive at agreed solution of the communal problem, has been dealt with already and will be referred to again. The resolution proposes neither to accept nor to ect the Communal Decision so long as there is division opinion on the question. We are afraid this division opinion would last very much longer than the Working mmittee has perhaps anticipated; and that for very d reasons. Observers of political conditions in India nnot have failed to conclude that in self-defence British perialists must go on favouring the growth of sectional itions and the rise of sectional claims. The greater National self-consciousness in India the greater the ength of Nationalism, the greater must be the ciality shown by British imperialists to particular ions of the people which are open to such treatment. ce, as our Nationalism grows more vigorous, pro-nced and articulate, the direct and indirect support sectionalism and communalism given by British perialists must grow greater. For this reason, the gress should not expect communalism to dwindle d die a natural death in the near future. The Con-ss must directly, definitely, promptly and persistently it. For preserving or securing the allegiance of the tionalists and separatists of any community the gress cannot make higher bids than those of the itish imperialists. If Congress concessions to them reased in arithmetical progression, the Britsih perialists' favours would be showered down upon them geometrical progression.

The Committee state:

"No solution that is not purely national can be pounded by the Congress. But the Congress is dged to accept any solution falling short of national ich is agreed to by all parties concerned and con-ely to reject any solution which is not agreed to by of the said parties."

Whether in the future any solution that is not purely tional can be propounded by the Congress or not, we not know. But in the past the Congress has either pounded or accepted or been a party to solutions at are not purely national; e.g., the Nehru Report, rvation of seats for minorities, etc.

Illogical Position of the Congress

Let us try to be a little logical. The resolution says the Congress is pledged to reject any solution which not agreed to by any parties concerned. Now the mmunal Decision is a solution of the Communal blem and it is not agreed to but opposed by the Sikhs a man and also by innumerable Hindus and others: y not then reject it outright? Perhaps it is to have the privilege and the honour of not being so rejected, because it is not an Indian but a British solution!

Suppose the proposed constituent assembly arrives at substantially the same solution as or a worse solution than the Communal Decision, the Congress must then, according to this resolution of its Working Committee, accept it!

The Committee proceed:

"It is, however, obvious that the only way to prevent the untoward consequences of the communal award is to explore ways and means of arriving at an agreed solution and not by any appeal on this essentially domestic question to the British Government or any other outside authority."

I have already commended this self-respecting attitude of the Congress. I do so again. But I beg leave to conclude by putting a supposition stated above, in an interrogative form. If the agreed solution be more communalistic than national, will the Congress accept it? Are there no such things in politics as right principles? Is it true that the bigger the crowd of supporters—particularly of communalistic supporters—of any scheme, method, or opinion, the better it is?

Change of Front by Nationalist Muslim Leaders

The Nationalist Muslim leaders had at first condemned the Communal Decision. Had they adhered to their first thoughts, which they have not, the Congress Working Committee would not most probably have adopted a neutral attitude. I present here some specimens of Nationalist Muslim condemnation of the Decision, which is different from their present attitude.

I shall first give the opinion of the late Sir Ali Imam. Presiding at the All-India Muslim Nationalist Conference at Lucknow on the 18th April, 1931, he said:

"Today's Conference represented Muslim Nationalists, in other words, people who were not wedded to a scheme of separation. They had been simply flooded with messages from every corner of India from different leaders who one and all insisted on the basic principle of joint electorates."

"Separate electorates connote the negation of nationalism. Political problems are but a reflex of social forces. If you erect an iron wall between community and community in their Politics, you destroy the social fabric, and day-to-day life will become insupportable if you insist on building political barriers. Nationalism can never evolve from division and dissensions."

At this Lucknow Conference Dr. Ansari moved the principal resolution the last paragraph of which stated that "the Nationalist Muslim Party" "strongly holds" the principle of "joint electorates." In moving the resolution Dr. Ansari said, in part:

"This is not the occasion to expatiate on the absolute necessity of joint electorates for the growth of a united nationhood. I am speaking to Mussalmans just now, and I wish to tell the Muslim community through you that, apart from wider national considerations, the insistence on separate electorates would prove suicidal to the continuance of the Mussalmans in this country as a political and cultural force of any significance."

Presiding at the All-Bengal Muslim Nationalist Conference at Faridpur, on June 27, 1931 Dr. Ansari repeated his previous views.

The principal resolution passed at this Conference insisted on "joint electorate with adult suffrage." In supporting this resolution Mr. T. A. K. Sherwani said:

"The advocates of separation wanted to erect insurmountable barriers between Muslims and other communities. To this the nationalists could never consent. The evil effect of separate electorates was apparent from

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the fact that the spirit of separatism was penetrating among the Muslims themselves. Votes were being canvassed on the basis of a candidate being a Mirza or a Pathan, Qureshi or Ansari, Shiah or Sunni."

Dr. Ansari, in the course of a speech at the United Provinces Nationalist Conference at Meerut, on 20th July, 1931, stated that joint electorates were the second basic principle of the scheme he stressed.

Dr. Mahmud in his presidential address at the same Meerut Conference stated that:

"The programme of separate representation has killed the spirit of competition. It has arrested the natural and healthy growth of public spirit among the Mussalmans. Common electorates, on the other hand, will draw out the best and the noblest that is in the Muslim society."

Malik Barkat Ali, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Punjab Nationalist Muslim Conference held at Lahore, on the 24th October, 1931 said with reference to the question of separate electorates:

"We feel that in the circumstances of today and in the India of the future, they should have no place whatever."

The Bengal Council devoted the whole of August 2, 1932, to discussing Mr. Abdus Samad's resolution in favour of joint electorates and ultimately adopted by 47 votes to 32, Mr. Tamizuddin Khan's amendment:

"That the Government be pleased to inform the proper authorities concerned that in the opinion of this Council the system of separate electorates in the future constitution of the country should be replaced by a system of joint electorates."

Mr. Asaf Ali concluded a long statement issued to the Press on June 14, 1932, from New Delhi thus:

"The simplest formula they (the Muslims) should stick to is 'joint electorates, no reservation, no weightage, no special constituencies and adult suffrage, or the lowest qualification for franchise to enable the bulk of the population to get representation, and if any formula for minorities is insisted upon by minorities in different provinces it should be uniform for all minorities.' Any deviation from it would complicate both present and future issues, and would work to the detriment of both the country and even the Muslim community."

The principal resolution at a meeting of the executive committee of the Bengal Nationalist Muslim party held in August, 1932, under the presidentship of Chaudhury Mozzem Hossain recorded

"Its emphatic protest against the Communal Award recently given by the Prime Minister in consultation with the British Cabinet on the following among other grounds: (a) It recognizes the principle of separate electorates, which is fundamentally opposed to responsible government. . . . . ."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad said in the course of an interview to the Free Press in Calcutta on September 1, 1932:

"The Communal Award of the Prime Minister is the most dangerous thing that could happen to Indian Nationalism. It has set one community against the other, without giving any tangible benefit to any save the Europeans."

Dr. M. A. Ansari, President of the Nationalist Moslems, said in a recent interview, published in the 'Hindustan Times' of the 13th March, 1934:

"The Communal Award is the result of the deliberate choice of a particular kind of Round Table Conference personnel to render a settlement impossible and thus impose an outside solution."

It has been said that if the Congress had rejected the Communal Decision, it would have been partizanship; for "Muslims in general seem to like it." Now, in the opinion of the Congress Working Committee the Communal Decision is a bad thing—it goes against Congress principles. So it comes to this that it is partizanship to reject a bad thing, if some people like that bad thing!

But let it be granted. Is it only the rejecting of it that would have amounted to partizanship? The condemnation of the bad thing—I mean the Communal Decision is not partizanship!

Position of Pt. Malaviya's Nationalist Party

It has been said, whereas the Congress wants to replace the Communal Decision by an agreed solution, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and his party want to get rid of the Communal Decision by appealing to the British Government or through its instrumentality. This is not a correct description of the position. By its attitude of non-acceptance and non-rejection of the Communal Decision of the British Government, the Congress give it some quarter. The new party, by its programme of fighting the Decision in and outside the legislature does not give it any quarter at all.

Both by deed and word, before and after the holding of the Conference, Pandit Malaviya has shown that he is at least as much for an agreed solution of the communal problem as anybody else. I do not know that anybody has worked harder than or as hard as he, more earnestly than or as earnestly as he, in connection with the Unity Conferences in recent years. The failure of the conferences was due to Sir Samuel Hoare's making higher bids for Muslims' allegiance. The Nationalist Party's programme includes the arriving at a Communal settlement as one of the items.

As regards Government's possible final role in the Communal settlement, neither the Congress nor the Congress Nationalist Party are likely to be able to effect the settlement without the agency or instrumentality of the Government. Neither the Congress nor the Congress Nationalist Party have at present any revolutionary aims. Neither can or do say, "when we arrive at an agreed solution, we will give effect to it ourselves, because then the Government will be *no nest*, or paralysed, or superseded." When either or both have arrived at an agreed solution, they will have to say to the British Government in effect: "You said that the Communal Decision could be replaced only by an agreed solution. Here is the agreed solution. Accept it and give effect to it." If then that Government does not honour its pledge, the people of India must think of some other means of giving effect to its will.

So far as I am concerned, I must say that I do not believe that there can be any agreed settlement of the communal problem so long as there is selfish British domination, so long as there exists its effective power to bestow "favours" (let me call them such), and so long as there are major parties or there is a major party to accept these "favours" and refrain from taking part in a united national struggle for freedom.

Congressmen are saying that their proposed constituent assembly is a better means of registering the people's will and obtaining a desirable constitution framed by the people than the Congress Nationalist Party's proposed national convention. As the object of both the gatherings is the same and as I care more for realities than for mere names, I cannot give preference to either as a nostrum for curing the National Malady. Both the parties seem to take it for granted that the British Government will be very obliging, will give them all facilities for calling a thoroughly representative

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popular gathering, and then immolate itself at the altar of the Indian National Will. But, perhaps because I am an arm-chair politician, I am unable to make any such assumption.

Examples of Government's Favouritism

I have already more than once referred to the favouritism shown to some communities and the unjust treatment accorded to some other communities in the Communal Decision and in the White Paper proposals supplementary thereto. Let me give a few concrete illustrations.

The provinces of Madras, U. P., Bihar and Bengal contain a population of more than 17 crores and 65 lakhs. This is more than half the population of India minus Burma. In the Federal Legislature, this majority is to get 72 seats in the Upper Chamber and 141 seats in the Lower. The population of the rest of India, forming the minority, is to get 178 seats in the Upper Chamber and 234 seats in the Lower!

In British India minus Burma the "general" constituency consists of 18,42,21,834 Hindus and others, out of a total population of 25,66,27,138. They are more than two-thirds of the population. They are to get 124 seats in a Lower House of 375, *i.e.*, less than half the seats!

The total number of seats in the provincial Legislative Assemblies is 1585. In the provinces, minus Burma, Hindus number 17,63,59,738 out of a total population of 25,66,27,138. In proportion to their numbers, they ought to get 1,088 seats out of 1,585. But they are to get only 839 (on the assumption that they will get all the "General" seats), *i.e.*, 249 less than their due!

The most glaring example of "favoured community" treatment is the number of seats given to the Europeans. According to the census of 1931 the number of Europeans is only 1,68,134. But to this small number of persons seven seats have been out of the 150 in the Upper House for British India and fourteen seats in the Lower House out of the 250 for British India. It is to be borne in mind that, according to Appendix II of the White Paper, the 257.1 million inhabitants of British India are to have these total numbers of 150 and 250 seats in the Upper and Lower Houses respectively. So in the Upper House every 1 2|3 one and two-third million persons get one seat, and in the Lower House there is one seat for a little less than one million people. But the Europeans are such supermen that only 1,68,134, of them get 7 seats in the Upper House and 14 in the Lower!

I have already said that Mussalmans are much less than one-third of the population of British India. Yet in both the Houses they have been given one-third of the British Indian seats. Excluding Burma, there are 66,478,669 Mussalmans in India. Excluding Burma again, there are 40,254,576 Depressed Class people in British India. That is to say, they are somewhat less than two-thirds of the Muslim population. But whereas in the Federal Assembly or Lower House Muslims are to get 82 seats, the Depressed castes are to get only 19; and apparently in the Upper House no seats have been reserved for them. Yet British die-hards, imperialists and officials profess great anxiety for the welfare of the Depressed Classes. Further instances of unequal treatment need not be multiplied. But it must be added that 10 seats for Labour and 9 for Women are quite inadequate.

To prevent misunderstanding it should be stated that I am against reservation of seats for any community or interest. But as the principle of reservation has been accepted by the Government, the number of seats reserved ought to have been strictly in proportion to population, without weightage.

Majority Converted into Minority

The total Population of British India minus Burma is 256,672,138, of these 177,157,035 are Hindus. Deducting 40,254,567 Depressed Class Hindus, we get 136,902,459 as the number of the "Caste" Hindus. They form the biggest group by themselves. But they alone are not entitled to the "General" seats. Parsis, Buddhists, Jains, Jews, Animists, and others share these seats with them. These latter number 91742, 342161, 408622, 17625, 4666634 and 1538015 respectively in British India. So that for the "General" seats there are altogether 143,967,258 claimants.

It has been stated above that the total population of British India minus Burma is 256,627,138. The 143,967,258 claimants for the "General" seats are thus more than half the total population of British India, Burma excluded. The 136,902,459 "Caste" Hindus alone are also more than half the total population of British India, excluding Burma. Even if Burma were included, the total number of claimants (143,967,258) to the "General" seats, would be the majority in British India. Hence they ought to have got more than half the total number of seats provided for British India. In any case they ought to have got at least half the seats. But in the Federal Assembly, out of the 250 British Indian seats only 105 have been allotted to them. Thus the majority has been converted to a minority! One of the "14 points" laid great stress upon by Muslim Indians is that by no arrangement must a majority be reduced anywhere to a minority or even an equality. Therefore justice-loving Muslims should condemn this conversion of the non-Muslim majority to a minority.

And who are the men who form this majority? They have among them the largest number of the ablest, the most public-spirited, the most self-sacrificing, and the most prosecuted fighters for self-rule in India. Verily they have got their reward in being reduced to a position of hopeless impotency in the Federal Legislature.

Princes to Get More Than Their Due

On the other hand, a few hundred Princes of India, who have not striven for Indian self-rule but who would, on the contrary, be used as tools to fight Indian nationalism, are to have 100 seats out of 260 in the Upper House and 125 seats out of 375 in the Lower, placed at their disposal to be filled by their nominees.

Even if their subjects numbering 81,237,564 had the right to elect their representatives to the Federal Legislature, they would not be entitled to more seats than the 134,967,258 claimants to the "General" seats.

That the legitimate interests of a minority should be protected goes without saying. But the best and perhaps the only way to do it, is to evoke and depend on the goodwill of other minorities and the majority. To treat a country as if it were the battle-ground of warring camps is to make it such, if it be not one, or to keep it a battle-ground for ever, if it be one. Such treatment can result only in the prevention or putting off of the growth of national solidarity.

I have already shown that the majority has been reduced in the Federal Legislature to the position of a minority. Hence my suggestion is that the safe-guarding of the legitimate interests of the majority should be one of the special responsibilities of the Governor-General.

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Communal Representation Incompatible with Responsible National Self-government

I have already said that separate communal representation is incompatible with responsible national self-government. It is necessary to explain myself a little in detail.

Self-rule means that people are ruled either by themselves or by the representatives elected by them. In ancient times in very small village republics, the citizens themselves in meeting assembled could transact the business of the state and govern themselves. In our present-day really self-ruling States, the Government is "of the people and for people," but literally not "by the people," but by representatives elected by the people. But under the Communal Decision, in the Central and Provincial Legislatures the statutorily fixed majority parties will consist either of Hindus elected exclusively by Hindus, (as *e.g.*, in Madras or U. P.) or of Mussalmans elected exclusively by Mussalmans (as *e.g.*, in the Punjab or N.-W. F.) or of Mussalmans elected exclusively by Mussalmans-cum-Europeans elected exclusively by Europeans (as in Bengal). Therefore, neither in India as a whole nor in the Provinces will there be representative Self-government, but Government by statutorily fixed communal majorities, elected, not by voters of all communities, but by voters belonging to the particular communities concerned. In the Muslim-majority provinces not a single legislator of the majority party will be elected by a single non-Muslim voter and in the Hindu-majority provinces not a single legislator of the majority party will be elected by a Muslim or a Christian. And even such majority parties will not be the real rulers of the country. They will be only nominal rulers. Their "Government" will be a sham, as the real power will remain in the hand of the Secretary of State, the Governor-General, the Provincial Governors, and the foreign bureaucracy in general, known as the "Steel-frame"—an expression coined by Mr. Lloyd George.

One of the essential conditions of democratic and responsible Government is that what is today a minority party may become the majority party tomorrow by the conversion of its opponents to its way of thinking or owing to other causes. In this way all groups have an effective chance of giving the nation the benefit of their wisdom, capacity and public spirit. The changeability of the personnel of the ruling party gives the ruling majority for the time being a sense of its real responsibility to the nation, and exercises an effective check on arbitrary, irregular or corrupt methods and actions. But if a constitution makes any religious community as a community, the permanent ruling majority, there cannot be any democratic and resposible self-rule in the country, and all the advantages of such rule, pointed out above, are lost. The Communal Decision militates against the essential conditions of democratic and responsible Government, and would, if given effect to, keep India deprived of all the advantages of such Government.

Under a system of joint electorates, to whatever religious community or communities, classes, castes, interests or races the majority of the members of central and provincial councils might belong, it could be said that people of all communities had helped to elect them and were responsible for choosing them. So the members also would feel their responsibility to and would and must try to promote the interests of all the people of all these groups. But under a system of separate electorates, in some cases the majority would be elected exclusively by the Hindus, or at any rate by non-Muslims and non-Christians, in some cases the majority would be elected by Muslims, and in one province (Bengal) the majority would be either Muslims or Muslim-cum-Europeans elected exclusively by their co-religionists or compatriots. Hence each province of India would be ruled by a foreign bureaucracy (for British domination would continue) through a majority of legislators for whose election people of all groups would not be responsible and who would not feel responsible to and need not in consequence ordinarily try to promote the interests of all groups. This would be a highly undesirable state of things. It would not be self-rule or representative government. It would be rule by a bureaucracy, mostly British, in the name of a majority with whose election whole groups of people had nothing to do.

I do not lay stress on the fact that the Communal Decision has been grossly and insultingly unjust to the Hindus. For, even if it had been possible for it to be fair to the Hindus and all other communities, separate and communal and class electorates would have remained a great evil against which the nation must wage unrelenting war.

Congress Wanted to Win Over Muslims

The split in Congress ranks over the Communal Decision is to be deeply deplored. If any section of Congressmen had believed that the Communal Decision was good and necessary in the interests of India and had, therefore, parted company with those who believe it to be anti-national, anti-democratic and injurious to the interests of the Indian nation as a whole, then in that case, too, the division in Congress ranks would have been regrettable. But what adds to the painfulness of the present situation is that, though all Congressmen believe the Communal Decision to be anti-national, anti-democratic and injurious to India, yet for the sake of expediency a section of them will not agitate against it, or vote against it, if returned to the Legislative Assembly as members. The Congress Working Committee's attitude of neutrality towards the Communal Decision was evidently due to its hope—a hope which has not been fulfilled—that that would make Muslims friendly to the Congress and lead many of them to join it and also lead Muslim voters to cast their votes in favour of Muslim candidates who were Congressmen.

Principle Sacrificed to Expediency

Principle should never be sacrificed to expediency. But supposing the sacrifice of principle for the sake of expediency were justifiable, it must be shown that expediency has produced or is expected to produce the desired result. In the present case, however, the generality of Muslims have not changed their attitude to the Congress. As for voting for Congress-Muslim Candidates, Muslim voters have been asked by the two biggest and oldest Muslim organizations, *viz.*, the Muslim League and the Muslim Conference, that they should vote only for those Muslim candidates who accept and would support the White Paper including the Communal Decision.

I have said above that principle should never be sacrificed. This maxim should in particular be strictly followed by those who have declared that Satyagraha is their rule of life. Satyagraha is a Sanskrit compound word. Satya means truth and Agraha means 'strong attachment,' 'persistence,' 'insisting,' according to Apte's Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary. Therefore, Satyagrahis should prove their strong attachment to truth by persisting in and insisting upon truth in and outside the Council Chambers.

In spite of a party's failure to achieve its object, it

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command the respect even of those who do not
long to it, if it adheres to truth and principle and
ears witness to the truth under all circumstances. But
n-persistence in and non-insistence upon its convictions
annot command respect.

OICE OF MAJORITY NOT NECESSARILY VOICE OF TRUTH.

It was said at Wardha that there would be a fight
the finish between the two Congress parties and the
sult would show which was right. But rightness and
ongness cannot be determined in that way. The
ice of the majority of voters is not necessarily the
ice of Truth and Right. Even if the candidates of
e Congress Parliamentary Board succeed in capturing
l the elective 'general' seats, that would not in the
ast show that the attitude of neither accepting nor
jecting was right.

If one nation, by successful warfare or by some other
eans manages to bring another nation under its
minance, this fact of domination does not, by its
ere existence, stand justified morally. Still, this
thod of establishing the power of one nation over
other has been employed righ through history and
still being employed by the so-called highly moral,
st and civilized nations. Successful war is still the
iterion by which masters and slaves are determined
ong nations, and the ruling nations are still accepted
erywhere as rightful rulers so long as the ruled do
t turn the table on them by successful warfare. (Such
rfare is called rebellion at first, but, when successful,
becomes war, *e.g.*, the American War of Independence).
e ethical and logical aspects of this matter need not
discussed any further here. It can surely be asserted
at the complete domination of one group of normal
man beings by another, howsoever brought about, is
ntrary to ethics and justice. Such a state of affairs is
mparable to the institution of slavery. All over the
ilized world public opinion considers slavery dead and
ried. But what is the reason that led civilized
manity to discard slavery, if not entirely, at least
the surface of things? That slaves were cunningly
iced or forcefully brought away from their own homes
d were sold often to harsh and cruel masters was one
the root causes of the disappearance of open and
knowledged slavery from the modern world. But not
l slave-owners treated their slaves with curelty and
artlessness.

Therefore, another and the fundamental argument
ainst slavery is that it lowered humanity to the level
beasts by buying and selling men against their will
d rendered the well-being and life of the slaves sub-
rvient to their masters' whims. Slaves could change
nership in the same way as cattle or dogs, and they
re deprived of the human right of free will, of self-
provement, of ideal and responsible conduct. Could
e call a thing like this moral or just? Could it enable
en the slave-owners to keep their manhood unstained?
tainted the buyer as well as the bought.

At the present time all the provinces of India are
der the British. If some one asked them, "Why are
u ruling such and such provinces," they would
swer, "Oh, we have conquered them." It is called
e "right of conquest" in the western catalogue of
ghts and wrongs. Whether such a "right" is truly
right need not be discussed here. But this is certain
at according to this code of military ethics, if a third
rty came along and by successful warfare conquered,
th Britain and India, that third party will, by right
conquest, become the master of both countries.

REVIVAL OF SLAVERY IN ANOTHER FORM.

At the present moment the British are talking
bout granting self-rule to India. The sort of self-rule
they are granting will keep their overlordship intact.
Indians will not have the final say in any matter of
vital importance. The provincial legislatures may assume
the nature of glorified village Union Boards or Munici-
palities and the self-ruling Indians may resemble a
slave, carrying his master's luggage, who is free to carry
the weight on either shoulder according to his own
choice as well as decide himself which road he will
follow or what food he will eat during the journey.
The master would not interfere in these matters so
long as he carried the luggage to its proper destination.
Leaving aside, however, the nature of the self-rule that
India will get, let us assume that it will be real self-
rule. Even then, the way the British are distributing
political rights among the Indians, *i.e.*, on the communal
basis, is making the latter in their political aspect some-
what similar to the slaves who used to be bought and
sold in the open market in former times.

In the different provinces of India Muhammadans
predominate in some and the Hindus in others. In such
provinces as show a Hindu majority, even though the
Muhammadans have been given seats far in excess of
their actual proportion to the total population, the
Hindus will be in an effective majority. Those Hindus
who will occupy the majority of seats in the legislatures
of these provinces will be elected entirely by non-
Muhammadans; but they will nevertheless, govern the
Muhammadans of the province. The significance of this
will be that in these provinces Muhammadans will be
governed by people in whose election they will have
no voice. That is to say, in these provinces the British
will have placed the Muhammadans in the hands of the
Hindus, although in these provinces the Hindus can
claim no right of conquest over the Muhammadans.

Similarly, in some other provinces, the Muhamma-
dans are in a majority and as such will have undisputed
sway in the legislatures of the provinces. They will
elect Muhammadan legislators from amongst themselves
and place them in power in the legislatures without
any reference to Hindu opinion. In fact, in these
strongly Muhammadan provinces, the British will have
put all the Hindus in the hands of the Muhammadans
by means of separate electorates and communal distri-
bution of seats. The Muhammadans have not conquered
these provinces from the British nor from the Hindus.
Therefore, this handing over the Hindus to the Muham-
madans without voice or choice is comparable to the
sale of slaves to masters by dealers who perhaps are
stronger than both the buyers and the bought and enter
into the game solely with a view to profiteering. Those
Muhammadans who say, "Give us to rule over the
Hindus in some provinces and we shall give the Hindus
to rule over the Muhammadans in some others," "may
be asked, Who gave you the right to sell the Muhamma-
dans to the Hindus in the predominantly Hindu pro-
vinces? Who, again, gave the Muhammadans the right
to subject the Hindus to irresponsible Government in
the provinces where the Muhammadans are in a
majority?" The fact is that the minority Hindus or
the minority Muhammadans are neither cattle nor slaves
that the British might hand them over to the tyranny of
irresponsible rule by another community.

REAL DEMOCRACY CAN OVERCOME COMMUNALISM

Some say, if communal electorates and reservation
of seats were done away with and joint electorates
established instead, the Hindus would occupy the
majority of seats in the Central Legislature and the
whole of India will be ruled by Hindus as Hindus,
that is, elected by, representing and responsible to
Hindus alone. There is a serious mistake in such a
view. I would here remind you of the developments

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which, His Excellency Lord Willingdon, the Viceroy, looks forward to, even under the Communal Decision but which can be really looked forward to only under national democratic self-rule. Addressing the Legislative Assembly on 5th September, 1932, he said:

"A Government has to deal with the practical problems of the advancement and prosperity of the people. The people are not in their ordinary lives divided into exclusive communal compartments. They have the most varied relations with each other, and those relations develop series of interests and objects which are bound to cut across the purely communal outlook. I would, therefore, suggest to those who are looking at self-government in India as a problem of the Raj of one community or of another to reflect that in practice this is not a natural development. And I would urge them rather to contemplate as a more probable picture of the future a grouping of parties on the basis of economic or other non-communal interests."

With a joint electorate and general allotment of seats, the elected members will be responsible for the well-being of all, irrespective of their own religious views. With the destruction of the communal outlook, the political representatives will be elected on account of their fitness to do good to all and not because they belonged to a particular sect, so that, very naturally, the proportion of members of particular religious views in the legislatures will not always be any index to the numerical strength of the communities in the various provinces. And a majority community may not always find a majority of their own sect in the legislature. Democracy is more real than communalism, for after all, the important issues of a nation's political life are not religious. Therefore, democracy can always overcome Communal narrowness. In England, the U. S. A., and elsewhere there exist different religious and racial groups. But no one ever counts the proportion of Catholics, Protestants or Jews in the legislatures of these countries. The ministries in these countries are formed according to the strength of the various political parties. One party may be in a majority for some time, but, unless their ministry show ability to do good to the country they may lose their power in the next election, so that there is no risk of a permanent Government by an everlasting majority of any group without reference to their honesty, ability or ideals. It is easier for men to change over from one party to another than from one religion to another. So democracy cannot exist where majorities are based on non-political standards, such as religion, complexion, language or race.

In a system of joint electorates the members of the legislatures will be elected not only by their co-religionists but by all groups and they will be responsible to all groups. They will thus think it worth while to behave in such a way as would enable them to secure votes from all communities and not only from their own. As a result persons of extreme communal views will be open to defeat by more liberal and abler persons. The communities will be replaced by parties which will be composed of members of all religions. Parties will gain or lose support according as they benefit the nation by their activity. The present desire for communal "safeguards" is born of jealousy, fear, suspicion and covetousness. Taking advantage of this "opening," the British are "awarding" some power to each and every community but actually depriving the community of communities—the nation, of any real power.

If we could have real democracy in India, even a small community in a given area might turn out a large number of able men to act as legislators and officials. Merit being the criterion, smaller groups everywhere would not give up all hope as they would when branded as an eternal minority, and everybody and every group would attempt self-improvement. With communal government each community will work only for its own good and none for the common or national good. This fact alone should condemn this most infamous of political inventions.

Hindus Opposed to Communalism

With real democratic elections there is every chance that at least in Bengal and the Punjab Hindus will remain most of the time, even permanently, a minority in the legislature. Still, the Hindu Sabhas of these provinces and the Sikhs in the Punjab have voiced their opinion favouring joint electorates. The Hindus do not wish slavery to be revived in the Indian political world. They do not wish to possess unnatural and unjust power over others, nor would they give up their own right anywhere to others. In no country can there be different communities of exactly equal numerical strength. Not even the worst and most powerful of tyrants can force different communities to assume this sort of equality. Therefore, one or other community will always be larger in number. In such circumstances, true non-religious democratic politics is the only solution. Selfish exploitation of the minorities would surely break up the nation and that would bring disaster to all. Though we have been under the British for a long time we have not yet lost our manhood to such an extent as to agree to being treated politically like slaves who could be forced to change masters at any time without opposition.

National Self-rule and Not Communal Mendicancy Makes a Nation Prosperous

This rambling address has already become too long. I crave your kind indulgence for a few minutes more to enable me to place before you some concluding observations, in order to show that it is national self-rule which can make the different communities and classes and their aggregate the Nation healthy, prosperous, respected and enlightened, not communal mendicancy and the patronage received in return.

In the centuries during which the constitutions of independent and free countries of Europe, *e.g.*, like Great Britain and France, have gradually taken their present forms, there have been serious internal bloody conflicts beween their different religious communities, and the predominant groups have often subjected their opponents to fierce and unjust persecution and various kinds of unjust discrimination as regards educational facilities, laws of inheritance and the right to follow any professions, and occupations of their choice. For example, in England the burning at the stake of persons holding religious opinions different from those of the community in power was at one time largely practised. Jews, Roman Catholics and Non-conformists suffered from serious disabilities, which have been gradually removed. A similar state of things existed in France and other old free countries also. In these countries religious and other class conflicts are not yet entirely things of the past. Yet at no time have there been in these countries any reservaion of seats in their legislatures for different religious communities, whether forming a majority or a minority of the population, nor any separate elections by separate religious constituencies. The absence of such devices there have not stood in the way of these countries remaining free and becoming powerful, prosperous, educated and enlightened. The peoples of these countries as a whole, and even their most backward communities, are better educated than the most progressive sections of Indian and live in greater comfort

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enjoy much better health than the corresponding even higher classes in India.

Condition in Other Countries Compared

It is also to be borne in mind that in India different ious communities have never indulged in mutual mings as in Europe, nor have there been such religious ssacres here as the notorious massacres on St. holomew's Day in France. Neither Hindus nor Mussal-, when in power, have so systematically discriminated inst one another as some religious communities in ope in the past.

In spite of these facts, Englishmen in India have illed into the minds of some religious communities idea that without the "safe-guards" of reservations seats, "weightage" and separate electorates, these mmunities would not be able to be prosperous, ucated, healthy, etc. If that were a fact, why were se devices never adopted in Great Britain and land, in France, in U. S. A., Japan, etc.? If the ples in those countries as a whole and the separate mmunities forming parts of them could do without m and yet be powerful, prosperous, enlightened, althy, why are these devices considered necessary in ia—devices which divide group from group, make ional solidarity impossible, and create distrust and ension where they do not exist? Every politically-ded nationalist in India knows the answer.

It may be objected that these devices may not have urred to the ancient and later constitution-builders Europe and hence the older countries of the West to wade through much mutual conflict, suffering bloodshed to their present more civilized condition, that these devices are necessary to make more eful progress possible and smoother working of new stitution practicable. Let me examine this objection. The constitution of the United States of America, re there are various religious and racial groups and re racial and religious riots still occur, is a compara- new production. But these devices are absent in constitution. That is also the case with the Canadian stitution. The Japanese Constitution is of still later , but that, too, is without these devices. And yet these countries and the different communities living re are more prosperous, more educated and more g-lived.

Should any objector consider even the nineteenth tury an age of uncivilization, we would invite his ntion to the independent and free states re-constituted Europe after the last great war in the present tury. The people in every one of these countries each of the groups constituting them have higher omes, better education, better houses, longer lives, than the people of India and the corresponding sses of Indians. Such a state of things has not been ught about there by the devices referred to above. ese have not been adopted in any of these countries. some safe-guards relating to education, racial oms and culture, language, personal laws, and the e have been provided. These and these alone should provided in India, if and where necessary.

The last refuge of objectors may be the assertion India is a peculiar country. It is true, no country exactly like any other country. India also is not tly like any other country. It is not peculiar in other sense. But perhaps this statement is not e accurate. It is peculiar in this that, whereas in constitutions of the older countries of Europe and those of U. S. A., Japan and the new States of pe only the interests of their own peoples had to safe-guarded; in the constitution to be manufactured in London for India the political and economic interests of Britishers must be safe-guarded above all and first of all.

I have said that the people of other civilized countries are more prosperous, more educated, healthier and more long-lived than Indians though there is no separate communal representation there. Let me mention a few facts and figures to prove my point.

It is unnecessary to seek the aid of statistics to prove the extreme poverty of the bulk of the Indian population. One official admission will suffice. In the Report on Constitutional Reforms, popularly known as the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, the signatories, the then Secretary of State and the then Governor-General, have stated that "the immense masses of the people are poor, ignorant, and helpless far beyond the standard of Europe. (Section 132).

As regards sanitation and health, let the following death-rates per mille per annum, taken from the Statistical Year-Book of the League of Nations 1933-34, speak:

Canada	..	10.1	Germany	..	11.2
U. S. A.	..	11.1	Austria	..	14.0
Argentine	..	12.5	Belgium	..	13.3
Ceylon	..	22.1	Bulgaria	..	16.8
Cyprus	..	17.1	Spain	..	17.3
India	..	24.8	Britain	..	12.5
Japan	..	19.0	Australia	..	8.7
Palastine	..	22.1	New Zealand	..	8.3
Philippines	..	19.4			

Another index to health is the expectation of life in years at birth of the people of different countries, as to which the following figures are taken from the Census of India, 1931, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 171-72ff

Country.	Males.	Females.
Australia	55.20	58.84
Denmark	54.9	57.9
England	48.53	52.38
France	45.74	49.13
Germany	44.82	48.33
Holland	51.0	53.4
India	22.59	23.31
Italy	44.24	44.83
Japan	43.97	44.85
Norway	54.84	57.72
Sweden	54.53	65.98
Switzerland	49.25	52.15
United States	49.32	52.54

As regards education, the following table of illiteracy taken from Whitaker's Almanack 1934 will give some idea:

Country.	Year.	Per cent of Population illiterate.
Turkey	1927	91.8
Egypt	1927	85.7
Brazil	1920	67.0
Portugal	1920	65.0
Mexico	1921	64.9
Spain	1920	43.0
Greece	1928	43.0
Poland	1921	32.7
Italy	1921	26.8

By now all these countries have made appreciable progress in education.

Comparatively unprogressive countries have been mentioned in the above table. In 1930, in the United States of America only 4.03 per cent. were illiterate. In Japan, there are practically no illiterates except infants. In Russia (U. S. S. R.) in 1926, the percentage

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of illiterates was 48.7. At the end of 1930, it was 33. And at the end of 1933 it was only 10. Mark the rapid increase in the number and percentage of literates in Russia. In India in 1921, the illiterates were 92.9 per cent of the population, and in 1931 they were 92 per cent of the population. But even this slight progress is deceptive. For, whereas in 1921 the total number of illiterates was 29,34,31,580, in 1931 it was 32,16,28,003.

The Negroes of America, who were sold as slaves in America, were originally an uncivilized people without literature and without even an alphabet. Till their liberation on December 11, 1865, it was a penal offence to teach them or for them to receive any schooling. But in 65 years from 1865 to 1930, they have made such progress in education that in 1930 only 16.3 per cent. of them were illiterate, against 92 per cent. of Indians. This ought to make both us and our Government ashamed for we have ancient literatures and more alphabets and scripts than we know what to do with.

Remedy of Remedies

One of the main reasons why India is poor, illiterate and unhealthy is that she is not self-ruling. Therefore we should make the greatest possible efforts to win self-rule.

There is a Sanskrit proverb which says

वाणिज्ये वसते लक्ष्मीस्तदर्धं कृषिकर्मणि।
तदर्धं राजसेवायां भिक्षायां नैव च नैव च॥

which means that the Goddess of prosperity dwells in commerce, half of that in agriculture, and half of that in the service of the State, but not at all in begging.

Imperial preference (open or disguised), manipulation of exchange and currency, the practical monopoly of shipping in foreign hands, concessions of minerals, etc., to foreigners, the foreign control of our public exchequer and the like make it impossible for the generality of our people to prosper by commerce and industry. Agriculture, generally speaking, is in a backward, pre-scientific condition. The public services and the army, according to the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, find occupation for only 1½ per cent of the people. Begging for communal favours or any other favours cannot make the people at large either healthy, wealthy or enlightened. National Responsible Self-rule is the remedy of remedies. Let us strive for it.

INSURANCE NOTES

Unemployment Insurance

The Unemployment Act, 1934, which has been in force since June last, in Great Britain contains in the main the provisions of the earlier Unemployment Insurance Acts and there is no change in the rates of contribution obtaining at present. The reduction in the rates of benefit introduced under the National Economy Act 1931, has also been restored. The new Act grants what are to be known as "additional days" for benefit. The qualification for being entitled to such benefit is that the insured contributor, claiming the benefit has been fully insured for at least five years. The number of "additional days" for which benefit is to be granted is calculated by what is called the "ratio rule." For every five contributions which have been paid by the claimant during the past five years three "additional days" for benefit will be allowed. If the claimant is a juvenile, that is, person under 18 years of age, every two contributions will be treated as one for the purpose of "additional" days calculation.

The new Act embraces within its scope juveniles at school-leaving age and in this respect it has gone in advance of the previous legislations. With a few minor exceptions, all persons 14 years of age and over who are working for an employer, will be insurable unless they are either (*a*) employed in agriculture, (*b*) employed in domestic service in private houses, or (*c*) apprentices receiving no wages.

The new Act aims at placing the Unemployment Insurance Scheme on a sound basis and with this end in view the "Unemployment Insurance Statutory Committee" has been set up. The committee are entrusted with the duty of examining the working of the Scheme every year and reporting upon its financial position and should they ever find it necessary, they are to make such suggestions as will improve the position of the Fund and make up the deficiencies, if there be any. The new Act is an improvement upon its predecessors and it is expected that it will be successful in achieving the ends for which it has been enacted.

M. G.

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NOTES

"An Un-Islamic Outrage"

By publishing the following signed leader in *The Bombay Chronicle* its editor has rendered distinct service not only to his own community, but to others also :

AN UN-ISLAMIC OUTRAGE

"I am giving only one life for protecting the honour of the Prophet, but Mussalmans will be prepared to give lakhs of lives for the same object." So declared Abdul Qaiyum, the youthful Muslim from the N.-W. Frontier Province, when he was convicted by the Sessions Judge of Karachi for the murder of Nathuram and sentenced to be hanged. The words reveal the wrong and perverted notions of Islam, which are entertained by not a few of those who call themselves Muslims as well as the danger involved, at the present stage of educational progress in India, in the publications of books and leaflets which contain unwarranted, insulting and provocative attacks on the founder of any religion. There are few crimes more heinous than, in the name of one religion, to defame the founder of another. But not less condemnable and outrageous is the notion that it is a meritorious deed to take the law into one's hands and kill the perpetrators of such crimes. Nathuram, the murdered man, had paid the penalty for his crime when he was sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment for publishing a scurrilous pamphlet about Prophet Muhammad. But evidently there are Muslims, who belive that it is a meritorious act to kill a man who insults their Prophet. It was this belief which was responsible for Abdul Qaiyum's homicidal assault on Nathuram and, worse still, for his justification of it. No belief could be more repugnant to the teachings of Islam and to the practice of the Arabian Prophet, who invariably forgave his traducers and was magnanimous towards his enemies. The Sessions Judge in sentencing Abdul Qaiyum said : "There is no immunity for a Muslim to do what he likes according to the personal law of Islam." If the Sessions Judge made this statement in reference to the contention of the defence Counsel, it must be made clear that there could be no greater calumny against Islam than to suggest that it, directly or indirectly, sanctions or justifies an outrageous act such as that of Abdul Qaiyum. According to the Sessions Judge the accused had not murdered Nathuram out of personal grudge, but out of veneration for the Prophet. Whatever his motive, the accused could not have committed a deed more un-Islamic and more antithetic to what the Arabian Prophet lived for and taught. No one has a right to call himself a Muslim who does not regard this outrage as indefensible and there could be no greater disservice to Islam than to consider perpetrators of such outrages as martyrs in its cause. SYED ABDULLAH BRELVI

"Empire merely Based on Brute Force" Not Wanted?

London, Oct. 5.

Sir Herbert Samuel speaking at Dundee, profoundly regretted the demonstrations at Bristol, yesterday, because India was not a party matter. He declared, "It concerns the whole country and also the Dominions and the latter will not consent to be party to an Empire which is merely based on brute force. The Liberal Party actively co-operated with the Government in fashioning the new Indian constitution and if the Government stands to its proposals the Liberals all over the country will give it continuous support."—Reuter.

As if the Government's proposals are tantamount to laying the foundation of the new Indian constitution on the willing consent of the people of India !

When have the Dominions *practically* sympathized with Indian aspirations, and what will they do if the British *Empire* (of which they are not parts), not the British *Commonwealth of Nations* (of which they are parts), proves to be merely based on brute force ?

We do not mean to say that, individually, Dominion statesmen have not declared themselves in favour of self-rule for India—they have done so. But in practice the Dominion Governments have treated Indians as a very inferior people.

General Smuts on Self-government for India

London, Oct. 19.

General Smuts emphatically declared himself wholeheartedly in favour of self-government for

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India at Dundee on the occasion of conferment of freedom of the city. He expressed the opinion that the problem was eminently one for the exhibition of that genius for compromise which always distinguished the people of Britain in relations with other peoples and in the solution of their own political problems. "What is happening to-day is not forced; it is inevitable. India must have self-government conferred on her."

General Smuts recalled that a century ago Macaulay introduced into India British ideas of self-government, justice and equal rights which had been germinating. The "most explosive thing in the world is ideas and those seeds of ideas planted by Macaulay have produced their crop and you are faced with the situation which must be dealt with."

"Whatever you do in the matter let it be the work and gift of the nation as a whole, it will be a sad day and a sad occasion if, self-government of India should become a party question in Britain and should not be treated as a great national issue in which every section of Britons joined."

General Smuts pointed to the great success which resulted from the great act of British statesmanship in granting self-government to the ex-Boer republic 1907, when every counsel of worldly wisdom seemed to point out a different direction. South Africa's position in British commonwealth to-day was largely due to act of faith. "My strong wish is that the precedent followed there should be followed in this case, too." —Reuter.

The opinions expressed by the Boer statesman are welcome. It should, however, be borne in mind that he is not a British statesman, and also that British statesmen when in power do not or cannot give effect to their pro-Indian views expressed when out of power or in opposition.

India and British Political Parties

When General Smuts desired that India should not be made a party question in Britain, he made his meaning clear. He wanted that all British parties should jointly confer self-government on India. But when British politicians indulge in the cant of India not being a party question, what is meant is that all British parties should combine to rule India as a subject country for Britain's benefit. We are afraid that is the sense in which Sir John Anderson, Governor of Bengal on leave, referred in his speech at Edinburgh on the 15th October last to "the best way of *governing* India"—not, mind, "the best way of *making India self-governing*."

In a speech Sir John said that the irresistible march of evolution in India was full of difficulties. From the standpoint of those responsible for the Government of India, it was greatly to be deplored that Indian affairs had become from time to time a matter of acute political controversy in Britain.

Whatever the differences might be as to the best way of governing India, it could be agreed by all men of practical experience that the only policy likely to succeed all along the line was a policy which could be steadily and persistently pursued without being tossed and twisted about in the turbulent stream of party politics.

Sir John said that Britain's wonderful record in the management of external affairs had been made possible largely by the fact that those affairs were treated as standing above party politics.

He did not believe that in the Parliamentary life of Britain, Indian affairs could for very long exercise a dominant influence. The issues which would sway the electorate to determine the alignment of political parties would always be domestic.

If this was so, justice, as well as experience, dictated that the destinies of India should be worked out in an atmosphere of judicial calm and the leading statesmen of all parties fully realized this.—Reuter.

What is said to be everybody's business may be nobody's business, and, therefore, it is only proper that the problem of giving self-government to India should be, not a party problem, but an all-British-parties problem. "The destinies of India should be worked out in an atmosphere of judicial calm," in order that no British party or politician may be carried away by any remnant of War-time zeal for world democracy, self-determination for all nations and the like. Justice dictates it. But justice of what variety? The ordinary colourless kind, or of the martial or ordinance sort?

British Labour Conference and Self-determination for India

In what we have written in the foregoing note it is not to be taken as implied that we expect any British party to do justice to India. It is easier for individuals to desire to be just than for parties to be just in practice. Many members of the British Labour party have expressed a desire for justice to India. But the party as a whole has made the gesture indicated in the following telegram:

London, Oct. 3

The Labour Party Conference at Southport to-day considered a resolution submitted by Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, expressing the conviction that it is imperative that the principle of self-determination for the establishment of full self-government for India should be implemented forthwith.

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The resolution supported the Indian demand that constituent assembly should be elected, based on adult franchise.

Mr. Arthur Henderson urged the withdrawal of the resolution and refused to give an undertaking on behalf of the Executive to carry out its policy of self-determination for India. He said: "We have laid down very clearly that we are going to consult, if possible, all sections of the Indian people. That ought to satisfy everybody."

The Conference then passed on to other business —Reuter.

Mr. Henderson ought to know that *that* does not satisfy the Indian people. "We are going to consult, *if possible*, all sections of the Indian people." Just as at the so-called Round Table Conferences all sections of the Indian people were alleged to have been consulted!

Indo-British Partnership!

A Reuter's telegram reads in part as follows:

London, Oct. 4.

A spirited attack on the Government's India policy was repelled at the Conservative Party Conference, which opened at Bristol to-day by the adoption of an amendment, by 543 votes to 520, that it was not in the interest of the Party that the Conference should pass any resolution, particularly as it had been decided that a special meeting of the party Council should be held to confer with Mr. Stanley Baldwin when the report of the Joint Select Committee is published.

The Conference thus rejected Sir Henry Page Croft's resolution, which he moved amid cheers.

"This Conference, which is prepared to support the measures for a greater measure of self-government in the Indian provinces step by step and in accordance with the Government of India Act, records its emphatic opinion that the partnership between Britain and India in the Central Government of the Indian Empire must not be dissolved and urges the Government to assent to no proposals which imperil the future of India within the Empire or impair the confidence and unity of the Conservative Party in view of the menace of Socialism."

Indo-British partnership indeed! There is as much partnership between Britain and India as there is between India and the Man in the moon.

But if the sort of relationship which exists between India and Britain can be called partnership, there are a greater degree and quantity of the thing in the White Paper proposals than exist at present.

For, those proposals make the Governor-General and the Governors greater autocrats than they are at present and add greatly to the powers of the steel frame. That is so far as administration goes. As regards growing rich by utilizing the resources of India, the proposals make it very clear that Britishers are to be in an unequivocally better position than now. This fact has been brought out anew in Prof. D. N. Banerjee's two articles in the October and November numbers of this Review.

The rejection of Sir Henry Page Croft's resolution by such a narrow majority shows that the die-hards are very strong. The result will be that more "safe-guards" will be added to the White Paper, making it blacker than it is.

Or the White Paper proposals may be scrapped altogether. Mr. Neville Chamberlain has said as much when he stated that it must not be assumed that the future constitution of India would be based on the White Paper.

If that thing be scrapped altogether, no tears will be shed so far as we are concerned. We shall only ask (whom we do not know), why all this bother, commencing with the Simon Commission, continuing with the so-called Round Table conferences and ending (supposing that that is the concluding chapter) with the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee, and why this squandering of the poor Indian taxpayer's money.

Mr. Fazlul Huq Wants More Empty Hostels

In the course of his presidential address at the recent Bengal Muslim Youths Conference, Mr. Fazlul Huq

> "peaded for a larger number of well-built Hostels throughout Bengal for Muslim students."

His attention is drawn to the following paragraph page 83, in the Government of Bengal's *Eighth Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bengal* for the years 1927-1932:

> "A considerable proportion of the accommodation provided in the Moslem hostels, with the solitary exception of the Rajshahi Madrasah, remained unoccupied during the period [of five years] and a few hostels were also closed owing to the lack of boarders."

No Examples of Self-sacrifice in India for Moslem Youth!

Mr. Fazlul Huq concluded his address with an appeal, part of which runs as follows:

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"Before I sit down, I wish to say a few parting words by way of fervent appeals which I hope you will allow to burn into your hearts. I appeal to you to take up the work of organizing yourselves into a band of devoted workers in the cause of your community and country, with all the ardour, the enthusiasm and the energy of youth. I appeal to you to be inspired with that idea of self-sacrifice which filled the hearts of the Neo-Spaniards of the days of Cervantes who regarded self-immolation in any public cause as the only true religion known to man."

It may be that Mr. Fazlul Huq did not want Moslem young men to imitate the examples of self-sacrifice set in India by non-Moslems (assuming, of course, that there have been such). But it is rather strange that, though there have been Mussalmans in India for more than a thousand years, he could not discover any examples of self-sacrifice among them.

Baroda Girl Guides in South Africa

Reuter reports :

CAPE TOWN. Oct. 16.

The party of Girl Guides from Baroda, who are touring South Africa, are being enthusiastically welcomed by the Indian community as well as by European residents.

Their pleasing demeanour, skill with various weapons, notably the bow and arrow, and excellent drill displays have created a most favourable impression.

The Guides, who are now nearing the end of their tour, arrived to-day at Ladysmith (Natal), where they were welcomed by the Mayor and a large gathering of Indians and Europeans.

Over the Mayor's head was suspended a huge garland of flowers. Suddenly a Guide stepped out and from a distance of 12 yards drew a bow. An arrow sped directly over the Mayor's head, cutting the cord by which the garland was hung.

The garland fell over the Mayor's shoulders—a spectacular event which greatly pleased those present, including the Mayor, after he had recovered from his initial surprise.—Reuter.

The Rand Daily Mail has given an account of what the Girl Guides said and did at Johannesburg.

The eloquence of three Indian Girl Guides, aged 14, 15 and 16 wearing khaki jackets and knicker-bockers, with daggers slung at their sides swayed an audience of nearly 3,000 to outbursts of wild enthusiasm in the Selbourne Hall.

They were members of the party of girl guide students from the Arya Kanya Mahavidyalaya Baroda, India, under their leader Pandit Anandpriyaji. The Mayor of Johannesburg, Mr. D. Penry Roberts, presided.

Catherine Mayo's book, "Mother India," was held up to scorn by these girls.

"Are we the down-trodden women of whom she wrote" they asked, and proceeded scathingly to criticize the book. They took the authoress to task as a woman who thought she could assimilate the whole history of India in a 'hurricane tour.'

"We stand before you to-night as examples of young Indian womanhood—the alleged victims of child-marriage—to give the lie direct to "Mother India," they declared.

The big Indian audience roared its approval.

Introducing the Girl Guides, Mr. P. B. Singh said that the tour had been made possible by a very rich sugar manufacturer in Lugazi, Uganda, Mr. N. K. Mehta who was an ardent supporter of the education of Indian women. To show his faith in the Baroda institution he had actually sent his baby daughter to that school.

"Come stand on your chair, Sabita," he said, "Show yourself to the people." And a pretty olive-skinned girl with sleek black hair stood in her khaki uniform and smiled shyly.

Subhadra Kumarti, the 16-years-old guide in her speech, which was made in English and was marked by forceful gestures, urged Indian women not to forget the traditions of their country. They must preserve their individuality.

"The modern Indian woman is coming forward to take her part nobly in the social and political life of her country," she said, "where woman is respected, there does wisdom dwell, a wise man has said. We come to you to present a true picture of Mother India."

At the end of her speech she naively added: "We are proud to be in this historic city of gold—and we hope to have a jolly good time here!"

The guides then sang a song in Bengali, written by Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore.

Another girl, 15 years old, referred in Gujerati to Miss Mayo's book. "An American has written that India is a land of child-marriage, Suttee and general persecution of women. This is an untruth," she exclaimed, and forcefully smacked the fist of one hand into the palm of the other.

In his speech of welcome the Mayor said that it gave the Mayoress and himself great pleasure to be present and wish the Girl Guides a happy tour of the Union.

Mr. M. S. Nana welcomed the tourists on behalf of the Transvaal Indian Congress.

"It is in your hands," he said, addressing the Girl Guides, "in the hands of youth, that the destiny of our motherland lies." Recently an All-India Soccer team had toured the Union. They represented the men of modern India. To-day the Girl Guides were here. They represented modern Indian womanhood.

Months ago we had occasion to witness a drill and acrobatic performance of these Girl Guides at Santiniketan before the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore. He was pleased with them.

Exhibition of Pictures at Rangoon

Mr. Manindrabhushan Gupta, who has gone to Rangoon to exhibit his water-colours, is an accomplished artist as well as interpreter of Indian art. He had his training at Santiniketan, and was a teacher of art for a number of years in Ceylon.

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Upheaval in Spain

Poverty of the masses had a great deal to do with the French Revolution. That was one of the main causes, if not the principal cause, of the revolution in Russia. Extensive economic distress lay at the root of the recent upheaval in Spain, too. A large part of the population of that country live in a state of semi-starvation. It is not merely the agricultural labourers who generally cannot appease their hunger, but even the peasant proprietors have often little to eat. And Spain is not distinguished for manufacturing industries.

Statesmen should always beware of the hunger of large masses of men.

India's Representative at the World Press Conference

There have been many world conferences where India was represented by non-Indians. It is satisfactory, therefore, to learn that at the World's Press Conference to be held in Melbourne next year India is to be represented by an Indian editor of an Indian-owned paper. It is an additional source of gratification that Mr. Tushar Kanti Ghosh, editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, is to represent India; for that paper has a long record of signal service to the country under distinguished editors.

A Lady candidate for the Assembly

The *Hitavada* of Nagpur writes:

> The Congress Nationalist Party has set up Shreemati Shannodevi, ex-principal, the Kanya Mahavidyalaya, Jullundur, as a candidate for one of the seats in the Assembly elections. The lady has done considerable work for the Congress cause and has suffered sacrifices, having been imprisoned in the first civil disobedience movement. Women in India.....have always been apprehensive of their success in elections in a joint electorate constituency and for that reason have been slightly inclined to favour separate electorates. If this lady is elected, it will be a signal triumph for womanhood in India and a fitting answer will have been given to the protagonists of separate electorates for women.

We have known Srimati Shannodevi for years as a lady who has had remarkable achievements to her credit in connection with the Jullundur Kanya Mahavidyalaya, one of which was the collection of Rs. 100,000 for it, for which she toured India, Burma and parts of Africa.

She stands for the Jullundur Division. We support her candidature with all our heart.

India's Public Health Record

The figures reproduced below from the *Bengal Public Health Report* for the year 1932, published last month, show how unsatisfactory and deplorable is India's public health. The figures relate to the year 1932.

Province.	Birth-rate per mille.	Death-rate per mille.	Increase or Decrease per mille.
Bengal	26·6	20·5	+ 6·1
Madras	36·03	21·96	+14·07
Bombay	35·89	23·04	+12·85
U. P.	34·66	22·23	+12·43
Panjab	41·36	24·70	+16·66
C. P.	45·20	26·89	+18·31
B. & O.	33·8	20·6	+13·2
N.-W. F.	28·89	20·00	+8·89
Burma	27·75	17·30	+10·45
Assam	30·06	18·96	+11·10

INFANT MORTALITY RATES PER MILLE

	Male.	Female.	Total.
Bengal	184·8	172·4	178·9
Madras	193·62	171·78	182·58
Bombay	164·01	148·12	156·39
U. P.	169·16	155·49	162·72
Panjab	182·80	173·72	178·52
C. P.	215·16	186·40	201·12
B. & O.	138·2	119·0	128·8
N.-W. F.	129·93	128·57	129·34
Burma	196·64	171·85	184·50
Assam	166·05	146·51	156·58

These figures may be compared with the following statistics of death-rates per mille in some other countries:

Canada	10.1	Germany	11.2
U. S. A.	11.1	Austria	14
Argentine	12.5	Belgium	13.3
Ceylon	22.1	Bulgaria	16.8
Cyprus	17.1	Spain	17.3
Japan	19.0	Britain	12.5
Palestine	22.1	Australia	8.7
Philippines	19.4	New Zealand	8.3

Hitler the Complete and Perfect Autocrat!

Hitler has become both life president and life Chancellor of Germany. In addition, Reuter wires:

> BERLIN, Oct. 16.
>
> German Ministers will no longer be responsible to the Reichstag and a law will shortly be promulgated which will require Ministers to take an oath of fidelity to Chancellor Herr Hitler alone.
>
> This announcement was made in a speech to-day by Herr Lammers, Secretary of State, at the Chancellery. He added that the concentration of all power into the hands of one man was the sole means of securing Germany's recovery —Reuter.

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Tagore on the Place of Art in Education

Interviewed by the "United Press" prior to his departure for Madras the Poet, Rabindra Nath Tagore, said :

> The present system of education in this country is purely academic in its aims and activities and by woefully neglecting the glorious traditions of arts that were once the most effective instruments of Indian culture it has stifled the true cultural aspirations of India and has brought about a deplorable state of dullness in the life of the nation. The art has the unfailing virtue of investing a new value to life and its varied creative expressions. I consider it a sacred mission to revive those ideals of Indian art and make them relieve in the educational and cultural life of India. I am shocked to find the poverty of life that India presents to-day which to a great extent is due to the fact that her arts are being looked down upon the arts which are allied to the heroic aspect of life expressing in articulate forms her inner aesthetic institutions.
>
> I have had two happy experiences in Bombay and Ceylon of being able successfully to call the attention of the people there to the imperative need of giving to the arts an important place in education and I hope my visit to Madras will be equally successful.

"Red Lights" of Bombay

The seamy side of Bombay's night life, with its blatant vice, has been mercilessly exposed by Mr. Lincoln Gardener Ellison, author and traveller, in an article in the *Modern Thinker*. He has given a graphic and revolting pen picture of a notorious vice-ridden and disease-infected spot in that city. We can quote only the first paragraph. He writes :

> There are red-light districts, but probably no city in all the world has a street where vice is so blatant and unashamed as Bombay. Here, where West merges into East in a melody of contrasts, vice is the more repulsive because it is so undisguised. There is nothing hidden about it. The evil exists and you have to put up with it.

That other cities have such moral plague spots is certainly no palliation ; but it must be said that Bombay does not most probably hold the record. And Bombay has been putting up a fight with commercialized vice.

American Investigation of Munition Industry

Investigations by U. S. A. Senate Committees are generally very searching and thoroughgoing. The present investigation into the American munitions industry will not most probably be an exception. *The New Republic* writes :

> The Senate committee investigating the munitions industry has made a magnificent start. For the first time, the people of this and other countries have a chance to see the armaments business as it really is. They can see it as a business that lives by deliberately fostering ill-will and threats of war between nations and by shamelessly bribing high-placed officials of all countries.
>
> Since the World War, the United States government has many times boasted of its labours for disarmament. We now find that the State, War and Navy Departments have all along privately been acting as sales agencies for American armament concerns. We find that our ambassadors, generals and admirals have been on terms of improper—in one instance, obviously culpable—intimacy with the munitions manufacturers and have done them innumerable favours. From the Senate investigation, we also learn something about the arms makers of other countries, and find the same scandalous situation, varying in detail in Great Britain, France, Poland, Argentina, Brazil and Peru. It seems possible the revelations of the last few days concerning the operations of Vickers will shortly compel a parliamentary investigation in England.

Some idea of the scandalous situation has been given already by Dr. Sudhindra Bose, published in our last October number. Regarding the sensational character of the allegations made one example, taken from the same paper, will suffice :

> That our government, as a further aid to the Driggs Company, invited a Polish military mission to visit this country. After long delays, the invitation was accepted by Poland, and the Driggs concern was at the point of closing a contract involving many millions of dollars when America's departure from the gold standard in April, 1933, caused the Polish government to reconsider. According to Driggs officials, early in these anti-aircraft negotiations King George summoned the Polish Ambassador before him, and demanded that the business be given to Vickers. London sources indignantly deny this story.

Sir Akbar Hydari on Communal Unity and Education

In the course of his address at the Bombay Provincial Muslim Conference Sir Akbar Hydari said that ignorance of each other's history, literature and culture was to a great extent responsible for communal dissensions and hatred. That is undoubtedly part of the truth.

He observed that he was opposed to separate communal education. He proceeded to say that, if the Benares Hindu University

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had not grown up, the Muslim University at Aligarh would not have been established. This statement is misleading. The Muslim *University* at Aligarh may be of later date than the Benares Hindu University. But the Aligarh Muslim University is only the Aligarh Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College renamed and magnified ; and that college was founded by Sir Syed Ahmed long before the Benares Hindu University came into existence.

Impressions of Government of India's Deputy Regarding Zanzibar Indians

That an unlimited number of Europeans from various countries can make money in various parts of Asia, Africa, South America, etc., and return to their own countries with their wealth, is not objected to. But if Japanese, Chinese and Indians—particularly the last—make money anywhere and return to their country without settling in their places of business, that is considered abnormal and a great offence on the part of these orientals. A main charge against Indians at Zanzibar, who are going to be ruined by anti-Indian legislation was that they were birds of passage making money in that island. But that charge, assuming without admitting that it is an offence, is mostly false. Mr. K. P. Menon was sent to Zanzibar by the Government of India for correctly investigating the situation there so far as it relates to Indians. He described his impressions in the course of a speech addressed to a gathering of Indians and Arabs at Pemba. He said that he had learned that more than 80 per cent of the Indians at Zanzibar had permanently settled there. So, most Indians of the island not only make money there but spend and invest it there, too.

Principal S. K. Sen of Delhi

By the sudden and premature death of Principal Surendra Kumar Sen of the Hindu College, Delhi, not only Delhi but the country also has lost a distinguished educationist. He was only 44 years of age at the time of his death. He was an Oxonian and had passed the I. C. S. competitive examination, but was disqualified owing to a physical defect. It is remarkable that under him the Delhi Hindu College made a definite advance in athletics and came to acquire an individuality of its own. He was Secretary of the local Bengali Club, the local Prabasi Banga Sahitya Sammelan, the Arts Exhibition, and the head of the history department of the Delhi University. He was also a member of the International History Society. He took great interest in art, music and sport and was a successful administrator. His modesty, kindness and geniality had made him very popular.

Stopford A. Brooke on "Gitanjali"

In a letter written to the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, on December 18, 1912, by the late Stopford A. Brooke, published in the October number of *Visva-bharati News*, we get glimpses of what that eminent minister of religion and literary critic thought of the Poet's father's Autobiography and of the translations of the Poet's poems made by himself which were subsequently published as *Gitanjali* and won him the Nobel Prize.

> I was deeply interested by the Autobiography you sent to me, not only by the history it gave me of the whole of the vital religious movement it records, but chiefly by the character revealed in it, and by the movement and life of his spirit. It made a deep impression on me and awakened many thoughts in me—too many for me to put into words. I see how many elements in his soul, you have passed through your own soul, reshaped them there and given them a new form in your poems. Those poems of yours, however, somewhat derived from him, are vitally your own, and sealed with your own personality. But the others, the greater number, are I think the most individual, personal and original poems I have ever read, and how much more intense their personal originality would be, if I could only read them in their own language. Yet, as you yourself have translated them, their native air and light still suffuses them. We have no new soul and atmosphere imposed on them. One person, one only, is in them.
>
> They make for peace, peace breathing from love. And they create for us, too storm-tost in this modern western world, a quiet refuge and a temper in which we realize that the real world is outside our noisome world, in the Things and Ideas that are eternal in immortal Love. And because the poems all spring from union with this undying love, they appear in beauty, in a thousand shapes of beauty. It is well for us, over here, amid our crowded varieties and useless philosophies, to have a book which without denouncing us—leads us into the meadows of peace and love and refreshes us when we are weary, but yet is not content till it bids us pass from quietude to shape what we have learned there into the life of men and women, and bring them also into peace.
>
> I am old, and I wish I had more of peace, of certainty in it. But I am very grateful to

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you for bringing so much of it to me, by day, and when I lie alone at night. I send you the last volume of sermons I have published, as a little mark of a great gratitude. In some hour when there is leisure, it may interest you to dip into it here and there, and see what a man thinks who has lived through stormy times into old age, and is sure that love is, and was and will be, for ever.

I am most sincerely yours,
Sd. Stopford A. Brooke.

Dr. Bhatnagar's Munificence

A British Company exploiting the mineral oil resources of the Panjab having benefited by the researches in petroleum of Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar of the Panjab University, who is a chemical researcher of note, wanted to mark their appreciation of his work by giving him Rs. 1,50,000. Dr. Bhatnagar has munificently made over this amount to the Panjab University for founding five research scholarships in chemistry. His self-sacrifice and devotion to the cause of science are highly laudable. The way in which the Company chose to mark their appreciation of his work is also admirable. Both the parties concerned have acted in a praiseworthy manner.

We hope it will not be considered ungracious on our part if we say that the incident would have given us unalloyed pleasure if the Company concerned had been Indian.

"Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd."

In the course of the debate in the Assembly relating to the giving of the monopoly for the exploitation of certain chemical resources in the Panjab for fifty years to a British Company, it was officially stated that the concession was or would be given to a British company in the absence of a similar Indian one.

Prof. Ruchi Ram Sahni, in the course of an article in the *Tribune*, exposes the Government's pretensions that because no Indian syndicate came forward to apply for it, therefore it has granted or is going to grant, the monopoly for the exploitation of the chemical resources to a British company. It is unquestionably true that no Government keeping the interests of India in the forefront could have put forward such an excuse for mortgaging the country's future in regard to an important industry. He asks, "Is it not the duty of a Government, inspired with the real spirit of a trustee, to make an effort to find a syndicate and even to help one to come into existence?" He recalls an instance how about a quarter of a century ago they, in the Panjab, contemplated to start a concern for the manufacture of alkalies, but were thwarted in their plans because an Indian chemist, who was sent to England with a Government technical scholarship to study the practical side of this branch of the subject, could not obtain admission into any British alkali works, despite his seeking the help of the Secretary of State. One of the heads of a British chemical concern is reported to have openly expressed himself at that time to the effect that 'if ever the industry is taken in hand in India, it is we who shall do it and no one else.' However, we feel that if the Government of India would stay its hand and refrain from granting the monopoly to a non-Indian company and notifies the Indian public about it, indigenous capital and enterprise would immediately come forward to take up the work in hand. But will it do it? The answer to this question will show its regard for India's interests.

First School of Art in Sind

The opening ceremony of the Sind Art Exhibition under the auspices of the Bandhu Ashram School of Art at Hyderabad (Sind) was utilized also for making known the history of that school of art. We read in the *Sind Observer* that the work of building up this institution has been done by Mr. Monimohon Ray Chowdhury of Santiniketan and Mr. Dhirendranath Ghose of the Mayo School of Art of Lahore. Dewan Metharam Dharmdas Trust has given them this opportunity.

Along with drawing and painting this school teaches a few crafts, such as leather work, lamp-shade making, stencil cutting, etc. Its advanced students have been executing a fresco on the walls of the central room of the school.

Sadhu Vaswani in the course of his presidential address welcomed with joy the advent of filling up a great gap in the life of Sind—a School of Art. He commended the pictures placed in the exhibition to the audience and thanked Mr. Kewalram, Mr. Ghose and Mr. Chowdry for their efforts in the direction of creating an interest in the great work of Art. He invoked the blessings of God on the School of Art and hoped that it would thrive more and more and day by day.

Sadhu Vaswani further appealed to Sindhi boys and girls to adopt the ways and methods of simplicity. It was not in costly clothes that lay the true sense of beauty. Sindhi girls and boys were labouring under that illusion and delusion. It was in simplicity that the true sense of beauty could be found. He appealed to the students never to forsake the ideal of simplicity.

More than 125 pictures, original and copied, were exhibited. Among the originals have been mentioned and described Miss Ruki G. Malkani's "Behind the Curtain," Miss Mumal T. Malkani's "Sasui and Punchu,"

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Kewal B. Malkani's "Mira Bai" and Grandpa's Pride," Miss Issar N. Jagtiani's the Moonlight Night," Miss Jasoti K. adani's "Maravi," and Miss Gopi T. angiani's "On the Door".

Amongst copy work, Bhoji A. Adwani's "Budha," Devi G. Lalwani's "Christ," Dholi H. Bhawnani's "Young Mother," Giani A. Vaswani's "Venus," Gopi Lalvani's "Patient in Tribulation," Jama J. Shahani's "Radha in Swoon," Muni Chandirani's "Count Leo Tolstoy," Parpati H. Thadani's "Saligs Tranlien," *i. e.*, an old soldier, Parpati G. Sippy's "Virgin in Prayer," Radhi N. Bhawnani's "Sudhama," Ruki G. Malkani's "Expectation," Sati T. Bhawnani's "To the Temple" and Vishni D. Jagtiani's "Young Lady" deserve special mention.

The stencil work by Miss Godhawari B. Shivdasani was quite good, and the leather-work by Miss Kalawanti B. Malkani was excellent.

London-Melbourne Air Race

Last month we read in the papers news of London-Melbourne Air Race and how the

Mr. Scott (figure wearing a great coat), winner of the London-Melbourne Air Race, at Bamrauli Air Station.

competing aeroplanes passed through India ;— and we asked : Where is India ?

We were present at the air station at Bamrauli (Allahabad) when Mr. Scott, winner of the race, landed there. His machine being painted red, it could be seen from the ground even when it was at a great height. He arrived at Bamrauli about an hour before he was expected. He is a tall man with a splendid physique. At the time he landed he wore a long coat, felt shoes, socks turned down and an evening cap. He had a rolling or swinging gait like that of sailors.

Japanese Competition in the World Market

A Japanese trade mission recently spent four months in visiting the South Sea Islands, India, Asia Minor, and Europe. So far as India is concerned the mission's report says some interesting and some naive things. In its opinion, "the nation that is most drastically oppressing Japanese products is Great Britain." "Oppressing" is delightful! The report observes that "India is no longer interesting." It was interesting so long as nothing was done here to prevent Japanese goods flooding the markets. But Japan has still some hope. For Japanese articles can reach British India through the State of Cutch which "has never joined in British tariff agreement." It is also noted that the attempts of the British authorities to suppress the trade through Cutch have been unsuccessful, because that "State is anti-British." It may be that that State and many or most other States are "anti-British," but the writer of the Japanese trade mission's report does not know that such anti-Britishism can be crushed by the British authorities at any moment.

Another thing which the report says is that in India "the masses respect Japan as the leader of the Asiatic races." When Japan defeated Czarist Russia, there was no doubt some respect felt for her as having taken the first step to make a breach in the citadel of European ascendancy in the East. But that feeling of respect has disappeared owing to Japan's increasing imperialism and militarism.

But whether Japan is respected or not, it would be a great mistake to think that she is able to more than compete in some world markets owing merely to some adventitious circumstances or to trickery. Japan succeeds mainly by the development of technical skill and machinery equipment. As

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the September number of *Far Eastern Social Information*, published by Japan's Research Institute for Social Problem, informs its readers :

A remarkable development has been made in technical skill and machinery equipment in all branches of Japanese industries. As the Japanese cotton industry started considerably later than other advanced countries it was able to avail itself of the benefits from the start of new superior machinery and other equipment perfected in the advanced countries. The success of Japanese mills in skilful mixing of different grades of cotton is well known. The cheapest grade is used as much as possible in spinning cotton yarn of desired counts, in consideration of the price of raw cotton of the different countries and the nature and price of cotton yarn to be spun, and thereby to lower the cost of production. The adoption of the one process system of mixing and blowing in the process of opening, mixing and batting or blowing, the "simplex" in the process of slubbing, intermediate and roving and the highdraft in the process of spinning has effected considerable economy in the labour required in cotton spinning. It is reported that while the cost of producing one bale of cotton yarn of 20 counts was 25 yen in a mill with 30,000 spindles equipped in the old way, it was 22 yen in the case of the same mill equipped with highdraft spinning frames and 20 yen in that equipped with both highdraft and simplex frames. Considerable improvement has also been made in respect of maintaining the most suitable temperature and moisture in the spinning process.

A remarkable improvement has been made in the weaving department with the introduction of the automatic loom. About 80 per cent of the looms in Japanese weaving factories under the management of spinning concerns are estimated to be automatic. A person usually operating anywhere between 4 and 6 power looms at a time, can manage anywhere between 20 and 30 automatic looms and a skilled worker from 40 to 50.

The Japanese cotton industry is also highly electrified in the direction of lighting plants and generating motive power. According to the Japan Cotton Spinners' Association, while only 50 percent of the power consumed in spinning mills in 1922 was electric, this increased to 88 per cent in 1929 and 97 per cent in 1933.

Considerable improvement has also been made in technical skill in local weaving concerns. Special attention has been given to simplification and standardization of products. As an example of improvement in machinery equipment for better efficiency, the instalment of automatic stop equipment in workshops whose scale is so small as does not permit to introduce automatic looms may be mentioned. In this way the number of looms operated by one worker has been increased to 8 or even 12. It is even reported that as a result of these improvements the cost of production in certain local weaving concerns is 20 or 30 sen per roll lower than that in large scale weaving factories.

Similar information is given on other topics.

Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and Bengal

"If the Government do not allow me to go to the Frontier, I shall settle in the heroic land of Bengal and devote myself to village work." This welcome announcement was made by Khan

Calcutta, Oct. 5.

Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan
Reproduced from a pencil sketch by Mr. Kanu Desai

Abdul Gaffar Khan, replying to the address presented at Deshbhandhu Park this evening on behalf of the citizens of North Calcutta.

—*United Press.*

Foundation of Indian Physical Society in Calcutta

A Society under the name of the Indian Physical Society with the object of promoting the progress and upholding the cause of Physics in India has been established in Calcutta. The Society will publish books, journals, and translations relating to original researches in Physics and associated sciences and will co-operate with other scientific bodies, institutes or academies of national importance,

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In his inaugural address the President erred to the importance of original research sciences and said that about 35 years ago lcutta was the only centre of scientific search in India. The centres have now reased in number, in Calcutta as well as in her parts of India. He referred to the istence of societies in India and abroad and d that the inauguration of the Physical ciety will supply a long-felt want. He ther added that it was a happy sign that minent physicists from all over India have reed to lend their cordial and active support the cause of the Society.

The office-bearers of the Society for the rrent year are : President—Mr. B. M. Sen, A., I. E. S., Principal, Presidency College, lcutta ; Vice-Presidents—(1) Prof. J. B. ah, M. A., I. E. S., Professor of Physics, vernment College, Lahore ; (2) Prof. Kamta rasad, M. A., I. E. S., Professor of Physics, ience College, Patna ; General Secretary—of. D. M. Bose, M. A., Ph.D., Head of the ysics Department, University College of ience, Calcutta ; Treasurer—Prof. P. N. ose, M. A., Ph.D., Sc.D., Ghose Professor of plied Physics, University College of ience, Calcutta ; temporary head-quarter of Society—92, Upper Circular Road, lcutta.

The first regular meeting of the Indian ysical Society for the reading and discussion scientific papers was held on Sunday at M. at the Hall of the Indian Association the Cultivation of Science. Twenty papers taining results of original investigations in ious branches of Physics were communi-ed from different parts of India. The ge of subjects was wide and interesting and luded topics on structure of molecules and crystals, Band Spectra and Magnetism. veral distinguished physicists and a large mber of persons interested in physics tended.

velopment of the Fruit Industry U. P.

The value of fruit in diet is coming more d more to be recognized. Physicians have en recommending fruit increasingly. But ny of the fruits recommended are not sufficiently low in price to be consumed by ordinary people in sufficient quantities. Therefore, the growing and marketing of fruit should be organized and developed. India possesses such varieties of soil and climate that there is scarcely any kind of valuable fruit which cannot be grown in some province or other. Years ago the late lamented Sister Nivedita contributed an article to this journal pointing out how the Himalayan slopes in Darjeeling district could be utilized for growing many kinds of delicious and health-giving fruit.

Exhaustive notices on fruit development and the marketing of fruits in the United Provinces prepared by Mr. R. E. Allan, Director of Agriculture, now on leave in England, were discussed and fully approved at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the U. P. Fruit Development Board held recently in Lucknow. Mr. P. B. Richards, the present Director of Agriculture, United Provinces, presided.

Valuable suggestions for the development of fruit industry in the Provinces have been made by Mr. Allan, who in his report states :

There is ample scope in these Provinces for organized improvement in the manner in which we grow our fruit and in the methods by which we dispose of the produce of the orchard. Improvements which would lead to increased consumption by lowering the cost per acre to buyer but which by increasing the amount of saleable fruit per acre and by preventing undue dissipation of profits between the grower and buyer would markedly increase the return each of the former secured from his gardens.

For the most part it must be accepted that in comparison with other fruit areas of the world we are very far behind in all matters concerned with orchard management and disposal. We have a tremendous lee-way to make up. On the other hand, we cannot hope to run before we can crawl and it is only by a process of development that it appears possible to build up an organized industry and to give full effect to the advantages bestowed on us by nature in the form of soil and climate. The majority of our fruit is grown by a class who are capable of appreciating better methods and of giving effect to those if so inclined.

Dealing with the question of marketing of fruits in the United Provinces Mr. Allan says :

The individual orchard has to be improved or laid out ; the control of the garden has to be tighter ; the methods of grading and packing have to be learnt ; more members must be enlisted ; the Agriculture Department periodicals at present the organ of the Fruit Board should be subscribed for. Steps should be taken to educate boys in the school on the value of fruit in a diet. A good deal of local activity will be needed to raise even the minimum funds of an effective producer society

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and still greater activity to convert this to a producer and disposal society.

With the Central Board, it is true, rests the building of the organization the tackling of railways or other bodies or authorities with which production and sale may be linked but a Central Board, acting with a full body of virile activity behind it, is a very different body to one in which its members and associated societies are half moribund. Success, therefore, rests with each grower of fruit himself."

What is true of the United Provinces is true of other actually or potentially fruit-growing areas also.

Agricultural Research in Bengal

A Press Note circulated by the Press Officer, Bengal, tells the public what is being done in the province in the sphere of agricultural research.

Since the establishment of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, Bengal has been receiving grants from it for promotion of agricultural research. The following note will give an idea of the work done in Bengal.

A sum of Rs. 5,702 was sanctioned for the investigation of the possibilities of improving cane crushing and boiling plants utilized in the production of sugar by the open pan system. As a result, an approved crusher designed to crush one ton of cane per hour is now on the market and has proved very successful, not only on account of the high quantity of cane it can crush per hour, but on account of high percentage of juice extracted. It is, moreover, the cheapest mill on the market of its capacity. The boiling plant produces rab of high purity suitable for spinning white sugar.

In addition to the grant for sugar machinery, the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research has provided Rs. 13,050 over a period of 5 years, for a sugarcane testing station.

As regards rice research it is stated :

Although Bengal imports rice, she also exports rice, not only to European markets, but also to Eastern markets, such as Mauritius, Ceylon, Aden and the Gulf. To enable the Bengal Government to expedite the work which has been commenced on commercial rices, the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research sanctioned a scheme which is now working, costing Rs. 2,18,772 spread over a period of 5 years. Work is being conducted at Chinsurah on the Patnai paddies of European trace, and at Bankura or the Western Bengal paddies which are exported to Eastern countries. It will be some years before this work is completed ; but, even in the short time that the scheme has been in operation, valuable results have been obtained.

The feeding of cattle is also receiving attention.

The feeding of cattle in Bengal is, as a rule, restricted to paddy straw, what grazing they can pick up, and a small ration, on occasions, of oil-cake. The Imperial Council of Agricultural Research has provided a sum of Rs. 48,590 spread over a period of 5 years, for an investigation into the requirements in the way of fodder and grain of Bengal cattle to maintain themselves and, at the same time to be efficient work cattle. The investigations have so far been of very high value, and the information which has been obtained shows that even with a slight increase in the green fodder ration, the efficiency of the stock is raised. Paddy straw alone is not even a maintenance ration. Green fodder must be supplied to the cattle before they can do the work which is required of them. In Napier grass, the Bengal Department of Agriculture has found a green crop which gives enormous yields. It can be grown on spare land and can supply the deficiency which has been shown in the results obtained during the experiments at the Nutrition Section at Dacca.

The combination of two important bye-products, which at present are of little or no value—molasses & *cura*—with the addition of lime, form a most excellent cake for the stock. A complete ration has been produced by adding a protein to the two carbo-hydrate ingredients in the cake.

Physical research on soils is also being carried on.

Both the Calcutta University and the Dacca University have received grants from the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research to co-ordinate the work between the two Universities and the Agricultural Department, the Council sanctioned a grant of Rs. 22,568 for physical research on soils. In Bengal, with its high rainfall and humid climate, the investigation of soil conditions is of the utmost importance. The investigation of soil conditions is also very complicated owing to the changes in the course of rivers during its formation. The silt brought down by one river is physically and chemically different from that brought down by another ; and, in many cases, these have mingled on account of the changes in the courses of rivers.

We have read in the late Mr. Nitya Gopal Mukerji's writings and have been also reliably informed recently that the soil in many parts of Bengal is fit for growing high grade cotton. The Bengal Agricultural Department should issue a note on the subject in Bengali. A paragraph on fruit culture follows :

Bengal has never been able to pursue research into problems of fruit culture. A grant has just been received from the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research to enable the establishment of a Horticultural Research station at Krishnagar. The importance of fruit, not only from the point of view of the fruit farmer, but as a subsidiary crop to the general cultivator is enormous. The improvement of varieties of the crops grown in the Province, the introduction of fruit crops not grown after the conditions preventing their growth have been investigated, and the marketing of the crops grown are subjects which are being taken in hand.

Some chemical problems relating to soils are also being tackled.

At the Calcutta University, Prof. J. N. Mukherjee has been assisted by a grant of

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Rs. 14,109-12-0 to investigate the physical problems in connection with soil colloids. The work that has been conducted by him and his Assistants has been recognized in that the Advisory Board has proposed that further grants should be given for the development of his schemes.

Dr. A. T. Sen at Dacca, working under Prof. J. C. Ghosh, has been developing two schemes—

(1) for the development of new methods of analysis of the soils, and

(2) examination of the chemical constituents affecting the nutrition value of rice.

Lord Irwin on the Work of Christian Colleges

Lord Irwin, late Viceroy in India, is now Lord Halifax. In the last week of September he spoke at Leeds on the work of the Christian Colleges in India. Two brief reports, one telegraphic and the other sent by mail, have been received in India. The substance of the former is given below.

> Viscount Halifax, the principal speaker, said that the main work of Christian missions had not been reflected in direct conversions but in the presentation of Christain life as seen in practice. It is not too much to say for Western civilization that the evolution and acceptance of public conscience, justice, fair dealing, toleration and chivalry were all products of Christianity. Viscount Halifax pointed out that the youth of India to-day would provide the rulers of India for the next fifty years. Power will be in the hands of the educated classes and they would come from Indian colleges and universities.
>
> The Christian colleges alone could provide what in the Western world had given true civilization and citizenship.—*Reuter.*

The majority of British and other European Christians in India are not Christian missionaries. That many Christian missionaries lead lives which are a presentation of Christian life in practice is true. But their effect is more than neutralized by the worldly and in many cases worse lives led by the aforesaid majority. History does not support the claim that the evolution and acceptance of public conscience, justice, fair dealing, toleration and chivalry were, as parts of Western civilization, *all* products of Christianity. The Inquisition, Slavery and the Slave Trade, Imperialistic and Industrial Wars, discrimination against Jews and various Christian sects, etc., were some time or other, advocated by the clergy or laity of either all sects or the clergy of some sects. Colour prejudice and race hatred, as directed against Asiatics, did not prevail in pre-Christian Europe as they have prevailed in recent centuries of the Christian era. By all this we do not mean to say that Lord Halifax's claim is entirely unfounded. What we mean is that the credit he gives to Christianity cannot be claimed in its entirety.

Then again when he asserted that the Christian Colleges *alone* could provide what in the Western world had given true civilization and citizenship, he made an incorrect statement, because other colleges also, which form the majority, along with many other forces and factors, can provide and have provided these things.

Turning to the report received by mail, we find he said :

> It was essential for us to win and hold the confidence of India. He went on to say that unfortunately, India was a matter of acute political controversy but so far as he was aware, there was no disagreement in any quarter as to the ultimate goal that we wanted to reach in our dealings with India, and the consequence of that goal must be the casting of ever greater responsibility for their own government upon the shoulders of Indian men and women. How best could we help India to discharge that growing burden on the constitutional side ? The whole question was being examined by both Houses of Parliament, and he had no doubt that when it made its report Parliament would give its most earnest consideration to what might be the best method of helping India.

So far as our knowledge goes, there *is* disagreement among Britishers as to the "ultimate goal." Lord Halifax had no doubt that Parliament would give its most earnest consideration to what might be the best method of helping India. We are afraid the majority of present M. P.'s and other Britishers would agree in holding that India would be best helped by strong rule by Britain.

Lord Halifax also said :

> Nobody who had reflected upon or lived in India would doubt that the force that would ultimately decide the success or failure of any constitution would be the character and the spiritual qualities of the Indians who would work the constitution that Parliament might pass. India stood pre-eminently in need of this new spiritual strength. All the best of her sons to-day were consciously or unconsciously crying out for a higher spiritual fellowship. This spiritual fellowship was the best thing one could give to India. There, as elsewhere, youth was on the march and the future was going to be immensely affected by what youth said, thought and did. If they agreed with him in thinking that it was the students passing through the colleges who were going to have this great machine in their hands in years to come, then the Christian colleges were placed in a unique position for exercising influence.

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His general observations are true, but it cannot be admitted that the Christian Colleges held any unique position.

> The main work of missionary effort in India had not been reflected in direct conversion to Christianity. Individual conversions were taking place, and he did not wish to undervalue all that was happening by way of mass movements producing in some cases phenomenal results. The Christian religion filled the place of the third largest religion in India. But he thought that the main effort of all missionary work had been to present Christianity as seen in practice, ministering to the sorrowful, the oppressed, and the needy to open the eyes of India to a truth that it was very difficult for Indian thought to comprehend, the truth of value of each human personality in the sight of God.

Have the bulk of white Christians, particularly of the imperialistic and industrial nations, realized the truth of the value of each human personality (of coloured Asiatic and African peoples) in the sight of God?

This truth was realized in India, too, and that even before the birth of Christianity.

Lord Halifax concluded by observing:

> India and its problem was easily the biggest thing that this country had tried to solve. There were many people who had misgivings and even great fears about it, but there were other people who thought that faith was likely to be a better solvent than fear and that it had been through faith that all our biggest Imperial achievements had been won. He felt the greatness of the opportunity given to this nation to-day to go to India and say that these colleges were merely giving them that something which was essential to the success of the great effort upon which they and we were commonly engaged, and if they would accept our services, we, in England, would gladly give them of our best.

Railways and Rival Transport Service

Speaking at the 31st session of the Indian Railway Conference Association, Sir Joseph Bhore, the Railway member, said:

> Whatever may be the strictly narrow Railway view of such competition, present and prospective, we must all admit that in the larger interests of the country it is good that it should exist, for it is only through such rivalry can the public be assured of the maximum efficiency in service at a minimum cost.

This is a reasonable view.

Increase of population in Britain and Marriage

Regarding the excess of births over deaths in Britain during recent years the *Manchester Guardian* observes:

> Britain, in a word, will shortly be faced with a situation she has not known for many centuries; an expending population has been normal with us since Elizabethan times; we doubled ourselves between 1800 and 1850; doubled ourselves once again between 1850 and 1910.

It has been estimated that the population of Britain will reach its maximum about 1940 and then the decline will commence.

Is it for that reason that, according to a special correspondent of the *Daily Mail*, Sir Michael Sadler expressed his firm conviction that London University would in future be the greatest University in the British Empire and it would have one compulsory subject—marriage? This is what he actually said, in part:

London's Destiny

> One day it will be the most famous and influential of English universities, because of the wealth of the metropolis, its supremacy in the possession of great cultural collections, its geographical convenience, and its tremendous attraction to foreign students.
>
> It will become not merely an English university, but the University of the Empire.
>
> Sir Michael made it clear that he did not think either Oxford or Cambridge would ever deteriorate as a centre of learning.
>
> 'A hundrd years from now,' he declared, 'Oxford will still be enjoying its rich and noble heritage. But it will no longer be one of the favourite twin-daughters of the state!'

Greek Ideal

> He forecast the abandonment of all the ideas of a 'liberal education' that have been accepted and conformed to for so many generations past.
>
> It is his belief that there will be a reversion to the ancient Greek ideal in education—the attainment to perfect harmony between body and mind and spirit.
>
> 'This will mean the training of the body in fitness, grace and self-control,' he explained.
>
> 'In every aspect of life, of conduct, and of aspiration, the body is linked to the mind; and intellectual and emotional education must spring out of physical culture.
>
> 'It is no real liberal education which denies the body, or is furtive toward it.'
>
> He smiled as he added: 'If you could come back to University College in the year 2010, you would see here just as many young men as were here in 1934—but you would hear the Dean saying to them: 'Gentlemen, there is only one course that is compulsory; and the subject of that course gentlemen, is—"marriage"!'

Australia's Congratulations to "India's" Naval Forces

On the occasion of the inauguration of the Royal *Indian* Navy, the Australian Naval Board sent congratulations to the naval forces

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in India upon their new designation of "Royal". As India has been given a Navy for Britain's use, and as it is predominantly non-Indian in composition, the congratulation seems worse than a joke.

Madras "Non-Brahmin" Party to Admit Brahmins

The Justice party of Madras, generally known as the Non-Brahmin party, has decided to make Brahmins also eligible for its membership. This is a step in the right direction.

Entry of Sixteen Papers into Hyderabad Banned

A new or an old order, it is inmaterial which, of His Exalted Highness the Nizam, has banned the entry into his state of sixteen Indian papers, including some of long standing and established reputation. This fact shows that he does not want that the administration of his state should improve. No individual man is infallible, far less a collection of individuals. And the administration of all states, big or small, is carried on by a large number of individuals. They may all require correction.

Assassination of King Alexander and M. Barthou

The assassination of King Alexander of Yugoslavia and of the French statesman M. Barthou in France are melancholy events. It can only be hoped that the assassination of the King will not lead to or precipitate any war.

It is little consolation to the innocent multitudes of sufferers in Bengal from strong rule to have fresh proofs of the well-known fact that anarchists or terrorists or revolutionaries are not a monopoly of Bengal, and that the fact of their existence is not a provincial but almost a world problem.

Militarism from the Cradle

While pacifists the world over are cogitating how to outlaw and banish war, Signor Mussolini has formulated his scheme for seeing that from the cradle to the grave every Italian child is imbued with the fighting spirit. From the age of eight, if not earlier, they are to be prepared for war. They are to be taught its virtues and to grow up as warlike as beasts of prey.

Mass Education in China

According to Reuter,

> The system of mass education is being revolutionized in China.
>
> Because of the lack of teachers, specially women teachers, and of other problems caused by tradition, students are being made into teachers, and the move has met with unprecedented success.
>
> The students attend school during the day, and go out at night to teach, instructing both young and old. Some of the great difficulties of Chinese education have been solved by this method.
>
> The "child-teachers" have been most effective among women. In one family, for instance, a six-year-old grandson taught his 60-year-old grandmother how to read in a short space of time.
>
> There are 27 child teaching centres in China, several of which have been operating successfully near Shanghai.

If mass education were attempted in India, all the unemployed graduates and undergraduates (including matriculates) would find employment. Children, in any case, would not have to become school teachers. But as our Government is not national, who is going to tackle the job?

Two hundred Nationalities in One State

British objectors to India's being or becoming a nation and achieving self-rule point to the numerous linguistic, religious and caste groups in this country as insuperable difficulties. But in Soviet Russia the diversity is far greater. On the occasion of that state's admission as a member of the League of Nations, M. Litvinoff, its representative, said:

> The idea in itself of an association of nations contained nothing theoretically unacceptable for the Soviet Union, which was itself a league of nations in the best sense of the word, uniting over two hundred nationalities. He claimed that never before had so many nations co-existed so peacefully within a single State, never before had so many nations in one State had such free cultural development and enjoyed their own national culture as a whole and the use of their own language in particular. There were neither national majorities nor minorities in the Soviet Union, and this on territories where before the Soviet regime all nationalities except the dominating Russian were being stamped out by violence and repression. At the present time the periodical press in the Soviet Union came out in fifty languages. The Soviet States had never excluded the possibility of some form of association

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with States having a different political and social system so long as there was no mutual hostility and if it was for the attainment of common aims.

France's Loss.

Last month within a few days France has lost two of her statesmen, M. Raymond Poincare and M. Barthou. The death of the former was natural, the latter was murdered. The former had retired from active political work after a very distinguished career, but the latter was still in the saddle.

Truthfulness in Politics

When Mahatma Gandhi wanted to substitute the words "truthful and non-violent" for the words "peaceful and legitimate," in the article defining the object of the Congress, we think he used the word "truthful" in the ordinary everyday sense. Therefore it seems to us unnecessary to investigate the philosophical difference between relative truth and absolute truth and whether the latter is attainable. Truthfulness is necessary in politics and even if not attainable under each and every circumstance, should be our ideal.

As for non-violence, even if it be not attainable in thought by ordinary individuals, it is not so very difficult of attainment in deed and in word. Every ideal is difficult of realization. It would not be an ideal if it were quite easy to realize. It is far better to have an ideal and to fail to come up to it even after strenuous endeavour and thus to expose oneself to ridicule, than not to have any ideal at all.

Mahatma Gandhi's contemplated Retirement from Congress Leadership

Writing before the meeting of the Congress at Bombay we do not want to discuss Gandhiji's statement describing and explaining why he wants to retire from its leadership. We only want to say that there is at present no other leader who can keep together and lead so many persons as he, and therefore his retirement would be a loss to the country and the Congress.

We wholeheartedly support that portion of his statement in which he explains why he wants the organization of an All-India Village Industries Association.

Forty-Eighth Session of Indian National Congress

The 48th session of the Indian National Congress was held at Bombay in the last week of the last month. In spite of the great difficulties, described in the speech of Mr. K. F. Nariman, Chairman of the Reception Committee, which the Committee had to surmount, the preparations made on a lavish scale for the holding of the session were satisfactory, as we can personally testify. But instead of giving our own impressions, we prefer to give the description of a hostile witness. In its long editorial article *The Times of India* cries down the Congress, pours ridicule on it, and says that its President and other Congressmen "are palpably ignorant of its contents!" But in giving a rather full summary of his presidential address on another page the same paper prints in big type the heading, "Congress President's Elaborate

Miss Sofia Somji, Captain of the Ladies Volunteer Corps, Indian National Congress, Bombay.

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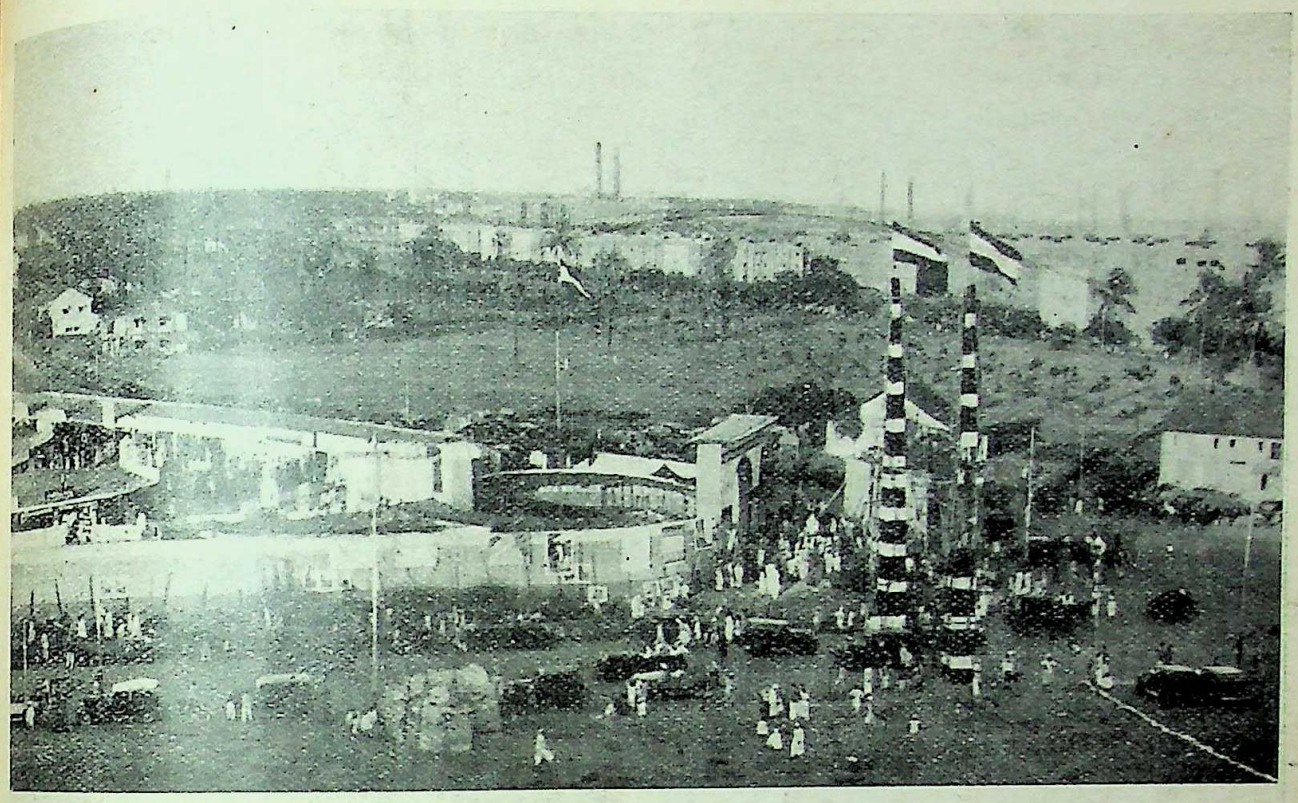

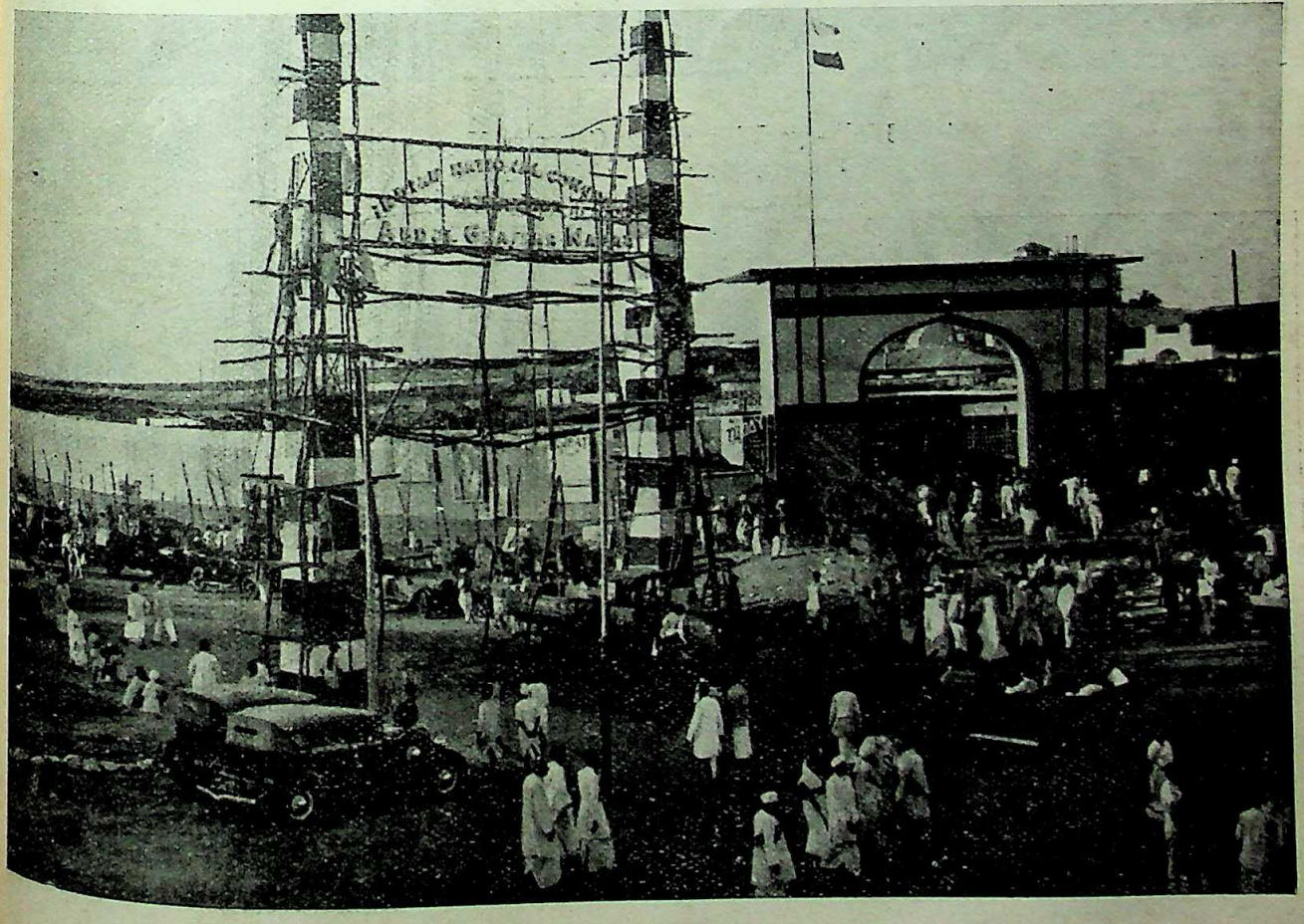

(1 & 2) Bird's-eye View of the Congress Nagar
Photograph by "Times of India" Press

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Bird's-eye View of the Congress Nagar
Photograph by "Times of India" Press

Congress Working Committee Meeting with Gandhi, Rajendra Prasad, Vallabhbhai Patel, Madan Mohan Malaviya, etc., 48th Session of the Indian National Congress.

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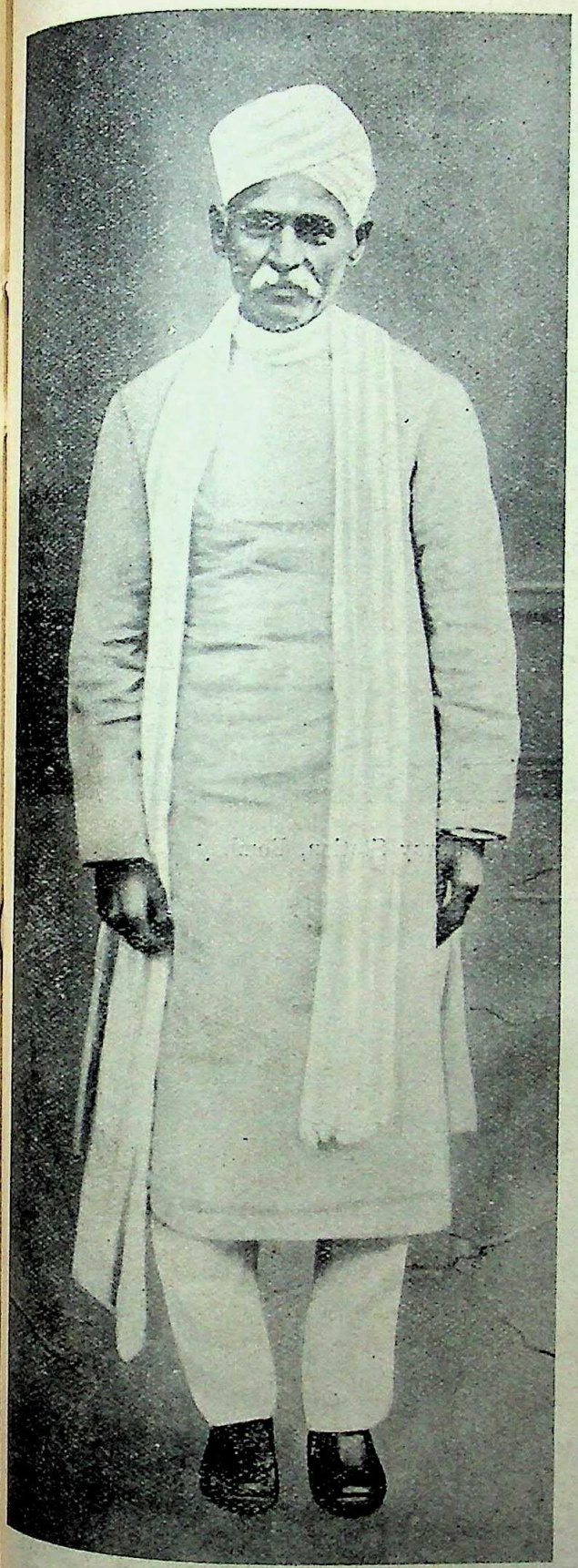
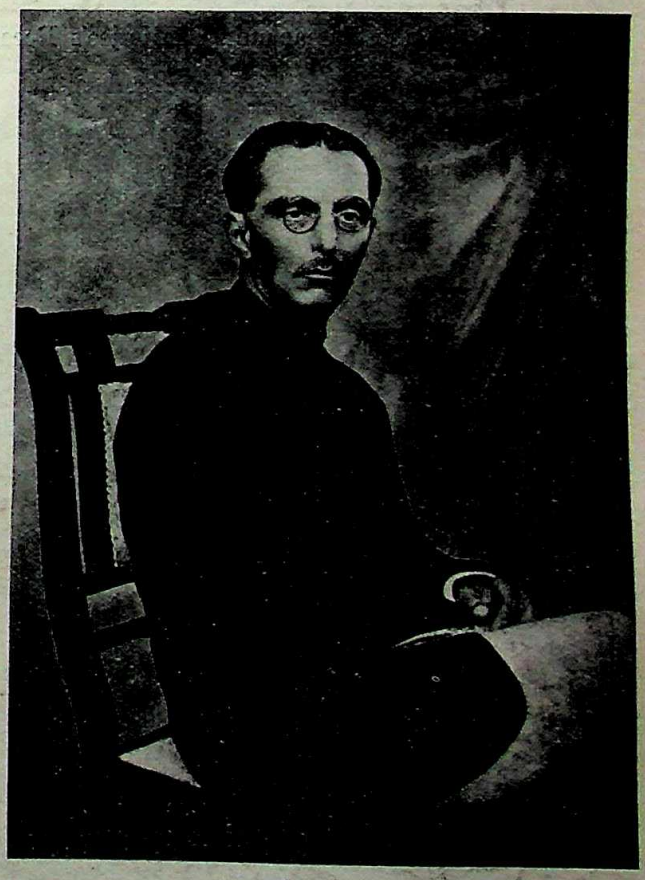


Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya



1. Babu Rajendra Prasad, President, Bombay 48th Session of the Indian National Congress.
2. Mr. K. F. Nariman, Chairman, Reception Committee, Indian National Congress, 48th Session, Bombay

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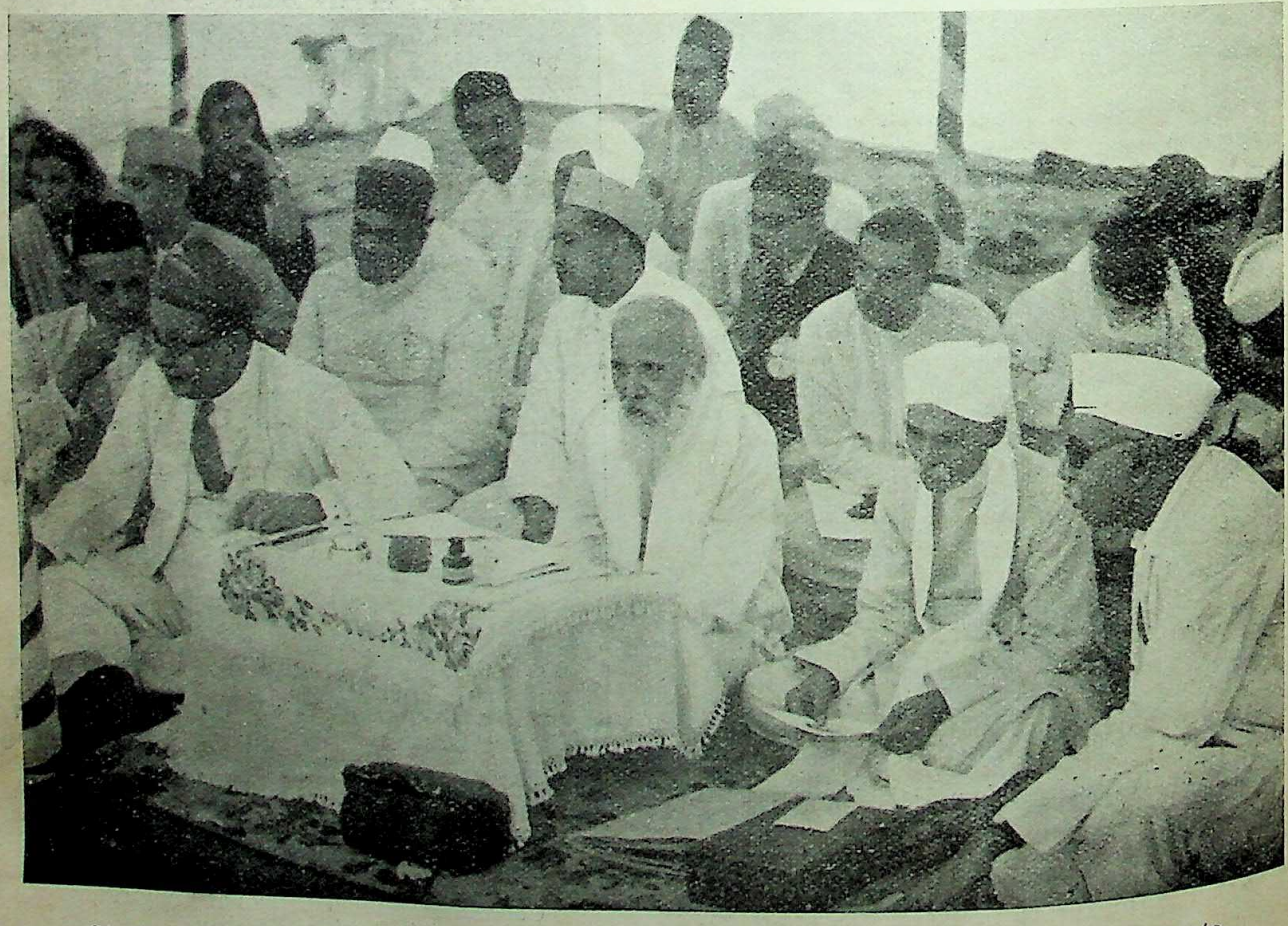
Babu Ramananda Chatterjee's Reception at the Railway Station, Bombay



Sir Govindrao Pradhan, Babu Ramananda Chatterjee, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, etc., on the dais of All India Anti-Communal Award" Conference Bombay

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Analysis of White Paper!" So in the opinion of this paper a man can give an "elaborate analysis" of a document, though he is ignorant of its contents. This journal gives the following description of the "impressive scenes at Congress opening":

> The 48th session of the Indian National Congress which began in Bombay, on Friday evening, can only be described as a unique success from the spectacular point of view. The organizers left no stone unturned to make it so. The open amphitheatre, designed to seat 60,000 persons, though not packed to capacity, was nearly full. The number of two-rupee visitors' tickets sold was 35,000. Add to this number about 2,500 delegates, 1,800 Reception Committee members and an equal number of men and women volunteers, 600 press representatives and 300 special class visitors who had paid sums ranging from Rs. 100 to Rs. 5,000 for the honour of sitting near the President's dais, not to mention quite a number of people who had gained admission by other means.
>
> The control of this phenomenal crowd and the regulation of traffic within the Congress grounds including the pandal was carried out entirely by the volunteers. As was to be expected, there were several tense moments during the protracted proceedings when the crowds threatened to go out of hand. A mobile company of well-drilled volunteers with lathis was at once rushed to every scene of disturbance, and order was restored with the minimum of force.
>
> IMPRESSIVE SCENE
>
> The arrival of the president in procession headed by the Congress band and escorted by the members of the Working Committee and a volunteer corps as well as the guard of honour furnished by the Desh Sevikas in pretty saffron coloured sarees and armed with lathis presented a very impressive picture. A national song by a noted singer and a welcome song sung in chorus by a batch of girls marked the opening of the session. Then followed the addresses of Mr. K. F. Nariman, Chairman of the Reception Committee, and Babu Rajendra Prasad, the President.
>
> The speakers addressed the Congress from a brightly lighted and decorated rostrum erected in the centre of the amphitheatre. It was equipped with a microphone, and flood lights were directed on each speaker from different angles so that he could be heard and seen from all parts of the huge enclosure.

Babu Rajendra Prasad's Speech

The selection of Babu Rajendra Prasad to fill the presidential chair this year was unexceptionable and commendable from all points of view. We should rather say that, if he had not been elected this year, it would have been a clear dereliction of duty on the part of Congressmen. He has made great sacrifices for the national cause and undergone much suffering and persecution. His services in connection with the Bihar earthquake and floods are too well known and recent to need recounting.

He is meek and mild, but firm withal, as his conduct of the proceedings of the Congress shows.

We can here call attention to only a few passages in his presidential address.

Returning from the second so-called Round Table Conference, Mahatma Gandhi twice requested Lord Willingdon for an

Babu Rajendra Prasad
Reproduced from a pencil sketch by Mr. Kanu Desai

interview, but the latter refused to grant him an unconditional interview. In the words of Babu Rajendra Prasad, regarding the period of economic depression through which the country has been passing, the President observed:

> The country has been passing through a period of deep economic depression, which has been intensified by the Government policy of managing

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Indian affairs in the interests not of India but of Great Britain. The past few years have seen great distress of the peasantry unable to pay the heavy land revenue and rent and suffering great privations. They have witnessed curtailment of expenditure on nation-building departments, great slump in industry, export of more than 200 crores of distress gold, dislocation of trade and a tremendous increase in unemployment the extent of which even in the best of normal years the British Government have never dared to ascertain owing to its vastness. These years have been remarkable for heavy additions to the so-called Public Debt of India and the burdens of the already overtaxed tax-payer and the poverty-stricken population for carrying on an extravagant and top-heavy administration and partly for suppressing and crushing the movement for freedom.

The Ottawa Pact, which has been condemned with one voice by the best-informed opinion in the country as being detrimental to the best interests of India, and particularly of the masses of agriculturists, was ratified. Its working has proved that the apprehensions of its critics were well-founded. It has successfully tied India to the chariot wheels of the British policy of Imperial preference.

In his opinion,

The position of our countrymen abroad gives no ground for satisfaction. Their treatment in the colonies of the British Empire has been a long-standing cause of just grievance and has influenced not a little the change in our outlook and opinion in favour of complete independence. One after another, Indians settled in these colonies and protectorates are being deprived of their inherent rights to which they are entitled by virtue of their long association, service and contribution to the prosperity of these colonies. They have, in fact, been instrumental in many cases in building up these colonies and many have been born in them and have their homes without any other in the world. One scheme after another is devised to get rid of them after they are no more needed, and although it is some consolation to know that the scheme of assisted repatriation has been given up, it is also to be noted that no place is found in the vast British Empire where they can live and settle with the same full rights to land and citizenship as others have in India. The latest application of this policy of squeezing out Indians is reported from Zanzibar where in spite of the best of relations which Indians have maintained for generations with the Sultan and his subjects, ordinances have been hurriedly passed, which deprive them of the rights of acquiring land. The discrimination against Indians becomes flagrant when we know that this restriction does not extend to the new arrivals from Arabia. There is nothing surprising in all this when we know that Indians do not enjoy even elementary rights of citizenship in their own country and which even the proposed constitutional reforms are not going to confer on them. We can only give this assurance to our countrymen abroad that as our position at home improves their position will also automatically improve. In this connection it is impossible not to mention with gratitude the great name of Dinbandhu C. F. Andrews, who has been frequently going to Africa to render such help as has been possible for him to render.

As regards the Government's so-called "Dual Policy" of "Constitutional Reforms" and of Repression, Babu Rajendra Prasad has shown the deceptive and illusory nature of the former and the stern and real character of the latter.

He has criticized the White Paper proposals in detail, judging them in the light of four tests, namely,

> (1) How far the proposed new legislatures will be representative of the nation; (2) How far the powers alleged to be transferred to popular control are real in the centre and the Provinces; (3) What the Powers proposed to be transferred in regard to the Finances are, and what additional burdens India will have to bear for the new constitution, and (4) whether the proposed constitution contains within itself any elements of growth and development.

And his verdict in every case is adverse.

In connection with the suspension of Civil Disobedience as a mass movement, says the Prsident,

> Two weaknesses seem to me to have dogged our footsteps.
>
> Firstly, the Congress workers had been gradually and perhaps unconsciously led into adoption of methods of secrecy, which reduced what would have been an open battle of defiance into a battle of wits: It was not realised that *Satyagraha* is essentially a fight on a higher moral plane in which suffering is openly courted and cheerfully borne and which aims at conquering the opponent by an appeal to his moral sense and in which any attempt to over-reach him rebounds with fatal effect on the Satyagrahi himself.
>
> Secondly, it must be also admitted that the attack of the Government on a vulnerable point succeeded. People were not prepared to lose property to the extent they were prepared to lose liberty and even life, and when heavy fines and sequestration of property in lieu of fines and confiscations started on a wholesale scale, gradually demoralization set in and ultimately broke the back-bone of the movement. Attempt was made to continue the struggle by confining it to those individuals who had faith in it, and taking it out of the methods of secrecy. That partly explains the Poona and the Patna decisions.
>
> It has had to be suspended in the very interests of the movement and those of the country. The principal reason was our own weakness, and yet I do not feel that there is any reason to be downhearted.

Regarding Mahatmaji's retirement from the leadership of the Congress, the President's advice is :

> You should remove from your minds any apprehension that you may have that he is going to retire from public life or that by not being physically connected with the Congress his interest will cease or that his help will not be available. I have no such apprehension. . . . . I do not minimise the effect of such a decision, if he comes to it, but I wish you to have faith in him and I have no doubt that all will be right, whether he decides within or from outside the Congress.

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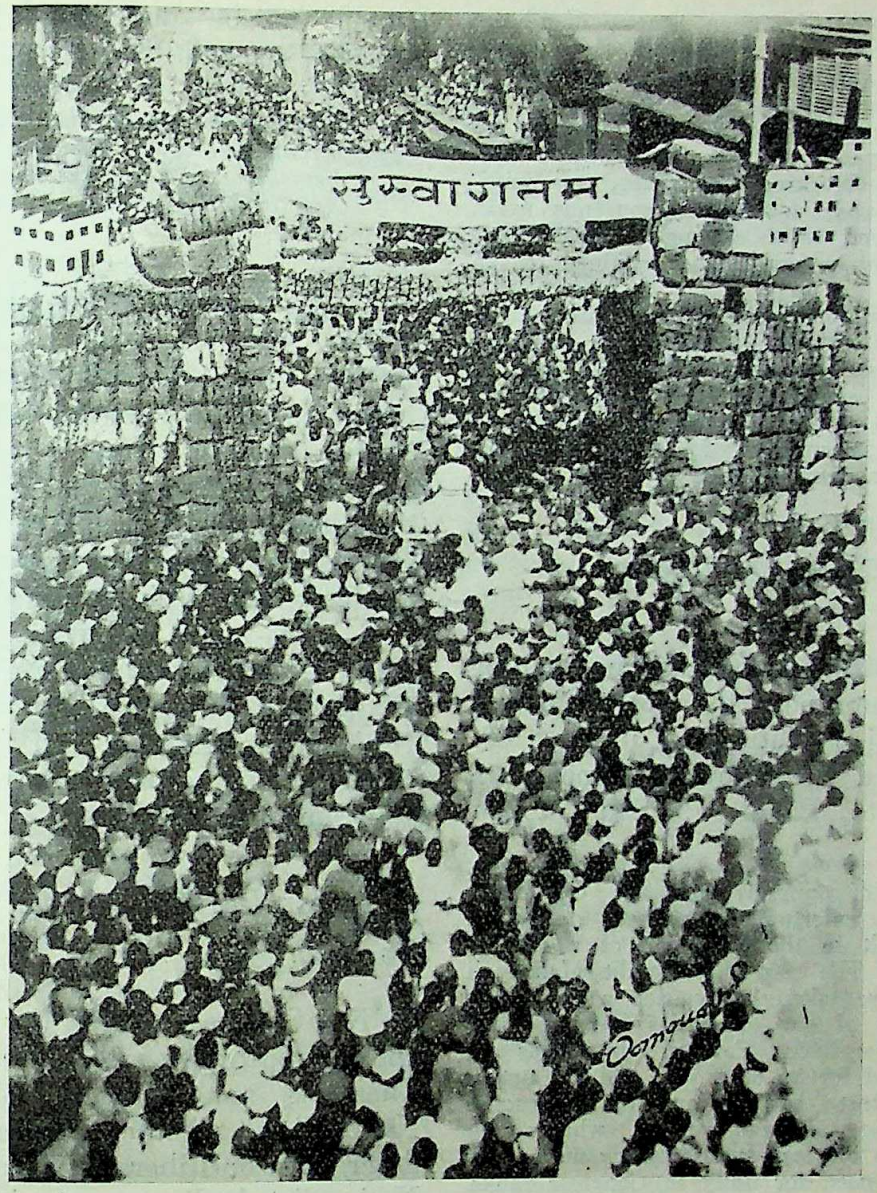

Babu Rajendra Prasad's Reception Procession

In conclusion Babu Rajendra Prasad says among other things :

Let us not, however, be led away by the idea that Swaraj can be achieved by anything we could do in the legislatures. We have to remember that the price for freedom must be paid before we can get it, and while we have every reason to be proud of what has been done and what the country has suffered, it is, after all, yet inadequate for the great object we have in view. The task we have taken upon ourselves is great and glorious. It requires inexhaustible patience, unflinching determination and unending sacrifice. Time and world forces are helping us and, above all, God is with us in this great epic struggle of an unarmed people fighting, with the weapons of Satyagraha of Truth and Non-Violence—a most powerful Government armed cap-a-pie and equipped with the latest engines of destruction devised by science and human ingenuity. For us there is no turning back. The goal is clear. It is nothing short of Independence.

Independence is the natural outcome of all that the freedom movement in India has stood for. It cannot mean isolation particularly when we remember that it has to be achieved by non-violence. It means the end of exploitation of one country by another and of one part of the population of the same country by another part. It contemplates a free and friendly association with other nations for the mutual benefit of all. It forebodes evil to none, not even to those exploiting us except in so far as they rely upon exploitation rather than goodwill. The sanction behind this Independence movement is non-violence which in its positive and dynamic aspect is good will of and for all. We already see signs of how it has begun appealing to a certain extent to world opinion. This appeal has to become irresistible.

Reply came to this last moment request in the form of warrants of arrest for himself, the Congress President, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, and other prominent Congressmen throughout the country.

The Congress was taken unawares and the Government expected that they would be able to crush the whole movement within a fortnight. In spite of want

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of preparation, in spite of sudden removal of all the prominent Congress workers throughout the country within a few days to prison, when they were not able to give instructions to their followers as to how to organize the campaign, it must be said to the credit of the nation that the lead, which had been given by the Working Committee, was faithfully and spontaneously followed. Thousands again courted imprisonment, *lathi* charges, firings, heavy fines, confiscation of property, and beatings on an extensive scale.

The movement was not crushed and went on for months and months without a break to the bewilderment of officials, who had hoped to crush it in a few days. Special sessions of the Congress were held at Delhi and at Calcutta amidst arrests and *lathi* charges and in spite of the vigilance of the police, who had concentrated upon preventing them.

Mr. Nariman's Appeal to Pandit Malaviya

In the course of his speech as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the recent Bombay session of the Indian National Congress, Mr. Nariman addressed the following "appeal," as he calls it, to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :

> The differences of opinion over the Communal Award have been unfortunately pushed to such a degree as to result in the formation of a distinct anti-Award group. The step that Pandit Malaviyaji and Sjt. Aney have taken has caused some jubilation in the ranks of our opponents but their joy is bound to be short-lived. Panditji's intentions are to bring the Award for an open vote and the nation can confidently trust that he and his colleagues will abide by the Congress verdict, whatever it might be. For, no one can realise to-day more fully than Panditji the need for unity in Congress ranks.
>
> Whatever the differences, however strong the personal sentiments, or even conscientious objections, all should be subordinated to the final, national tribunal. Here must end all dissensions and bickerings. Thenceforward stern discipline and loyal devotion should step in. Any opposition to the final verdict would certainly deserve the appellation of rebellion against the parent body.

There is nothing to be said against an appeal proper. But the implication in the last sentence of the extract that, if Mr. Malaviya does not abide by the verdict of the majority but follows his conscience, he would be guilty of rebellion and might be subjected to stern discipline, does not look like an appeal. Mr. Nariman will do well to remember that history has justified many a rebellion and that among the world's greatest persons there have been many rebels. We would also call Mr. Nariman's attention to the lines of James Russell Lowell quoted by Babu Rajendra Prasad, to be understood of course in a figurative sense in the present case—

> *"Truth for ever on the scaffold*
> *Wrong forever on the throne*
> *Yet that scaffold sways the future."*
> *And behind the dim unknown.*

Congress and the Communal Decision

Both the Subjects Committee of the Congress and the Congress in full session at Bombay have, by a large majority, maintained the neutral attitude of the Congress Working Committee towards the Communal Decision ;— they neither accept nor reject it. They hope to replace that Decision by an agreed settlement. The future will show whether any such agreed settlement will replace the Decision, and whether that substitute will be a purely "National" solution, or will be more or less Communal in character than the British Government's Decision.

Congress Parties and the Communal Decision

No Congress Party, by whatever name known, approves of the Communal Decision. There is no difference of opinion among Nationalists, whether Congressmen of any description or Liberals or members of other Nationalist bodies, as to its dangerous and mischievous character. All want to get rid of it. The difference is only as regards the methods and means to be adopted for its rejection. Whatever method and means succeed, the result should be welcome to all Nationalists.

Purchase of Stores for India

It is stated in the report of the Indian Stores Department, London, for 1933-34, that 96.771 per cent of the contracts placed by it were with British firms. That is very good news for Britishers. But were the contracts placed with British firms because they were British, or because among competing firms their goods were, quality for quality, the cheapest in the market ?

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For years, India has been in a position to supply her railways, army, etc., with many classes of goods of standard quality at competitive prices. Still they are not purchased in India for the most part. No national government would have tolerated such a state of things.

Panjab Relief from Indebtedness Bill.

Last month the report of the Select Committee on the Panjab Relief from Indebtedness Bill was presented in the Legislative Council.

Besides official members who reserve the right to move amendments, the report is signed by the majority group consisting of zemindar members, Mr. Chhoturam, Mr. Akbar Ali, Sardar Buta Singh, Mr. Riasat Ali, Mr. Bishan Singh, Mr. Mohammed Hayat and Mr. Habibullah, and three urban members, Mr. Manohar Lal, Mr. Mukundlal Puri and Raja Narendranath, both appending minutes of dissent.

It is agreed unanimously that the Bill has been so altered as to require re-publication.

The changes suggested by zemindar members relate to the reduction of interest, reduction of principal, exemption of a judgment debtor from arrest, exemption from attachment of certain classes of property belonging to a debtor and reduction of the period during which proceedings can be taken. They state that the debt burden of the agriculturists is stupendous, being modestly estimated at Rs. 200 crores. At the rate of 15 per cent the annual interest on debt liabilities will be Rs. 30 crores. They point out that while even the annual land revenue amounting only to Rs. 3 crores is universally described as burdensome and 50 per cent reduction thereof is advocated by all, the burden of interest debt which is 10 times heavier is rendered three times more unbearable through the fall in agricultural prices to a third of the boom period rates. They fear that the insistence of the moneylending interests on a pound of flesh is a menace to the peace, security of life and property of the province.

"UNJUST AND UNWISE"

Urban members describe the Bill as changed as a wholly unjust and unwise measure. They state that while reducing the amount of debt it has not only made no provision for payment of those reduced debts but has actually made the recovery of the loans more difficult. They declare that the Bill in wiping the present debts furnishes no solution to the Punjab's agrarian and financial problems and conclude that the measure is likely to impair rural credit seriously, if not destroy it very largely, and will not touch even the fringe of the important question of rural betterment of the Punjab.—*Associated Press.*

The suggestion of the "Zamindar" members, if carried out in their entirety, would amount practically to confiscation of part of the money lent by the money-lenders, who certainly could not and did not force anybody to borrow. Reduction of interest is allowable, but if the principal has also to be reduced, this can be justly done only if Government will pay to the creditors the portion remitted.

U. P. Scheme for Recruitment of Graduates in Government Offices

The scheme which the U. P. Government have formulated for the recruitment of graduates in Government offices for increasing the efficiency of divisional and district offices is commendable. There should be such schemes in other provinces also. When graduates are available even on small salaries it is uneconomic, unstatesmanlike and unreasonable to appoint others less qualified than they.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's Candidature

It is greatly to be regretted that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's candidature for the Legislative Assembly was invalidated on a technical ground. It does not speak much for the efficiency of those who prepared the electoral rolls for Allahabad that the name of the first citizen of the province and the oldest active leader of India could not be found there. The Pandit's staff also are responsible for the situation to some extent. They ought to have found out and rectified the omission. But perhaps they never dreamed that such an omission could occur. We hope the representation and reference which Pandit Malaviya has made to the proper authorities will result in the removal of obstacles in the way of his candidature.

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani Not Seeking Election

That Mr. C. Y. Chintamani has not sought election to the Assembly owing to ill-health is a misfortune to the country. He is a very able parliamentarian and a very well-equipped fighter for the nation's cause.

Ten Years Plan Suggested for Universalization of Education

Presiding over the 13th session of the United Provinces Secondary Education Conference held at Allahabad last month,

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Professor Dr. Beni Prasad in his presidential address, laid great emphasis on the universalization of education up to the age of 15 or 16. While it was now superfluous to dilate on the abstract values of education as such he said that public opinion and the Government had yet to understand the new perspective in which the whole problem of education had been placed by the advance in the physical and social sciences.

Education, or self-realization was pre-eminently a social affair, a function of social organization and therefore, society ought to be so organized that every man and woman might enjoy an equal and maximum opportunity of development and, as a foundation for this, every boy and girl must have the benefit of free education at least to the age of 15 or 16.

NOT IMPRACTICABLE

"This entails," Dr. Prasad explained, "the abolition of poverty and child labour and the provision of a high margin of remuneration, leisure and security. No longer is it correct to describe such an ideal as visionary and impracticable. A well-planned application of science to agriculture, industry and transport, can, in less than a generation, raise the whole of society clean above want or sweating labour, on to a plane of universal comfort and affluence."

In suggesting that education must be universalized, he envisaged "something like a ten-year Plan" which would aim at the rationalization and improvement of agriculture, industry and transport on the one hand and at the provision of compulsory education up to the age of 15 or 16, full facilities for further education for all, adult education and libraries, museums, etc., on the other hand.

The execution of such a plan, he explained, required a new conception of state activity and administration in India : "an energetic organization of thought ; a series of planning commissions ; a network of functional associations and advisory boards ; legislation on minimum wages, maximum hours of work and conditions of work ; a balancing of mass production with mass-consumption and an alert and informed public opinion."

Preparedness for Hindu-Moslem Riot

It has been often observed that military "preparedness" leads to war, though military men say that the best way to ensure peace is to frighten your possible enemies by your preparedness for war. What kind of logic led the police and the military at Cawnpore to rehearse a mock Hindu-Moslem riot, described below, is not known, but we hope such preparedness does not forebode an actual riot.

Cawnpore, Oct. 4.

The Cawnpore Police and the Military practised the Riot Scheme today in the city from early morning 6-30 a.m. till 9-30 a.m. The rioters under the leadership of Mr. G. K. Handoo were supposed to have started operations in different parts of the city and the police and District Magistrate were informed. The reinforcements were immediately rushed to the disturbed areas. An encounter between the rioters and the police followed, the rioters were arrested. Thereafter, the other confederates of the rioters started trouble in other areas and the Military had to be sent for.

Mr. R. N. Marsh-Smith, I.P.S., T.P. Bhala, I.P.S., I.W. Lewis Lloyd I.C.S., H. S. Stephenson I.C.S., Hashmat Ali Cracknell, I.C.S., Balram Krishna Tandon, Magistrate, W. G. Haywood, I.P.S., B.B.S. Verma, I.P.S., K. B. Imtiaz Mohammad Khan, D.S.P., Major Hume, Officer Commanding Station, Captain Chute of the Royal Tank Corps put their heads together and the whole town was immediately divided into units.

Information is received that large crowd of Mohammedans have collected somewhere in the area known as Talaq Mohal, and Colonelgunj and it is believed, that they intend making a raid on Hindu Quarters in Sisamau. At once arrangements are made to hold the Sisamau Nala Road as to intercept this raid. The police rushed towards Kanghi Mohal and effected arrests and put down the trouble. Just then news comes that bodies of rioters have rushed into Meston Road and are looting shops. The police finds it difficult to get reinforcement for the police in all other parts of the town is busy. The troops are at once sent for from the cantonments who at once effect arrests and help the authorities in restoring order. The District Authorities, the Police officials and men and the Military displayed great intelligence, agility and high sense of responsibility in quelling the so-called riots.—A.P.I.

It is well known that robbers, terrorists, etc. utilize "hints" picked up at Cinema shows. We hope the Cawnpore mock riot has not provided such tips to future real rioters.

Mr. Visvanath Kar

The sudden death of Mr. Visvanath Kar of Cuttack has removed from the field of religious and social reform and of literature in Orissa a prominent Oriya leader. He was the president of the Brahmo Samaj in Cuttack and editor of "Utkal Sahitya," an Oriya monthly magazine.

Dr. Mrigendra Lal Mitra

In Dr. Mrigendra Lal Mitra Calcutta has lost a distinguished surgeon. He was a kind-hearted man, noted for his sociability, and was a friend of the poor and rich alike.

Dr. Ekendranath Ghosh

Another distinguished medical man whom Calcutta has lost is Dr. Ekendranath Ghosh. Though not an I. M. S., he was appointed professor of biology in the Calcutta Medical

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College. He made original contributions to that subject, as also on Ayurvedic, Vedic and astronomical subjects.

Kashmir's People's Assembly

The people of Kashmir have now been given a sort of a representative assembly and formal thanks have been given to His Highness the Maharaja for this gift. Let us hope it will be of some little use to the people of Kashmir, and will not be utilized to pass repressive "laws" for the convenience of the powers that be.

All India Anti-Communal "Award" Conference

Just before the holding of the Congress session at Bombay, the All India Anti-Communal "Award" Conference met at Bombay on the 25th and 26th October last under the presidency of Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee. Sir Govindrao Balwant Pradhan was the Chairman of the Reception Committee. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya delivered the inaugural address. It was followed by Sir Govindrao Pradhan's speech as Chairman of the Reception Committee. The gathering was not large, but delegates had come from all parts of the country. The President read out only portions of his speech, owing to there being not sufficient time to read the whole of it. The first two resolutions, passed unanimously, are printed below.

1. (a) Whereas the Communal Decision given by His Majesty's Government is anti-national and undemocratic, and follows no principle, divides the body politic into separate and conflicting groups to ensure the indefinite continuance of foreign domination, renders impossible the growth of national unity, militates against the very foundation of responsible government, discriminates against or favours citizens on the ground of their religions gives undue and excessive representation to some communities at the expense of others, and reduces the numerical majority of the Hindus to a statutary minority; this Conference strongly protests against the said decision and declares it to be wholly unacceptable.

(b) This Conference deplores the attitude of the Working Committee of the Congress which may be regarded as a virtual acquiescence in that decision and is a regrettable departure from the principle of nationalism which has hitherto been the proudest claim of the Congress to the support of the nation. This Conference earnestly appeals to the Congress to take a national stand on this question and to reverse the decision of the Working Committee by a rejection of the Communal Decision.

2. This Conference is of opinion that the Minorities' problem in India can be best solved in accordance with the principles underlying the system of the protection of minorities inaugurated by the League of Nations which system according to the declaration of the Chairman of the League Council, has now become a part of the Public Law of Europe and of the World.

This Conference is of opinion that no form of representation in the Legislature will be acceptable to it unless it is based on non-communal common roll irrespective of race, sex, caste or creed, provided that in the introduction of the non-communal common roll no community should be made to make any sacrifice.

Sir Govindrao Balwant Pradhan, Chairman, Reception Committee, All India Anti-Communal "Award" Conference, Bombay

Besides the speech of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, perhaps the most notable speeches were those of Mr. M. S. Aney (in Marathi) and the two made by Professor Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji.

Firdausi Millenary

The great Persian epic Poet Firdausi was born some ten centuries ago. The exact date of his birth is not known. His Majesty Riza Shah Pahlavi, sovereign of Persia, has arranged to celebrate his millenary, and representatives of various countries have been

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invited to attend this celebration. Firdausi is best known for his Shah-Nameh (Book of Kings), celebrating the lives and achievements of the pre-Muhammadan monarchs of Persia.

He is also the author of *Yusuf and Juleikha* and other poems.

Mr. Subhas Ch. Bose on Communal Decision

KARLSBAD, (By air mail).

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose has issued the following statement through the United Press :

"I do not look upon the Communal Award, or rather the communal decision, because it is not really an Award, as a lesser evil than the partition of Bengal. And just as the "settled fact" of Lord Morley was unsettled by the people of the country through their own efforts—it is possible for the people to-day to have this decision altered if only they will exert themselves. It is a matter of deep regret that the premier national organization in India has shirked its duty in this respect in spite of the fact that the Communal Award is the most anti-national device that human ingenuity can conceive. If it was necessary for Mahatma Gandhi to stake his precious life in order to alter one small portion of this Award, it will be necessary for the people to stake their all in order to have this outrageous decision rejected by the people.

"For Bengal particularly, this is a life and death question--and if this document is put into effect, it will virtually undo the work of the last thirty years Therefore all those who regard the Communal Award as an evil should join hands in an all-India campaign for securing its withdrawal or revision."

Attitude of Mr. George Lansbury

The attitude of Mr. George Lansbury is most probably a truer index to the Labour Party's attitude than what Mr. Henderson did, as printed elsewhere in these "Notes." Mr. Lansbury is the leader of the opposition in the House of Commons. His views on the Indian problem are briefly set forth in the chapter on India in his new book *My England,* which he has been good enough to permit us to publish in the form of an article. His position makes it of first class importance.

"Back to the Land"—Mr. Lloyd George's Precept and Example

When Indian Leaders advise Indian young men to go "back to the land," they do not set them an example by themselves becoming cultivators. But when Mr. Lloyd George spoke on the national importance of agriculture he meant business. Recently he and 100 Surrey farmers had been comparing notes on potatoes at a demonstration plot on his farm. He was overjoyed when it was found that his plot had come out best in the demonstration.

He is more proud of his orchards than of anything else he has ever done.

His eyes were bright as a child's when he plunged in among his heavily laden apple trees, to point out those that won him the first prize at the Crystal Palace, and others that had yielded fruit of unsuspected flavour and rich colouring. He went unerringly, obviously knowing them by heart, to other trees in the orchards that had so far been disappointments.

"Remember those Worcesters you saw here last time ?" he said : "No good at all. I was thinking of giving them up. Well, this year they have done wonderfully. Won the first prize."

The farm at Churt is not the mere plaything of an elder statesman. It is a definite contribution to agriculture. For it was derelict when he took it, abandoned on account of its low grade soil—third or fourth class. Mr. Lloyd George is showing that it can yield abundantly when properly used.

Mr. Lloyd George is cultivating about 240 out of 500 acres. Before his time the farm employed three men. To-day it employs thirty-one, earning from 45s. to 50s. per week.

"I am happy," he said, "happier than I have ever been in my life. Politics were fun. I enjoyed all that ; but they weren't somehow as satisfying as this is.

"I am addressing you not as an ex-Prime Minister, but as a registered potato-grower. I have ceased to be a politician. I have now become a cultivator of the soil ; so that what I say is without reference to politics, and merely my observations as a cultivator of land.

"I am opposed to the policy of restricting production merely to raise prices. It suits me personally, but in the long run it won't do any good."

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TWO JAPANESE PAINTINGS

From woodblock reproductions by Mr. Biswarup Bose

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CO-EDUCATION IN AMERICA

BY DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE

UNTIL recently co-education has been regarded as a peculiarly American system of education. Without a doubt co-education was first tried out in modern times on a large scale in the United States, and has reached its highest and fullest development here. American experience includes all kinds of co-education, primary, secondary and university, given to tens of thousands of boys and girls, men and women

A basket-ball team for girls

for at least half a century. During this period co-educational schools and colleges have greatly multiplied, while separated schools and colleges have proportionally sickened and died to the betterment of the whole educational system.

At present co-education is practically universal in the elementary grades of the public schools of the United States. It also prevails to a very large extent in the elementary grades of private and sectarian schools, including those which are under control of the usually conservative Roman Catholic church. Only in a few large cities like New York and Boston is any attempt made to separate the sexes in the lower grades of instruction. Even there the separation is made on grounds of convenience in administration, rather than because it is felt that separate education is the ideal method. It has been estimated that over 96 per cent of the elementary pupils are in mixed schools.

Not only is the free public elementary school in the United States a mixed school, but so is practically the secondary school. In no part of the country, except in some portions of the conservative Atlantic seaboard, is any distinction made in secondary education between girls and boys. Today only about twelve per cent of all girls and boys in the United States are studying in separated high schools.

Not long ago I went to see a friend of mine who is a city Superintendent of schools where several thousand boys and girls, from elementary up through the high school classes, are taught together.

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"How do you like co-education" I asked my friend.

"You might as well ask me how I like eating or why I should wear shoes on both feet. Co-education is the most simple and natural educational method," came back the answer instantly. This city Superintendent has been dealing with the co-educational system for several decades. He ought to know what he was talking about.

Sir Michael E. Sadler of England states somewhere that the co-education of little boys and little girls is beneficial, but the co-education of the young folks beyond the age of thirteen is undesirable and imprudent. Pure Sadler! Virtuous Sadler! Speaking particularly of his native country, Monsieur Sadler affects to see great dangers in the co-education of what he calls elder boys and girls. I wonder why. He seems to "see things" invisible to others.

Another noted English pedagogue, more straight in his thinking, asserts that the much-lauded segregated public schools of England

A mixed class in German language and literature at a secondary school

are far from being temples of virtue. Indeed, they are "strongholds of immorality." He declares that the vice of immorality is caused by "the arbitrary separation of the sexes in schools." He says that the remedy is co-education which has been shown by American experience to abolish the temptation and with it the evils consequent thereon. He then quotes the following from the government report of the United States Commissioner of Educaiion: "To insure modesty I would advise the education of the sexes together. For two boys will preserve twelve girls or two girls twelve boys, pure amidst coarse jokes and suggestions, merely by that instinctive sense which is the source of natural modesty. But I will guarantee nothing in a school where girls are alone together, still less where boys are."

It is exceedingly rare to come across a man of sense who would maintain that co-education endangers the morals of American girls. Dr. Charles W. Eiliot, President of Harvard University, said it was his experience that the girls of America are entirely competent to take care of themselves. Indeed, no one in this country believes that boys and girls are dangerous to one another. They are good and wholesome, I fancy, chiefly because they are trusted to be so. And American youths, be it noted, are not a special creation. They are like the young normal people the world over.

Whoever has first-hand knowledge of American schools must admit that boys remain boys and girls can still be virtuous even though they happen to have shared a class-room while hearing how George Washington beat the English, or how Clive in India killed and looted and still bragged about his "moderation." Anybody who feels that co-education promotes looseness of thought and deed has made an imperfect study of the subject.

In the cultural field there is no separation between the sexes in this country. The only observable tendency toward segregation in American high schools is that which appears in the fact that boys go into one type of elective course and girls into another. In vocational studies especially when organized in special trade or vocational high schools, boys and girls naturally tend to elect different vocational work in order to be trained for the different occupations open to men and women. It is also true that in the larger high schools, boys and girls are frequently separated in athletics, gymnastics, and recreation; but the few attempts which have been made by some high schools to segregate the boys and girls in separate classes have failed.

Among the arguments which favour co-education in secondary schools, the

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American *Cyclopedia of Education* mentions these: In all stages, it is more economical; it makes more for democracy and equality between the sexes; it promotes capacity and co-operative powers of men and women workers.

To my mind the greatest advantages of co-education is that it creates equality of opportunity. In the United States, 52 per cent of all persons of secondary school age are in high schools. No other nation, chiefly because of the lack of equal opportunities for the education of girls with that of boys, begins to approach this record. In other countries, less than 12 per cent of all persons of secondary school age are in high schools. That is a record which speaks for itself.

Coming now to the institutions of higher learning, I find an overwhelming trend toward co-education. From the founding of Oberlin College, which was the first institution of its class to introduce co-education (1837), the policy spread at such a rate that by 1880 more than half the colleges, and by 1900 nearly three-fifths, had adopted it. In the more conservative eastern States along the Atlantic coast, segregation was the general practice until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. But they, too, soon learned to discard one-sex education. Today even on the eastern coast, all the great university foundations—except Princeton—admit women to post-graduate instruction.

In 1915 women formed about 35 per cent of all graduate and under-graduate students in the United States; but, if the students of Roman Catholic, military and technical colleges be omitted, women studying in under-graduate co-educational colleges of liberal arts formed 42 per cent of the total number of men and women in co-educational colleges. In many co-educational colleges women now equal and sometimes exceed men, and their numbers are steadily increasing.

With the progress of equal suffrage movement, educational leaders persistently demanded on the right of women to have equal advantages with men in the line of education. Moreover, the expense and impracticability of duplicating higher education required the admission of women to men's colleges and universities. These reasons of equality and economy greatly helped the spread of joint education in the United States. In 1928 some 293,000 under-graduate and 17,000 post-graduate women students—altogether 310,000 women—were studying in American universities. The United States, unhampered by restrictions of single-sex education, is the only country in the world where thousands and thousands of women are receiving university education.

At present of the thirty-nine States Universities, all except those of Virginia, Georgia and Florida are co-educational. I myself have been teaching at a co-educational State University for over twenty years. I find nothing to giggle at the co-educational system, as do some of the deep pedagogues of Indian and English universities. All my American colleagues will agree with me that the presence of the two sexes in one class-room creates no difficulties whatever as regards the teaching, while it tends distinctly to good order. The young people of my classes discover that comradeship is possible between members of two sexes on a healthy and unsentimental basis. They also learn through various university activities the value and the art of co-operation. Each sex needs the other.

Mixed chorus of school boys and girls

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Operetta put up by a high school Glee Club of boys and girls

"The eye cannot say to the hand, I have no need of thee." College is not a teaching-shop. It is a training-ground for citizenship. It is a preparation for active life in which co-operation is of utmost importance. A plan of education which fails to prepare the youths of a nation to engage in social co-operation safely and sanely will to that extent fall short of its duty.

To Victorian moralists, co-education was immoral, a deadly sin. But thank Heaven! we no longer live in a decadent Victorian era. Sexual development is a natural process and the more calmly it is accepted by the individuals concerned, by just so much are health and morality promoted. In fact I am not familiar with any problem which is best solved by running away from it. What I actually find in America is that the community of work and the opportunity for free and natural intercourse between men and women effectively kill foolish notions on either side. In sober fact there is no emotional strain, there are no emotional disturbances. At least I am not aware of any. The two-sexed atmosphere inside a college is prophylactic against unbecoming conduct. Dr. George A. Dorsey of Chicago, in his remarkable book, *Why We Behave Like Human Beings*, concludes an interesting discussion of the subject with this significant statement: "Co-education is sanitary education."

The function of the university, in Emerson's words, is to "bring every ray of genius to its hospitable halls, by their combined influence to set the heart of the youth in flame." For these reasons, according to the testimony of practically all American university Professors, it is better for men students that they be taught in company with women students. Co-education is a benefit to both sexes. Said Dr. David Starr Jordon, Chancellor of the Lelland Stanford University:

> In women's education, as planned for women alone, the tendency is toward the study of beauty and order. Literature and language take precedence over science. Expression is valued more highly than action. In carrying to an extreme, the necessary relation of thought to action is obscured. The scholarship developed is not effective, because it is not related to success. The educated woman is likely to master technique, rather than art; method, rather than substance. She may know a good deal, but she is not effective in action. Often her views of life must undergo painful changes before she can find her place in the world.
>
> In schools for men alone, the reverse condition obtains. The sense of reality obscures the elements of beauty and fitness. It is of great advantage to both men and women to meet on a plane of equality in education. Women are brought into contact with men who can do things—men in whom the sense of reality is strong, and who have definite views of life. This influence affects them for good. It turns away from sentimentalism. It gives tone to their religious thoughts and impulses. Above all, it tends to encourage action as governed by ideals, as opposed to that resting on caprice. It gives them better standards of what is possible and impossible when the responsibility for action is thrown upon them.
>
> In like manner, the association with wise, sane, and healthy women has its value for young men. It raises their ideal of womanhood, and the highest manhood must be associated with the possession of an ideal.

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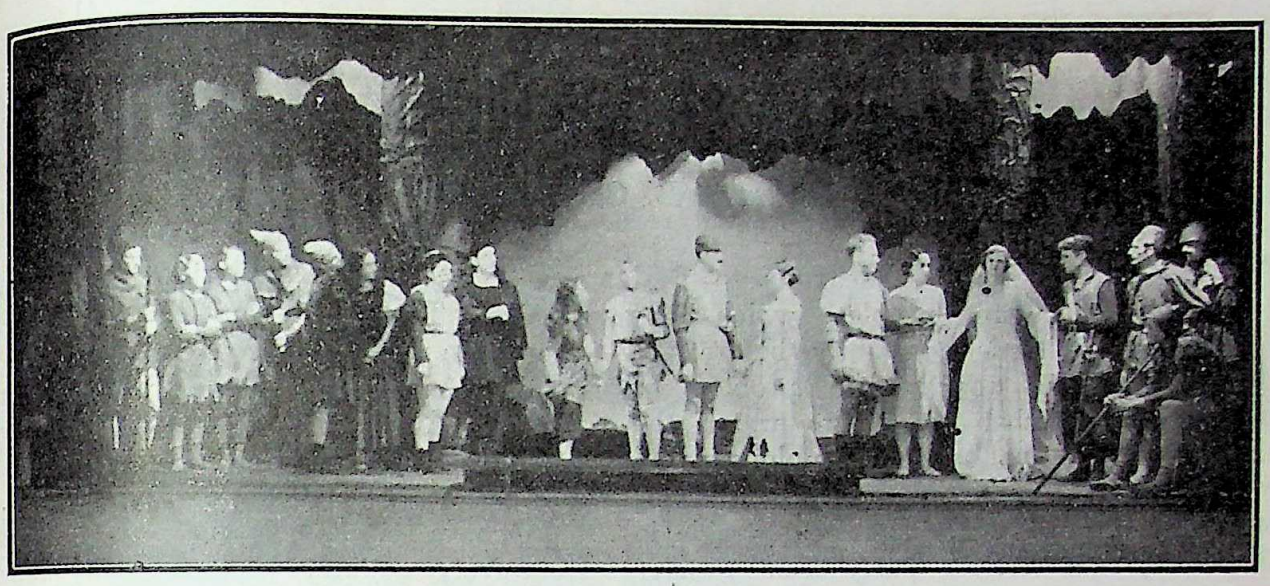

"As You Like It" by the Dramatic Club of a co-educational high school

The arguments of the anti-co-educationists have been met and answered by experience. I seldom hear in this country now the old pitiful arguments that the women have not enough brains for study, or that they lose femininity, or that they are bad house-keepers and incompetent mothers if they have too much intellectual training. All these objections, never taken seriously, have melted away. The social prejudices have disappeared, and anyone who should argue today against co-education would appear a relic of by-gone times—ready to be a museum piece. If the Indian leaders turn themselves to an attitude of facing backward of resisting every move toward a liberal educational policy, they may as well retire for as long a sleep as Rip Van Winkle had.

India, of all the civilized countries of the world, is lagging behind in education. Only 1 per cent of the girls in India are literate, and only 1.03 per cent are under instruction. Less than two thousand women are studying in girls' colleges, and only a few hundred in men's colleges and technical schools. At the rate women's education is progressing in India, it will take hundreds of years to educate them. One way to speed up the process is to follow the American example and do it quickly.

American public opinion, based on many years of actual experience and not on theory, has definitely settled the question of co-education, that is, the right of women to share equally with men the instruction given not only in schools, colleges and universities supported by the government, but also in most of the educational institutions maintained by private efforts. None of the dire predictions of the anti-co-educationists have been fulfilled. A few minor disappointments here and there, yes; but no crop of disaster.

A foreign visitor to an American co-educational university asked one of its students: "What do you think of the problem of co-education?"

"What do you mean?"

"I mean education of girls in colleges for men."

"Oh! Co-education is not a problem in America."

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THE ECONOMICS OF WAGES

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

IN this article I will endeavour to deal with an economic problem which more than any other is constantly before the mind of the worker—the problem of wages. It is almost tragic to watch the conflicts that go on between employers and their employees over the question of wages and the hours of employments: tragic in this sense, that neither party seems to have the vaguest idea of what are the economic laws which really govern wages.

It would be a great accomplishment for the average Labour man and woman if they applied their minds to the economics of wages and as a result came to a clear understanding of the economics involved in the whole problem. To the average man in the street it seems an obvious truth that the wages he receives are paid out of capital owned by his employer. Employers on the other hand, who are usually just as stupid on economic matters as the most illiterate of their employees, love to exploit the fallacy that the capital they possess is the source from which the wages of their workers are drawn.

It is the acceptance of this fallacious idea by the employees on the one hand and the employers on the other that gives rise to wage agreements on what is called the give-and-take basis. Not infrequently Trades Union leaders are caught in the trap by the give-and-take basis in this way: The employer frankly displays his books, exposes his profit and loss account, the total of his over-head charges, the operation of his market—where it is contracting or where it is probably expanding—the total of his wages bill, and the average of his profits, interest or dividend payments, etc. etc. This seeming fairness on the part of the employer too often beguiles the Trades Union leader, who in face of what may seem to be apparently menacing facts is forced to compromise on wage demands and indeed compelled to ask the employees, on grounds of expediency, to accept less wages than they had expected to receive. This is almost the daily experience over wage negotiations.

At Geneva the same pantomime is performed. No discussion arouses greater interest at the International Labour Office than that which takes place on Wages. At the Geneva Conferences there are foregathered from every country leaders of the employing classes and delegates sent forward from Trades Unions. To read their discussions is one of the most dismaying experiences for the student of economics. For in Geneva as at home the discussion is based upon an utterly fallacious conception of the economics of the whole question. It is little wonder that year after year these Geneva Labour Office discussions end in pure futility.

From what has been said I hope I have made it clear that it is of prime importance that the average working man should try to understand what are the real causes of low wages and all that that involves.

The Wage Fund Theory

There was a theory held by some of the ablest and most disinterested writers on economics and political economy in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was called the Wage Fund Theory. Briefly this theory was that wages were paid out of a fund or pool and that if the number of workers increased beyond a given point, or if the number of employees remained the same but their wages rose beyond a certain point, disaster to industry was imminent—because the amount of money in the wages pool was being dried up and sooner or later there would be nothing left to pay anybody and economic disaster would follow. For example, two of the most disinterested champions of liberty of the nineteenth century really accepted this as a basic economic truth and embodied it in their writings as an economic fact to be reckoned with.

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Thomas Henry Buckley, than whom there was no more fearless champion of advanced thought and toleration, accepted this theory and indeed you can find it running right through the whole of his magnificent and masterly work *The History of Civilisation in England.* It will always be an enigma to the political and literary student that such a clear and incisive thinker as Thomas Henry Buckley should ever have accepted the fallacy of the Wage Fund Theory. John Stuart Mill also accepted this theory in his *Political Economy.*

Now the Wage Fund Theory, as baldly stated above, may induce many people to smile and dismiss it as the sheerest nonsense. But in the House of Commons one can hear Members of Parliament treating the Wage Fund Theory with derision at one moment and in the next proceeding to advance arguments for or against an increase of wages by arguments which can only be deduced from an acceptance of the Wage Fund fallacy. I have no doubt that Mr. Baldwin and those who with him advocate tariffs against foreign importations would tell you that they do not accept the Wage Fund Theory. But their arguments in favour of putting tariffs on foreign importations are based upon the belief that if cheap goods come into this country, this will force down the prices of commodities produced within this country—and that a fall in prices within the country will leave the employers with less money to pay wages to the workers out of the "pool."

How often are we told that really we cannot compete in the field of production with the low-paid wages of the producing countries abroad. And further tariff advocates openly say to the British workers: You must either give us tariffs to keep up prices—the implication being that high prices will mean high wages to the worker—or accept lower wages so that we can produce goods as cheaply as the foreigner.

Now the undeniable fact here is that they are making the following deduction: that wages are paid out of capital and that if the wages paid out of capital are high in Great Britain as compared with the wages paid in foreign countries, it means that the poor capitalists here, being compelled to pay these high wages out of their capital, will be utterly defeated in the world of international commerce. To paraphrase their argument it would run thus: "If you, the workers, demand high wages, it can only be at the expense of capital (their capital). And as wages are paid out of our capital, and therefore enter into the cost of production, it means that the price of our commodities will be undercut in the international market by similar commodities produced by those countries that pay less wages. We, the good employers, advance to you, the workers, your wages out of our capital resources (the Wage Fund) and if you make too great a demand for increased wages it will mean we shall have to close down home production to the advantage of foreign importers."

The force of this kind of argument, backed by his business facts and figures, has caused many employees to accept smaller advances than they had demanded or indeed cuts in their wages—and the implied necessity for protection for home production in the above argument has in no small measure caused workers at election times to vote for tariffs.

How Wages are Created

Now let us state the economics of the wages question. We must first of all give a clear definition of what we mean by the term wages. In a primitive form of society the wages of the individual would be all that he secured by his labour exerted upon land in some shape or form and this in the economic sense would include exertion of labour upon the sea. He would enjoy, as one economist puts it, nature's full minimum wage.

In more complicated forms of society the return to labour, or wages, will be that amount of wealth which the worker retains after paying rent for the use of land, and rates and taxes. Wages are the return to labour.

There is no record of any worker receiving wages in advance. A worker has to advance a week's labour, or in some cases a month's labour and perhaps more, before he receives any payment in the form of wages. And, let it be remembered, under our economic dispensation not merely does he advance a given number of days' labour before he receives any wages, but the

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employer, if he is an efficient employer in the modern sense, hopes to gain a profit out of the labourer's advance over and above the so-called wage which he pays the worker. So that in truth the capitalist advances nothing. The worker advances labour and receives at the end of a week or a month a wage less than the value of the service he has already rendered to the employer.

Now this is the experience of every worker in this country, yet despite that fact many workers believe that it is the good employer that advances everything to them. It is sometimes asked; do not the employers really pay wages out of their capital during that period in which the workers are employed in erecting, say, a large ship or a large building or working through some other process of production which involves a considerable period between the initial stage of construction until its final completion? When a company undertakes some enterprise which involves a prolonged period of construction before completion, does this company not really pay the wages of the workers during this period of construction out of the capital of the company?

The answer is simple. The workers who build ships, buildings, or are employed upon some other form of production which involves a long period of time before completion, are as truly advancing something to their employers daily as if indeed at the end of each day they were completing entirely the task upon which they were engaged. Let us take the case of workers engaged upon the construction of a great ship. A company raises money for the project, that is to say, they instruct bankers that individuals have guaranteed certain amounts. This book entry is nothing more than a security in the hands of the banks. The company then proceed with their constructional work. After the first week a certain amount of labour has been expended on the ship. Wages are then paid. The banks advance to the company sufficient to cover the wages bill. But the bank advances this money on two grounds. First upon the security of the investments in the company, and secondly on a knowledge that the workers employed have advanced the construction of the ship by one week.

If the workers had done nothing at all during this week and the wages had been paid, then in truth wages would be coming out of capital. But as a matter of fact, if an analysis were made of the position after the first week's work, it would be found that the workers had not robbed the company of any of its substance but by the labour they had exerted on the construction of the ship they had given more in the value of ship than they had received in wages. And so the process continues until the completion of the task.

If we could set aside money considerations, and look upon this process of production as a mere matter of winning daily bread, it will be observed at once that at the end of every week or fortnight the workers have advanced so much ship in return for so much bread, butter, tea, sugar, house-room and so on, and in fact have advanced in terms of ship more than they received in terms of the necessaries of life.

The payment of wages, so far as the employer is concerned, is but the return to the labourer of a portion of their capital which he received from labour. So far as the employee is concerned, what he receives from the capitalist in the form of wages is but the receipt of a portion of the capital his labour has previously produced. As the value paid in wages is thus exchanged for a value brought into being by labour, how can it be said that wages are drawn from capital or advanced by capital? In the exchange of labour for wages the employer always gets the capital created by labour. So although he pays out capital in wages, at what point is his capital lessened even temporarily?

In a rational state of society the value of physical and mental labour would rise, while the cost of individual commodities would fall. Indeed this is the whole underlying principle embodied in the statement that "man seeks to gratify his desires with the least possible amount of exertion." He will invent tools and other devices to help him to conquer the forces of nature and make them more easily the subject of his will. This clearly postulates that with the development of science and the arts more production of the things wanted to gratify his human desires should never cost him a moment's worry. But this part of the

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argument would lead us into the problem of wealth distribution. At the moment we are concerned with the economics of wages.

But it is because of the stagnation in the field of wealth distribution that we have in an aggravated form this blind struggle over the question of wages. The worker is not a charge upon the cost of production and in any industry where efficiency is observed high wages paid to the worker would not be to the detriment of the industry but the very opposite. The higher the wage paid to the worker, the greater would be his enthusiasm for the task he would undertake, and the more efficieney would be expected of him. This would mean, taking the national view, that if wages were increased, high efficiency amongst the workers would follow—and surely it is self-evident that the nation which possesses the most highly efficient and contented craftsmen is the nation which is bound to defeat the competition of any country where wages are low and in which the workers are therefore inefficient and miserable.

To bring the illustration more vividly to the eye, let me put it this way. Let us assume that a local football club is being urged to lift some cup. What would be the attitude of the directors of the team towards the players? Would they go to them and say: in order to win this cup we will break your wages and lengthen the hours of your training? Or would they, as in fact they do, take the eleven men to a hydropathic, give them the best of treatment, look after their animal wants, and, as it drew near the time of playing the final, intimate to them that there would be a bonus for each goal they scored.

In this way football cups are won. But in the field of industry, because of the fallacious ideas regarding the economics of wages, and perhaps consideration of vested interests, the employing classes intimate to the workers that they are subject to world competition and that in order to beat this world competition it is necessary for the workers to take reduced wages, which means reduction of food and creature comforts, and work longer hours. This is how they hope to win the prize of world industry.

The labourer has ever been worthy of his hire and it behoves the labourer to know what is the worth of his hire and to know that as a labourer he advances everything and those who live upon his toil advance nothing. Wages therefore are not paid out of some "pool" or out of some fund which come into being as a result of the frugality of some beneficent capitalists. We have shown above, I hope quite satisfactorily, that wages are a part and in too many cases but a very small part of the value of the labour advanced by the worker to the capitalist.

Later I hope to deal with the distribution of wealth.

THE NEED OF SCIENTIFIC AGRICULTURE

By H. D. SEN, D. Sc.,
Harcourt Butler Technological Institute, Cawnpore

THE founding of a larger number of well-equipped pharmacological, microchemical and bio-chemical laboratories in India for the accurate assay of drugs, food and agricultural products is necessary. The importance of mass production and mechanization in agriculture in India with adequate transport and marketing facilities cannot be exaggerated.

During the last few years of the world economic depression the chemists had been busy in evolving ways and means of harnessing chemistry for the service of mankind and for solving the question of unemployment. While India was engrossed in politics, philosophy and poetry, Europe and America were being equipped with elaborate research laboratories fitted with delicate testing instruments. These laboratories were as a rule not financed by the State but by the people.

Pure chemistry had naturally been replaced to a great extent by applied chemistry. Of the many branches of applied chemistry which had come to the forefront were pharmaceutical, micro and bio-chemistry.

Pharmaceutical works in India were poorly equipped with delicate apparatus for accurate pharmocological tests. India was the home of important drugs whose medical properties were

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rather indefinitely known. Mere chemical assay was not admitted to be adequate. Even tinctures of known drugs such as Tr. Digitalis, Tr. Stropanthus and Tr. Squill prepared in Indian Pharmaceutical Works would not be able to stand competition with foreign brands unless they were adequately corroborated by pharmacological tests.

A new phytochemical method was worked out by the writer at the Imperial College of Science and Technology, London, which might eventually replace the pharmacological test. This method depended on the fact that tinctures of drugs were poisonous equally to animal and plant life. The growth of rootlets was definitely retarded in solutions of tinctures of known strength as compared to their growth in nutrient media.

If the rate of retardation in growth was worked out to a unit length, the retardation took place with mathematical precision leading to an accurate assay of the strength of the drug.

During his investigation on Digitalis leaves grown under different manurial conditions the predominance of certain metallic radicles was found to affect in a remarkable way the toxic and tonic properties of the drug. The Synchronism in plant and animal life of such metals as Calcium and Manganese was found to be remarkable. The toxicity of the leaves increased with the intake of Calcium and decreased with the intake of Manganese.

Another branch of applied chemistry whose importance was being realized every day was microchemistry. In this connection the writer visited the laboratories of Prof. Pregal in the city of Graz, about 100 miles from Vienna. The microchemical laboratory could be said to be the chemist's "dollhouse" where chemical analyses were carried out with remarkable precision on substances weighing a few milligrams in cleverly designed tiny apparatus.

The importance of bio-chemical researches would be realized every day in connection with the utilization of molasses, the by-product of sugar manufacture, in which the writer was engaged.

The sugar manufacturer was keen on getting rid of molasses either by throwing it into a river or on adjoining fields, but to a chemist it was a mine of gold.

The disaster which had overtaken the Indian cultivator was due to various causes such as agricultural indebtedness, want of agricultural co-operative banks, agricultural associations or trusts, fragmentation of holdings and lack of Government sympathy.

However high India might raise her tariff walls the textile and sugar industry in India could not materially thrive unless Indian agriculture was organized scientifically.

India had trusted her cultivators, who depended on knowledge handed down to them for generations, and not on fundamental principles of scientific agriculture. The "mechanical" cultivators show a lack of "directive force." The utility of scientific agriculture in India had been materially observed in regard to tea, jute, and coffee cultivation, which had increased immensely the wealth of India. Every year about 7,000,000 pounds of tea to the value of Rs. 43,00,000, jute valued at Rs. 24,00,000 and coffee worth Rs. 2,00,000 were exported from India; but there are many other agricultural products, such as, fruits, flowers, spices, rice and wheat the export of which was coming down every year due to India not adopting scientific agriculture. Wheat was mainly exported to European markets from Australia and Canada, rice from Japan and fruits from Kabul.

The idea of mass production in agriculture might be said to be unknown in India. European and American farmers had thrived wonderfully mainly because of the adoption of the principles of mass production.

The experiments on Papaya cultivation and the extraction of papain had been quite successful at the H. B. Technological Institute, Cawnpore. By scientific cultivation and the selection of suitable varieties every tree yielded about 1/5 pound of papain per year. An acre containing 500 trees would yield 100 pounds of papain whose price would fetch Rs. 800. A 20 acre papaya plantation conveniently situated near a city to dispose of the incised fruits with adequate water facilities would have a net income of Rs 12,000 per annum. A twenty acre tomato plantation would have a net income of Rs. 8,860.

Sugarcane cultivation had come into the limelight and every Indian agriculturist was keen about it. A few new cane varieties evolved from Coimbatore yielded from 1,200 to 1,400 maunds per acre. Taking the price of cane to be 5½ annas per maund a sugarcane plantation covering 1,000 acres would yield 1,200,000 maunds of cane worth Rs. 4,00,000. Usually in the area in which sugarcane was grown wheat took its place the following year; hence for the adequate supply of a 600 ton factory 3,320 acres or, 4,000 acres of land would be required for cane cultivation.

It was evident that cultivation covering such huge areas would not be possible with implements as were being used, as for example the *desi* plough and bullock power. It could only be done with the help of machines, such as, the steam tractor and other mechanical appliances as were used in foreign countries.

It might be said that mechanizantion would increase unemployment but actually the contrary would be the case. By means of machine India would be able to produce more and to handle the huge production more men would be required. These having specialized in a particular branch of work would be paid bigger salaries than at present. It would ensure cleaner and more efficient work.

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A steam tractor could cultivate 3,000 acres of land per day to the depth of a foot with ease whereas an indigenous plough and pair of bullocks could scarcely plough two acres per day to a depth of hardly 6 inches. Similarly there were other mechanical contrivances—such as weeding, seed planting and harvesting machines.

One of the drawbacks which the Indian agriculturist suffered from was fragmentation of holdings. A large piece of land was not available for starting a fairly big plantation covering about 1,000 to 5,000 acres. There was, however, fallow land in the Indo-Gangetic area and in the marshes of Bengal, which might be available for starting farms.

If this were supported by Government's huge irrigation system and the recent hydro-electric scheme for the supply of cheap electric power, consolidated farms and attached small factories for direct use of the agricultural produce might be possible.

With the production of raw and finished products the question of transport to the big cities arose. Metalled roads from the farms or the molasses-asphalt road recently devised at the H. B. Technological Institute might solve the difficulty.

Remarkable marketing organizations existed in foreign countries. Manufacturers in modern days did not stop at producing finished material in factories but were also intent on the organization of their sales.

For the ready sale of Indian sugar it was necessary that several factories should unite to form an association and shops should be started in the name of the association in the big cities of India.

THE MARSAILLES OUTRAGE: ITS BACKGROUND AND AFTERMATH

By BIMAL BIHARI BASU

THE civilized world was shocked at the news of the dastardly outrage at Marsailles which resulted in the death of King Alexander of Yugo-Slavia and M. Barthou, the French Foreign Minister. The pistol shots were aimed at the King and the Foreign Minister was only an accidental victim, for he happened to sit beside the King in the coach as they were being driven through the streets of Marsailles. The French Government had decided to give a rousing reception to the King whose visit was in the nature of a political mission, *viz.*, to cement the tie between France and Yugo-Slavia. The assassin was a nationalist Croat named Kalemann. In order to understand the significance of the outrage, which was in pursuance of a definite political object, it is necessary to trace the sequence of events which culminated in the terrible catastrophe.

As a result of the post-War arrangement consequent on the Treaty of Versailles, the kingdom of Yugo-Slavia and the republic of Czechoslovakia were carved out of the once powerful Austro-Hungarian Empire. Yugo-Slavia is composed of three distinct nationalities, Serbs, Slovenes and Croatians, the last forming a substantial and powerful minority with a different language and a distinct culture. Ever since the formation of the kingdom of Yugo-Slavia, the Croats had been agitating for local autonomy. The Serbs, who form the majority, would hear nothing of it and tried to meet the nationalist Croatian agitation with repression and greater centralization which merely accentuated the discontent. Gradually the Croats were exasperated and despaired of a peaceful and constitutional solution of their problem. Their sentiment was outraged and their spirit was inflamed when their able and brilliant parliamentary leader, Stefano Raditch, was openly murdered in June 1928. Thenceforth, for parliamentary agitation they turned to secret society movement for achieving their object. Complicated Balkan political situation gave an international character to what was merely a local question. The Croats looked across the frontier and found in Italy a ready, if not open, champion of their cause.

Italy under Mussolini has been dreaming of the greatness of ancient Rome which found a practical expression in a desire for national

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expansion along the Adriatic. Finding that French interests were strongly entrenched in the Balkans, she took up the cause of national minorities and stirred up troubles among them. Croatia was a ready ground for receiving Italian propaganda and received its special attention, for an autonomous Croatia would be under the direct influence of Italy. Italy had also been energetically supporting the cry for the revision of the treaty arrangements and thereby secured the close adherence of Hungary and Bulgaria to her. But this had an adverse effect on her relations with the Little Entente. Further, the Italian proposal for the establishment of a Danubian State which was to be inaugurated with the preliminary formation of the economic union of Austria and Hungary met with a stout opposition from the Little Entente comprising Yugo-Slavia, Czechoslovakia and Roumania.

France, on the other hand, by its consistent and stubborn opposition to any move for revision had strengthened its alliances with Little Entente. The purpose of the visit of the Yugo-Slavian King was in furtherance of this aim, *viz.*, to cement further the tie of the Little Entente with France.

It is interesting to note that the opening weeks of the year 1934 witnessed a move on the part of the Little Entente to come to a closer understanding among themselves. The first Conference of the representatives of the three allied States of Roumania, Yugo-Slavia and Czechoslovakia was held at Prague on the 9th January under the presidency of Mr. Benes, the Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia. The move for this closer understanding was inspired by (1) the united aversion to a revision of the treaty; (2) opposition to the Italian proposal for a Donubian Kingdom; and (3) opposition to the Italian plan for the reformation of the League.

So far we have been examining the state of Balkan politics and the relation of the Little Entente *vis-a-vis* Italy and France. Let us now consider the personal character of King Alexander and its bearing on the Croatian question.

The Croatian discontent grew in volume since the accession of King Alexander. His attempts to keep the Croatian minority under the iron heels of the Serb majority had alienated the best minds as well as the mass of the Croatians. From 1929 till the day of his murder, he had been a virtual dictator. In 1929 he had taken his people by surprise by issuing a manifesto abolishing Parliament and repealing the Constitution. He was justified to some extent in taking this step. It has been said that democracy is not suited to the genius of the Slavs. The parliamentary form of Government foisted upon the Yugoslav people as an aftermath of the post-War wave of democracy, had proved to be an inglorious failure. The Parliament had degenerated into a 'circus, a political madhouse' due to cliques, conspiracies and political assassinations. The King was clever enough to fish in troubled waters. Having never been a believer in democracy, he took the utmost advantage of the situation and "surrounded by the junta, and backed by the army, he leaped into the saddle as dictator." However, pressure from the British and French Governments compelled him to restore some sort of parliamentary Government which he did in 1931. As a dictator, the King is credited with having brought efficiency to the Government machinery. His physical unimpressiveness accounted for his constant use of the military costume. Superstitious and hysterical, he lived in constant fear of his life. He had reason for this fear, for there had been more than one attempt on his life, the last of which proved fatal. Unlike Ex-King Alphonso of Spain, he was not cynical enough to declare such attempts as professional risks of kingship. But he knew how to grind his own axe and was a past master in political intrigues, which he had to be owing to the singularly complicated character of Balkan politics. The supreme contempt in which he held parliamentary Government can be gauged from the following narrative from the pen of an American journalist named Adamic. At the time of his interview with the King, he found His Majesty busy in issuing directions to his followers in the Parliament on the phone on the occasion of a sham debate on the budget. He was "ordering some of his puppets to orate (lamely and stupidly, of course) against the regime, and others to reply brilliantly for the regime."

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Of late, it was believed that the King was making a bid for Croatian friendship. He had spent nearly a month with his Queen at Zagreb in the beginning of the year. He tried to make himself popular by freely contributing funds to the co-operative societies which were in a wretched plight and also for poor relief. It was widely believed that he was averse to some sort of local autonomy being given in response to the Croatian demand. But the attempt on his life in March of this year seemed to have stiffened his attitude.

The above sketch will enable us to appreciate the complex personal character of the King and his attitude towards the Croatian question. Let us now consider the foreign relations of Yugo-slavia with the neighbouring States outside the Little Entente, *viz.*, Bulgaria and Hungary.

Bulgaria has been smarting under a sense of wrong done to her by the Treaty of Versailles. Her attitude towards the Little Entente has been one of strict neutrality. She refuses to be a party to any international agreement which may perpetuate her dismemberment. But of late there has been some change in this attitude, and she has begun to take some interest in a rapprochement with the Little Entente with whom she has recently entered into a five years' non-agression pact. But what has a more important bearing on the subject is her subservience to Italy, to whom she looks for a revision of the treaty. This has caused uneasiness among the members of the Little Entente and King Alexander was perturbed at the recent turn of events in Bulgaria which has been seized by a dictatorship of a fascist type on May 19 of this year, its professed objects being, among others, a tightening of the alliance with Italy. But it is not Bulgaria whom Yugo-Slavia hates and fears; it is with Hungary that her relations are very much strained.

Hungary's insistence on treaty revision backed by Italy stood in the way of a better understanding between Yugo-Slavia and Hungary. The relation had been steadily worsening. In April of this year Hungary had petitioned the League against the anti-Hungarian activities of Yugo-Slavia along the 300 miles of their common frontier. The shooting of fifteen Hungarian citizens on the borders was cited as a case in point. The Yugoslav representative on the League is said to have retorted: "If we fired, it was because just across the frontier there is a veritable bandits' lair." The Yugo-Slavian press published startling disclosures about the existence of a Croatian terrorist camp within Hungary which the Budapest Government is alleged to have tolerated and even collaborated with. The recent investigation of the outrage has proved the existence of such a camp. The name of the assassin Kalemann was on the list of Croatian terrorists in Hungary supplied by Yugo-Slavia to the League. The statement of Hostice, corroborated by Benes and Malny, who were accomplices in the outrage, further confirmed this. It has been also established that the head of the Croatian revolutionary organization, Dr. Ralevitch, directed his terroristic operations against Yugo-Slavia from Hungary. The moral responsibility for the recent outrage may, therefore, be justifiably fastened on Hungary.

What will be the aftermath of this outrage? Its effect on world opinion has been one of unmitigated horror.

The outrage still further complicates the Balkan politics. The Italo-Yugoslav relations have distinctly deteriorated and the indignant Yugoslav feeling found expression in an anti-Italian mob riot at Bulzany. All hopes of better understanding with Italy have receded further. Though there can be little doubt as to Italy's indirect encouragement to the Croatian nationalist movement, her direct help to Croatian terroristic operations remains still to be proved.

The question of Yugo-Hungarian relations, the consideration of which was postponed on May 14 due to the efforts of M. Barthou, is sure to raise a storm in the forthcoming meeting of the League.

The effect of the King's murder on Nazi Germany is shrouded in mystery. King Alexander was favourable to the Hitler regime, which feeling was not equally shared by other members of the Little Entente. It is reported that the German bourse showed distinct nervousness in anticipation of the

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King's death on the day of the outrage. The whole question assumes a complicated aspect when we remember the declaration of a socialist newspaper of Saarbruck : "The bullets were fired in Marsailles, but they were made in Germany." The paper is reported to have been suppressed since then.

Undoubtedly the Croatian autonomous movement will receive a set-back for the time being.

As a result of the outrage, relations between France and the Little Entente will be further strengthened. But its immediate effect on French internal politics has been a re-shuffling of Cabinet portfolios, due to allegations in the Press. It was openly insinuated by some papers that the head of Surete Nationale was in league with gangsters and did not take due precaution regarding royal safety ; and the question was asked as to why the King was allowed to land at Marsailles when it was a well-known fact that it was a rendezvous of foreign terrorists.

But these statements cannot be regarded as an undiluted truth. It is common knowledge that in France newspapers always make vile insinuations and violent accusations against their political opponents. Even if it is assumed that the landing of the King at Marsailles was an act of folly, it will appear from Hostice's statement that the terrorists had two other plans up their sleeves if the attempt at Marsailles miscarried. Attempts were to be made at Lyons and Paris. However, the French Cabinet had to be reconstructed owing to the resignation of M. Sarraut, Minister of Interior, and M. Cherron, Minister of Justice, both of whom took upon themselves the moral responsibility for the outrage. The head of the Surete Nationale was suspended and has since been dismissed for having failed to take due precautions. M. Barthou's portfolio goes to M. Laval.

It is interesting to note that as a result of this outrage, the fight between the pro-revisionists of the Treaty championed by Italy and the anti-revisionists led by France is going to be grim and prolonged. Any revision means war and as there is as yet no sign of any peaceful settlement of this complicated problem, it is idle to hope that these highly militaristic and nationalistic States will fail to appeal to arms for a decision.

With Germany and France on the warpath, with Mr. Baldwin's reference to the shifting of British frontiers from the white cliffs of Dover to the Rhine and Mussolini's talks about wars of today, only confirmed optimists can see a silver lining in the horizon overcast with dark war clouds or see a ray of hope in the glib talks about the imperative necessity of peace and Geneva pourparlers.

European politics is in the melting-pot and it is not unlikely that a stray shot fired in some remote and obscure corner of Europe may lead to another world conflagration. Nations all the world over are sitting on the edge of a volcano and we may expect an explosion at any moment. Indeed, the world today is a political, economic and cultural madhouse wherein a few insane people are toying with the destinies of nations. It remains to be seen how long this unnatural state of affairs is allowed to continue.

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"NO MORE WAR" MOVEMENT

By WILFRED WELLOCK

WE meet in this Conference* in the knowledge that civilization is in peril as at no time in its history, and may at a very early date completely collapse in the conflagration of another world war. The whole world realizes this, and yet seems unable to control the forces which are hurling it to its doom.

The tragedy of this situation is heightened by the fact that it coincides with the age of abundance, in which science has brought forth the treasures of the earth in such measure as to make possible a life of reasonable comfort and ample leisure for the entire human race.

This situation ought to be a challenge to every thinking person, and certainly every pacifist, to discover its causes, and having found them to expose them and work for their removal. Inquiry leaves one in no doubt as to what those causes are, while the serious position they reveal calls for plain speaking.

The outstanding fact in the life of today is the colossal war that is raging to the ends of the earth for the possession and control of material wealth and the means of its production, and thus for financial and political power. That war takes upon itself a thousand forms. It manifests itself in struggles between rival industrial, commercial and financial groups both within and without national boundaries, for the possession of trade and markets; in conflicts between employers and employed, and between the possessors of wealth and the dispossessed, and, finally, between nations. The havoc it produces has given rise to a supreme struggle, world-wide in extent, between those who believe in the possibility of a reasonable life for all, and those who would perpetuate a social order which places economic and financial power in the hands of comparatively small groups of people who use it primarily in their own interest and to the detriment of the general well-being.

That complex conflict has brought Fascism in Italy, Nazism in Germany, dictatorship in Austria, Poland and a dozen other States in Middle Europe; revolution in Spain, communism in Russia, industrial upheaval and dictatorial power in U. S. A., chaos in S. America, a volcanic situation in France, and deepening social conflict in every other State throughout the world; revolt against territorial imperialism in India, etc., and against financial imperialism in the S. American States, etc., and imperialist rivalry between the Great Powers—Britain, U. S. A., Japan, France, Germany and Italy.

The paramountcy and fundamental character of that conflict is proved by the fact that everything bows before it—The League of Nations, World Disarmament Conferences and World Economic Conferences, and even the International Labour Office when vital issues are before it. The fact that after sitting for 2½ years the World Disarmament Conference has collapsed in the midst of the biggest armaments' race ever known is undeniable proof that forces stronger than appear on the surface are guiding the destinies of the League of Nations. It is necessary to get a clearer picture and understanding of those forces.

Too long the Peace Movement has watched the march of world events with complacence. It has signally failed to give to economic factors the consideration they deserve. While the Peace Movement pleads with the League of Nations for disarmament, the latter is being controlled by hidden economic forces which make disarmament impossible. In 1906, we saw Europe stampeded into a notorious armaments' race. Politicians, poets, the "intellectuals" and even the Church succumbed to the panic. The British public, worked up into a frenzy, were induced to shout: "We want eight and we won't wait." The politicians bowed to the clamour, with little protest from public leaders. Thus the country got its eight cruisers, and eight years later, the World War.

The same influences are at work today. The same panic is being created. Another but far more dangerous armaments' race is under way—more dangerous because the death-dealing power of armaments has increased many-fold since 1918. Thus speeds the world to its doom, unless the entire course of events be changed.

But who will change them, and how?

The central fact about the modern world so far as the peace issue is concerned, is that, outside Russia, all the major economic and financial controls are in the hands of small groups of people—not in those of Governments, much less those of the people. Each of these groups exists to advance its own material interests. They are well represented, directly or indirectly in the legislatures and Goverments of almost every country, and Capitalist Governments rarely act contrary to their wishes. In some cases these groups are national in character, and represent particular trades, combines, or

* The "No More War Movement" Conference held at Leeds on October 13, 1934. Mr. Wilfred Wellock delivered this address as its chairman.

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associations. In other cases they are international, like the Armament Interests, for instance. Other groups are imperialist in character, as where the investors of one country try to capture the trade and control the financial and economic life of another country by launching loans and promoting public works, setting up and financing new industries, and getting their own nationals placed in all manner of important posts.

Hence we get a vast network of group interests, all of which are private and owe no responsibility to the peoples whose destiny they control, or to the League of Nations, and very little to Governments. That is why most Governments go to the League of Nations, Disarmament Conferences, etc., with their hands tied; why they resort to secret diplomacy, and incidentally why the public are dismayed when they get no results from such assemblies. These group interests are the real sources of power in all Capitalist States, although everything is done to hide that fact from the public. When Government policy is decided upon, no matter who inspires it, it at once becomes "national" policy, and is supported by the big engines of publicity in the name of patriotism. That is precisely how the recent development of "economic nationalism" has taken place. It explains why the National Government refused to support the abolition of all Air Forces, and the private manufacture of armaments, the shorter working week at the I. L. O. Conference, and why it is at sixes and sevens over the issue of the Indian Constitution, for the difficulty there does not arise over the question of justice or the ability of India to rule herself, but over that of British vested interests.

Now everyone of these financial interests thrives upon exploitation. Their combined success results in class and international domination and all the social degradation these involve—class war and racial antagonism, unemployment, poverty amidst plenty, starvation alongside food destruction and the throwing of land out of cultivation, etc.

Those responsible for a society thus organized naturally regard war as an unavoidable necessity which, however, regrettable, the public must tolerate. This situation gives rise to numerous interests which live by war and preparation for war. Thus about 90 per cent of the military castes seem unable to think of human relations except in terms of battleships and gun-powder. They support the demand for increased armaments every time. On the whole these castes are highly placed socially, have excellent political connections, and stand in good stead with the press of the Right.

Alongside the military castes are the armament makers, assisted to some extent by all the industries which benefit from the manufacture of arms. Those interests, unable to quell the lust for profits, especially during a trade depression, delude themselves into believing that an all-round increase in armaments will in some mysterious way lead to peace. They know, theoretically, what another war might mean, but accepting the principle that a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush, they make light of the dangers and take the risk, hoping for the best. The lengths to which these interests will go in order to get orders, has recently been revealed by the American Arms Inquiry, etc., and is a clear proof of my contention that Governments, the League of Nations and its appendages, such as the Disarmament Conference, are in the main controlled by powerful private interests.

Then, since most of the big daily newspapers are dependent upon advertisements for their existence, and thrive upon panics, the majority of them sooner or later play the game of the vested interests, with the result that the tide of public feeling tends to swing towards war. In such circumstances it requires politicians of giant stature to stem the tide; but unhappily there are no giants on the political horizon today.

Worse still, when the politicians collapse, the great majority of so-called intellectuals, Church and other social leaders collapse also. Even today, while the forces are gathering which may hurl civilization to its doom, there is an amazing lack of really big men who are combating those forces.

The above is a fair description of the effective controls in the life of today, and in the light of it I ask if it is reasonable to expect from them peace and the well-being of the people? You cannot gather figs from thistles. From its roots, which are greed and the scarcely checked right of human exploitation, to its culmination in a class-ridden society and an imperialistically-organized world, a revoltingly rich class on the one side and an equally revolting mass of degradation on the other side, with fear and growing antagonism convulsing the whole, our civilization hangs like a gas-filled globe, which at any moment may burst into countless fragments.

The time has come to speak plainly. The position is too serious to mince matters. So long as society is organized on a basis which inevitably produces the conditions of war, it is futile to pass resolutions demanding peace and disarmament. Nay, does not such a policy mislead people and cause them to continue in a belief which in fact assists the very evil it is desired to destroy? It is all very well to ask people to support the League of Nations, a "collective peace system," the "substitution of law for force," an International Polic Force, etc., but unless it is realized that in present conditions the League is a cockpit for the play of rival Imperialisms, it is highly dangerous to place too much trust in it. The part played by the Great Powers in the League's handling of the Jap-Manchurian affair is ample justification for my warning. To be frank, the "collective peace system" is largely a chimera in present conditions.

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Nevertheless I believe that we ought to hold on the League and use every opportunity to extend its power and influence. It certainly makes possible a postponement of hostilities in critical situations. Its platform should be used to expose the forces which are at work behind the scenes against the interests of world peace, such as the imperialist ambitions of the Great Powers. But having said that I think we ought frankly to recognize the limitations of a League of Nations which rests on the power, camouflaged in a variety of ways, of thousands of private vested interests, while the well-being of the people never even comes into the rockoning.

It is to the credit of the No More War Movement that it was the first peace organization in this country to recognize and affirm that neither peace nor disarmament can accrue from a society which is founded on the right of human exploitation. Taking that stand has resulted in the loss of considerable financial support, though every international event justifies it to the hilt. Indeed, the call to make clear to the public the underlying causes of war is one which the Peace Movement will neglect at its peril.

In the conditions of today the No More War Movement is convinced that there is only one way in which the situation can be saved and peace be assured, and that is by a powerful nation taking its courage in its hands and disarming alone. The events of the last few years have proved conclusively that disarmament by agreement among a number of imperialist States is a delusion. What is today needed is an act of great courage which will lift men's minds above the fears, suspicions, rivalries and illegitimate ambitions which today are corrupting the streams of international life, to the purer atmosphere of a new hope and of a finer idealism. Humanity everywhere is looking for the dawn of the age of peace and social well-being, conscious that the means exist to produce it. They cannot understand what is delaying its coming. Whoever gives hope and guidance to this great and expectant multitude will win their support and save civilization. That multitude includes the teeming millions of workers in all lands, the great majority of worshippers in the churches of the world; indeed all the saner elements in society, including a very considerable body of people who, confronted with the tragedy of a collapsing civilization, are prepared to sacrifice all manner of allegiances if given a bold and enlightened lead.

But let us be quite clear upon this, that no Government will or can disarm unless it sets out deliberately to abolish exploitation and thus imperialism, and to establish the largest possible measure of social justice.

In what I am now about to say I speak not for the Movement of which I am Chairman, but for myself. Joining the No More War Movement does not involve any political affiliations, although I think we shall mostly agree that disarmament cannot be achieved without political action. I personally feel so strongly the need for courageous political action that I am driven to express my views with great frankness. Many of my friends, both of the Right and the Left, may disagree with me, but the times demand that we be outright, honest and frank. The world is in the throes of the profoundest transition it has yet been called upon to pass through, but unless it proceeds much more rapidly than it is doing at present, the catastrophic elements within it may bring about a collapse before the new order has even begun to emerge. Moreover, the new order will not come by observation. as a group of former idealists were once informed: it can only come by courageous action, since it must cut against all the interests which thrive on the existing and tottering order of things.

I am a member of the Labour Party. I joined that Party because I believed it stood for the abolition of human exploitation and social injustice, the cause of both class and international war. For that very reason I believed that the Labour Party was in a position to take a different line of action upon the disarmament issue from any other Party. I saw that by attacking and seeking to put an end to human exploitation, the way would be clear for a new disarmament policy, that of disarmament by example.

So far, however, the Labour Party has hesitated to adopt unilateral disarmament. Indeed by its recent decision to place the country's destiny in the hands of a League of Nations which is breaking under the strain of clashing Imperialisms, it has taken a retrograde step. But already that decision is giving rise to considerable uneasiness within the Party, and I am convinced that coming events will bring disillusion and a strong swing in the direction of disarmament by example. It should also be stated that there exists in the Labour Party a strong left-wing tendency to demand armaments for the purpose of the class war. This may prove to be as dangerous as imperialism itself, and must be combated. Nevertheless, for the reasons previously stated, it is through the Labour Party that I see the only possibility of securing disarmament and outlawing war. I therefore press for the assistance of all who are able to give it in order to win over the Labour Party to a policy which its principles make possible and indeed demand. A very considerable body of opinion within the Party already favours the proposal, while its adoption would command the backing of a large volume of religious and independent opinion which, in due course, would support not less zealously the other items of Labour Policy which unilateral disarmament inevitably entails.

The effect upon world opinion of applying a consistent peace policy, involving measures for

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abolishing social injustice at home and exploitation, or imperialism abroad, the turning to social uses of the vast sums now spent on wasteful armaments, and a policy of complete disarmament, would be indescribable. It would awaken the minds of countless millions, galvanize peace feeling throughout the world, and create a more vigorous demand not only for disarmament, but for the changes in social and international relations which disarmament involves. Incidentally it would so exalt the nation which had thus led the way to a new era as to make it the safest country in the world. Were Britain to give that lead, and in doing so give, say, freedom to India, I believe the effect upon world opinion would be electric, and would render India safe from the attack of other Powers.

It is not possible for me here to describe in detail the conditions which I believe the policy I have suggested would produce, and how these conditions would prevent those occasions—presumed attacks by unscrupulous Powers, etc.—which crop up in the minds of people who have always been accustomed to thinking in terms of military power. We are all too apt to overlook psychological factors; and without question the moral effect upon the world of a nation like Great Britain adopting the policy I have described would be such as to revolutionize international policy, completely change the outlook and hopes of humanity entire. Every forward party and movement throughout the world would receive encouragement and inspiration, while reaction would everywhere be held in check.

If my analysis is right, and I present it as an honest and sincere challange to your thought, then I claim that the chief tasks before our Movement are first, to make the public realize the close connection between the existing social order and war, second, to make a supreme effort to bring unilateral disarmament within the purview of practical politics, which must mean, if my interpretation of the situation is correct, bringing that policy within the immediate programme of the labour Party, and third, to help to prepare the machinery for preventing or stopping a war should our peace policy fail. And it may fail Hence we must co-operate with all the organizations, including Labour and cognate bodies, churches, etc., which see the imperative need for preventing this final act of madness from overtaking our civilization.

But it is on the positive programme that we must concentrate. The taking of one firm step in the path of unilateral disarmament would, I believe, do more to save the world from war than anything else, and, moreover, would place us on the road to social freedom, social justice and social peace which are the aims and hope of every people.

WOMEN'S INDUSTRIAL COMPENSATION

By SURENDRANATH BOSE

IN the present day there are many men and women who hold that child-bearing and child-rearing take up so much of women's time as to give them very little opportunity to engage in industrial pursuits. But it is a fact that in days past women had time enough for industrial pursuits in addition to and even as part of their household duties.

Formerly woman was a valuable member of the family. The wife created more value by industry in the home than her husband did out of it. In her hands cloth became clothes, flower bread, and fresh fruits the winter's preserves. Now all things are done outside the home and must be purchased. The wife no longer contributes to the family income by creating values, and with the increased standard of elaborate dressing, she is often its chief burden. (See Nearing: *Social Adjustment*; Chapter 6.)

This state of things has been brought about by the growth of machineries in the industrial world. The mills and factories have made it possible to produce and supply things at cheaper rates than women could ever do; and mills and factories are worked by men outside the family circle. Women's industrial pursuits have thus passed into the hands of men. Formerly social disapprobation checked men from competing with women in what were regarded as feminine pursuits. Now the factories have broken up all sex-divisions of labour, and deprived women of their proper means of earning money. Woman has now become a burden upon men and degraded in

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social position ; she has no way for making money except by begging from men or stealing from the daily household accounts or by other still more degraded ways. Her degradation means the degradation of her children and, therefore, of the human race. Women feel their degradation keenly and react in various ways to establish their equality with men. Some of them choose to live single rather than submit to the yoke of a husband ; some go to schools to qualify themselves like men for public posts ; some enter the factories and engage in gainful occupations. The revolt of women in such ways tends to break up the family and to create social disintegration and social degeneration. To remedy this state of things, modern society has undertaken to train up the girls in industrial lines with a view to enable them to engage in gainful occupations at home without neglecting their household duties.

The new plan, however, does not promise to be a success. The products of women's labour have such small sale in the market as to make their output unnecessary. This is so because men can produce those very things in a shorter time than women can ; and shorter time means cheaper price. For the price of a product of labour, apart from its profit, must include its outlays, among which are the expenses incurred by the labourer for living during the period of labour, the expenses increasing with the increase of the period of labour. In this way women are outdone by men in industrial competition.

Now the question arises as to why women take longer time than men do to finish a piece of industrial work. The answer is that it is so because women suffer from industrial disabilities from which men are free. The disabilities of women are chiefly the natural hindrances arising from their functions of motherhood and partly the social and industrial restrictions which become necessary for them on account of those functions. The disabilities of women cause interruptions in their labour, as a result of which the period of their labour increases and with that the price of the product of their labour increases also. Hence the point at issue is as to how the industrial disabilities of women can be remedied.

Human society observes the rule of giving a compensation to the disabled, no matter whether the disability owes its origin to nature or to man. Asylums for the aged, infirm or insane, hospitals for the sick or wounded, refuge homes for orphans or foundlings are, in a sense, different ways of giving compensation to the disabled ; for they are maintained with contributions given by those who are not disabled. In a similar sense, women, who labour under disabilities, should be given a compensation with some sacrifice on the part of men, who do not labour under those disabilities.

It may be argued that men have given a compensation to women in consideration of their disabilities by giving them maintenance and by making provisions for their children. This argument had its weight in times past when women could use their leisure hours profitably, as has been said above. In these modern times when women's proper vocations have been wrested from them by the factories and hotels, they have much idle time on their hands, and much accumulated energy seeking an adequate object for its employment. In the absence of profitable work, they become unhappy and neurotic, and naturally attempt to relieve their tension according to the promptings of their nature, which might make them run into follies in spite of all social restraints. (See Sir S. Radhakrishnan : *Kalki*). Clearly, then, mere giving a maintenance does not come up to the requirements of a compensation for women.

Compensation may be given to women on account of their industrial disabilities by giving them economic concessions with regard to certain industries ; for example, by granting them municipal aids, free tenures, conveyances exemptions, abatements, easements and other privileges in equitable measures. To take a concrete example, a tailoring factory started by women may be granted a fund for its construction and upkeep, a freehold site for its buildings, a remission of rents, taxes and duties, a passport or conveyance for its controllers and canvassers, and other similar privileges, Such concessions will enable women to reduce their expenditure and hence to reduce the prices of their industrial product and offer them for sale in competitive terms with men, notwithstanding their own

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disabilities. In this way, *concessions will constitute women's industrial compensation* and will restore to them many of their lost industries, to the benefit of the individual, the family, the society, and the race.

The success of the compensatory system will depend upon women being better workers and better inventors than men; better workers because men may not give up their endeavours to compete with women; and better inventors because man-made machines may not be suitable for women. Furthermore, the co-operation of men will be necessary to give the women their due and to accord the benefits of the compensatory system to the female members of their respective families.

The industries most suitable to women in these days can be decided only after a study of the actual results of the woman's movement. Corporate bodies of the State might begin the movement by making a selection of those industries which, in their opinion, can be carried on by women in their respective provinces without prejudice to their health and household duties and such corporate bodies might grant equitable concessions to women by virtue of the powers conferred upon them by the State laws.

In making the selection of industries for women, regard should be had to the industries which were originally invented by the mothers for the welfare of the children, and which were long in their hands and were, in fact, perfected by them before passing from their hands into the mills, factories, hotels and schools. A list of some of them given below may be of some use and interest. To wit, spinning, weaving, cutting and stitching, needlework, ordering of wool, hemp, flax, making of cloth and dyeing, extraction of oils, perfumes, distillations, toilette requisites, banquetting stuffs, basketry, pottery, cookery, husking of corns, grinding of grains, the knowledge of dairies, preserves, conceited secrets, herbal doctoring, midwifery, child-nursing and educating. (See Briffault: *The Mothers*; Gervase Markham; *The English Housewife*).

AN ETHNIC STUDY OF THE PANDAVAS

By ABHAYANANDA MUKHERJEE, M. sc.

THE racial origin of the Pandavas has always been a controversial topic. In this attempt to throw some light on this vexed question we shall begin by examining the essential points freed from all embellishments.

It is clear that if some striking features which distinguish the Pandavas from the rest of the people described in the vast epic are discernible, our task will become simple. The point, that suggests itself in this connection, is the marriage of Draupadi to the five brothers. But doubts have been raised as regards its characterizing value and we shall examine this point in detail. It is indisputable that the epic was based upon an ancient story and that the marriage of Draupadi was too essential a part of it to be modified in later versions. We must now see how far this marriage can be said to characterize the Pandavas as a people distinct from the Kurus and other allied races.

Prof. Hopkins is inclined to regard the Pandavas as a body of strangers.

> "The Pandus, whatever may have been their antiquity, first come into view with the later Buddhist literature, which recognises the Pandavas as a mountain clan..... The Mahabharata offered various explanatory excuses for the polyandry of the Pandus who, however, as a northern hill-tribe or family probably were really polyandrous and needed no excuse." (Hopkins in *Camb. Hist.* Vol. I, also cp. *The Religions of India*. P. 388).

But Dr. Roy Chaudhuri is not prepared to accept this view. (*Journal of the Dept. of Letters*, Cal. Univ., Vol. IX, pp. 95-96.) In trying to prove that "the polyandrous marriage of the Pandavas does not necessarily indicate that they are interlopers," Dr. Roy Chaudhuri has cited the cases of the Brahmana girls Jatila and Várkshi (Mbh. I. 196), the case of Mamatá who was "the *de facto* wife of both Utathya and his brother Brihaspati" (Mbh. I. 104) and the case of a daughter of Yayáti who was "successively married to four persons, *viz.* Haryyasva, Divodasa,

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Usinara and Visvamitra" (Mbh. V. 115-119.) We shall now examine these points.

In the Mahabharata (I. 196. 14-15) the cases of Jatila and Varkshi are cited by Yudhisthira in support of the decision of the five brothers to marry Draupadi jointly. There is no doubt that this marriage "was directly opposed to the Brahmanical views." When Drupada says (I. 197. 7) "The law teaches that one man has many wives; but one has never heard that one woman has many men as her husbands," he only gives expression to the general Indian opinion. It is clear from a perusal of this portion of the Mahabharata that the cases of Jatila and Varkshi, about whom only the barest remark is made, did not help Yudhisthira in the least. Several clumsily invented stories were related by Vyasa before Drupada's consent was obtained. It is also important that these stories were not related before everybody but were meant only for Drupada. (I. 196. 19. **नन्व वक्ष्यामि सर्व्वेषां पाञ्चाल ! शृणु मे स्वयम्**).

Clearly Vyasa was afraid of criticism. In the Mahabharata "there is not even an attempt made to bring the three justification stories of Vyasa into accord with one another or with the principal narrative. On the other hand it is repeatedly distinctly emphasized that it was an ancient family custom, not indeed a general Indian custom but a special family usage of the Pandavas". (Prof. Winternitz: *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I. P 337.) Instead of trying to justify it "mythologically, allegorically and symbolically" we must accept it as an ethnological fact.

That this polyandrous marriage was judged with peculiar harshness even at that age can be gathered from Karna's retort when Bikarna protested against the barbarity of the Kaurava princes. (Mbh. II. 68. 34-36.) Karna said:

"If you think that we have acted wrongly in bringing her before the assembly when she is wearing only one piece of cloth, hear my excellent words on that point. The gods have ordained only one husband for a woman, O son of the Kurus, but as she has chosen many husbands she has been judged to be a harlot; therefore in my opinion there is nothing strange in her being brought before the assembly when she is wearing only one piece of cloth or even if she had worn no clothing at all."

That the polyandrous marriage served to lower Draupadi in later estimation can also be gauged from the fact that this "magnificent female character of the epic" appears in the Jataka "as an example of feminine depravity, as she is not content with her five husbands but also commits adultery with a hunchbacked servant" (Jataka No. 536).

The other two cases cited by Dr. Ray Chaudhuri must now be examined. In the Mahabharata Mamata is described as the wife of Utathya and Brihaspati is there clearly mentioned as the husband's younger brother. (Mbh. 1. 104 9-11.) Thus the expression "the *de facto* wife of both Utathya and his brother Brihaspati" is misleading inasmuch as it was a simple case of adultery. Mamata's case therefore lends no support to the marriage of Draupadi.

The case of Madhabi, the daughter of Yayati is rather peculiar. (Mbh. V. 115-119.) But even then her marriage "successively with four persons" affords no similarity to the case of Draupadi. Yayati gave Madhabi to Galaba because he was unable to pay for eight hundred horses of a peculiar breed and Haryyasva, Divodasa and Usinara gave Galaba six hundred horses of that breed for the estimable privilege of begetting sons upon beautiful Madhabi. When it was found impossible to procure the remaining two hundred horses, Galaba requested Visvamitra to accept the six hundred horses and to beget a son upon Madhabi. Surely this cannot be termed being "successively married to four persons." Madhabi was finally sent back to her father Yayati. (V. 119.) Madhabi was used purely as Sulka (price) for horses and cannot be said to have any connection with polyandry. In our opinion if Madhabi's case illustrates anything, it illustrates "patria potestas".

Dr. Ray Chaudhuri has also remarked that "the system of Niyoga prevalent among the Kurus was not far removed from fraternal polyandry Mbh. 1. 103. 9-10; 105. 37-38)." But we should remember that the recognition of Niyoga and of gudhotpanna and other illegitimate sons has been attributed to "the unusual importance attached to male descendants. Toleration of prostitution has not hindered the growth of a strict law of marriage" (Dr. Jolly: *Hindu Law and Customs*, p. 106.) Polyandry as such was unknown to the Kurus. No mythological element was necessary to support the procreation of sons on a childless widow by a relation, which we find in the birth-story of Dhritarastra and Pandu. We find also that when Pandu asked Kunti to resort to Niyoga for the fourth time after the birth of three sons, Kunti said that Niyoga for a number of times was opposed to dharma and refused. (Mbh. I. 123. 76-78.) Levirate was known to many ancient races, particularly to the Hebrews, among whom no polyandry can be traced.

Though it was accepted as an ancient custom, a tendency to disapprove of Niyoga is discernible in Brahmanical works from very early times.

> "Already Aupajandhani, an old teacher of the white Yajurveda (Baudh. 2, 3, 33ff) had expressed his disapproval of Niyoga. Manu (9. 64-70) condemns Niyoga, immediately after recommending it, as a beastly custom." (Dr. Jolly: *Hindu Law and Custom*, p. 155.)

Dr. Ray Chaudhuri's argument is, therefore, in our opinion not convincing.

Hence we must conclude that the polyandrous marriage was an element foreign to brahmanical tradition and "was a special family usage of the

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Pandavas." We shall next consider how far other evidences in support of the argument, that the Pandavas are not a body of strangers, can stand scrutiny.

According to Dr. Ray Chaudhuri the testimony of Buddhist literature points to the conclusion that the Pandavas are an offshoot of the Kuru race.

> "In the Dasa-Brahmana Jataka (Jataka No 495) a king of the stock of Yudhitthila reigning in the kingdom of Kuru and the city called Indapatta is distinctly called Korabya—belonging to the Kuru race." (*Political History of Ancient India*, p. 20.)

But the evidence of mere names is a very weak reed to lean upon. In Jataka No 413, Dhananjaya is a Kuru King residing in the city of Indapatta of the family Yudhitthila; but in Jataka No 515 Dhananjaya Korabya is a pious Kuru King called Yudhitthila in the Gathas, and in Jat. No 329 Dhananjaya is a King of Benares. In Jat. No 185, Pandava occurs as the name of a horse. "In the Jatakas there is no allusion at all to the story of the Mahabharata." We are therefore led to the conclusion that the references in the Jatakas bear testimony only to a slight acquaintance with the Mahabharata. As regards Brahmanical literature, "nowhere in the whole Veda is the name of Pandu or of his sons the Pandavas to be found, though in the works belonging to the Yajurveda there is a frequent mention of Kurus and Pancalas."

In the Mahabharata itself we find some confusion regarding names. In the Mahabharata (I. 94. 51-56) we find that Janamejaya is a son of famous Kuru, Pariksit is one of the grandsons of Kuru, Dhritarastra and Pandu are the sons of Janamejaya and Santanu is a great-grandson of Dhritarastra. This Santanu has also been made the grandfather of the later Dhritarastra and Pandu. We also see that the kings Janamejaya, Pariksit, Dhritarastra and Pandu, who are mentioned here, are far removed from the kings of the same name mentioned in the Pandu story. This proves that all conclusions based on bare names should be used with caution.

We see therefore that there are some reasons for supposing that the Pandavas were a body of strangers and that the arguments in favour of regarding them as belonging to the Kuru race are not conclusive. We shall next discuss the question and weigh the probabilities by examining the internal evidence.

We shall start with the birth of the Pandavas. The epic relates a very fantastic story, which according to Prof. Winternitz "could scarcely have belonged to the old poem," in order to explain the birth of the Pandavas who are supposed to have been begotten not by, but on behalf of, Pandu. There is one very important point regarding these births. We find that during the period of these births Pandu had been living with his wives on the Satasringa mountian beyond the Himalayas. (Mbh. I. 119.) In this Trans-Himalayan region were the Pandavas born. After the death of Pandu we find that they were brought down to Hastinapur together with Kunti by hermits who lived beyond the Himalayas. These hermits vanished miraculously after leaving them in charge of Bhisma. This story, in which the supernatural element is predominant, strongly suggests that the Pandavas belonged to a different race (probably of trans-Himalayan origin) and the author of the Mahabharata grafted this new race upon the Kurus.

In our opinion neither Kunti's exhortation to enjoy "the alms" together even when "the alms" was a woman nor Vyasa's clumsily invented stories explained the polyandry of the Pandavas. The real explanation is also found in the Mahabharata (I. 191. 11-16). It is clearly stated there that all the Pandavas were smitten with the charms of Draupadi (I. 191. 13) and Yudhisthira after reading the signs correctly and fearing internal dissension (I. 191. 16 decided that Draupadi should be the joint wife. This clearly proves that it was a special family usage of the Pandavas and not a general custom because nowhere else had this custom been resorted to for keeping fraternal solidarity intact.

We shall next try to find out some other factor which may be used to distinguish the Pandavas from the Kurus and other allied races. One such striking factor is to be found in the Mahabharata (VIII. 83). Bhima is found to literally quench his thirst for vengeance by drinking the blood of his opponent Kuru prince Duhsasana.

In the Mahabharata (II. 68) we also find Bhima taking an oath which has been considered to be the extenuating factor of this terrible form of vengeance. Exasperated by the barbarity of the Kaurava princes Bhima says:

> "Give heed to my oath, ye warriors of the whole world, an oath such as has never before been uttered by man, and such as will never again be uttered by a man. May I never attain to the resting place of my ancestors if I do not fulfil the words which I have spoken—if I do not tear open the breast of this evil, foolish outcast of the Bharatas in the fight, and drink his blood!!"

The justification offered by the author of the Mahabharata seems to be that when Bhima took such an oath, as a Kshatriya, he was bound to fulfil it But a question may be asked: Why should Bhima take such a strange oath? Clearly the idea, strange to others, was not absolutely strange to him. When Bhima took this oath before the assembly (Mbh. II 68), his hearers probably treated it as a hyperbole.

There is another fact which deserves consideration. Even though we accept the theory that Bhima took this foolish oath hastily and felt himself bound by the honour of a Kshatriya to fulfil it, we may naturally expect that he would taste a drop of the blood perhaps, only to fulfil the letter of the foolish oath and that he would never revel in it. But we actually

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find him (Mbh. VIII. 83) drinking considerable quantities of blood again and again and pronouncing it to be better than "mother's milk, honey and wine." This terrible revenge was not at all repugnant to him. But the onlookers began to run away terror-stricken and they exclaimed, "This is not a man but a demon." (Mbh. VIII. 83.) This proves conclusively that the sight was revolting to the Kurus and others and that the idea was foreign to them. Bhima's attitude supports the conclusion that this drinking of blood must be treated as a distinguishing feature.

Two characteristics have emerged from this discussion—the polyandrous marriage and the drinking of blood. These may help us to establish the ethnic affinity of the Pandavas to some of the ancient races.

This drinking of blood of a fallen foe reminds us of an analogous custom prevailing among the Scythians. The customs of the Scythians in regard to war, as detailed by Herodotus, are, to say the least, horrible, but one characteristic must be noted. Herodotus says :

> "That which relates to war is thus ordered with them ; when a Scythian has slain his first man, he drinks some of his blood." (Herodotus : IV, 64)

This is significant.

Regarding the polyandrous marriage we have already seen that the only factor which guided Yudhisthira's decision was the fear of losing fraternal solidarity. (Mbh. I. 191. 11-16.) We have seen also that this method of attaining the object as well as the custom was strange to the Indians, but it was not so to the Scythians. When speaking of the customs of the tribes who dwelt near the Scythians, Herodotus says, "The Agathyrsians have promiscuous intercourse with their women, in order that they may be brethren to one another and being all nearly related may not feel envy or malice one against another." (Herodotus : IV, 104.) From this it is seen that the idea of group-marriage was not novel to the Scythians and that the object was identical with that of the Pandavas, since here also the attempt to preserve the solidarity of the community had been the basis of the custom.

Regarding the high honour in which Draupadi was held by the Pandava brothers, we must say that it does not come in conflict with our theory. The attribute of justice was a commonplace in relation to Scythians so that Herodotus speaking of the Issedones (IV, 26) can say, "For the rest, these also are said to be just ; and the women enjoy rights equally with the men."

These characteristics of the Pandavas which are remarkably analogous to some traits of the Scythians and allied races lead us to the idea that the Pandavas might have been connected with the Scythians. The fantastic story of their birth in a Trans-Himalayan region lends stronger support to the theory. We must consider next how far the geographical position of the land of the Scythians supports this conclusion.

As regards the geographical position we may note the following points from an admirable article by Dr. Thomas called "Sakastana" (J.R.A.S. 1906, pp. 181-216). Says Dr. Thomas :

> "What objection can we urge against the supposition that in ancient times the whole population of the mountainous country from the Eakai of the Greek naratives to Sakastana was in fact Scythian. No one any longer doubts that the Scythians of Europe and Asia were merely the outer, uncivilized belt of the Iranian family and though the observations of Hippocrates may point to an ethnological difference, the close relation of the Scythian dialects to the Zend and Persian is beyond dispute."

The position is further simplified by the following remarks of Dr. Thomas :

> "An early presence of Sakas in Sakastan is explicitly included among the Indo-Iranic speculations of Brunnhofer and would no doubt harmonize with the theories of Hillebrandt concerning a knowledge of Arachosia and Drangiana by Indians of the Vedic age."

We know that "in the time of Darius, son of Hystaspes (500 B. C.) the Sakai with the Caspii formed the fifteenth satrapy ; and in the army of Xerxes, they were associated with the Bactrians under the command of Hystaspes, the son of Darius and Atossa (Herod. iii. 93 ; vii. 64)." (Smith—*Early History of India* P. 264.) Strabo clearly states that the sakai and allied tribes came from the neighbourhood of the Jaxartes. Mr. V. A. Smith (Z. D. M. G. 1907) agrees with the conclusion of Dr. F. W. Thomas (J. R. A. S. 1906) that "the Sakas had been settled in Sistan from very early times." This proves that the geographical position of Sakastana does not preclude the possibility of the Scythian origin of the Pandavas. The Pandavas came from a region outside India ; even though the region cannot be proved to be Sistan itself we may say that it was at least close to Sistan and imbued with Scythian influence.

We have studied the question in its different phases and we must admit that the materials at our command have been scanty. But in the absence of other evidence we may suggest that the Pandavas were a new family or clan related to the Scythians who built up a kingdom and then obtained supreme power by allying themselves with the Panchalas and attacking the Kurus.

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DWARKANAUTH TAGORE

[Few know that there was in Calcutta in the forties of the last century a daily paper named *The Calcutta Star*. It was owned and edited by one James Hume. In its issue of November 24, 1842, it contained the article on Dwarkanauth Tagore, printed below. Ed *M.R.*]

THIS distinguished citizen of Calcutta (and now of Edinburgh) was on Friday, the 30th ultimo honoured by a special interview with her Majesty the Queen, at Windsor Castle, prior to his departure for Paris, on his way to Marseilles, to embark for India. On this occasion, we have been given to understand, her Majesty's reception of the Baboo was distinguished by the most gratifying kindness, as was also that of Prince Albert. Her Majesty signified her gracious intention to make Dwarkanauth Tagore a present of her portrait, accompanied by one of her Royal consort; an offer which it is quite unnecessary to say was most gratefully accepted. We cannot ourselves imagine that any mark of royal favour could be more acceptable to our justly honoured Indian fellow-subject than that which it has pleased the Queen to bestow, and we are confident that the flattering notice she has exhibited to the enlightened and liberal-minded Hindoo who has visited our country will endear her to the hearts of the great nation to which he belongs, and produce a happy effect upon the minds of those who have had too much cause to think themselves overlooked by the men who have been sent from this country, and entrusted with the rulership of our Indian territories. It remains to be seen how far her Majesty's Ministers sympathise with their Sovereign in their desire to do justice to the singular, we might say unexampled merits of Dwarkanauth Tagore. We have the best means of knowing that the Baboo aspires not to the possession of those titles, which in the eyes of men less ennobled by moral and intellectual endowments wear so many attractions. But it is not, therefore, less the duty of those who advise the Crown in the dispensation of honorary rewards, to distinguish eminent worth, by conferring upon its possessor some special token of recognition and appreciation.

Already, an inhabitant of Bombay, a man of kindred spirit, and similar position, has been honoured by the gift of knighthood. We cannot then believe, that such a man as Dwarkanauth Tagore will be suffered to leave our shores, undistinguished by some mark, which shall demonstrate to his countrymen the estimation in which his rare virtues are held by the present administration. In every situation of life Dwarkanauth Tagore has presented a noble example to all around him, whether Native or European. As a private individual, by his unbounded hospitality, his uniform urbanity, and his princely munificence—as a government functionary, by the sedulous and faithful discharge of the most important duties—as one of the largest landed proprietors, by his constant efforts to ameliorate the condition of all belonging to his estates: and as a merchant, by his undeviating honour and enlightened enterprise, he has won for himself the esteem, the confidence, and the lasting gratitude of all classes in Bengal. So high was the opinion of his rare merits entertained by that late Governor General Lord William Bentinck, that the nobleman was most desirous that Dwarkanauth Tagore should receive through him some title, that should indicate the high estimation of the government. Lord Auckland, we know, has long honoured Dwarkanauth Tagore with his friendship, and would be the first to rejoice in the elevation of one who has co-operated with him in all efforts to promote the prosperity of India and the welfare of its people. The fellow-citizens of Dwarkanath Tagore have given the best proof of their warm attachment to him by voting him an address and raising a public subscription to obtain his picture, or a statue, or both. We are not surprised at these. Dwarkanauth Tagore and his family, in connexion with Sir Edward Hyde East, were the projectors of that noble institution, the Hindoo College. The School-Book Society, the Medical College, the Native schools of Calcutta and its neighbourhood, the Vernacular Schools, the Fever Hospital, the District Charitable Society, the Blind and Leper Asylums, and last, though not least, the Landholders' Society, are all indebted to Dwarkanauth Tagore and his family, either for their existence or those liberal contributions upon which their continuance and success depend. Such patriotism and philanthropy demand our admiration and esteem; the confident belief that the man who has by their exercise bestowed so many pure and lasting blessings on his country, will receive from the hands of those to whom its destinies are confided some appropriate distinction. The respect and flattering attention with which Dwarkanauth Tagore has been everywhere received since he came to Great Britain has been highly creditable to the people of this country. The effect, we trust, will be to attract many of the natives of India to our shores, that the mass of our country men may no longer be strangers either to the features, the intelligence, or the virtues of the Hindoo race. We fervently hope that the time is at hand when that friendship which is the fruit of knowledge and mutual esteem will spring up between the two nations, and be perpetuated without interruption to the latest period of time.

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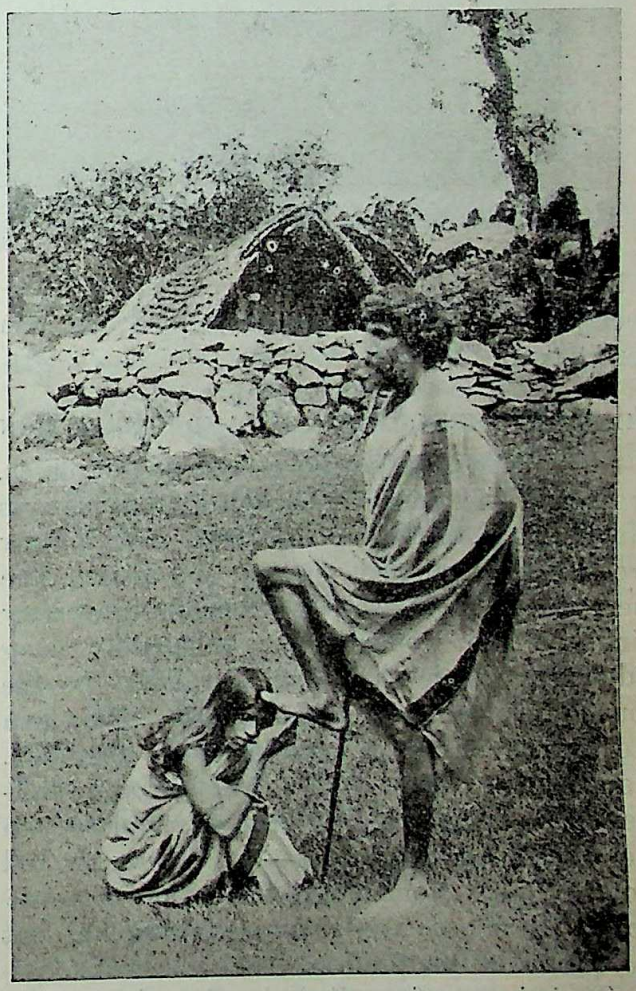
THE TODAS

THE ORIGINAL HILL TRIBE OF THE BLUE MOUNTAINS

By M. FATHULLA KHAN

THE Todas of the Nilgiris (or Blue Mountains) are an aboriginal tribe that has attracted the attention of many travellers and anthropologists. They claim to be the original inhabitants of the hills and masters of the soil.

In the year 1117 A. D. a general of the Hoysala king Vishnuwardhan seemed to have frightened the Todas, offered up the Nilgiri peak to the goddess of Victory and pursuing the Malyalis, made himself master of Kerala. It is, therefore, probable that the Todas were on these hills before 1117 A. D. and that the kings of Kerala or Malabar at that time claimed them as their subjects and the Nilgiris as part of their dominion. Besides, this fact also receives some confirmation from the Tamil classsic entitled *Silappadhikaram*, the date of the composition of which cannot be further from the two dates, 17th May, 756 A. D., and 23rd July, 756 A. D., alluded to in the poem itself. From this work it is inferred that the Chera king looked upon the Nilgiris as a place of rest for himself and his troops, and also that there was a route by which men, horses and elephants could be transported to the Nilgiri plateau. So, the Todas might have come to the Nilgiris either as the camp followers of the Chera king or a consequence of the hills having been opened up on the occasion of this or some other royal march. Another link between the Todas and the Chera king is shown by Dr. Rivers who, when he visited the Nilgiris in the year 1901, found a Toda *mund* called Kannagi *mund* in Keradar villages, belonging to the Keradar clan of the Todas, in ruins. This mund has since been rebuilt and is situated in Meknad, very near the Sisipara route leading from Malabar into the Nilgiris, one of the probable routes by which, according to Dr. Rivers, the Todas entered the Nilgiris. Kannagi, a Tamil friend from Madras tells me, is a fairly common name, at present, which came into use with the story of Kovalan and Kannagi. Kannagi having been taken up into heavens, her worship was solemnly instituted at Vanchi by the Chera king Sanguthuvan who received, on the occasion, the homage of countless Indian princes, including Gajabahu, the ruler of



Toda blessing a woman

Ceylon, who is said to have introduced into his country the worship of Kannagi. The goddess Kannagi or Pattini has been from very early times one of the four principal deities worshipped on that island. Thus, we are led to conclude that the Todas could not have

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A Toda family

occupied the Nilgiris much before the 8th centry A. D.

THEIR FEATURES, DWELLING AND OCCUPATION

The Todas, unlike the people of the plains, are tall. The average height of the man is 5ft. 7 in. and of the woman 5 ft. 1 in. They are well-proportioned, strong and fair. The men, resembling closely the Romans, are very hirsute. The women wear beautifully long side-locks which they curl carefully on the round stick smeared with butter. The men are active, untiring, grave and dignified. Nevertheless they are cheerful and well-disposed. They hold themselves superior to the neighbouring tribes—the Badagas and Kotas. Their women are smart at domestic work. In most cases they are handsome, but are prone to temptation.

Their houses form little hamlets known as Munds. These consist of four or five dwelling huts, of which the larger one forms the dairy and a buffalo-pen. They are usually picturesquely situated near a 'shola' (forest) or a stream. The huts are made in a quaint way, looking like half a barrel, with barrel-like roof. The sides project in front, forming wide eaves, and on this side is the door—an entrance so small and low, for it is placed on the same level with the ground, that one has to go crawling on hands and knees to enter in. On either side of the door outside is a sort of earthen bench. And inside, a raised platform to sleep on forms a flank on one side of the door, and the rest of the place is used as kitchen and dining place. The hut is surrounded by a rough stone wall about three and a half feet high with one opening in front, purposely made too narrow for a buffalo to come in.

The Todas wear a simple dress. Men, women and children, all put on an upper white sheet called the 'putkuli', the borders of which are embroidered in coloured thread. It is thrown right round the shoulders. Inside the putkuli the men tie a small strip of cloth, but the women do not. Any kind of head-dress is unknown to them.

The only occupation of the Todas is the tending of their buffaloes, and to make butter and ghee. At sunrise, the men salute the sun, with a queer gesture, putting the thumb to the nose and spreading out the fingers in a manner similar to the English school boy's sign of derision. Then they let the buffaloes out of the pen, milk them, and drive the herd to the

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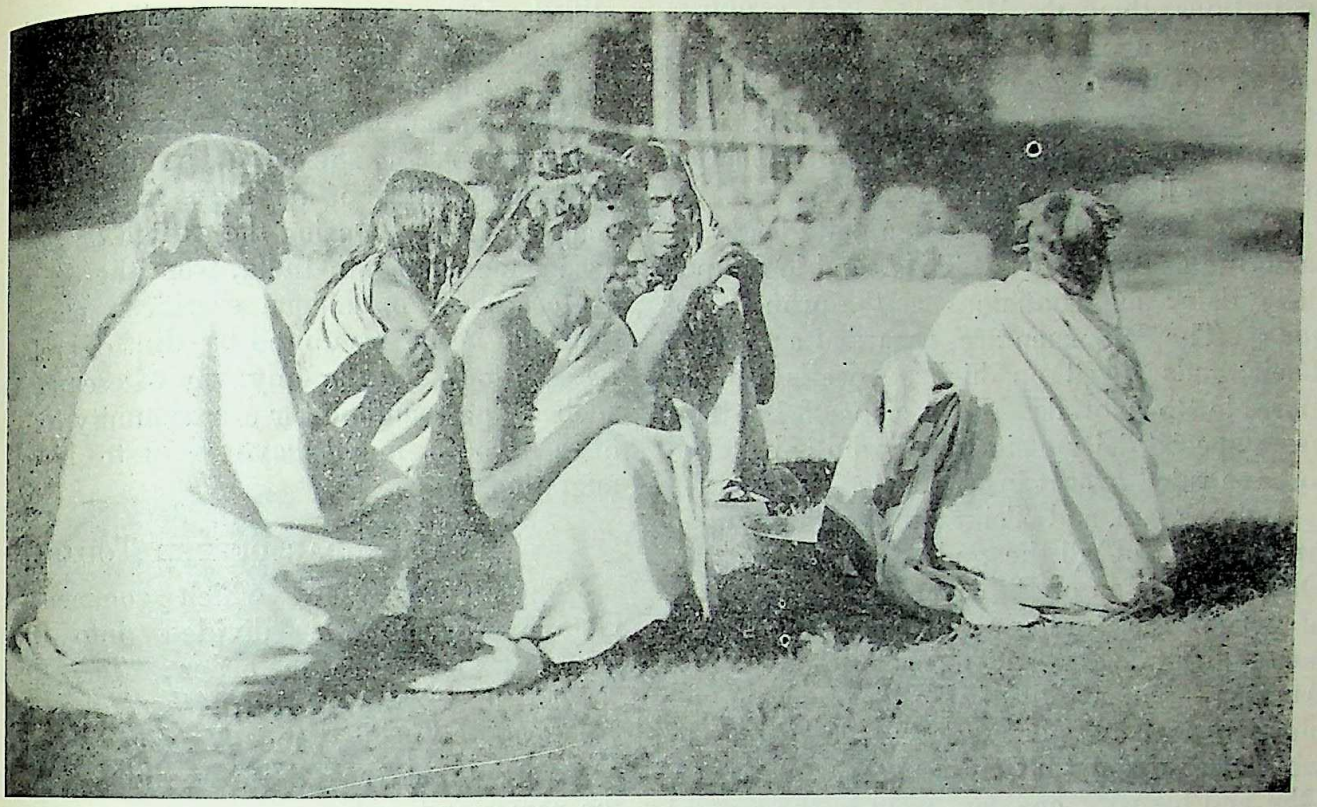

Toda girls at their toilet

grazing ground and laze away the day till evening. They milk the buffaloes again in the evening and churn more butter. Saluting the lamp in the manner the sun was saluted in the morning, they retire to bed. The women are prohibited from entering the dairy or to have anything to do with the milking or churning. They attend to ordinary household work.

The Todas migrate periodically from one hill to another to find sufficient grazing for their buffaloes. These migrations are attended with elaborate and ostentatious rituals.

Social and Religious Arrangements

The planetary week-day, as a chronological element, figures constantly and to a startling extent in the religious and social arrangements of the Todas. The *madnol* is a day of the week which is observed as a holy day and a day of rest in every mund, while the *Arpatznol* is the day of the week which every man has to keep sacred as being the day on which his father died. The most frequent madnols are Wednesday and Friday which are sacred in six clans. Sunday is sacred in five clans, Monday and Tuesday in three, Thursday in two and Saturday in none. Funerals can be performed only on certain days in the week and dead bodies have to wait until those days arrive. The Pykara can be crossed only on certain days of the week. Their year commences with the Teututusthchi ceremony on the first or second Sunday after the New Moon in October when the dry grass on the high hills is burnt, as a public signal, by the dairy priest. Their week days are *Asvom* (Sunday), *Tuvom* (Monaday), *Om* (Tuesday), *Puthvom* (Wednesday), *Tam* (Thursday), *Pilivom* (Friday), and *Tanivom* (Saturday). The peculiarity of the Toda week is that *Om* or Tuesday is the first day of the week, and not Sunday or Saturday.

Their Religion

The Toda ceremonies of birth, marriage and death and certain other domestic ceremonies, connected with fire-worship, ear-boring, puberty, pregnancy, etc., no doubt imply some form of Hinduism, but the articles of faith of the Hindu religion as it is ordinarily practised, involving temples and images of gods and goddesses and gifts to Brahmins, are not found in the Toda religion. If the Todas brought with them from the plains the whole body of their present-day customs and

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institutions then the Hinduism of a 1000 to 1,500 years ago has to be looked into for the parent cult that gave rise to the Toda religion. But, it is precisely about this epoch, from 500 to 800 A. D. that there is no information in matters literary or religious.

The Todas believe that a deity leads the same life as the mortal Toda, and look upon their dairy and buffaloes as the property of gods. The dairy-men are regarded as priests. Their gods dwell on highest peaks but are invisible to mortals. Each clan of the tribe has a special deity of its own, who is believed to have ruled over it in past ages.

Ohn, a god, and Teikrizi, a goddess, stand pre-eminent of all the gods. I was told that Ohn was the son of Pithi, the earliest immortal of whom the tradition speaks. He created men and buffaloes and became the ruler of Amnodr—the world of the dead—where he now lives. The story relating the manner in which he created them is very interesting. Ohn and his wife, one day, went to the tops of the Kundahs and Ohn laid an iron bar right accross them. Standing at one end of this he brought forth 1,600 buffaloes from the earth, and his wife at the other end created 1,800. The first lot were the progenitors of the sacred herd and the second were the first parents of the ordinary buffaloes. Holding on to the tail of the last of the former lot came out of the earth a man ; who was the first Toda. Ohn took one of his ribs and created from it the first Toda woman. Ohn had a son who was accidentally drowned. In his great grief, Ohn left the plateau and went away to the world of the dead to live with his child. Thereupon Teikrizi took his place as the ruler of the Todas. It was she who originated, as she happened to be a woman, most of their rites and ceremonies and divided them and their buffaloes into several clans and classes that still exist.

The offering of buffaloes in sacrifice is not unusual in South India and the Deccan even at the present day ; but the peculiarity of the Toda sacrifice is that the buffaloes are slaughtered not to secure the favour of the gods but for the safe conduct of the departed soul to Amnodr, the land of the dead. Assuming that this utilitarian idea of sacrifice was a development of the Toda life on the Nilgiris, still the fact remains that the religious idea of atonement was the main key-note of the ritual in their original home, as it still is among similar communities on the plains. From the times of Abel the shepherd has usually sacrificed the firstlings of his flocks and herds as a religious duty. During the period of Buddhist ascendancy in South India, from the 5th to the 7th century A. D., animal sacrifices may have probably been prohibited by dint of religious persecutions, and the only way of escape from such a persecution for a community like that of the Todas might have been to resort to migration.

The Calendar of the Todas

The Toda year, which commences in October-November, is divided into twelve months. They are in order: *Tai, Emioti, Kudri, Atani, Natani, Ani, Atheri, Adi, Ovani, Peritashi, Tudeivi,* and *Kridivi.* It is a noteworthy fact that these months, following the names and order, more or less resemble the Tamil solar months. The only exception is that instead of 'Margali' Atheri is inserted. The year is evidently solar and tropical, for it commences with a definite stage of the tropical year when the grass is dried up in the month of October. And it is interesting to note that the Todas mark time with the aid of the flowering of certain trees. They not only note the annual flowering season of trees but the circumstance that one species of trees (a strobilanth) flowers once in six years (hence called in Botany *Sexennis),* another once in twelve years, and a third once in eighteen years, enables them to reckon age by the number of times a person has seen the flowering of the respective trees.

Though the year is tropical, the months are lunar and are reckoned from new moon to new moon. And in a solar tropical year there are not always twelve lunar months, but in seven years out of every nineteen they exceed by another month. When I inquired from some of the aged Todas as to how they regard this occasional thirteenth month they seemed perplexed and unable to answer me. Evidently it is passed off without being reckoned as the thirteenth because, in any case, it is essential for them to wait until the tropical sun brings about the drying up of the

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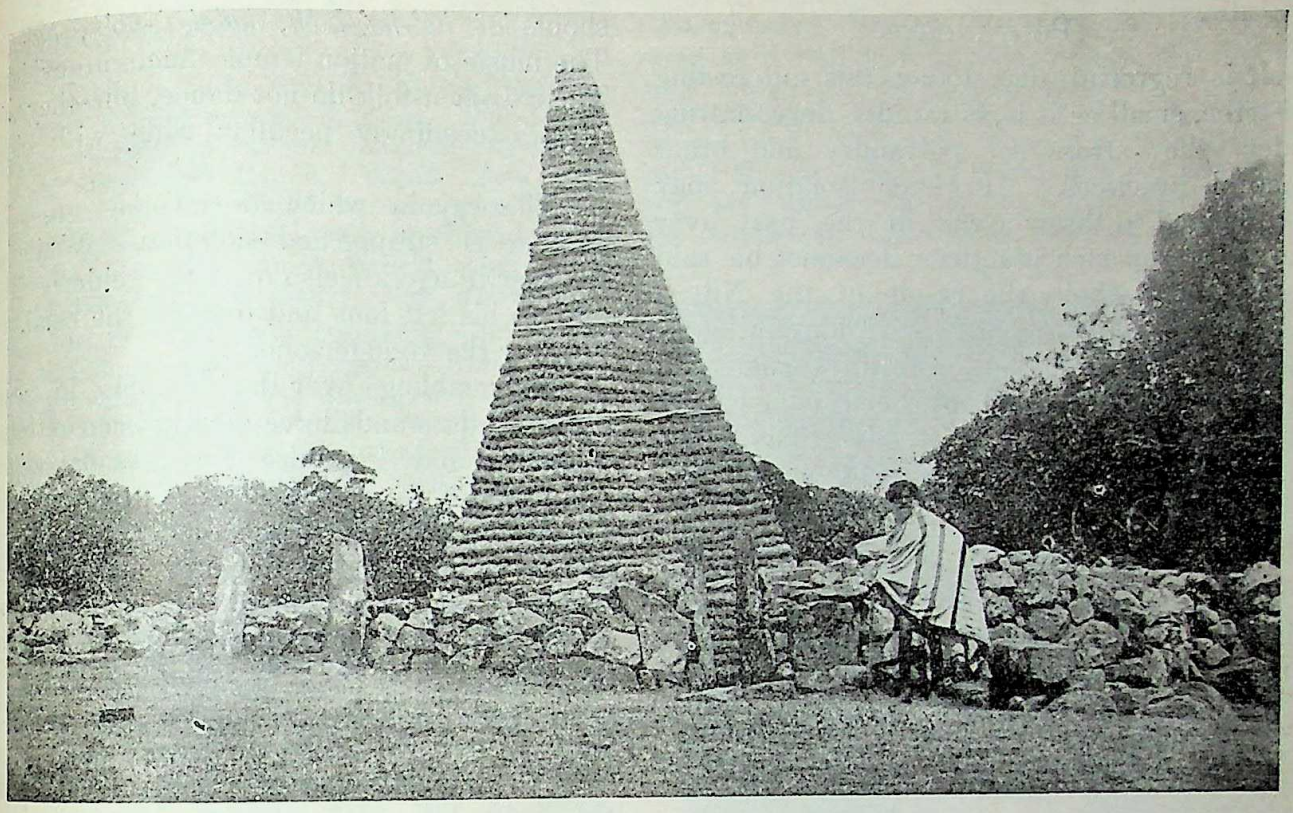

A Toda temple

grass, the flowering of trees and then only would the count of twelve months to a year begin again. The fact that the Todas gave to their lunar months the names of the twelve solar months indicates that they came from a place where the Tamil nomenclature of months was in use, and not from Kanarese or Telugu parts where solar months have never been in use. There are communities in India who invariably employ the lunar reckoning for all purposes and also those who employ that reckoning only for religious purposes, while their days for secular purposes are regulated by the solar reckoning. Save Bengal, Orissa, Malabar, and the Tamil districts of South India who employ largely the solar reckoning, all other communities, including the Kanarese and Telugu people, observe the lunar system. Thus it may be safely inferred that the Todas acquired their notions of the calendar in a country where either Tamil or Malyalam was the prevalent language. Here it follows that the Todas did not, in all probability, come, at any rate, not all of them, from Mysore or Coorg. Nor is there any ground for the suggestion that the Toda calendar might have been borrowed from the Badagas, who, at the present day, follow the same reckoning as that of the Todas, for the reason that the Badagas must have followed originally the lunar reckoning and that if they follow, at present, the Toda reckoning it must be due to the Tamil that has for all practical purposes become their common language.

Their Language

The language of the tribe is Dravidian. It is more akin to Tamil than to Malyalam. The Toda words are pronounced exactly as in colloquial Tamil, but usually their sound effect is puzzling. This seems a case of imitation from modern colloquial Tamil. To make a thorough investigation of the Toda language one has to study its earliest grammatical forms in the various formularies of prayer, magic and incantation, which any community would continue to recite in a form as little removed as possible from the primitive, lest the words, if modernized, should lose their spell or potency. And judged by such a method the Toda dialect will be found an old relic of ancient Tamil.

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Polyandry

It is regretful that today this interesting hill-tribe, small as it is, is rapidly degenerating under the stress of polyandry and other immoral practices. However isolation may have helped to throw a veil in the past over the growth of such practices, it cannot be said that they are wholly the result of the Nilgiri migration. I am told by a Hindu authority that polyandry of a kind has always existed in South India and has not been confined to Malabar only; and that, in fact, the Mahabharata is a standing plea for polyandry.

The Toda Dance

The Toda dance is very simple. The men join arms in a circle and move round with a sort of hop to the accompaniment of musical shouts of *ha'-ha'-ho'h, ha'-ha'-ho'h, ha'-ho'h.* The music of motion is not much in evidence. Their women-folk do not dance, but they sing in an exceedingly peculiar tune with closed lips.

The way in which the Todas greet one another is strange and singular. While the younger in age kneels down the elderly Toda lifts up his left foot and touches the head, thus blessing the younger one.

My ramblings over the Nilgiris in search of the Toda munds have always been extremely pleasant; and I admire the personal dignity and pride of race which stand out in every lineament of the Toda physiognomy, their rude insistence on the maintenance of patriarchal authority, the truthfulness and the manliness of the Toda and the simplicity of his outlook on life.

COLLECTIONS OF THE NAHAR MUSEUM

By AJITKUMAR MUKHERJEE

IN the early days of Mr Puran Chand Nahar a saying was current in his native village सिकन्दर शाह बादशाहके माथेमें दो सींग *i.e.*, Alexander the Great has got two horns in his head. He was greatly attracted by this saying, and tried to find out its meaning, in which he did not succeed for a long time When he was reading in the Presidency College he secured a gold coin which struck him for its similarity to the contents of the saying. To find out the actual date of the gold coin Mr. Nahar sent it to late Mr. Rakhaldas Banerjee who was then in charge of the Calcutta Museum. It is believed from the report of late Mr. Bannerjee that this coin is one of the Asiatic issues of the great Macedonian conqueror.

"The coin just discovered differs from all other known types of the coinage of Alexander··· on the obverse it bears the head of Alexander facing the proper left and wearing an elephant's scalp. It is now well-known that the wearing of the elephant's scalp instead of the usual helmet or Kansia indicated either a raid into, or the occupation of a portion of Anina or India. Thus we find that Demetrius, the son of the Bactrian king Enthydemus, signalised his conquest of Northern Anina by issuing silver coins, on which he is figured as wearing the elephant's scalp. The earlier Greek conquerors of India prized the possession of elephants above everything. This is shown by the zeal with which Alexander enforced his demand for elephants from the vanquished Indian princes ·····It is no longer doubted that Alexander established a mint in India during his three years' stay (330 B. C.-327 B. C.) The square bonny coins are well-known, but at the same time they are so very rare that even the Indian Museum does not possess a specimen. These coins are to be found in the cabinets of a few private collections of Indian coins. The new coin is unique, both as to its minting and type."

On the reverse of the coin we find the figures of winged victory which is so very common on the gold issues of Alexander and Selukus Nicator.

The importance of this unique coin, regarding which further researches may lead to the discovery of a lost chapter of our history, is obvious.

From this time Mr. Nahar's enthusiasm steadily increased; he explored all sorts of likely and unlikely places throughuot the country in a fascinating search for old paintings and manuscripts and sculptures, in course of which he passed through many adventures. He met with frequent disappointments, but his indomitable energy and perseverance prevailed in the long

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...n, and in the end he was able to establish the ...ow widely-known Nahar Museum.

Mr. Nahar's collections are too extensive to be dealt with in a short article. So we propose to give only a brief account of them. The Nahar Collection consists of various sections, such as, paintings, speacially Rajput, Mogul, Jain, and Kangra painting; paintings on ivory, mica and glass; terra-cotta, plaques, seals, inscribed tablets, banners, Jain scrolls, putta, partris, coins and a library of rare books on history and archaeology.

We shall first take into account the old metal images of Ganesh and the Tantrick Kali. These Tantras prevailed in India during the Buddhist period. Most scholars agree that when the Caliphs of Ummeidd and Abbabasid preached Islam in Turkistan, many folk-religions existed in the localities mentioned above. The Caliphs abolished these religious systems, and the priests were driven out. They came to India where they spread the Tantras. So far is known about the origin of Tantras in India. Authentic history cannot go beyond these facts. Buddhism, which, at this period of Indian history, was dominating every sphere of life and society, assimilated these Tantras and preached them as part of their religious system, and the result was the introduction of some new Tantrick gods and goddesses. At first these deities had no shape, they were worshipped mostly like those of Turkistan. Afterwards a simple form was given to them, and the Kali image perhaps dates back to the 6th century A.D.

In the meantime, Buddhism was gradually over-shadowed by the new form of Brahminical religion and when the Brahmins became powerful, they took up these Tantras and began to preach them as ideal gods and goddesses of their religion. Later on, these gods and goddesses were gradually developed to the present form, but if we look at these Kali or Ganesh images, we can easily understand that they are different from what they had been in their original form. There is no Shiva under Kali's feet, no warlike vigour in form. They are simply made of bold lines of bronze. Ganesh has no big belly as he has in the present day, and he is wonderfully curved on bronze. Ganesh was found in Behar near Gosharam Buddhist monastery while digging a well and the Kali image in the district of Murshidabad in Bengal.

The image of Adinath, the first Jain Tirthankar is a striking sculptural specimen of the Pala period. It was found in the district of Bankura. A legend tells us that Adinath, better known as Rishavadeva, belonged to the Ikshaku race and was the son of King Nabhi and queen Marudevi. His place of birth was in the country of Kosala, but according to some, in the north of Kashmir. He was born towards the end of Jugalik period. According to the custom of the time he was married to his own twin-sister Sumangala, and another, Sunanda, whose brother died in childhood. Sumangala's issues were Bharata and Brahmi (the twin) and ninety-eight other twin sons and by Sunanda, he had Bahubal and Sundari. From the decendants of Bharata and Bahubal, the Surja and Chandra dynasties respectively originated, and the country was called Bharat after the eldest prince. He abdicated his throne in favour of his sons and laid the foundation of the Jain religious organization

Mr. Puran Chand Nahar

in this era. He is represented as of golden complexion and with a bull for his cognizance.- On his right side there are figures of Chandra prava in **कायोत्सव** attitude and Avinandan, the fourth Tirthankar. On the left side is Santinath and Parshwanath. Here the peculiarity of the hanging hair of Rishavadeva is noteworthy. (*Epitome of Jainism by Nahar and Ghose*).

The second figure originated from the Mathura school before 2nd century A. D., fragment 8″×6″ of a medallion, wearing *dhoti* with ends arranged in pleats between the legs and holding the girdle with his left hand, his bending down and drawing towards him the head of his lady-love standing crosslegged to the left, his right hand

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embracing her and appearing beside her right breast. The subject is a couple in love-making.

Then we come to the third figure which is of the Mathura School of Art. The bust of a woman with her upper body unclad, perhaps dates back to the Gupta period.

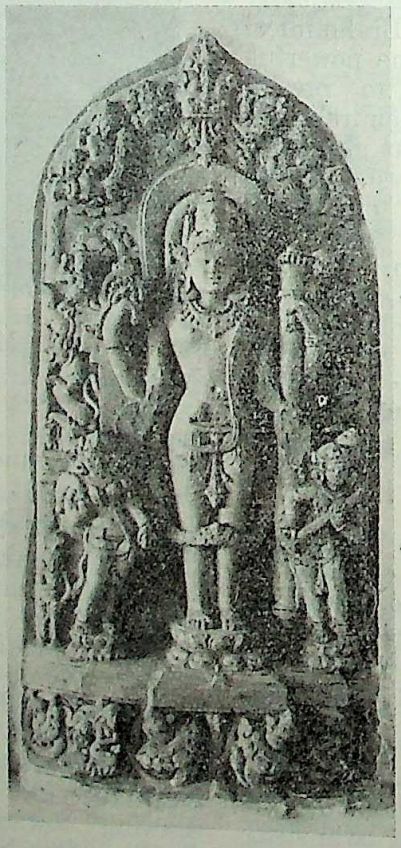
Then the fourth figure is Bajrasatta of the Pala period, and it is nearly of the seventh or the eighth century A. D. Vajrasatta, the sixth Dyani Buddha, is seated on the double lotus in the **पर्यांक** attitude. His right hand appears over his breast and holds in the upturned palm the Vajra, and in his left hand, is the bell. He is clad in a piece of waist cloth and is decked in Karanda Mukata. Below the lotus there is an inscription **ॐ देव धर्म्मोयं गज वैद्य श्री गेपतेः।**

The Vishnu figure of Bengal belongs to the tenth century A. D. To his right and left are Luxmi and Swaraswati. Gaja-Simha, Kinnara musicians and ornamental Kirtti-mukha are on the top, and two flying Vidyadhara couples, with garlands in their hands, face against the two clouds. This Vishnu image is a masterpiece of Bengal art; it has very bold line and technique and its pose is wonderful.

Kali

Ganesh

Vajrasatta



Vishnu

Besides these remarkable sculptural specimens, there are also other noteworthy images of different eras in the Nahar Museum.

As regards paintings Mr. Nahar has collected brilliant specimens of rare pictures. In his art gallery, the earliest illustrated manuscript known is one of the Kalpasutra, on palm-leaf, dated equivalent to 1237 A. D., deposited at Jain Bhandar at Patan (N. Guzarat). Of the next period the Kalpasutras are mostly dated 15th century A. D., and one of these illustrated manuscripts is preserved in the Nahar Museum.

The pictures of each page of these MSS. are brilliant statements of the facts of the life of Mahavira, where every event is

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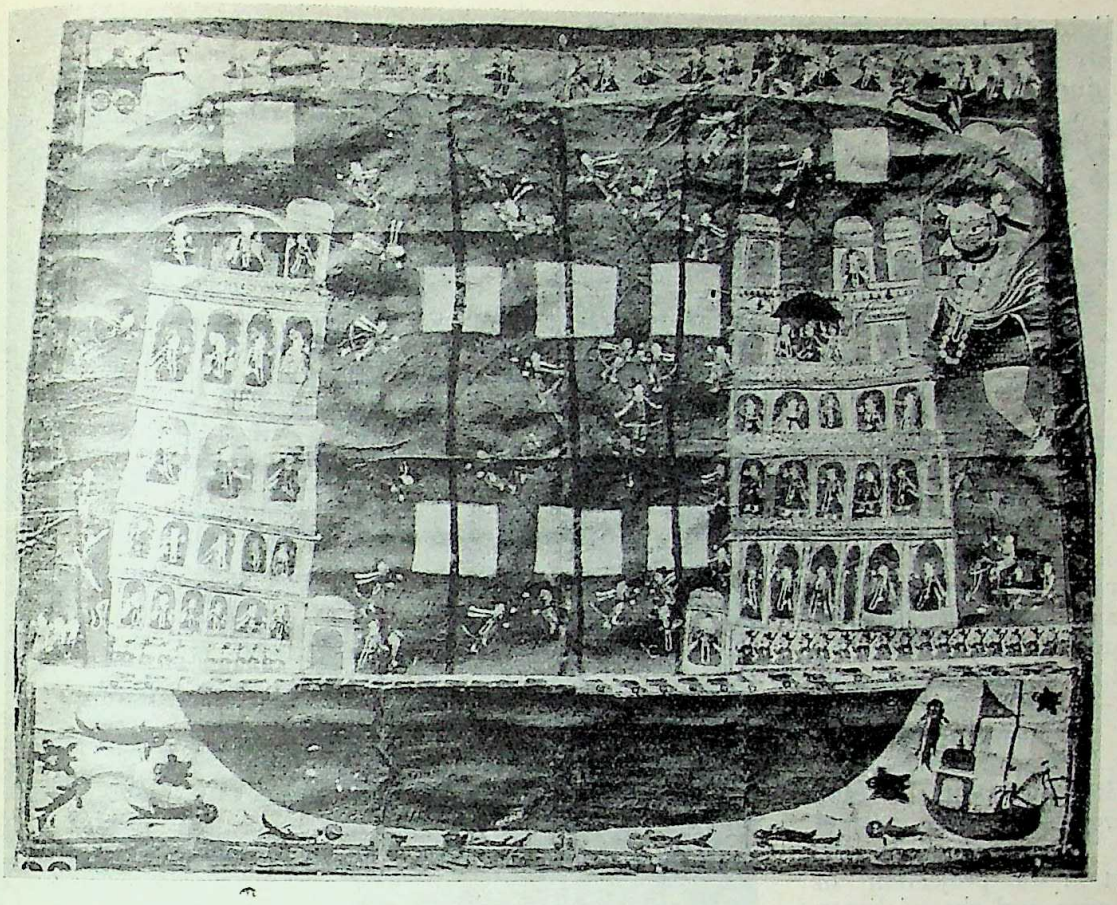
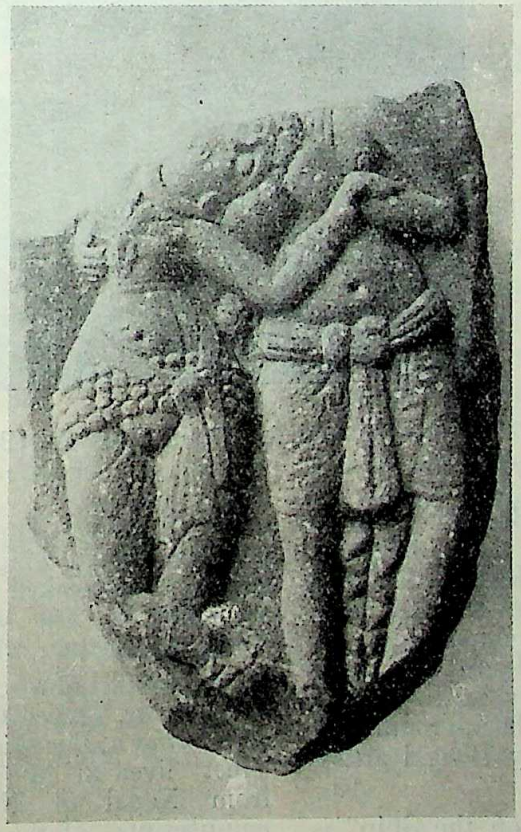


A Scene from *Sripal Charit* (Life of Sripal)

Rishavadeva—
First Tirthankar

84—5



A Couple

Bust of a woman

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seen in the light of eternity. The colours employed in the illustrations of Jaina MSS. are gold, yellow, blue, white, black, green and pink. The angularity of the features and the projection of the further eye which are particularly the peculiarities in this drawing of human forms, are incidents of local colour independent of the quality of the art, the inevitable marks of time and space.

There is a difference of opinion regarding the traditions of Jaina art. Mr. Coomarswamy says in his introduction of Jaina painting: "The tradition of Jaina art is as sold as that of Buddhist art, and developed under similar condition and partly in dependence on Buddhist art." But the French scholar Ivan Stchcukine in his book—*La Peinture Indienne Des Grand Moghols*, shows, by illustrations, how after the degradation of Buddhist art, Jaina painting developed by the gradual slow steps of change in the Buddhist art in the projection of the further eyes and the delicacy of lines.

Thus we see the successive steps in the development of Jaina painting—the first stylistic type dating back to the earliest period, the second to the period of contact with the Moghul art, and the third to the seventeenth century.

In this connection Mr. Ajit Ghose says in one of his articles, "The development of Jain painting," published in *The Statesman*: "There is a stylistic resemblance between the 15th century Jaina miniatures and the contemporary painted book covers from Bengal in my collection. An example is a unique cover from a manuscript of Vishnupuranam written in Bengali in 1490 A. D. There is a similarity in the conception of forms as shown in the profiles of the faces in the exaggerated angularities, in the shape of the elongated eyes and in the inclination of the bodies and sinuosities of the figure drawings. The colouring of each is individual, but the choice of cinnabar for the back-ground is common alike to the 15th century Bengal artists and Jaina contemporary."

A Tibetan Painting. Buddha Preaching

In the later period "Display on the Ship" is painted. Though there is nothing noteworthy in its painting, it is very important from the ship point of view. The different soldiers and the public are showing various displays on this gigantic six-decked ship. To those who have seen only a few specimens of earliest Indian ships, this picture will prove useful.

We shall now describe a Buddhist Tibetan banner. Mr. Alice Getty in his book,—*The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, says: "As regards painting Tibet lived at the outset upon its borrowings from Nepal or Northern India but very few manuscripts of this period remain to us... In its later development Tibetan painting transformed its Indian models at will, without experiencing

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any foreign influence, that of China, so far at least as concerns fineness of brush work and perfect sureness of line."

It is very interesting to note that the Tibetan and Nepal paintings are closely connected with the art of Bengal, and they were greatly influenced by the Bengal School of Art. Mr. Getty also is of opinion that in Bengal an art analogous to that of Magadha lasted till the eleventh century miniature paintings on palm-leaves, whose technique passed presently to Nepal and Tibet.

A characteristic feature of the painting of this banner is the brightness of its decoration and also the harmony of its subject-matters. Buddha is easily distinguished from all other figures by his pure grace and powerful expression. And though it has turned into somewhat formal, nevertheless it has an intrinsic charm of its own, apart from mere technical excellence. Besides this, there are also many valuable banners of different schools of art in the Nahar Museum, but it is almost impossible to describe them in detail.

There is another section in the Museum, the Kangra school of painting. Nurpur, Basoli, Chamba and Jammu, all in close proximity to Kangra, were the homes of this particular school of painting, and a considerable amount of work was produced by the artists of this school. Pictures are forthcoming, specially portraits, which date from the middle of the seventeenth century, and perhaps are the only kinds of their time. The Kangra Kalm or Pahari painting does not denote great inspiration or display, any decided expression of thought or feeling. It is an art of patient labour and naive devotion. Its chief features are delicay of line, brilliancy of colours and minuteness of decorative details. (Percy Brown's *Indian Painting*).

In the picture, the Toilette of the Queen, we see the brightness of colour and the movement of life and activity. Here all the figures show the signs of sympathy and softness in the treatment of their graces. There are also many other pictures belonging to the Kangra School of Art in the Nahar Museum.

Mr. Puran Chand Nahar's lifelong efforts have made this wonderful Museum possible, the value and importance of which, we hope, no longer require further introduction.

EDUCATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY OF A CENTURY OF PROGRESS EXPOSITION

By IDA M. GURWELL

THE buildings of the World's Fair at Chicago are probably more interesting than any exhibit they house. They present the new, the unusual, and are a complete departure from anything we have known. They seem unfinished but progress is unfinished growth. The architects, given new materials and new methods, combined with freedom in their use, have brought forth a modern architecture symbolical of progress.

For two thousand years mankind (Europe and America) has imitated the Greeks in designing its buildings. They studied their predecessors in Egypt and Babylonia and produced a beauty so rare, that all are impressed by it. The Greeks built walls by laying one stone upon another and supported the roofs by columns. In a modern world in unthinkingly copying this procedure we have become a little ridiculous.

Today steel and other building materials are manufactured. Time has out-lawed this slow painstaking method. Speed is an important factor. Great buildings are not built as they were two thousand years ago. They are now made of steel frames and brick or stone-faced blocks or other manufactured materials are fitted securely in, and section by section are raised to towering heights.

The arts, painting, sculpture, music, dancing, the drama, prose, poetry and oratory have changed. The subject-matter has changed and is constantly changing to meet the needs of our time. *Building material* is the "*subject matter*" of Architecture. It is reasonable to expect change in this art also.

The architects of the World's Fair are not pretending to build of stone. They are making structures of steel and broad slabs.

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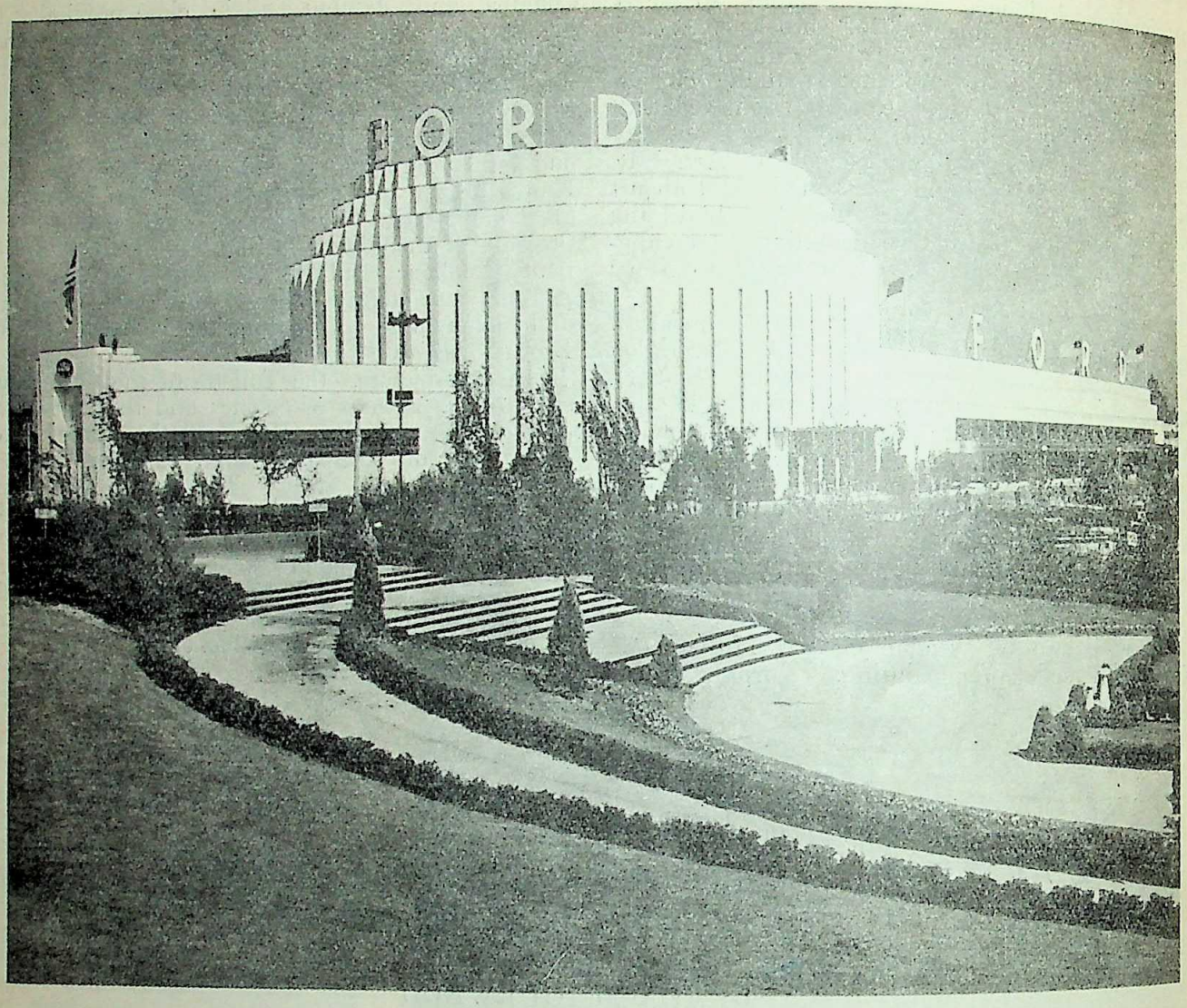

Ford building, biggest new individual exhibit at the World's Fair of 1934 in Chicago. Here the Ford Motor Co., and more than twenty companies supplying materials and parts for the Ford car built a display representing an expenditure of more than $ 2,000,000.

And all over the world men are studying the strange buildings.

Are these buildings beautiful ?

There is a difference of opinion everywhere. Some say the buildings are *not* beautiful because they are unlike anything we have seen. Others that the buildings are shocking us into a recognition of a beauty that is an outgrowth of our time. At least this much-discussed architecture belongs wholly to this age. It is not an imitation of anybody or anything.

What is the meaning of the word beautiful ?

The most concrete definition we can find for the word beautiful is, "excelling in form or grace : complete and harmonious."

We cannot say the buildings excel in form or grace. The question arises : Excel what ? We learn by comparison, since there is nothing to compare we do not set anywhere with that definition as we know it. We take the remainder of the definition, "complete and harmonious." "Here we stray far from beauty, for these buildings that fill the World's Fair and complete a unit of modernity, resemble nothing so much as broken wooden beads strung along the sky line. Those who watched the final building of the Fair, never felt that these windowless, boxlike structures were ever quite complete. We might become accustomed to seeing the moon and stars through rectangular frames as we gaze skyward along a ragged horizon. This is

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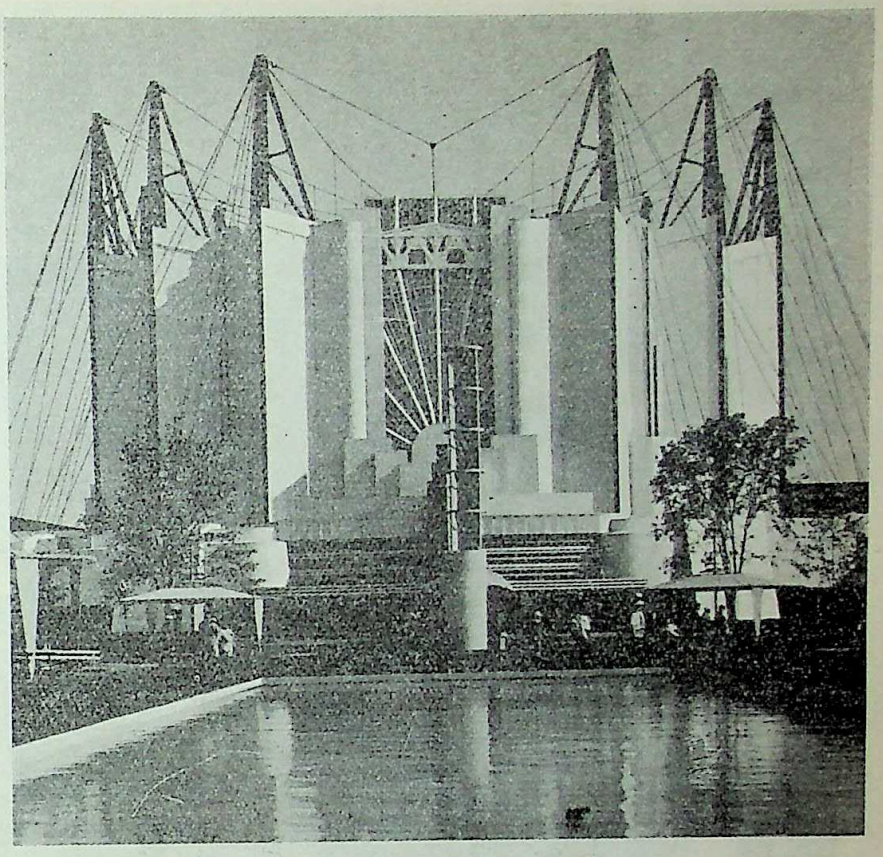
different. We have known the soft lovliness of curves. All was unusual and irregular as we rode over the Fair by plane and looked down into the tops of the square fort-like buildings. We felt that some strange world was beneath us, and that a giant child at play with huge blocks had been frightened away and had left them strewn about in disorder. If we must use old definitions to define new things, then modern architecture is *not* beautiful.



Travel and Transport building, at the World's Fair in Chicago, in its bright new dress for the 1934 exposition. This is the largest dome in the world without inside supporting pillars. The roof rises and falls with changing temperature and it is called "The building that breathes."

Throughout the grounds one is brought face to face with these strange boxlike designs. The Model Homes with furnishings, the lamps that light the streets, the Great Hall of Science; the Administration Building, in fact, all the buildings follow the lines of modern architecture.

Of course the buildings are practical and fill a modern need. The design favours the speed of today's construction, and the world might come to find new values, and to see real beauty in the clean-cut utilitarian lines.

But, will America accept this architecture?

America has already accepted it. The new design is springing up in every part of the country. There are two kinds of architecture now, Greek and Modern. The Century of Progress Exposition is influencing not only America, but the world.

This Exposition was conceived to meet varied tastes. People are here from every land, from every walk in life. On one hand science beckons; on the other fun and the carnival spirit. Religious exhibits and things of the inner spirit offer opportunity for quiet contemplation. Industry depicts its story of progress and power. Art and music hold sway. Truly each person can find more than he can mentally absorb. What a world of knowledge for children? There is a magic island built purposely for them. It is estimated that one day in 1934, 500,000 children attended the World's Fair.

The interest of the world is focussed on this site. The grounds a short time ago was Lake Michigan, now an island containing 424 acres. It is a colourful shimmering jewel by day, and a glorified dream by night. Joseph Urban, famous architect and stage designer, sought to achieve a harmony of colour, that might also express the Exposition's deeper purpose. Here in this land of enchantment, colour is decorative in a practical way, planned to fit the architectural scheme, and to play a part in the festival.

As one mingles with the crowds at night, he stands in one of the greatest floods of coloured light ever produced. The colour lighting is done by gas tubes. This new light is produced by introducing rare gas into a tube from which the air has been pumped. The tube is sealed and electricity is passed through. The colour radiated is determined by the

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South view of grounds of A Century of Progress Exposition, 1934, from Hall of Science. Right : the four Pavilions of General Exhibits Group. Left : Time and Fortune building, Cactus garden, Christian Science Monitor building, Hall of Religion. On the Island : the Horticultural building, the Mexican village, Hollywood, and the Casino.

element the tube contains, and by the colour of the tube.

The *Theme* of the Exposition is *Science*. It is with us at every turn.

The lighting of the Fair is of great interest. Forty years ago in America, people marvelled that President Grover Cleveland could press a button in Washington and start wheels turning at the official opening of Columbian Exposition. In 1933 a Century of Progress Exposition was lighted by the rays from Arcturus. Light that left Arcturus forty years ago, racing toward the Earth at a speed of 186,284 miles a second, lighted the Fair. Science caught the feeble beam when it arrived on Earth, and as it struck the great Telescope at Yerkes Observatory in Wisconsin, it was transformed into electric energy by means of photoelectric cell, amplified it by the methods of radio, speeding it on to Chicago, where it lighted the Century of Progress Exposition.

Science has come far. One day this would have been called a miracle. Today we call it Progress.

Too much ! Too much ! One is lost in a great sea of knowledge. What a responsibility?

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DRAMA IN MODERN TURKEY

By A. G. CHAGLA

THE rise of serious drama in Modern Turkey has been phenomenal. Out of humble beginnings has evolved the nation-wide National Theatre Movement, which has influenced the social life of almost every village in the land.

The Turks belong to the orthodox sect of Islam, the Sunnis, according to whose tenets all representational fine arts are not worthy of practice by the "faithful". The argument advanced is that these are "superfluities" tending to detract man from treading the "straight and narrow path". The Persians, who belong to the sect of "dissenters", known as the Shiahs, have a different conception of the teaching of their faith which has been leavened by admixture with the artistic and spiritual heritage of ancient Iran. Like the Roman Catholics, they permit the use of art in the service of religion and quasi-religious observances. Thus, in Persia a whole school of sacred drama has grown up which annually represents for the masses the significance of the tribulation of Hussain, the grandson of the Prophet, who was killed at Kerbela (Iraq) in 680 A.D., under exceptionally tragic circumstances. Sacred drama of this type, practised through the centuries, has eventually crystallized into a national art-form of Moslem Persia. But it is doubtful if it will survive the present almost irrational onslaught of "modernism" that is sweeping over that unhappy land.

In Turkey the reverse has been the case. Till only a few years ago the practice of drama and music remained in the hands of the lowest of the low—the "professional entertainers." In fact these arts were never indulged in or encouraged by the respectable and the really intelligent sections of the people till very recently.

During the days of the Sultans two types of banal stage entertainment were in vogue. Both were relics of the barbaric Middle Ages, the days of the proverbial "Arabian Nights." One was "Turkish" dancing, worse in its meaningless suggestiveness than even the so-called "Egyptian" dancing. So obnoxious and lacking in grace and good taste was this, that the ultra-modern Turkish State thought it fit to penalize it in the new regime by an Act of the National Assembly. The other stage entertainment in vogue was a low type of musical comedy, having the dancing mentioned, and an equally abominable, suggestive melody-making as its necessary and inevitable adjuncts. Since the prohibition of Turkish dancing of the old type by law, this incipient drama has died a natural death. Turkish music, too, has taken a different turn and now seeks inspiration from folk-songs. In 1929 a parliamentary commission was appointed to investigate the sources of Turkish music and to find out ways and means to preserve the national heritage of folk-songs and dances. As a result agreement has been made with a British Gramophone Co., to record folk-songs as interpreted by the oldest living exponents. Modern "staff notation" has also been officially recognized as suitable for the purposes of Turkish music, both vocal and instrumental.

The beginning of modern drama in Turkey can be traced back to the influence of the "Young Turks" early in the present century. During the later days of Sultan Abdul Hamid a small band of intellectuals, both men and women, had formed themselves into a group for the study of foreign literature and drama. They all belonged to the "Young Turk" party of intellectuals who aimed as much at social revolution as at overthrowing the domination of the Sultans. This group definitely attempted to evolve a school of indigenous Turkish drama, on the lines of the serious drama of Northern and North Western Europe. But their work had to be done more or less in secret, for, according to the laws then reigning, woman could not go out into the streets unveiled, much less could she take part in a dramatic performance. As apart from the official interference, they had to contend with the social prejudice of the masses and the classes against drama as such, and against art in general. This was but natural because all stage performances were identified in the popular concept with the low type of musical comedy that was seen being staged by the vilest people in none too reputable surroundings. Fortunately there were at the time not only men of high ideals and culture directing the efforts of this group of stalwarts, but men of ripe experience who had served their apprenticeship in the leading theatres of Vienna, Paris and Berlin. (Turkey at this period was still under the cultural influence of France, though the political tendencies favoured German influence.) More fortunate still, these men had a wonderfully balanced mind and a sense of proportion. Instead of attempting spectacular "shows," then in vogue in Europe, or wasting their time on a type of drama foreign to their own life experience or not in conformity with the social development of the people, they made a very modest beginning, taking each step with precision and care. As Strindberg and a few other intellectuals had done earlier in North Western Europe, they secretly established what was virtually an experimental "chamber" theatre.

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Here they experimented with the lesser works of especially French and German dramatists of the "naturalist" school, that preceded the advent of Ibsen. Attempts were also made to write some original plays on Turkish themes to suit the hitherto undeveloped talent of the wholly non-professional staff and actors. It is interesting to note that some of these budding dramatists were ladies of culture, who have made a mark in the post-revolution era, both as original dramatists and as translators of foreign works. This continued, under very difficult circumsances, for a good few years and thus a sound foundation for future work was laid.

Just when the preparatory work was done and arrangements were being made to launch a more ambitous scheme, came the Turkish reverses in the Balkan, which, as future showed, were a definite turning point in Turkish history. The immediate effect was a tragic demoralization on the one hand and a grim determination on the other, on the part of the younger generation, to free the country from the yoke of the tyrant and tradition. Before the people could regain self-confidence, the nation was again plunged into the world-war of 1914-18 by the Sultan and his advisers. But all these reverses proved a blessing in disguise: they were a severe test of the spirit of the nation. After the war came the revolution of 1919-20 and the consequent freedom of the people from the age-long yoke of the sultans and the thraldom of the clergy. Social conditions, *which had already begun to change,* were completely altered by the beneficent tyranny of legislation. Most significant of all, the freedom of women became a fact overnight.

This psychological as well as political phenomenon proved to be the decisive factor in re-shaping drama in post-revolution Turkey.

The psychological condition of the people immediately after the revolution was intriguing. They had all along wanted to throw off the shackles and to be free. But now that political freedom had been attained they felt all the more dissatisfied with life. They had not yet understood the full implication of freedom and found the responsibility most trying and novel. Except a few stalwarts the majority could not help fighting shy of the innovations that were being introduced almost every minute. True, these innovations were the natural and inevitable result of freer conditions, but the people were not in a mood to see that yet. Frankly, they were at first bewildered to see the social consequences of "This Freedom". Even radicals admit this today. The legislators could only coerce the people into outward submission, and no more. The human mind can evolve through a laborious and painful process alone. The people realize today, more than ten years after the revolution, that though they are politically and physically free, they yet have their inner bonds to contend with. These bonds are the result of centuries of thraldom at the hands of a tenacious priestcraft and lack of understanding and brutal cruelty on the part of their old rulers and self-centred leaders.

It is at such a period of national re-valuation of ideas and ideals that all art and especially drama—at a higher cultural level, music—help a people to understand their national mind. The *Polonaise* and the *Mazurka* of Chopin, the later Symphonies of Beethoven, the works of Ibsen, to mention only a few great works, were the result of similiar periods of introspection in the histories of their respective countries. Art undoubtedly helps a nation, as it does an individual, to discover and to reveal the innermost convictions. Thus it helps to crystallize ideas into ideals, resulting in a far-seeing and rational outlook.

Judged by this standard, the Turkish National Theatre has more than justified its existnce in the difficult post-revolution era. Thus the work of the pioneers has borne ample fruit.

As has been mentioned, the abolition of the veil brought about a complete change in social conditions. These were very favourable to the growth of serious drama. The Turks now found that the social and domestic problems that confronted them were almost identical with the problems that faced the Scandinavians fifty years ago. This was the period when Ibsen wrote *Pillars of Society* and *Doll's House.* Norwegians in particular, and people of the rest of North Western Europe were then just making a bid for a freer social life. Turks today were similiarly situated. So instead of groping for a new form to express their newly found inner urge for social honesty, the plays of Henrik Ibsen were taken hold of and adapted for the Turkish stage, as correctly interpreting the new impulse in the Turkish national and social life. Indeed, it speaks very highly of the forethought of Turkish men of letters that this impulse has been recognized so soon. Today conscientious efforts are being made to nurture and to foster it.

Of the old "Young Turk" group many had perished by now, either in the war or in the revolution. A few that remained saw the wonderful opportunity that now offered itself to forge ahead. They however saw that nothing could be done without powerful support. Some of them had risen to be office-bearers in the new people's own government. With patience and tact they ultimately succeeded in gaining support of some political leaders of note, and of the great Ghazi. A ramshackle theatre was hired and under the patronage of some leaders of new thought in Turkey the first public performance of a serious play was given in which men and women of high social standing took part. The already bewildered people were more bewildered still! But the far-sighted men of culture grimly continued in their terribly uphill

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task. It would not be incorrect to say that the efforts of the Turkish National Theatre at this period substantially helped the people in the struggle with the past. Small groups were trained and sent all over the country and it was soon realized by those in power what a tremendous cultural and psychological influence drama of the right sort possessed and how very vital this influence could be in the corporate life of a community.

Soon a time came, however, when the leaders of this successful cultural movement felt that they had reached the end of their resources and nothing more could be done without active government support. The matter was taken to the Grand National Assembly. As a result the *Istanbul Sheheremaneti Darulbedayi* (The Istanbul Municipal Theatre) was formed. The old cultural group was formed into a semi-professional company and placed in charge of this theatre, *under municipal control.* It is from this centre that trained artistes are sent to every nook and corner of the country, not only to entertain, but to educate and to stimulate thought.

It would be interesting to consider the work of this National Theatre during one season. The programme of 1929-30, the period immediately preceding the world depression, is of especial interest as showing not only the range of subjects selected but also the high tone of each production. The plays presented are purposely kept above the level of riff-raff. Thus they are instrumental in stimulating thought and disscussion on the various problems presented on the stage. There are usually nine performances a week, including two *matinees* and the theatre is invariably crowded with the intellectuals, as a play is not repeated after it is withdrawn during the season.

1929-30 (Winter) programme consisted of seven plays—three original works and four translations. The method of translation and adaptation is interesting. The original settings and characters are retained absolutely intact but colloquial phrases and exclamations are given (as far as possible) their Turkish equivalents. Thus the exclamation "Christ !" in a play where the characters are all Christians is rendered "Khuda !" in Turkish. This method allows the audience to feel the characters as their own. The minimum of stage scenery and the latest type of hidden lighting is used and there is usually no music between the acts of a serious play.

Here is the list for 1929-30 :

1. Haydutlar, a translation of *The Robbers* of Schiller, done by Hassan Cemil, a rising author.

2. Nora (*Bebegin Evi*). This is a masterful rendering of Ibsen's *The Doll's House,* done by Holdun Zihni. The popularity of this frank and socially advanced play shows the way wind is blowing in modern Turkey.

3. Yaban Ordegi, *The Wild Duck* of Ibsen, very successfully translated by a woman dramatist Shezye Berin.

4. Katil, a translation of a well known work of the German dramatist Richard Voss (born 1858). This is a very powerful and thought-provoking play.

5. Kaes Arkasinda, *Behind the Trellis,* is a comedy in five acts by Mustapha Jelal dealing with the delicate subject of the happenings "behind the trellis" in the bad old days.

6. Hayvan, Fikri Yedi, that is, (freely rendered,) *Capable of Eating and of Thinking—yet Animals !* This is a serious "advanced" play by Vedat Nedim.

7. Tersine Akan Nehir, *Against the Current,* a serious play by Cevdet Kudret.

Among modern Turkish actors of note may be mentioned Erjument Bey, Hazim Bey, Galip Bey, Ertugral Muhsin Bey and Kemal Bey. Among the actresses Ney Neyir Hanim, Sheziye Hanim and Melahat Hanim may be noted. The least that could be said about these artistes is that they not only love and respect their art, but they love their people. It is this which inspires them to perform the daily miracle of transporting thousands of their countrymen and country-women from the realm of the mundane to that of the ideal. Indeed, the histrionic ability of these Turkish artistes compares favourably with masters of the craft in North Western Europe, as any one who has seen one of their performances at Istanbul will confidently affirm.

There is no doubt whatsoever that the work of the *Istanbul Seheremaneti Darulbedayi* is vitally affecting the life of the young Turkish Republic. How very vital this effect is only future can tell.*

* This Article is the result of a study-tour of the Near and the Middle-East.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

THE BASIC CONCEPTION OF BUDDHISM:

Adhar Chandra Mookerjee Lectures, 1932. By Professor Vidhusekhar Bhattacharyya of Santiniketan. Published by the Calcutta University, 1934. Pp. x+103.

This book contains two lectures delivered by the learned Professor at the Calcutta University in 1932, the first forming the Introductory Chapter and the second dealing with the Main Problem. In this book the author attempts at first to give us a bird's-eye view of the religious and philosopical speculations in India that preceded the advent of the Buddha and then he tries to give his own idea of how the Buddha himself solved the problem before him, *viz.*, cessation of sufferings, by advocating the doctrine of *anātman*. The term *anātman* is really a difficult one, as it may be interpreted in various ways. It is not very easy to ascertain what kind of *ātman* was denied by the Buddha. The ultimate *tattva* or *satya* (truth) according to the Buddhists is *anātmā*. But the philosophical predecessors of the Buddha, specially of the Brahmanic school, held the view that it is only the realization of the ātman that leads to deliverance from misery. The Buddha, however, arrived at a different conclusion, because he failed to realize the existence of such an *ātman* or *jīva* which is eternal and absolute. He rather discovered that such a *jīva* could not be a *dravya-sat* (real thing), but it could only be a *prajnapti-sat* (a mere idea) and it was nothing but a unique combination of the five *skandhas* leading to consciousness as we experience in life. The Buddha not only denied *pudgala-nairātmya* (subjective nothingness) but also *dharma-nairātmya* (objective nothingness). So according to the Buddhists *Sunyatā* (voidness) was the ultimate reality (*dharmatā*). Hence *tathatā* (ultimate reality) and *Sunyatā* (voidness) are identical. This divergence from the formerly promulgated view of the previous philosophers may be regarded as a very bold and novel path discovered by the Buddha, along which the world should move for reaching its destination. The author of the book has very lucidly explained the Buddhistic view by means of apt quotations from various Buddhistic and non-Buddhistic texts. The whole book is an interesting reading from the beginning to the end. Even those who are not philosophy-minded will be able to understand easily the different view-points on the great problems of ultimate reality and the cessation of misery. Some will, however, wish the book should have been a little more scientifically written. The wreathing of the flowers of quotations rather appears here and there to be somewhat loose. But the importance of the publication cannot be minimized.

RADHAGOVINDA BASAK

THE PRINCIPLES AND PROBLEMS OF FEDERAL FINANCE:

By B. P. Adarkar, B.A., (Cantab). With a Foreword by Sir Cecil H. Kisch, C.B. Published by P. S. King and Son, Ltd., London. 12s. 6d. net.

Ever since the adoption of the federal basis by the First Round Table Conference for the future constitution of India, the problems of federalism have begun to attract the increasing attention of Indian students and scholars. The book under review is an instance in point.

Professor Adarkar has made a thorough study of the financial systems of the important federations and unions and has deduced from their working certain useful principles and conclusions. He has discussed the various complicated problems of the theory and practice—constitutional, legal, administrative, budgetary, economic—of federal finance, with full knowledge of facts and with great discernment and ability. He has shown firm grasp of essentials and has refused to be drawn into the discussion of irrelevant and minor issues. He has followed a rigorous method and his book is free from padding and looseness of thought and expression.

A number of distinguished economists had made important contributions to the subject of Public Finance but the special problems of federal finance had received very little attention at their hands.

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The practical problems of finance in the various federal countries had no doubt been discussed but a comprehensive treatment of the principles and problems of Federal Finance as such had not been attempted before in the English language. This has now been done by Professor Adarkar—to use the words of Sir Cecil Kisch—"with conspicuous success".

Professor Adarkar divides his book into three parts. Part I deals with "Constitutional Foundations"; Part II describes the financial systems of leading federations, including those of the Union of South Africa and India; and Part III is headed "Principles and Problems". Parts I and II are introductory—they are done well. The only criticism I have to offer is, that a comparative treatment of the financial problems of various federations would have been more in accord with the plan of the book than separate descriptions of the financial systems of the leading federations.

Part III is the constructive portion of the book. In it Professor Adarkar begins by discussing the leading principles of Public Finance. He has done well to emphasize that "the main plank of public finance is the theory of transferences" and in supporting Wagner's "socio-political" theory against Seligman's more "fiscal" view of public finance. He is also right in pointing out that "there is not one ideal method or *optimum* for taxation and another for expenditure, but there is one single *optimum* for the whole scheme of public finance if any. The best way in which a given amount of money could be spent can only be devised when it is known what are the relative post taxation positions of the tax-payers. Similarly, the ideal manner of distributing the burden of taxation with respect to a particular revenue cannot be imagined so long as the distribution of the compensating element of expenditure among the tax-payers is not known, as there is always the possibility of the latter multifying the *optimum* of the former distribution." But from a practical standpoint it is also important to know separately the principles on which revenue is to be raised and public expenditure incurred. In discussing the principles and problems of Federal Finance Professor Adarkar has shown both scientific outlook and regard for practical considerations; but in his treatment he has been at places too brief. It is also a matter for regret that Mr. Adarkar was not able to extend the scope of the book to deal with the Indian financial problem more comprehensively than he has done in the brief section on India in Part II.

Nevertheless Professor Adarkar's "*The Principles and Problems of Federal Finance*" is a book of outstanding value and deserves to be read by all students of Public Finance and Federations.

GURMUKH N. SINGH

CARLYLE: *Emery Neff. Published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London. 10s. 6d. net.*

There is a marked tendency in modern times to profess hero-worship in all departments of life, and an attempt to interpret the life and writings of Thomas Carlyle whose favourite doctrine it was, is certainly welcome. The author has spared no pains in making the book as thorough as possible, visiting the places in England and Scotland connected with his work, and tapping all available resources where he could gain any new information on the subject, and putting down his materials in course of less than three hundred pages, in course of which he has described the life and struggles of Carlyle, the moods of his mind, his influence winding up the whole with an index, notes and bibliography, which will make the book an agreeable reading. Carlyle's message was lost on his contemporaries, the Victorians, but judging by his popularity on the Continent, specially in Italy and Germany, it is fairly reasonable to state that the world has learnt to its cost to value his message which will not be overlooked or neglected in the midst of post-War turmoils and national recriminations usual in the war-time. Mr. Neff has a grip on his subject, and he writes with discrimination.

PURDAH: THE STATUS OF INDIAN WOMEN. *F. Hauswrith (Mrs. S. Das). Kegan Paul. 10s. 6d. net.*

The question of Indian women and their present position had been pushed to the forefront by the notorious publication of Miss Mayo's *Mother India*: it was followed by a number of angry rejoinders like *Uncle Sam* and *Father India*, which were successful no doubt but which did not present a sober case for India's Womanhood. Mrs. Das's book presents historically the changes in the status of Indian women from the Vedic period up to modern times. She had been to India as the wife of a middle class Hindu graduate, and her stay in the country for eight years in intimate touch with Indian womenfolk in the different provinces and in difierent grades of society as one of them has made her fully qualified to be a representative of the class. Instead of throwing mud on other countries (and the United States of America in particular) she realizes the complexity of her problem and traces the position of Indian women from the freedom of the Vedic period till the abasement of present-day times, and ruthlessly exposes whatever social abuses she may have noticed. But while she judges, she shows sympathy and understanding. It is pleasant to come across a passage like this: "Though she stands today degraded, amidst clashing influences, old and new, from East and West, the Indian woman's fate and future, while stimulated by the recent influx of ideas and customs from the Occident, does not depend on that, but is deep-rooted, traceable, and predictable in the light of Indian history alone. More than in the case of any other people, the Indian woman's development has its roots in, is now feeling after, and will continue to express itself within, the currents of the ancient, exalted, religious and ethical conceptions of her race." (P. 13.)

There are a few obvious misprints, beside which it may be pointed out that 'Vidiasagara' (Iswarchandra Vidyasagar) did not belong to Madras (p. 193) but to Bengal, that 'Brahmacharya's are not the proper form for 'Brahmachari's (p. 212), that it is rather vague and wild to say that the Konarak temple is of 'Tantric origin' (p. 215), that the *Stree Bharata Mandal* (p. 221) is a wrong name for *Bharat Stree Mahamandal.*

RIALLARO: THE ARCHIPELAGO OF EXILES. *Godfrey Sweven. Second Edition. Oxford University Press, London. 7s. 6d. net.*

LIMANORA: *Godfrey Sweven. Second Edition. Oxford University Press, London. 7s. 6d. net.*

These books appeared originally in the fag-end of the nineteenth century, and it is curious that the second edition had not come out earlier, because its

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qualities are such as specially suit the age. The speculative interest in the future of man is bound to increase with the progress of Science, and the novelist, who appears under a pseudonym but who really is Mr. J. Macmillan Brown, sometime chancellor of the University of New Zealand, finds here an avenue for a criticism of the world as it is, where comedy and seriousness blend agreeably and there is the requisite strangeness to make the compound romantic and interesting. To describe some land "untainted by the vices of Europe" has been the author's aim and purpose and incidentally we are treated to a satiric vein condemning the polished and artificial ways of life that obtain in the present society, *e. g.*, where he says: "To tell the truth in clear and unambiguous language is the mark of barbarity." Another charateristic trait is the capacity for coining strangely sweet names, *e.g.*, Vulpia, Meddla, Kloriole, etc.

UP FROM POVERTY: *D. Spencer Hatch, B. Sc., M. Sc. in Agr., Ph. D. Directing Rural Demonstration, Travancore and Cochin District. Oxford University Press.*

Dr. Hatch has been connected with Rural Uplift work even since 1916 and the book contains the result of his experiences in the line. The word 'poverty' is here used in a comprehensive sense, and the integral value of its sense is emphasized again and again by the writer. His Excellency the Earl of Willingdon has contributed an introduction where the main obstacle to moral progress is stated to be "the psychology of the rural worker himself, owing to the custom and habit of caste and tradition that has governed his life and actions for generations." This seems to be an undue stressing of what no doubt is an "obstacle," what is remiss here is however remedied in the author's preface where the different disadvantages are named in detail against which the worker has to wage a grim fight.

The way out, Dr. Hatch remarks truly, is through 'self-help with intimate, expert counsel', and it is this 'intimate, expert counsel' which he sets forward to give, as best as he can, and as far as he knows from his experience of rural life in India. Co-operation is indispensable, but let it be co-operation in its unorganized forms, as too much organization wearies the workers and reduces his efficiency. Superior production and co-operative marketing arrangement necessarily go together and failure to see this has ruined many of the Indian Co-operative Societies. The subject of cottage vocations crops up here, and spinning, weaving and gardening come up for discussion. Mahatma Gandhi's advocacy of the *charkha* is criticized here as elsewhere and Dr. Hatch observes: "No one process can be a panacea for India's troubles." Such observation is due entirely to a wrong reading of the emphasis intended by Mahatmaji on an item of a practicable programme, specially when Mahatmaji intends the spinning wheel to be a symbol, rather than a mere device.

What has been recently stated by Mahatmaji (which Dr. Hatch had certainly no opportunity of knowing at the time of writing his book) regarding the efficacy of the All-India Spinner's Association is an eye-opener in this connection. The Association has been working in 5,000 villages and maintaining 2,20,000 spinners, 20,000 weavers and 20,000 carders, contributing to a 20 per cent increase in their annual income. The proposal mooted by Mahatmaji for an autonomous village industries' Board is also calculated to remove all possibilities of misapprehension regarding the exclusive nature of his programme.

Dr. Hatch gives an encouraging glimpse of the work that is being done in Travancore and Cochin District, specially through the Martandam demonstration, and it shows the soundness of Dr. Hatch's elementary principles, when he, instead of stopping with a mere account of his work, investigates the conditions of leadership—of the moving force that does the work; the result being a handy manual which deserves to be consulted carefully by all interested in village uplift work.

THE CROSS AND INDIAN THOUGHT: *V. Chakkarai, B. A., B. L. Christian Literature Society for India, Madras, Allahabad and Colombo. Price, Re. 1 4 As.*

The author seeks to establish Christianity on a solid basis by reviewing the implications of the Cross in the light of Indian Thought, and by reaffirming their affinities. What is the significance of salvation as Christianity understands it and how is it to be attained? And how to describe the state when it is attained? After discussing various theories of sin he comes to the subject of vicarious punishment and suffering, explaining the cross as a symbol of Christian mysticism; it is, to quote from the author, "the new world-order which, amidst the pain and joy of the world and man, will transform and transmute creation itself." The cross and the atonement are the central mystery of Christianity, which can be solved by a strenuous spiritual quest, rightly directed. The carefulness of the author is evident on every page.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

THE SAKTAS: *E. H. Payne, Y. M. C. A. Publishing House, 5 Russell Street, Calcutta. Pp. 139. Cloth Rs. 3-8. Paper Rs. 2-8.*

This book is the usual propaganda against Hinduism. It is openly militant and though Hinduism has never retaliated, the Rev. author says that his object is to '*combat*' Saktism. The writings and publications of Sir John Woodroffe have evidently caused a flutter of some magnitude. The author has not hesitated to stoop to the tactics of lawyers of a certain type who when they have got a bad case abuse the opponent's attorney. He says that Woodroffe's writings are unintelligible and badly written. Sir John Woodroffe was one of the great judges whose judgments were always terse and lucid and marked by unsurpassed judicial temparament. The writings which came under our author's notice also possess, for the average unbiassed mind, the same characteristics. It is Mr. Payne's misfortune that he finds them otherwise. The author has gone further and says, "The zeal of a convert often runs away with his judgement". If he implies that Woodroffe is a convert then he is grievously in error and his informant is anything but veracious. The statement of the witnesses cited to strengthen his case in his book would not stand cross-examination for five minutes. An American writer (Ewing) for instance is quoted to say that the Saradatilaka Tantra "deals almost entirely with spells and sorcery". This is absolutely wrong. It would occupy too much space to cite all the statement. The author evidently does not know Sanskrit and some of the translations cited by him show that the translators were not in

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touch with Indian thought and the translations are the products of mere lexicographic knowledge. The author seeks to make a scientific study of Saktism. He forgets that his own Faith would not stand any scientific examination but for a fair-minded seeker Saktism would. He could learn two things from this great religion without changing his own. The first is never to try to pervert a man's faith and the second is never to speak evil of the religious books of those who do not belong to one's own form of faith. In this book Mr. Payne is so very much trained by Sir John Woodroffe's writings that he has not hesitated to bring in a political significance into what he calls the Sakta *movement*. He attributes terrorism and everything else which is bad in the political movement to Saktism and quotes Lord Ronaldshay and some others to make out a case. None of these people know Sanskrit and understand what Saktism is and it is not a movement but something which belongs to the *soil* and can not be eradicated. The 'educated' Indian is neither a Sakta nor has he any belief in any of the phases of Hinduism. He is claimed by an old and experienced missionary to be the "foster child" of the Christian missionary in this country and if he is an anarchist then the foster parent is responsible.

ATAL B. GHOSH

THE ANNUAL MARKET REVIEW; 1933: *Published by Premchand Roychand and Sons, Bombay. 1934.*

This useful review is familiar to everyone interested in the money-market whether as a businessman or a student. Unfortunately it reached us too late to be of any use except for occasional reference. The most useful feature of the book is its long introduction where in course of forty-two most ably written pages we have a bird's-eye view of not only the most important financial events which took place in India during 1933 but also a good summary of the American situation and the World Economic Conference. Particularly useful is the summary of the provisions of the Reserve Bank Bill. After the introduction we have a more detailed survey of the money-market and the exchanges as also of the bullion and the share markets. A useful collection of statistical tables is also appended. For the sake of completeness it is suggested that the future editions should include an analysis of India's foreign trade and of the movement of the principal commodity prices, both in India and abroad.

SAILENDRA NATH SEN GUPTA

KRISHNAMURTI—*The Star Publishing Trust. Madras.*

This is a little pamphlet containing a series of talks on some religious, social and economic problems, by Krishnamurti, who has made the subjects as lucid as possible making one think that there must be a complete reorientation of thought regarding some of the above problems. He takes us with him to a higher and calmer atmosphere above the dust and heat of controversy, though one cannot help feeling while reading this pamphlet that some of his views on religion and after-life are going against the teachings of theosophy of the Adyar School.

BIBHUTI BHUSHAN BANERJI

TWELVE MEDITATIONS: *By Sri Kundakunda Acharya. Translated into English by Jaina Dharma Bhushana Dharma Devakara Brahmachari Sital Prasadji. Published by the Devendra Printing and Publishing Co., Ltd. G. T., Madras, with a preface by C. S. Mallinath.*

The author of the book, Sri Kundakunda Acharya, a Jaina philosopher and theologian, is said to have lived in the first century B.C. and A.D. The book is written in verses, the translator giving translations and explanations. We are bound to say for the sake of truth that both the translator and the preface writer seem to be carried away by the "great veneration" in which the author is held and the great antiquity of the book. Therefore they have not been able to pay much attention to the contents of the book. We do not say that there is nothing good and appreciable in it but its emphasis on other-worldly ideas makes it a misfit in the modern world. Its condemnation of the human body as impure, and of the domestic and social relations as so many impediments in the path of soul's liberation makes it an unwelcome intruder in the human society. The author's cosmology with hills in the lower universe, with the highest heaven as the abode of the liberated souls and the middle containing innumerable continents and occeans will not commend itself to even a school boy. The author's idea of social service is so poor that the highest meretorious act consists in "giving alms to the deserving religious persons", why? The translator explains "to help them in the performance of their austerities leading to liberation." Proper elimination should have been made before the book was published.

DHIRENDRANATH VEDANTAVAGIS

HOW TO EVOLVE A WHITE RACE: Vol. I. *By Sundaresa Iyer, Advocate, Madras, 1934. Pp. iii+116.*

The author thinks that the colour question can be solved if we succeed in evolving a white race all over the world by "scientific means". But so far as we know, the condition of the proletariat in Europe or America is only one shade better than that of the coloured races, so what good would it be even if we actually succeed in making the black races white, so long as Capitalism is there to exploit them all the time?

But apart from that question, the book amply proves how dangerous it is to leave Biology in the hands of those who merely read books and do no experiments and thereby never develop that sense of reality which is essential to the understanding of any of the biological sciences. It is time that professional biologists took up the task of popularizing their subject instead af allowing it to drift into the hand of amateurs.

THE TRAGEDY OF GANDHI: *By Glorney Bolton, George Allen & Unwin Ltd. London, 1934. Pp. 326.*

The book under review professes to be a dispassionate study of Mahatma Gandhi's life from an original standpoint. But from a careful perusal of the book it appears that the study is neither dispassionate nor original. Throughout the book, the author displays a strong bias for English culture against that of India, and that has turned him into an apologist for Britishers in India—as well as for

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Europeans in general in Africa—rather than into an interpreter of Gandhi.

We miss in the present study all that Gandhi stands for on the positive side, his will to love human beings in spite of utmost provocation and frequent betrayals, his determination to build up a life of simplicity and mutual aid and teach people to defend it even at the cost of life. Instead of it, Gandhi appears on the stage bleating his gospel of pacifism, while, in person, he appears to be a queer sort of fellow stingy and wary at heart, delighting in antics of masochism, eager to take advantage of every opportunity of wielding power—in short, an unworthy person on whom the mantle of prophetship has accidentally descended. This reminds us strongly of a similar description of the prophet of Islam, of whom one European said that his religion was all very well, but the man himself was utterly unworthy of the task which had descended upon him!

The present interpreter of Gandhi could, at least, have done one thing besides reading the *Autobiography* and Mr. Andrew's books on Gandhi together with the delightful interpretations of India by Mr. Edward Thomson; he could have gone through the files of *Young India* or a few more of Mr. Gandhi's own books in the English language, before he ventured to interpret a movement which is so foreign to his own nature. That would, at least, have saved him from certain obvious mistakes as we shall presently see. Mr. Gandhi does not believe in preaching voluntary poverty to those who are suffering from involuntary poverty under British rule; otherwise, there would be no sense in his efforts to change the present regime in India or his persistent endeavour to restore cottage industries in the villages. He has, moreover, no love for suffering for its own sake. When suffering is not due to the vindication of one's rights or when self-suffering is not undertaken with the object of appealing to the heart of the oppressor with a view to his conversion —when it is not informed by love—has never hesitated to condemn it as untrue and, therefore, worthy only of cessation. Our author seems to be utterly ignorant of these phases of Gandhi's life and teachings, and that is why he sees in Gandhi only a tragedy of wrongly-appointed prophetship.

Mr. Gandhi's life may have to be written down as a failure so far as the success of his mission is concerned, for that has been the common fate of all prophets who have allowed their lives to be burnt by the fire of their love for humanity. But there is just one more touch of tragedy in it, that in spite of all his sufferings, the message of Gandhi's life has failed to wean, at least, one Englishman from self-conceit, clouded reason and superiority-complex, and that Englishman happens to be the Oxonian, Mr. Glorney Bolton.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

THE RIDDLE OF THE WORLD: *By Sri Aurobindo.*

This book is the latest of Sri Aurobinda's contributions to the world regarding his philosophy of the universe. In these pages, although in a desultory way, an attempt has been made to solve the mystery as to the why, how, whence, and whereto of this world. There are side issues which are also dealt with in the book but the main problem remains to be the solution of the riddle—the source, the ultimate end, and developments in the intermediate stages of progress of the Universe.

It appears from the publisher's note that the book is not a systematic study of the problem—which is an age-long enquiry, *viz.* The Riddle of this World, but a mere collection of Sri Aurobinda's writings issued from time to time in dispelling the doubts raised either by his disciples or those interested in Yoga, or sometimes only comments on letters submitted from outside.

The arrangement does not seem to be happy. In vain one would attempt to find a method. It would have been much to the satisfaction of the readers if the arrangement was in accordance with the progressive development of the subject matter rather than with the historical accuracy.

The problem is not a new one, philosophers of different ages and climes offered various solutions, but the curiousity of the spiritual thinkers had never been satisfied. Each new school of thinkers made some departure from the previous schools either by elimination of old or by addition of new ideas.

Sri Aurobinda's solution of this problem or the riddle as he puts it, differs from that of others in that according to him liberation from the earth-consciousness is not the ultimate end. His solution offers a distinct achievement when after the liberation from the earth-consciousness he claims to bring down a divine transformation in this earth consctousness. Amongst the different planes of consciousness earth-consciousness comes to be the lowest while the truth-consciousness the highest. The last level has been described as the Supermind. What Aurobinda lays claim to is the possibility of bringing down the Supermental plan·s—the divine consciousness—and making it permanently fixed on the earth-consciousness, a state which even the Vedic Rishis did not or could not experience. Individually they might attain to that Supermind but perhaps they could not or did not infuse it into the earth. He has the boldness to say that what was not possible for the Vedic Rishis is possible in his system of Yoga.

SWAMI CHANDRESWARANANDA

A SURVEY OF THE MARKETING OF FRUIT IN POONA: *By D. R. Gadgil, M. A., M. Litt. (Cantab) and V. R. Gadgil, B. Ag. (Bom.) M. Sc. (Calif.). Published by Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics. (Price Rs. 2-8). Pp. 184.*

Mr. D. R. Gadgil is a well-known writer on Indian Economics and the present work is a novel venture both for the subject it treats and for its manner of direct survey. In our Industries and Agriculture we have always neglected the marketing side of business allowing it to take care of itself; but distribution being as important as, if not more important than, production, our neglect in this respect has been responsible for over-production or mal-distribution even with regard to the monopoly products of the soil, with consequent stagnation and loss to our producers. The last Royal Agricultural Commission very rightly emphasized the need of such market surveys. We are glad to find that the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics undertook a survey of the Fruit Marketing in Poona which is an important centre for fruit and vegetable supply in western India and the work was entrusted to very able hands.

The study comprises the present methods and costs

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of sale and distribution of fruits with special reference to marketing machinery and the various stages through which they pass from—orchard to the consumer. The present work is not merely a collection of informations and statistics from official publications but is also the result of direct personal enquiry with the producers, wholesale-dealers, commission agents, retailers and others. The treatment of the subject is systematic and thorough with certain limitations due to ignorance and prejudice of the parties concerned. In view of the growing importance of the marketing problems and the absolute lack of interest of our producers, we commend this book as a pioneer work and wish that some of our scholars on this side of the country would turn their attention to the study of the marketing problems attending the local products. Jute is the golden fibre of our province and is a monopoly commodity but yet its producers are in a precarious condition to-day. Couldn't we expect a survey of the marketing of jute in Bengal by some of our scholars? We are sure if such a book came out, it would read like a romance with a tragic background.

ANATH GOPAL SEN

HAND BOOK OF GENERAL KNOWLEDGE: *By A. M. Mathews, M. A., Ed. Dip. (Oxon), A. C. P. (London), and M. C. Mohan, B.A., published by Careers, Moheni Road, Lahore. Price Rs. 2.*

This is a handy and useful compendium of information on topics of everyday interest and has been prepared specially with a view to meeting the requirements and demands of examining bodies and particularly for candidates preparing for the I. C. S., Sandhurst, Indian Police, and other Superior Examinations held by the Public Service Commission in India. But it also contains much that is of real value and interest to all teachers and students. The wide range of subjects covered, within such a small scope, does credit to the authors. Though there have crept up certain minor inaccuracies in the book which, we hope, will be rectified in the next edition, yet the important questions of the day have been judiciously chosen and dealt with in an exhaustive manner. We commend this book to everyone who wishes to be adequately posted in all that is going on in the spheres of activity of this country as well as the countries of the west.

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

SHABARA-BHUSHYA: *Translated into English: By Mahamohopadhyaya Ganganath Jha, M. A., late Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University, published from Oriental Institute, Baroda. 1st Volume—pages 720. Price Rs. 16.*

The book contains the English translation of the first three adhyayas of Savara Bhasya, that of other adhyayas to appear later on. The text is not given along with it, nor even appended separately, probably under the idea that editions of the text portion only are availiable in Poona and Benares.

It is needless to say about the importance of the study of Mimamsa in the right understanding of the Vedic religion of India. As logic is an absolute necessity for the right understanding of all the Philosophical doctrines of different schools, so is Mimamsa for correct comprehension of the Vedas and the Vedanta philosophy especially; which is the real basis of Hindu religion and thought. It was the Mimamsaka Kumarila Bhatta, who vanquished the invincible Bhuddhist Philosophers of the seventh century, and it was he only who re-established the Vedic religion in this country at that time. None of the other Philosophical Schools could stand before the Bhuddhists and it was he who paved the way for Sankaracharya to popularize once more the Vedantic culture. The highly critical and analytical acumen of Kumarila got its impetuous impetus from the Shabara Bhashya on the Mimansa Darsana of Jaimini. The fine hair-spliting argumentation of that immortal Nabya Naya of Gangesha was, to a great extent, due to Mimansaka Pravakara, the unique exponent of Shabara Bhashya, the only available commentary on Mimamsa Darsana. To have a real and natural interpretation of the teachings inculcated in our scriptures, as well as in the writings of the ancient rishis and authors, Mimamsa perhaps is the only indispensable means for the purpose. It has ascertained no less than one thousand ways of interpreting any subject. Without going through the Shabara Bhashya with its commentaries no sound scholarship can be acquired in our Philosophy.

This invaluable treasure of our ancestors was so long a sealed book to the public for its antiquated style and technicalities, but is now made accessible to the English knowing public through the munificence of Maharaja Gaikwar of Baroda and the untiring labour of the old venerable man Dr. Ganganath Jha. The translation is unquestionably literal and faithful, as it comes out of the pen of one, who is perhaps the only scholar well versed in both Eastern and Western Philosophies. This old veteran translator has been assisted by his favourite disciple Pandit Kestresha Chandra Chattopadhyaya, M.A., of Allahabad University, who has already earned a name for his research work. This has no doubt enhanced the value of the book in various ways so far as the editing is concerned.

In conlusion, may I suggest to the learned and venerable Pandit Jha, that he would render a real service to his country, if he also issues a Hindi translation of this important work.

RAJENDRANATH GHOSE

CONGRESS PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESSES: *Second series. From 1911 to 1933. G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras. Rs. 4. Crown 8 vo. Pp. 914+18 Cloth.*

Messrs. G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras, have done well to bring out a new volume of Congress Presidential Addresses (Price Rupeess Four only). A similar book was published by them many years ago. The Second Series, which is now published, contains the Presidential Addresses from 1911 to 1933. Needless to say that the twenty-four years it covers have been years of momentous changes in the history of the country: and the presidential addresses delivered from the chair of the Indian National Congress serve not merely as a periodic review of the conditions, year after year, but as a running commentary on the administration. The volume opens with Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar's address to the Calcutta Congress, and includes the pronouncements of such leaders as Lord Sinha, Babu Ambica Charan Mazumdar, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and Mr. C. Vijayaraghava Chari, Dr. Besant and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Moulana Mahomed Ali and Dr. Ansari, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Pandit Jawaharlal and Sardar Vallabhai Patel and many others.

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The Publishers also announce that the First Series will shortly follow. As these volumes are likely to serve as authentic books of reference, advantage has been taken of the issue of the two volumes to supply a comprehensive and exhaustive index to each volume. They will be useful to journalists and other publicists and all students of Indian politics in general.

C.

DR. BESANT AND INDIA'S RELIGIOUS REVIVAL: *By Hirendra Nath Datta. Adyar Pamphlet No. 182. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.*

This is an address delivered at the Theosophical Society Convention of 1933. It gives a vivid account of Dr. Besant's religious activities in India. Even her activities in connection with social reform were, so we are told, definitely religious and in these matters "Dr. Besant was moved to action by the order of Risi Agastya, the Regent Risi of India". (P. 22).

DR. BESANT: WARRIOR: *By G. S. Arundale. Adyar Pamphlet No. 183. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.*

This is another lecture on Dr. Besant dealing with another aspect of her character. The story has been nicely told.

DR. BESANT AS A COMRADE AND A LEADER: *By Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar. Adyar Pamphlet No. 186. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.*

Here the story of Dr. Besant's life is briefly but vividly told by one who is not a professed Theosophist. Dr. Besant's greatness can be gauged from the simple fact that even those who did not accept her as their spiritual leader, could not resist the influence of her magic personality.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

SANSKRIT

APASTAMBADHARMASUTRAMANJARI: (*A Digest of Apastamba Dharma Sutra*). *By R. N. Suryanarayana, M. A., Maharaja's College, Mysore. (Brahmarshi Gurukulam Series No. I).*

This is quite an interesting little publication. "The *Sutras* [of Apastamba] pertaining to a single subject, but scattered here and there, are all collected and grouped under proper headings in order to present the ideas of the great sage *Apastamba* in the form of paragraphs... The *manjari* is quite faithful to the original. But some words ..have been added wherever necessary to make the sense and context quite clear." Thus within a small compass of about 80 pages one will have the opportunity of getting familiar with the important topics dealt with in one of the oldest and most important works that throw light on the social history of Ancient India. Some of the technical details of procedure which have been retained could as well be cut down and the size of the book further reduced. A brief synopsis of the contents in English and a reference under the sutras to the chapter and verse of the original as also to the changes introduced would have been highly welcome. The glossary which is appended to the work and explains, in general, the more important and peculiar words occuring in the text will be found useful to the readers. We hope the learned compiler will follow up this work with similar digests of some other works of this type.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

GUJARATI

RAJA CHHABILARAM BAHADUR: *By Manshankar Pitambardas Mehta. Published in the Sayaji Sahitya Mala, Baroda. Cloth bound: illustrated. Pp. 339. Price Re. 1-14.* (*1933*).

The Visalnagarā Nagar Brahmins claim that this famous Mogul officer belonged to their caste, the Vadnagara Nagars claim him as of their caste. His biographer makes him out to belong to the latter caste. He flourished (A. D. 1665-1719) during the decline of the Moguls, in the reign of Farrukh-Siyar and was instrumental in getting the Jaziya tax removed and thus getting relief for the Hindus of the Empire. In writing this biography Mr. Manshankar has consulted all available material, and produced a work which is very interesting and full of information. He has used discrimination in the selection of the sources on which he has relied and thereby the book becomes valuable.

JYOTI REKHA, *by Sundarji G. Betai, printed at the Narayan Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Illustrated Cover: Thick Card board. Pp. 45+18. Price Re. 1.* (*1934*).

This is a collection of fine Five (5) Khand Kavyas by a very promising young poet. Its introduction is written by Prof. Narsinhrao B. Divatia, who has very carefully brought out all its good points, specially the graceful way in which he has treated of such appealing topics as the Dream of Siddhartha, the Lochandan of Sulochana, and the disappearance into the sea of the golden Dwarika. That the poems disclose the fact that there is great potentiality of better work in this early stage of Mr. Betai's craftsmanship, no one can dispute, and we extend him our cordial congratulations.

(1) A. S. KUMARI, (2) GHAR DIVDI, *both written by Yashwant S. Pandya, (1) Printed at Navchetan, 10 Pollock Street, Calcutta, (2) at Suryaprakash Press, Ahmedabad. Paper Covers. Pp. 204: 85. Price Re 1: Annas 8: Illustrated.*

Both these are plays, and they bear on social subjects. There is a sort of latent humour and imperceptible satire in them: both so blended that one likes to go through them from cover to cover before putting them down. Those who have read Mr. Pandya's other and characteristic works are struck by the facility with which he can change from one subject to another without sacrificing ability and efficiency.

K. M. J.

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THE WATERS OF DESTINY

By SITA DEVI

XVII

THIS job at Mysore had been offered to Sudarshan long ago. But as he was loath to leave Delhi just then, he had not, till then, accepted it finally. Now he wrote definitely accepting the offer, and began to make arrangements for going away. He hesitated to the last to leave his old and invalid father alone, but the old man himself began to press him to join his post without delay and brought over a widowed sister of his from his village home, to look after him.

Before going away, Sudarshan wanted to see Suparnā alone once, but he could not decide whether it would be right. Things were not at all clear to him. She had never told him plainly that she did not love him. Yet she was trying with all her might to thrust him away from her. What could be the meaning of this? If her heart was not inclined towards him, where was the harm in owning it up? Sudarshan was not unworthy of her. If she had no love for him, she could tell him that plainly. Uncertainty gives birth to more unhappiness than anything else in this world. But Sudarshan could not but notice that his presence moved her very much. The poor young man could not decide whether it would be right to disturb her again for his own sake.

But Suparnā decided everything for him. He received a letter in the morning, which bore his name and address, written in a beautiful and feminine hand. Undoubtedly it had come from Suparnā. Sudarshan was not very familiar with her handwriting, still an inner voice seemed to whisper to him, that the letter had come from her. His strong hand trembled with excitement when he opened it. Suparnā had written:

"I hear from uncle that you are soon going away from here to join your new post. I, too, am going away to-morrow to Calcutta, with Amitā's aunt. It is not certain yet, whether I shall ever return to Delhi again. I am but a plaything now in the hand of fate. I do not know where I shall go, nor what is going to become of me. My heart is eager to tell you everything, to make a full confession, but I cannot. Please forget me, that is my last request to you. Perhaps I shall never again meet you in this world. This thought lends me courage to say what I have said. Otherwise, even this would have remained unspoken. I would have considered myself the most fortunate woman on earth, had it been in my power to accept what you offered me. But I have not the right so much as to think about it even. I cannot tell you why. Please accept my *Namaskar*.

Yours faithfully
Suparnā."

Sudarshan stood still for a while with the letter clasped in his hand. His frowning face betrayed the struggle and indecision in his heart. Why was Suparnā creating this veil of mystery? Could not he tear it asunder by force? He was going away the next day. There was no more time. He locked up the letter in his desk and began to pace the room restlessly.

Taran Babu and Amit had come to the station to see off Suparnā and Taran Babu's sister. The train was not crowded, and they got enough accommodation. As there were very few passengers, they were in no hurry to get in. They put in the luggage and stood talking on the platform. Suparnā was looking very grave and pale. A couple of days' illness had changed her appearance completely.

"You should go away for a change of air to some hill station or other, instead of going to Calcutta," Taran Babu was saying. "But let's hear what your father says about it. This is what is wrong with our girls. They never know when to cry halt Education is all right, but you must not neglect your health for that."

"What do you mean, father?" cried out Amitā. "Am I not also studying? But have you ever noticed me to be ill for a day? If Su neglects eating, drinking and sleeping, it is not the fault of education, but the fault of herself."

"But medical students are very hard put to it, you must admit that," said Amitā's aunt.

Just at that moment, Amitā pinched Suparnā hard and whispered, "Look, who is coming".

Suparnā looked up and saw Sudarshan advancing rapidly towards them. Her face became paler than before. Her legs began to tremble, and she sat down rather suddenly on a bench that stood near by.

"Why, what has happened to you again, Su?" asked Amitā rather alarmed. "I am feeling dizzy," replied Suparnā faintly.

Amitā also sat down by her. "Why are you torturing yourself and another innocent person needlessly?" She asked. "What prevents you from speaking plainly?"

Suparnā clasped her arm and cried out hoarsely, "Stop, stop, don't make me give myself away before people. Let me go away with tearless eyes at least."

Amitā was struck dumb with amazement. She had never seen such a thing before. She had no

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more doubts in her heart about Suparnā's love for Sudarshan. Everything seemed to point out this fact to her. And Sudarshan's love for Suparnā had become known to one and all. Then why was Suparnā trying to hide it and torturing herself and Sudarshan? Amitā wanted to give Suparnā a good shaking and thus make her see reason.

By this time Sudarshan had arrived by their side. "I was afraid, I might be too late,' he said to Taran Babu. "Father became so unwell in the morning, that I was held up by his side for an hour."

"What has happened to him ?" asked Taran Babu.

"My aunt has arrived from the village," said Sudarshan. "So his meals have become much more elaborate. He is an old man, and could not bear this change well."

"Are you starting for Mysore in a day or two ?" called out Amitā from the bench. "It would have been better, if you too had started today. We could have seen you off too. That would have meant killing two birds with one stone.'

Sudarshan turned to them and said, "We, poor wretches, are never seen off by anyone else, except the porters at the station." Then he looked full at Suparnā and said, 'You are not looking at all well. Have you again been ill ?

"No," said Suparnā in an indistinct whisper.

"No, indeed," cried out Amitā in protest. "Did not you feel giddy just now, when you sat down ?"

"Then you should never have undertaken such a long journey," said Sudarshan rather alarmed.

"She could hardly change her plans at the last moment," said Amitā. "She never complained, while at home, of being unwell."

"Well, there is no help for it now," said Sudarshan. "But you must get into your compartment now and lie down. Otherwise, you might find it full, and then you will have to sit throughout the whole journey."

Suparnā got up in a hurry. Amitā too, got into the compartment with her and began to prepare a bed for Suparnā. "Lie down here," she said, "and cover yourself up to the head. If anyone asks you to get up, say that you have got pox. That would settle everything and no one will dare to approach you again."

Suparnā laid herself down. Sudarshan came and stood by her. "Do not get up again on any account," he said, "but continue like this."

Taran Babu also hurried up. "What is the matter ?" he asked anxiously. "Is she again unwell ?"

"No, no," said Sudarshan. "She is feeling rather weak, so I have told her to rest awhile."

Taran Babu moved off and began to talk to his sister. A certain wealthy young man had just returned from England and the brother and sister wanted to secure him for Amitā.

Amitā got down from the compartment on a made-up pretext, in order to leave Sudarshan alone with Suparnā for a few moments. Sudarshan began to arrange the ladies' luggage more conveniently and said in a low voice, "I have received your letter. But I did not understand anything clearly from it. There is no more time for me to understand. I had much to say to you in reply, but for that too, there is no time. Only let me tell you this, that I shall never forget, and I shall cherish hope to the last. Wherever I happen to be, I shall hurry to your side, if you deign to call me. There is no more time, there goes the bell. Good-bye !"

Suparnā looked at him, with eyes full of tears. Amitā and Taran Babu came in once more to take their leave. Amitā's aunt too came in with her sons. Taran Babu misunderstood the tears in Suparnā's eyes and patted her on the back consolingly, saying "You are a foolish little woman, my dear. You are coming back within a few days, so why are you crying ?"

"There is time yet, if you want to undo the mischief, you have done," whispered Amitā.

But Suparnā did not reply. Amitā and her father got down hurriedly from the train as the last bell went. The train gave a jolt, then began to move forward slowly. Sudarshan paced along by its side, holding on to the window of the compartment in which Suparnā was. "I have written my address on this card," said he, giving a card to Suparnā. "I have secured your address too, from Miss Amitā. May I write to you occasionally ?"

Suparnā sat up on the bench. Tears were still streaming from her eyes. "No, don't write," she said hoarsely. "Forget me, that is my last prayer to you."

Sudarshan bit his lips, and released his hold on the window. The train steamed noisily out of the platform.

"Why not come with us, Sudarshan ?" said Taran Babu. "There is plenty of room in the car now."

Sudarshan was standing there, very silent and preoccupied. "Very well," he said and turned to them.

They came out of the platform all together. "You let her off too easily," whispered Amitā to him.

Sudarshan smiled sadly and said, "The obstacles were not of a nature that could be tackled by me."

"If you have to back away from every obstacle you meet, you will never do anything in this world," said Amitā.

"There is such a thing as fate, above all," said Sudarshan. "Man's will and prowess cannot achieve everything."

As soon as the train left Delhi station behind Suparnā flung herself down on her bed again. "You have really become very weak, my dear," said Amitā's aunt. "I did not know it before,

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else I would never have dared to take you along with me. I wish I could see the end of this journey soon."

"Don't be anxious about me please," said Suparnā. "I shall be all right. I am not ill, only a little weak. Had anything really been the matter with me, I would not have dared myself to come."

"If you feel well enough to stand the journey, then I do not mind," said the aunt. "Since you are going to become a doctor and look after the health of other people, you should learn to take care of your own health first. I hope you have sent a wire to your father?"

"Yes", said Suparn . "I sent it yesterday."

The train rushed along. Passengers got in, and they got out, but Suparnā never noticed anything. She did not even notice the stations, where the trains stopped. Before this, these things always used to interest her so much. She used to devour the whole distance with her eyes. She would not even sleep, lest she should miss some part of the way. She wanted to see and know as much of the world as she could. She had planned to tour the whole of India and thus satisfy the cravings of her heart to the full, after the completion of her studies. Even her fellow passengers were objects of interest to her. She did not know whence they came, and where they went. Their lives touched hers, only for a few moments. Her imagination used to follow these strangers throughout their journey. But this time her mind had become dry and barren like a desert. She did not want to look at the world or at the faces of her fellow men. Everything was too horrible. What was the use, then, of looking at anything? She looked out only once, like a convict sentenced to life-long imprisonment, taking leave of the fair world outside. Then she turned round and closed her eyes.

She never knew how the day and the night passed. There were very few passengers. So Suparnā did not have to suffer from any inconvenience. She only had a cup of tea and another cup of cocoa during the long journey. Nothing could induce her to take anything else. Many of the lady passengers enquired of Amitā's aunt, what the poor girl was suffering from. The good lady did not know much of Hindi, yet she replied as best as she could. If Suparnā had been in a normal mood, she would have found much cause for merriment. But she had no ear for anything now, she only wanted to pass the time somehow. She looked and looked at her watch, till her eyes ached.

Even at night she could not sleep. The monotonous sound of the carriage wheels sounded like a dirge in her ears. The memory of that day, long ago, when she had first come to Delhi, came back vividly to her mind. With what hope, what joy, and what a sense of wild freedom, had she commenced that journey! She was convinced that she was leaving behind the life of a prisoner for ever. But the wheel of fate had turned, and she was being led back perhaps to that selfsame prison.

She had known the joys of a free existence now, could she again live the life of a slave? Her whole body shuddered at the very thought. She could not murder her inner self, like this. Her father had asked her to decide for herself, but he did not know, how very knotty the problem was. Suparnā had changed entirely, body, mind and soul. She could no longer be merged into that old Subarna, the wife of that tyrant Shribilas. Subarna was dead, dead completely, nothing of her now lived in Suparnā. Was Suparnā to be strangled to death now, so that Subarna might live again? But even if Suparnā died, could the memory she cherished die also? Who would gain by it, if Suparnā died now, and an apparition walked about on the earth, calling herself Subarna? Still must she die?

The long journey ended somehow, at last. The uproar of the Howrah Station reached Suparnā's ears and made her sit up. Amitā's aunt leaned out of the window and said, "There is your father, Suparnā. Thank God, the wire reached him in good time."

Suparnā got down from the train. Her face looked like that of a stone image.

XVIII

Pratulchandra had long ago left the boarding house, with which we are familiar, and had been living in a small house by himself, all these years. Suparnā had visited him twice or thrice, during this period. He had rented this house mainly for her. She had grown up into young womanhood and it was unseemly to bring her over to a men's boarding house. Besides, everyone at the old establishment knew Suparnā's past history. Pratul did not want to have Suparnā's feelings hurt, by any inadvertent allusion to her past.

Suparnā accompanied her father to this new house. He had always kept a room for her, furnished suitably. The furniture were covered over thickly with dust, though Pratul had ordered the servant to prepare the room for her coming. He had, of course, swept the floor of the room, but as neither he nor his ancestors had ever heard of dusting furniture, he had left the things untouched.

As Suparnā entered the dust-laden room, her bitter mind felt even more bitter. How can a human being live inside this room? "Please call your servant, father," she said in a tired voice, "this room is impossible."

Pratul smiled and called the servant. The poor man was obliged to dust the furniture and cleanse the cobwebs on the wall, thus rendering the clean floor dusty again. He had perforce to sweep it all over. Then Suparnā ordered him out of the room again, and after arranging

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all her things, she changed and went to have tea with her father.

"You are not taking anything at all," said Pratul. "And you are looking none too well. Why did you put further strain on yourself by undertaking such a long journey? I wrote to you that I was going over next month."

"I could not endure Delhi for a moment longer, father," said Suparnā. "So I had to come away even in this state of my health. I want to finish all this muddle, once for all. I cannot hide, all my life, like an escaped convict. If I cannot live like a free human being, I need not live at all. I am thoroughly sick of this existence." Her voice choked on the last words.

Though Pratul did not understand all her words fully, yet he understood well that she was suffering terribly. He felt for her very deeply. "You are quite right, my dear," he said, 'a person cannot attain the fulfilment of life in any way, if he or she has to flee before a nameless fear all the time. It is better to see things to a finish, be it good or bad. I shall try to help you to the best of my power, but you know how limited man's power is. As Shribilas has the law on his side, he can cause you a good deal of annoyance. But I don't know whether he intends to do that. From his looks and words, he did not seem to be a finished scoundrel. But it is impossible to say how he will turn out when put to the test. If desperately cornered, he might turn out to be a very rough customer."

"That is very likely, father," said Suparnā, "You do not know him, but unfortunately, I know him only too well. A man does not change very much after he is twenty-one."

"That's true," said her father. "But still, one can never tell. He really feared his mother like the very devil. And it was she who tortured you more than he ever did."

Suparnā's face turned red in anger. "That is not a fact, father," she said. "He did all he could to torture me. But most of the time, he was absent in Calcutta. When I think of those times, I can scarcely call him human. To call him an animal is to insult the animals."

"It is no use exciting yourself about past history, now," said her father. "It was fated that you should suffer, else why should your mother fall into such a foolish way of thinking? Now, calm yourself and try to decide what you should do. Shribilas is here, he lives only a short distance away. If he knows that you are here, he will be sure to come in the evening. You can then talk things over with him."

Suparnā remained silent for a while. Then she said, "All right, father, you may inform him about my arrival. Let this be ended, soon." She left the table and went away to her own room. Pratul wrote a note to Shribilas and sent a servant over with it. Suparnā had no wish to eat or drink that day. She bolted herself inside her room and remained there the whole afternoon. Her brain seemed to be on fire. Her mind was full of the deepest hatred and loathing for Shribilas. How was she going to extricate herself from the clutches of this inhuman beast? A few fools had played with her young life long ago. So was her whole existence to become a drama of despair and futility? Shribilas could not drag her away by main force, but he could render her whole life barren as a desert. He was casting his black shadow over her young life, and robbing it of all joy and hope. By degrees, her anger turned into deep pain, and hiding her head in her pillow, she wept tears of agony. Poor exile from an unforgettable paradise, she could never again enter that land. She had only been admitted there once, through mistake. When pain becomes past suffering, one becomes angry with the whole world. Suparnā began to feel angry with Pratul even. Why did he bring her away from that life of suffering? It was not pity but cruelty. Why should a person sentenced to life-long imprisonment be allowed one glimpse of a free life? It only succeeds in making the subsequent darkness more horrible. If she was destined to be sacrified on the altar of social custom, why did her father try to rouse her to a sense of real womanhood? She was fast becoming a clod, he should have left her there to that fate.

The afternoon passed away somehow. Suparnā had to get up and calm herself somehow. She had to meet Shribilas now, and try to get the better of him in verbal warfare. She must not submit to unjust social laws, she must not be carried off her feet by fear or sweet words.

She finished her evening toilette and came out. She was used to wearing white all the time, but her dress always gave evidence of her love for fine things and of her good taste. But today she was getting ready for a fight. She brushed her hair back severely from her forehead and tied it in a tight knot behind. She took off all her bangles from her wrists, leaving only one. She wore the cheapest and plainest *sari* she had and a blouse with full sleeves. Pratul looked at his daughter and became graver than before.

Father and daughter sat down to tea. "Are you going to offer Shribilas tea?" asked Pratul. "In that case we must order some sweetmeats."

"No need, father," said Suparnā roughly. "When a person who should have been near and dear, turns into a foe, he becomes far worse than a stranger. He goes out of the social pale. You need not observe any social rules with him. He must never be allowed to think that he is still regarded as one of the family."

"You must first see him and hear what he has to say. If you grow angry beforehand, you will never be able to do justice to him."

Suparnā bit her lips and became silent. After a while she said, "Father, it is very difficult for me, not to get angry, when I think of him. Not only did he torture me during

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childhood, but is now trying to perpetrate worse infamy."

Tea was finished. The servant removed the things. Suparnā got up and said, "Father, I am going to have a walk on the terrace. When he comes, please inform me."

"All right," said her father. He turned to the servant and said, "A gentleman will call soon. Show him to the drawing-room and inform me." He retired to his own room and began to read Amiel's Journal.

Shribilas came much before his time. He was feeling very much excited, as he knocked at the front door. He did not look up, otherwise he would have seen a pair of large eyes, full of hatred and scorn, gazing down at him. Suparnā's eyes travelled over his immaculate and foppish dress, and her fair face became distorted with scorn. Pratul had informed him of Suparnā's arrival. He had come prepared to have a face to face talk with Suparnā.

The servant received him as ordered, and went in to inform his master. Shribilas began to feel a certain hostile element in the atmosphere, which he had not felt on his previous visits. He smiled and thought, "That is due to my lady's instructions, I suppose. She must be very angry. It will take much cajoling to bring her round." Then his thoughts turned to another direction. He was going to see his wife after thirteen years. He wondered what she looked like now. She was extremely pretty at the time of his marriage to her. Afterwards, she lost her looks somewhat, owing to systematic neglect of herself, and constant fighting and bickering. She had a nasty temper even as a child, and was a good match for Shribilas's late lamented mother, the most notable virago of the village. Shribilas wondered whether her temper was as bad now. She was the only child of a rich man and an educated lady. She was a prospective lady doctor too. So it was extremely unlikely that he would find her a mild and obedient type. He was ready for a certain amount of hostility. Suparnā had a right to show off some temper, being a rich man's daughter.

Pratul entered the room with a grave face. Shribilas got up in a hurry and bowed down to him. Pratul was not very observant by nature. Still he too noticed that Shribilas was got up very finely today. Pratul had expected better manners from an educated man. He could imagine well the reaction of this silly foppery upon Suparnā's mind.

He asked Shribilas to sit down and drew up a chair for himself. Shribilas was at a loss for words. Pratul thought for a minute or two, then began to speak. "I have already told you whatever I had to say," he said. "I have not said anything to Suparnā, either for you or against you. She has now become a full-grown woman. She has been well educated, and she is quite capable of knowing her own mind and of judging for herself. If she agrees to go to you now, of her free will, I will not oppose it. But if she is not willing, she must not be coerced. Whatever be the law, know this for certain,"

Shribilas had as vile a temper now as he had in his early youth. The tone of Pratul's words began to make him angry, but being a lawyer he controlled himself. He knew that if he got angry now, he would lose his case. So he said in a calm voice, "I have no intention of coercing her, Sir, I shall try my best to persuade her to come with me willingly."

"Very well," said Pratul, getting up. "Wait here, I shall send her in to you. I shall be in the next room so that you might talk quite candidly to each other. If you need me, you may call me."

Pratul Chandra went out. Shribilas laughed to himself and thought, "He is quite willing. Otherwise he would never have given me such opportunities. Now it all depends on the state of my lady's temper."

After a few minutes, Suparnā entered the room with firm steps. Shribilas got up with a start. He did not realize for a few moments that it was really Suparnā. It was a completely different woman, who stood in front of him. She did not bear the slightest resemblance to Subarna, whom he remembered. But, almost immediately he knew, that it was Suparnā. He was dreaming of a lovely fairy-like creature all this while, when this austere nun-like figure entered, shattering his dream to pieces. But even in this severe garb, how wonderfully beautiful she was. He began to feel ashamed of his fine dress now.

As Suparnā approached him, he sat down again. He must say something to her, but he did not know what to say. "Sit down Subarna, I hope you are all right," he said at last rather foolishly.

The name Subarna stung Suparnā like a scorpion's sting. Everyone had forgotten Subarna, except this person. He wanted to drag back poor, tortured Subarna here, from the dead past. Could she not prevent him by some means or other? She was wondering at her own calmness in his hated presence. She was not feeling excited in the least. She was like a spectator, looking at the drama of life of another person. She sat down and answered, "I am all right, thank you."

Shribilas collected his thoughts in a few minutes and began, "You must have heard from your father, why I am here. My mother is dead. My sister is, of course, in the house now, but she too contemplates going away to Baneres very soon. I did not arrange to bring you back to me, all this while, not because, I did not want it, but because I saw no way to do it. If I took you back, you would have had to live in the same house with mother, which would not have

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suited you at all. She had become old, so I could not do anything against her wish. I have begun to practise as a lawyer here, but I do not earn enough to set up an establishment here. But now that mother is dead, there is nothing to prevent you from living in my village home. My sister will know how to behave."

Suparnā felt an irresistible impulse to laugh outright Shribilas was taking it quite for granted that Suparnā was going back with him. It only needed to settle where she was to live. His words sounded innocent enough, but they did not ring sincere at all. He seemed to be repeating words, that he had got by heart. He did not dare to say what he really felt. Suparnā's hatred and distrust of him increased tenfold. Human beings fear a wolf but if it appears in a lamb's skin, it becomes an object of mirth also. Suparnā knew Shribilas and his sister only too well. Circumstances had changed indeed, but people's natures could not change so easily.

"It does not suit me to go at all," said Suparnā at last.

Shribilas seemed to be surprised beyond measure. He raised his eyebrows and asked, 'Why ?"

"That question should be asked by me, more properly," said Suparnā "Why should I go ?"

Shribilas thought for a moment, then replied, "It is the custom all the world over, from time immemorial. Married people always live together. Otherwise the world will soon come to an end."

"But am I really married to you ?" asked Suparnā. "A child's play was enacted in my childhood. I did not understand a word of it and I did not utter one word of the *mantras* myself. Taking advantage of this silly and meaningless ceremony, you have tortured me and oppressed me as much as you desired. I have managed to free myself somehow and have come to understand what freedom means in a human life. I have chosen my path, and I shall stick to it. You drove me away once with insults. That was final. I am not going again to you. I have chosen my career also. My only request to you is this, don't pester me any more."

Shribilas's temper had risen considerably, but he did not dare to show it. If he tried coercion from the first, he was sure to fail. He must try to persuade her and plead with her first. He knew that he could no longer employ force against her, as he had done in her childhood. He did not want to do it. But about one thing he was determined, he must get her back. She was the only child of a rich father, and was going to inherit everything. Keeping this in mind, Shribilas had never married again, though he had lived a life of dissipation. He believed fully that a Hindu woman's real place was at the feet of her husband, not on his head. He did not believe in the modern foolishness of treating woman as equals of men, even though they were educated. But he knew that, due to adverse circumstances, Suparnā was no longer in his power. To get her back once again meant a lot of trouble in many directions. His father-in-law too was not a good man ; he would never help Shribilas. He would rather let his daughter go astray, than send her back to her husband. Shribilas did not believe that educated women, especially lady doctors, could ever keep their character. He must rescue her somehow.

In answer to Suparnā's words, he said, "You have received good education, yet you speak unreasonable words. All Hindu girls are married in the same way, as you were. They never choose their husbands themselves. But do they cease to be husbands and wives, for all that ? The law recognizes their union, so does society. You were married at the age of eight, after that you spent five years under my roof as my wife. Still do you mean to say that our marriage was no marriage at all ?"

"Yes, I do mean to say it," said Suparnā. "A ceremony in which I had no choice, no voice, no option, does not mean anything to me. Legally, of course, you may call me married. Our Hindu law is such that even if the husband is a tiger or a snake, the girl has no means of escape from it But the law can at worst punish me, it cannot force me to live as your wife."

Shribilas had not thought that matters would arrive at such a pass. He was not prepared for such determined opposition. He had thought that Suparnā would shed tears or use abusive words, that would be about all. But this was a real declaration of war.

"You are speaking in anger," he said, "and not trying to see beneath the surface. You are justified in being angry, I do not deny that. You did not live a happy life in our home. I myself was a mere boy then, and could not say a word for you. But now things have changed. You shall be the mistress of the household, your word shall be law. My sister is prepared to go away to Benares, after she has seen you settled at home. Then why do you object ?"

Suparnā smiled bitterly. "I object," she said, "because I can never give you the love and respect due to a husband. It is impossible for me to live as your wife"

"You think it impossible now, but your mind may change afterwards," said Shribilas. "Love and respect grow gradually, from living together. Love at first sight is nonsense. You confine it only in English novels. We have no use for it."

"I don't want to live with you," said Suparnā. "I have no intention of staying on here indefinitely, absenting myself from the college. I shall leave for Delhi very soon. I came here simply to settle matters once for all, with you. You know my mind now. I hope you will not pester me again."

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Shribilas was not going to give up so easily. He now tried to rouse her pity, and became quite sentimental. "I shall never give up hope till the end of my life," he said. "If I could do so, why have I not married again, all these years? My mother had told me again and again to marry."

Suparnā's lips bore the trace of a smile again. She repressed it and said. "You may marry with a clean conscience. That would be the best arrangement."

"I am the best judge of that," said Shribilas. "Do you think, you can live alone, like this, all your days? No woman can ever do that, be she as educated and free, as you like. You cannot marry again, as Hindu law does not sanction divorce. What are you going to do?"

"That's my business," said Suparnā. Shribilas got up and said, "I shall come again, day after tomorrow. I give you these two days to think things over again."

(To be continued.)

ARCHÆOLOGICAL EXCAVATION IN INDIA BY FOREIGNERS, AND INDIA'S NEEDS

By "INDIA FIRST"

OUR leaders and politicians are so very busy with the strictly political and economic questions that the cultural side of our national life is very sadly neglected by them. No one seems to understand the implications of the various measures proposed and passed from time to time, no one gives a thought to their ultimate effect on the intellectual life of the country. Decisions which adversely affect the interests of India as a people are allowed to pass unchallenged. Certain recent measures in connection with archæological excavation work in India are a case in point.

All civilized governments look upon the proper study and preservation of the archæological antiquities of the country as a most important duty. It was owing to the enlightened interest of the late Lord Curzon when he was Viceroy and Governor-General that the Archæological Survey of India was instituted as a department of the Government of India. For the last thirty years, this inconspicuous but none the less useful branch of public service has done service of inestimable value in unearthing the records of the past by excavation, and in preserving the ancient monuments of India, which are among our greatest heritages from the past. The department has given us back Taxila and Nalanda, Sarnath and Paharpur, Sravasti and Kusinagara, Bhita and Mahasthan, and scores of other centres of culture in ancient India; it has preserved for humanity Sanchi and Ajanta, Ellora and Mahabalipuram, the Taj Mahal and the Gol Gumbaz; and it has opened up new vistas in the earliest history of India by giving us Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa, Adittanallur and Nal. It trained a band of European and Indian scholars in excavation and field-work, who have raised high the fame of India in antiquarian research—men like Sir John Marshall, Drs. Vogel and Spooner, and Messrs. D. R. Bhandarkar, R. D. Banerji, Dayaram Sahni, Ramaprasad Chanda and others.

The sum allotted to the Department has been so far meagre, and it just enabled it to carry on its essential work somehow. Officers of the Department continued excavations in some of the most important sites, and their labours were made known to the world in monographs. The epigraphical records also continued to be studied and published—and there was ample co-operation from outside scholars in this matter. But from the Great War onwards the cry was 'economy' and 'still more economy'; it meant greater and greater curtailment of the Department's activities, so that at the present moment its most important work is at a standstill.

The Government will not spend any money on excavation work, although scores of most important sites which have in their bosom the secrets of India's past are crying for attention. Its responsibilities in this matter are passed on to others, and on terms and conditions which are sure to make the Indian people great losers. Foreign learned bodies, from the different countries of Europe, from America, and possibly also from Japan in the not distant future will be allowed to do excavation work at suitable sites. The conditions held out for them, which have been approved by the Indian Government, are remarkably liberal. The antiquities discovered by excavation work are to be liberally allowed to be taken away by the foreign explorers, as the Government of India thinks that these foreign explorers should get an adequate return for the money spent by them. Thanks to this beautiful arrangement by

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the Indian Government, we shall be selling our birthright for a mess of pottage.

Of the countries interesting or important archæologically, there are Italy, Greece, Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Iraq, Persia, Afghanistan, Chinese Turkistan, Egypt, India, Indo-China, Java and China, and Mexico, Central America, Peru and Bolivia. Of these, Italy does not allow any foreign group to do any excavation work ; and Indo-China and Java being under the French and the Dutch respectively, these two powers do the necessary archæological work there, and there is no scope for any other foreign nationals to work there. With Italy, it is a matter of conscious pride with which they do their excavation work, and they now jealously guard their antiquarian treasures. France and Holland have done archæological work most efficiently and have conserved the antiquities of Indo-China and Indonesia in a most admirable manner: and for this we in India have reason to feel grateful to them, for they have given back to the world the Greater India of Indo-China and Indonesia. The other countries—Greece, Turkey, Iraq, Persia, Afghanistan, China, and Egypt, as well as Mexico and the other American countries, have allowed one or more foreign bodies—French, English, German, Italian and American—to do archæological excavation work. **Of these, while Iraq, Persia and Egypt and Mexico have been particularly careful in the matter of the conditions under which foreign institutions are allowed to work, Greece and Turkey do not allow any antiquities to go out of the country.**

Even in mandated territories like Syria and Palestine, which, being under the administrative control of the French and the British respectively, are more liberal in their Antiquities Laws than independent or semi-independent nations, the right of the Government to claim all objects required for the scientific completeness of the museums of the country or for the illustration of art and history is unequivocally safeguarded.

The Government of India, on the other hand, in throwing open for the first time the field of exploration to outsiders, seem more anxious to allay the fears of foreign financiers of archaeological expeditions than to ensure the development of the national collections in the country.

We are to remember that the foreign nationals coming to do archæological excavation work in Indian soil do not find themselves, unlike the earlier group of archæological workers in Egypt, Greece, Turkey and elsewhere, among a people whose intellectual or educated classes do not understand or do not care for the antiquities and past history of their country. It was possible, perhaps allowable, to take away antiquities from Egypt and Turkey, and Greece, as well as Central Asia, in those days as neither did the Turkish and the Chinese Governments care, nor was there any indigenous study of the antiquities of their land among the Arabs of Egypt and Syria, Palestine and Iraq, and among the Greeks, and the Turki people of Central Asia ; and there were ignorance and fanaticism which took pleasure in destroying what was not understood. But in India the question is entirely different. There is native Indian scholarship, and there is native Indian pride in the ancient history and culture of India. Merely because the Government has not the money, we should not issue a *carte blanche* to foreign nationals. We should be at least as strict as Greece, Turkey and Egypt.

The tendency everywhere is—to prohibit the foreign excavators from taking away any antiquity discovered in the course of their labours unless they are strict duplicates, and are allowed to be taken away by a national board of antiquarians and historians. The question of the expenses incurred by these foreign bodies is quite beside the point. The objects found are national heirlooms, and they must be treated as such, and except for strict duplicates, they must remain with the nation.

The foreign group, of course, has the prior right of publication on their discoveries and on their finds, and that in itself is or ought to be, the main reward.

The task of making a proper selection and equitable distribution of antiquities and the granting of permits for export of antiquities is in all countries assigned to the head of the Antiquities or Archæology Department, who is in some countries assisted by an Archæological Advisory Board, on which the principal cultural and antiquarian interests of the land are represented. For a country of the size of India, it would certainly be more essential to have a similar Board than to entrust on a single individual the sole responsibility on such vital matters as the retention and export of national heirlooms. In Siam, for instance, not a single object of ancient art and craft is permitted to leave the country unless it is inspected and allowed to be done so by the Archæological Department of the country which affixes its seal on the article, to be inspected at the frontier.

It is understood that an oriental society from America have got permission to excavate a site near Mohen-jo-Daro. We should be circumspect from now. Countries like Iraq and Egypt, Mexico and Peru were careless in the matter as there were no indigenous scholarship to take charge of these things. Now they are taking to these studies and they are tightening up the screw: no more free field for foreign excavators. There

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are Indological Institutions in plenty in India, and it should be considered their work primarily to excavate the old sites. Money must be found for that.

The conditions under which foreign institutions are to be allowed licences to excavate in the soil of India should not be more lenient than those under which Greece, Egypt and other lands allow such excavations.

In the interests of India, the following conditions should be rigidly insisted upon :

(1) All excavation work should be controlled by the Government of India directly. A competent and well-qualified official of the Indian Government must be always present at the site where foreign excavators are working. This official will check all the work when in progress and keep an inventory of all finds. This is done in Greece and some other countries.

(2) Objects found by excavation are not to be taken out of the country. Only duplicates, approved by a Board of Experts consisting of Representatives of the Archæological Survey and the Universities and select Antiquarian and Historical Societies, can be taken away by the foreign bodies undertaking excavation work. The foreign excavating body will have the right to publish first the result of their work together with representations of the objects, but this must be done within a stated time, say, two years.

(3) A small number of junior officials or probationers nominated and deputed by the Archæological Survey of India (in consultation with the Universities, if necessary) are to be given every facility for training in excavation work in the sites where foreign institutes are doing archæological excavation. Such junior officials or probationers are to be treated as scholars and officials, and their pay or stipends are to be paid from Indian sources, either from government or from other bodies, such as the Universities, Research Societies, etc.

Further, the Government should encourage the various Universities to undertake with the help of their professors and scholars archæological work at select sites, a thing which is done in other countries, Egypt included.

Indigenous Societies should always receive preference from the Government in the matter of licences for excavation—this is the declared policy of the Government. But mere preference will not do. There is to be active encouragement and support, and even inducement. In India, there will be no lack of workers, there are plentiful first-rate scholars in history, and professors of ancient Indian history should be induced to take up the work of excavation as a part of their training.

All the above points are vital. The importance of the 1st and the 2nd points are apparent. Because we cannot find the money now, we need not barter away our most precious national heritage for all time to come. Actual personal observation or watching from a responsible officer will be necessary, to prevent as far as possible unwarranted removal of antiquities. The 3rd point is also exceedingly important for the future of Indian scholarship and trained field-work in archæology. **The Government has curtailed all excavation work. Foreign learned bodies will now increasingly take the place of the Government in this matter. If these do not afford Indian scholars opportunity for field-work and practical training, it will mean that in a decade or so there will not be a single Indian within the Archaeological Survey or outside it who will be able to claim any training or active participation in excavation and field work.**

This is something which all those who have a vision of India's growing requirements in learning and science cannot view with equanimity.

Of late the Government of India has neglected the training of young Indian scholars as practical field archæologists. With the exception of a few scholars like Mr. K. N. Dikshit, Mr. M. S. Vats and Mr. N. G. Majumdar, the Department has no other practical field-workers, and there is none in training. Mr. H. Hargreaves, when he was Director-General of Archæology, appointed four young Indian scholars as archæological apprentices—Messrs. K. G. Goswami, L. Narasimhachari, M. Rahim and S. S. Sarkar. They were actually learning excavation work in various sites. It is be regretted that Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni, when he came to office in 1931 as Director-General, dismissed these young scholars on grounds of economy. **The result has been that since then, no Indian scholar is getting any training for field-work in the future.**

And this will mean that for years and years to come, until some new arrangement is made to train Indians in the line, excellent work, such as that done by Mr. N. G. Majumdar in exploring some twenty previously unknown pre-historic sites of Sindh (which forms the subject of a recently published monograph), will be beyond the scope of Indian scholarship, although the country is full of such pre-historic and historic sites.

It is not yet too late. We urge upon the Government to weigh the objections to its present decision with regard to the very liberal terms, explicit and implicit, granted to foreign bodies doing excavation work, objections which have been noted above. Will not our Assembly Members be a little wide-awake, and bring about the proper legislative remedy ?

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DR. TARAKNATH DAS IN WASHINGTON

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

I think readers of *The Modern Review* will be glad to learn that Dr. Taraknath Das has been assigned an important position in the Faculty of Washington University, in our national capital city.

Dr. Taraknath Das, A. M., Ph. D., Lecturer on Oriental Politics, Department of Politics, Washington University, Washington, D. C.
This picture was taken in the University campus while Dr. Das was out from his class-room.

Dr. Das came to this country from India as a student, and has carried on his studies in two or three of our universities, obtaining the degrees of B. A., and Ph. D. He has written much for periodicals in America, Germany, Japan and India, and is the author of three valuable books, namely, "Sovereign Rights of Indian Princes", "Ideals of Rabindranath Tagore" and "Great Britain in World Politics",—the latter published in the German language as well as in English.

During the past three or four years he has travelled and studied in Germany, France and Italy, where he has done much to secure the establishment of scholarships in the universities of those countries for Indian students; and in other ways to promote cultural relations between the people of Germany, Italy and France and the people of India.

Dr. Das has now returned with his family to America, where he expects again to make his residence. His Chair in the Faculty of Washington University is that of Lecturer on Oriental Politics,—a position which will enable him to exert much influence in university circles, and also much with national officials and the general public.

I have before me as I write reports of two public lectures recently delivered by him. *The Washington Herald* says of him editorially, "Our Washington University has designated Professor Taraknath Das, a man of wide practical and theoretical experience in world affairs, to be instructor in Far Eastern affairs. The choice is an excellent one." *The Washington Daily News* says of Dr. Das's appointment: "If the United States is interested in the Open Door in China and Manchukuo, it is equally interested in the Open Door in India. Dr. Das says, Indian Nationalists are against imperial preference, and want all nations treated on a basis of equality in Indian commerce. India should have her own representatives in Washington, just as Ireland and Canada have."

There are few Indian scholars and thinkers

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in America or Europe who are doing so much for their country,—to make known her great past, the value of her civilization and culture and the justice of her struggle for freedom —as Dr. Taraknath Das.

October 20, 1934.

AN INDIAN EXPERT IN COLOURED WOOD-CUT PRINTING

IT is now nearly thirty-five years since the Modern School of Indian Art was founded by Abanindranath Tagore. After the school had been at work for more than a decade, it was felt that printing for the purpose of reproduction of the happiest specimens of art was very much needed. The first attempts at such reproduction were made through halftone printing, which, however, in those days was too crude to retain any of the strength and delicacy of the original paintings. The meagre value of such executions from the artistic point of view set the pioneers to look beyond the eastern seas for the reproduction of paintings. It was increasingly being realized that the art of printing should be developed in India. Four years back Mr. Biswarup Bose of Santiniketan, the son of Mr. Nandalal Bose, was sent on to Japan with the express object of learning artistic coloured wood-cut printing (chromoxylograph). He has now returned to India after having completed his course of training under the eminent artists of Japan.

A word now about the nature and course of training which Mr. Bose has gone through. The Kokka Publishing Company is well known throughout the world for the distinct contribution it has made to art by elevating coloured wood-cut printing to a level of excellence. Mr. Bose was attached to this institution for three years. He studied during his stay in Japan the arts of wood-cut and colour painting and the result has been splendid. The artist has to be congratulated on his achievement.

Coloured wood-cut printing is a process involving three distinct hands—the designer or the artist, the engraver or wood-cutter and the printer. Mr. Bose has done well in combining in himself all the three persons involved in completing the cycle of the designer, the block-cutter and the printer. He is conversant with the technique and the skill of all the three. The artist under whom Mr. Bose had the privilege of working is J. Murayama. He was also trained by U. Hirachka in modern wood-cutting. So far as designing is concerned Mr. Bose had the singular honour of coming into contact with no less an artist than Arai Kampo, who took a kindly interest in him.

Besides, there are certain other crafts which are not in any way connected with wood-cut printing, which he has taken great pains to learn. Brushmaking is important inasmuch as the excellence of the painting depends very much on the quality of the brush, which Japan has improved to a very high degree, and India does not supply good brushes. Picture-mounting is no less important as much of the beauty of paintings is lost owing to the inartistic and crude mounting of them. S. Ihachi has taught him brushmaking and I. Khato picture mounting. The system of Japanese roll-mounting (Kakemono) has a great future in India inasmuch as the artists and art-lovers find it very easy and convenient by this means to preserve paintings in a very good condition.

Mr. Biswarup Bose

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This last circumstance brings us right into the significance and importance of coloured wood-cut printing in India. The original paintings of the eminent artists of modern India are too expensive for the general run of admirers to possess. Reproductions which by their artistic qualities retain the rare effects of the originals are certainly a great boon to the nation. Art, moreover, confined to the appreciation and possession of the few, can never have that character of universality and inspiration about it which alone can make it a power, making for the highest realization of self. Art, confined to a few, is destined to wither and decay.

Advertisers from :—a reproduction by Mr. Biswarup Bose

In view of these considerations Mr. Bose, with the help of his father Mr. Nandalal Bose, has decided to organize a school of training on the lines in which he has himself been trained. The centre of his activities is at present Santiniketan where, in an atmosphere of artistic creations, he has already been working quietly ever since he came back in September, 1933. He has already turned out two important prints, one of Mr. Abanindranath Tagore and the other of Mr. Nandalal Bose. His programme of work will consist in taking in a number of students at Santiniketan and seeing them through a definite course. It is expected that students of art will not miss the opportunity of availing themselves of this new development in the line of art, which is so full of possibilities.

COMMENTS AND CRITICISM

"Bengali Quotations in Nagri Type"

THE EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

Sir,

Allow me to lodge my humble but none the less strong protest against your discarding the Bengali in favour of the Debnagri script in printing Bengali words in the articles in *The Modern Review*, while the *Prabasi*, also owned and edited by you, is printed, and properly so, in Bengali characters. I do not know if the majority of the readers of *The Modern Review* are more familiar with the Debnagri than with the Bengali alphabet; it is not likely, I suppose.

In the article "An Aspect of Mahatma Gandhi's Greatness" in the November issue of *The Modern Review* the quotations from Chaitanya Charitamrita, Maddhyalila and Chaitanya Bhagabat, Adikanda are printed in Debnagri, but the names of the two books as well as of Bhagabat Puran are transliterated and printed in Italics. If the names of the Bengali books can be transliterated why not the quotations from them? And transliteration, to be intelligible to those not knowing how written Bengali words are actually pronounced, must be phonetic.

I may add that in the article the Bengali letter CHA is transliterated by CH in some places and by C in others.

136 Cornwallis St., Calcutta.
18-11-34.

B. Ganguli

EDITOR'S NOTE : The quotations referred to were given in Nagari types as non-Bengali Indian readers of *The Modern Review* exceed Bengali readers in number. But it is admitted that transliteration in Roman script would have been convenient to *all* readers of this journal, Indian and non-Indian, as they all know this script.—*Ed.*, M. R.

Did Firdausi Write a Poem on Yusuf & Zuleikha ?

Mr. Mam Chand Sandilya writes :

"In the last sentence of your note on Firdausi you say he was also the author of Yusuf and Zuleikha. This is incorrect."

In reply we refer the writer to Chambers's Encyclopædia, new edition, 1924, vol. iv, p. 658, article Firdausi, where it is written : "He was the first, apparently, to compose a poem on the wife of Potiphar and Joseph, under the title of *Yusuf u Zulaykha*, a subject which has been a great favourite with many later poets, Turkish as well as Persian."

In the Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th edition, also, vol. x, p. 398, article Firdausi, it is stated :

"Firdousi composed another poem of 9000 couplets on the theme borrowed from the Koran of the loves of Joseph and Potiphar's wife—*Yusuf and Zulerkha*. This poem, though rare and little known, is still in existence—the Royal Asiatic Society possessing a copy."—*Editor*, M. R.

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PLAYMATES
By Nandalal Bose

From a woodblock reproduction by Mr. Biswarup Bose

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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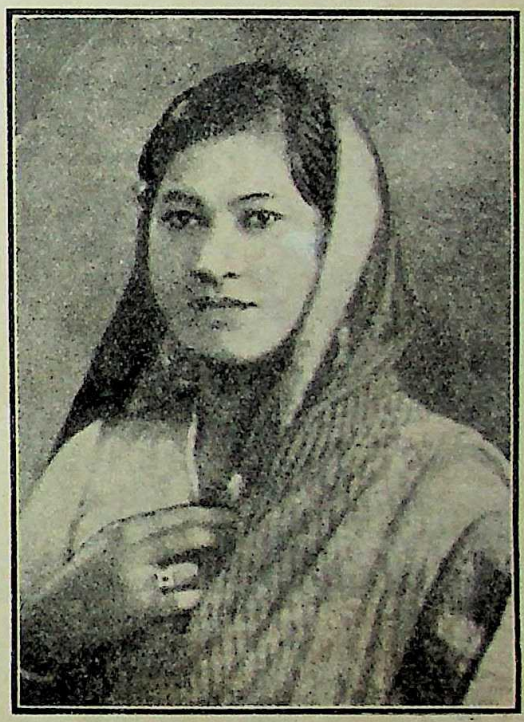
INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Mrs. Kamala H. Jamkhandi, B. A., B. T., T. D. (b) of Karnatak took her Training course in University of London Institute of Education h in theory and practice. She passed the ctical Examination of the Teachers Syndicate the Cambridge University and also got the her Diploma in Education of the Dublin iversity. She took the short course of Montessorie Method in London under lame Montessorie's personal supervision. She s the Honorary Secretary of the Women's

Mrs. Kamala H. Jamkhandi

alth Union in Bijapur, a member of the orking committee of the Karnatak Teachers ssociation, and also a member of the orking committee of the All-India Teachers ssociation.

Rani Phulkunwari of Sherkot presided over the eighth annual session of the Oudh Women's Conference, held at Lucknow, recently.



Rani Phulkunwari of Sherkot

A few months back a group of twenty women students and teachers went on an educational tour in Europe. Their programme was almost complete with all its sight-seeing, pleasure trips, visits to university centres and other diverse places ranging the League of Nations Headquarters to the Vatican, from Oberammergan and the Passion Play to Stratford-on-Avon, from Versailles to the slums of London. In its social aspect the tour included interviews with world-famous personages like the Pope and Signor Mussolini.

The group toured in Italy for over a fortnight. They have said on their return that the priceless treasures of art in her churches and museums transported them to a land of dreams as it were—so great was their spell. Of their interview with Mussolini they have said :

"He spoke to us in English, not very fluently but extremely cordially, said he had made some study of India's great past, of her philosophy and thought and of her wonderful civilization. To-day he was watching with close interest her progress and aspirations. He had had an

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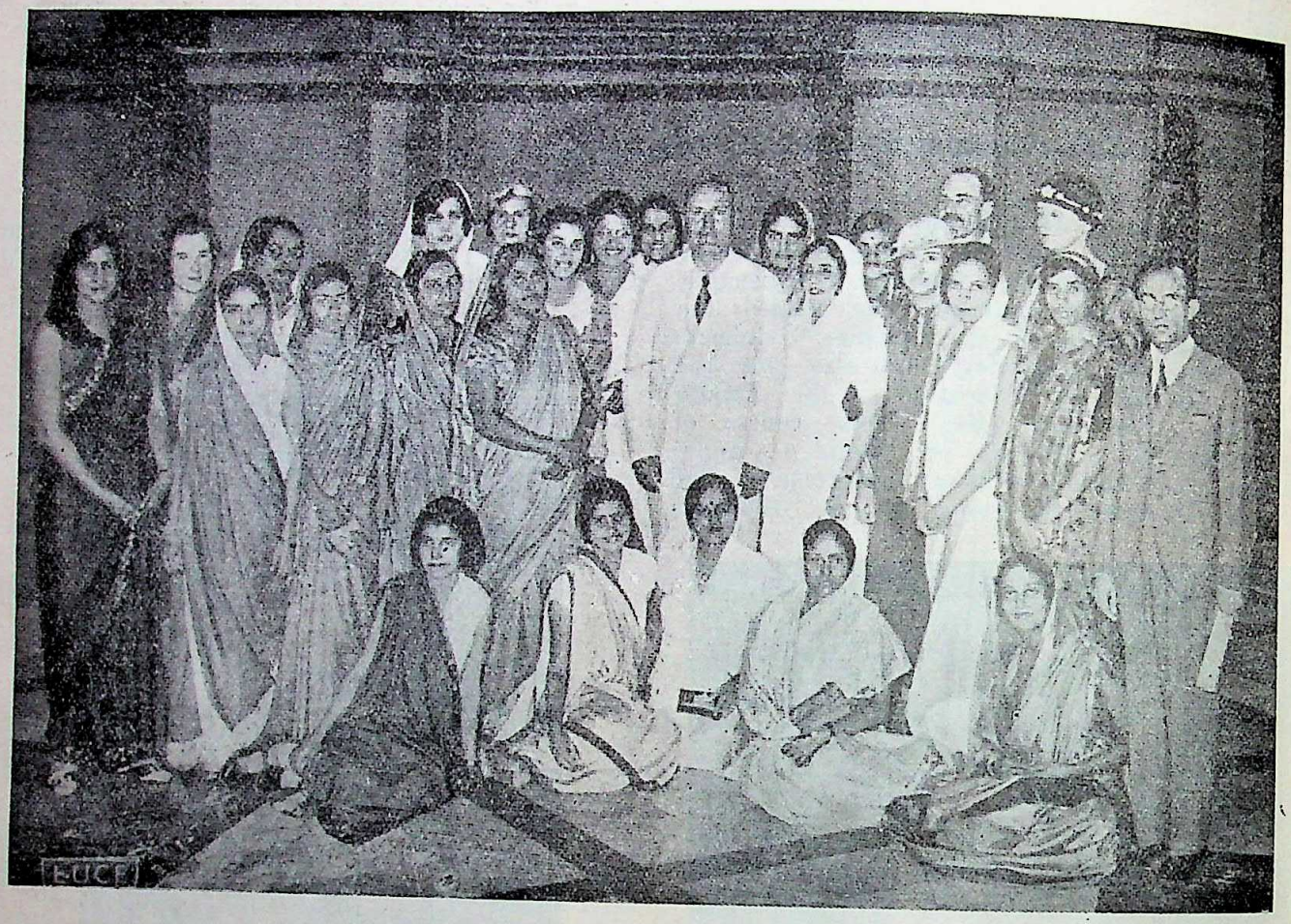


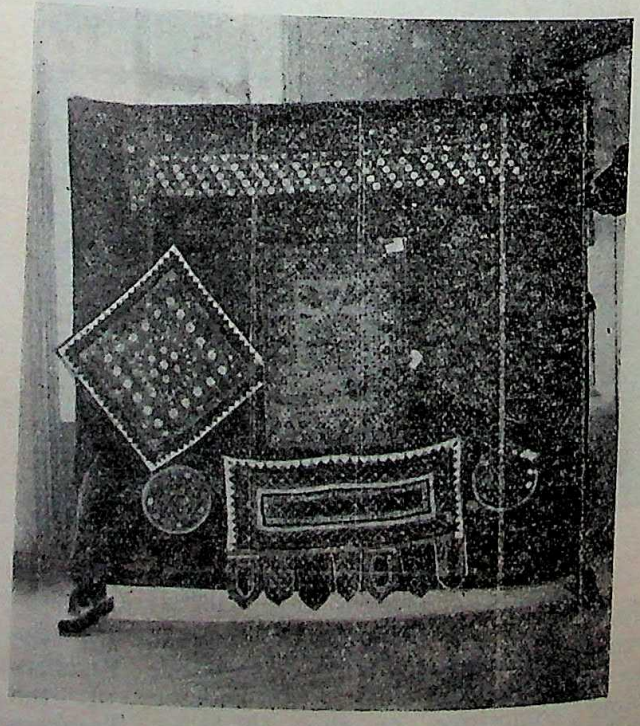
The Indian lady students received by Mussolini

opportunity of meeting Indian students at the Oriental Students' Conference in Rome last Christmas, and now he was very pleased to welcome a party of Indian women to his country.

"A short informal response was made to his speech. Meanwhile the photographer in the corner was ready with his camera focussed, so Signor Mussolini asked, 'Is it your wish that you make a photograph with me?' and laughed heartily at the chorus of 'Yes' and 'Most certainly.' He seemed to enjoy having the girls push about to group around him. That photograph will remain one of the cherished souvenirs of our tour."

From the 19th to the 26th of October last there was held in the Bombay Town Hall a Women's Swadeshi Exhibition of Fine Arts and Handicrafts, organized by the Gujerati Stree Sahakari Mandal. Mrs. Hansa Mehta, the chairman of the Art Committee of this body, writes in her foreword to the Catalogue of the Exhibition:

"Women are by nature artists and good craftsmen. So far they have flirted with arts and taken only amateurish interest in them. It is time women realized that arts and crafts can also be a good means of earning their liveli-



Needle work—Kutch embroidery

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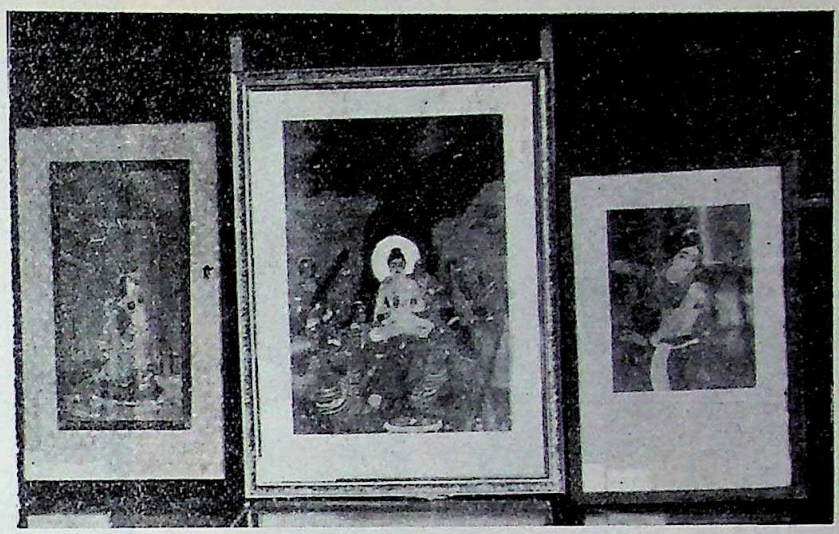
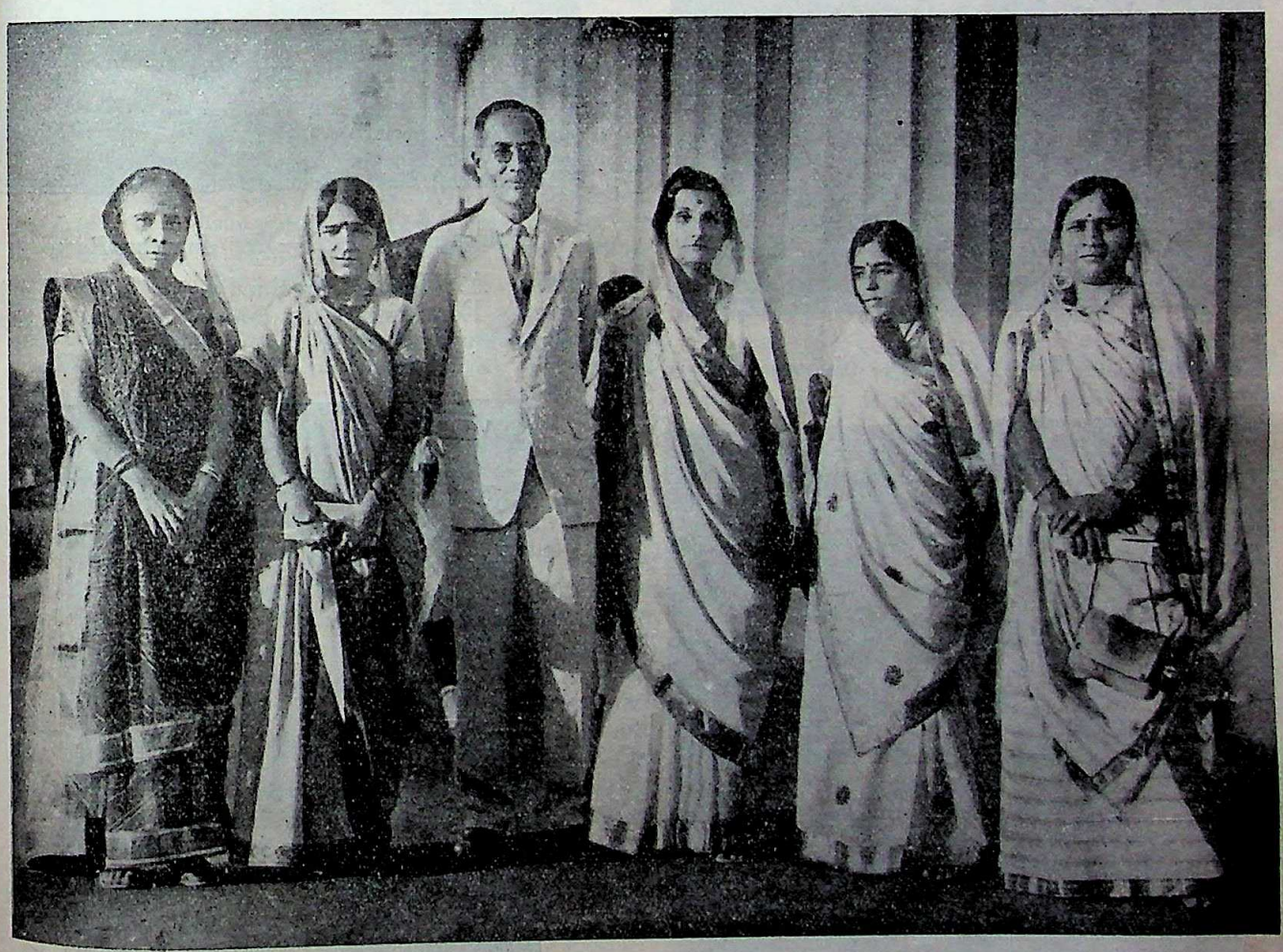
od, more especially so when
e economically is becoming
re and more complex and
re women are driven to earn
ir own living or to supplement
ir small family income.

"It was with the object of
lping those women who have
dle arts and crafts their
cupation in life, by securing
market for their work, and
show the possibilities of making
ts and crafts a means of a new
reer for women that the
ujarati Stree Sahakari Mandal
ve organized this Exhibition."

The Exhibits were divided
to four main sections of Pictures,
hotography as Pictorial Art,
ulpture, Needlework and Handi-
aft and many sub-sections.



Left : Virahini—Miss Siodia, *centre* : Buddha—Miss Chouher
right : The Dancer—Miss Suman Divecha



Sir Chunilal Mehta and the members of the Committee at the opening ceremony of Women's Swadeshi Exhibition, Bombay

The editor of *The Modern Review* saw the exhibits during his recent visit to Bombay and found them interesting and instructive. Some of the old specimens of handicrafts were simply excellent.

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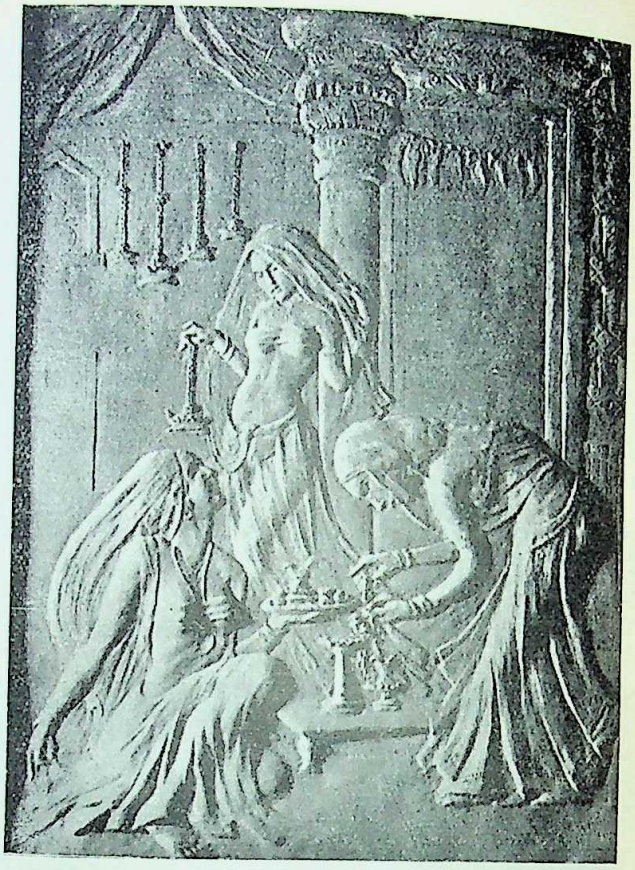
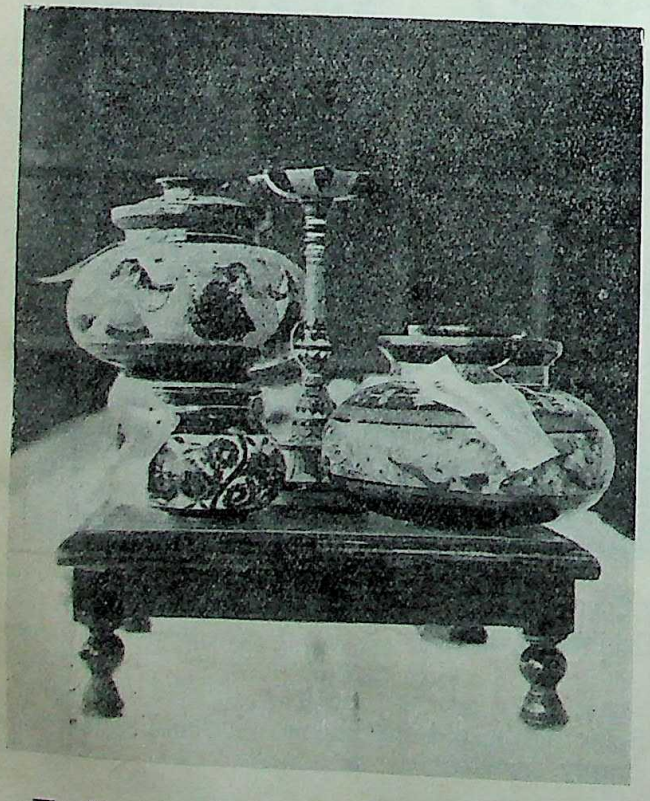
Photography : Kashmiri Girl—Miss Monorama Desai



Sculpture : Dipavali—Mrs. Jamuna Raote

Mrs. A. Latifi presided over the Panjab Women's Educational Conference held at Lahore, on Saturday, Nov. 3.



Handicrafts: Painting on wood—Bhagni Samaj

Mrs. A. Latifi

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LONDON LETTER :

Parliament and India, Up And Up And Up, Government Defeats, Conservative Municipal Defeats, Labour's Municipal Triumphs, Warning, What We Should Do, The Loom of Youth, What the Official Figures Show, The Same Disease In Other Countries, Britain's Similar Plight, The Lie of Over-population

From Major D. GRAHAM POLE

Parliament and India

PARLIAMENT met at the end of October after a three months' summer recess, and is to be prorogued at the end of next week. The Government is finding difficulty in getting all its work through in the time, and one imagines that it would have been better to cut a fortnight off the summer holidays rather than waste so much time on futile all-night sittings.

Even the House of Lords is becoming democratized by the presence of Labour peers. Their sittings are frequently more or less formal only lasting a few minutes and seldom more than two or three hours. This week however the Lords had a 12-hour sitting and their House did not rise till after 4 a. m.—a record for them.

The new session of Parliament will be opened by the King on 20th November when the chief business will be the Bill for India's new constitution. The Report of the Joint Select Committee should be presented to Parliament and published simultaneously in India about 21st November. But Mr. Baldwin promised that there would be no discussion of this Report in Parliament until it had been considered by the Tory Party Organization. This comes strangely from a Party that has constantly twitted the Parliamentary Labour Party with "dictation" from the Trades Union Congress.

The Council of the National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations meets on December 4th to hear Mr. Baldwin and to discuss the India Joint Select Committee's Report. It is expected that this meeting will last most of the day. On the same evening Mr. Baldwin is to address a political school for Conservatives on India. This school is part of the organization of the Conservative Central Office in preparation for the next General Election.

As I have said before, one can expect little from the Report of the Joint Select Committee. It is possible to predict further that their Report, from the point of view of India, will be even more reactionary than the Government's White Paper that they have had under consideration for the best part of two years.

The Government of India Bill cannot now be introduced into the House of Commons before next year, and it is doubtful whether it will reach the House of Lords in time for them to begin consideration of it before the autumn of 1935. As plans are at present laid, it is intended to have a General Election in this country certainly not more than a month or two after this Bill has been passed into law.

Up and Up and Up

Politicians have a way of coining unfortunate phrases that are apt to be used against them for a long time afterwards. Mr. Asquith's "Wait and See" is not yet forgotten. And our present Prime Minister, at a luncheon last week at which it was expected he would sketch in some detail the Government's policy and intentions, had nothing more definite to say than that the Government intended to go "on and on and on and up and up and up." Guy Fawkes day is just over and Guy Fawkes ought to be honoured by the present Prime Minister as one who endeavoured to send the Government of his day "up and up and up" ! That inimitable cartoonist, **Low**, published a cartoon in the London Press showing the Prime Minister, Mr. Baldwin, and Sir John Simon, in an aeroplane ready to go up and up and up. But the trouble was, as **Low** pointed out, that the machine had not got started yet.

Government Defeats

Members of the Government who are in office seem to have formed themselves into a Mutual Admiration Society and are so busy extolling to one another the virtues of the "National" Government that they do not seem to realize that these virtues do not exist outside of their own imaginations. The parliamentary by-elections are going against them. They lost two seats to Labour during last month—at Swindon and North Lambeth. In the latter constituency the Labour candidate won the seat with the highest Labour vote ever polled in that constituency. For every two votes caste for the "National" Government candidate, 11 votes were recorded against him. At Swindon there was a heavy poll. The Government put up a Rugby football international as their candidate. The electors were appealed to separately by Mr.

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Ramsay MacDonald, Mr. Baldwin and Sir John Simon to return their candidate. And instead they sent back the Labour nominee, Dr. Christopher Addison. It is now being conceded that instead of its present 58 or 59 M. Ps. Labour may have 260 representatives in the next Parliament. If Labour opponents are willing to admit that figure, the probability is that it will be considerably exceeded.

Conservative Municipal Defeats

But it is not merely in parliamentary elections that the Conservatives are being badly beaten. The results of the recent municipal elections are nothing less than a rout of the Government's supporters. Labour now holds more municipal seats than ever before in history. By the spring of this year the electors had had an opportunity of seeing what so-called "National" Government really meant. In the London County Council elections in March Labour had a net gain of 34 seats and for the first time secured a majority in the Council At the same time, in the other County Council elections, Labour had a net gain of 112 seats and lost only 28.

Labour's Municipal Triumphs

At the Borough Council elections last week Labour gained over 750 seats in London and the Provinces. There are now Labour majorities in 20 County Boroughs, 17 non-County Boroughs, and 15 London Boroughs—which all looks as if the National Government instead of going on and on and on will go out and out and out.

The Scottish elections take place about a week later than the English ones. But there again the results are no less emphatic.

In Glasgow, Labour, with six gains, has now a clear majority of 14 on the Town Council. Motherwell, with three gains, has now its first Labour Town Council. Dundee records four gains for Labour, Aberdeen three, and Edinburgh one. In all Labour gained 36 seats in Scotland and gained absolute majorities in eight more towns.

The only people who do not see the significance of these results are the members of the so-called National Government.

Warning

In the hour of triumph wise men have always looked for portents of defeat. And it is well that in this moment of triumph in the local elections we should be careful of all that this new responsibility throws upon us as a Party. Labour's appeal to the electors in these local elections has contained many promises the fulfilment of which is bound to increase the rates. If within the next eighteen months as a result of the fulfilment of pledges Labour Councils send up the rate charges all over the country, then the National Government will have something with which to scare the country at a General Election. It would be a tactical blunder of the first magnitude if the Labour forces in the local authorities do not make the best of the situation that now faces them. A rise in rates is inevitable; and this, if not faced, will give the Tory Party and the so-called "Nationals" all they want in order to impeach Labour Governments.

What We Should Do

There should be an immediate National Conference called of all the Rating Authorities and the problem of rates should be the one subject for discussion. The Labour Councils should demand an entire change in the rating system—the extinction of this present system which levies rates upon the houses of the people and upon the improvements in every city. Instead, we should substitute a system of rating of the values of land.

With Labour's power now entrenched in local authorities, such a resolution could easily be carried. The next step is for the Labour Councils to promote immediately on the conclusion of this Conference a Bill calling for parliamentary powers to derate all houses and improvements and impose the local levies on the values of land created by the community.

I have no hesitation in saying that such a move would have the support of thousands outside the ranks of the Labour Party.

No doubt this Government might refuse to pass this Bill into law. In that event Labour can impeach the present Government with having refused to bring in such a change as would have relieved the dead weight of increased rates on all local authorities. It would place the Labour Party in an advantageous tactical position at the forthcoming General Election and place the Government in an invidious situation.

This cannot be too strongly emphasized, for clearly it is the purpose of the present administration to make the fullest use of the rating question and what they will be pleased to term "Socialist prodigality" at the next General Election.

The Labour Councillors would be well advised to discuss these propositions and to come to some conclusions as to immediate action.

The Loom of Youth

The most pathetic part of the present economic problem is the outlook for young boys and girls. The whole tendency of modern invention is to intensify production and at the same time to eliminate, as far as possible, the necessity of the human labour factor. This would be a great blessing if the enormous wealth produced by modern invention was justly diffused through the whole community. It would mean increasing the hours of leisure and reducing to a minimum

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the necessary hours of labour. But under our present system the fruits of science and art are turned to the profit-making of the few, with no regard whatever to the spiritual and economic well-being of the greater part of human society.

The opportunities for the rising generation to find employment are becoming ever more and more restricted. And, added to that, machinery and invention are taking the place of the old crafts which necessitated the craft training that did so much to build the mind and character of the artisans.

This means that such opportunities as are open for our boys and girls to find employment are to be found in blind alley occupations, occupations in which no craft is to be mastered and no technical skill is acquired.

Other elements of the present economic problem of poverty are perhaps more menacing to men and women. But this particular problem of unemployed youth is at once the most tragic and most destructive that faces the country.

What the Official Figures Show

Take the figures in answer to a question in the House of Commons on the 1st November, 1934. The Minister of Labour, Mr. Oliver Stanley, stated that on the 24th September 1934, the latest date for which figures are available, there were 65,339 unemployed boys and 51,446 unemployed girls between 14 and 18 years of age registered at the Unemployment Exchange and Juvenile Unemployment Bureaus in Great Britain.

How any Government can calmly accept these figures and accept the situation as inevitable exposes to the full light of day the incompetence and futility of modern statesmanship.

In the *Times* of Tuesday, 6th November, there is a glowing account of the great development that is taking place in Germany as the result of opening up agricultural colleges and new land colonies for the training of youth. The remarkable change in the physique and technical adaptability of these youug people has given the greatest satisfaction to those who are responsible for this innovation. But here in Great Britain we are hoping that opportunities will open for this increasing army of young people to be absorbed in industry. And at the same time the Government is pursuing a policy of restriction of production in order to keep up prices!

The Minister of Labour is looking for jobs for the unemployed while Mr. Runciman and Mr. Walter Elliot are doing everything they can to check new opportunities from being created. Were it not for the tragedy involved in these political manoeuvres one might be tempted to use them as the basis of the greatest pantomime ever written.

The Same Disease in Other Countries

Bankrupt statesmanship is characteristic of every country in the world. We have heard the apologists for Japan stating that her expansion in Manchuria and Korea is necessary in order to absorb her great population. But what are the facts?

For 250 years prior to 1850 the population of Japan remained constant at about 6,000,000. Since then it has grown to 65,000,000. From these figures it is argued that expansion is necessary. But modern teachnique in agriculture and industry has greatly increased the productivity of the earth and the people and moreover greater density of population increases productive efficiency, as Henry George pointed out long ago.

Dr. Nitobe states that Japan has still 4,000,000 acres in Hokkaido where 2,000,000 more could be settled and 3,000,000 more acres of land in the interior of the island for a million more people.

These lands are not developed for reasons which are obvious. Japan, like Britain, is hoping for a greater expansion on her purely industrial side. She is leaving her internal resources undeveloped and thus causing unemployment. At the same time she is expanding on to new territories at the risk of international war, under the plea that her pressure of population makes it absolutely necessary so to act.

Britain's Similar Plight

Seeking new territory will end in nothing but war and trouble. Other countries do not want immigrants. Mr. Stanley Baldwin, in 1925, appealed to Canada and Australia to solve our over-population problem by accepting 2,000,000 unemployed Englishmen as immigrants. The next day the Canadian Minister of Labour told Mr. Baldwin that he was sorry England had a population problem but that Canada had one also. Immediately after this pronouncement the Canadian Trades and Labour Congress supported the Minister's declaration by saying: "The fact that the Labour Department Records show a surplus of coal miners already in Canada should definitely give the quietus to those who seek to exploit the misery of British miners by trying to induce them to emigrate to Canada."

The Lie of Over-population

The statement that Japan and Canada are over-populated is just as true as when it is made with regard to Great Britain. We know that millions of acres of land in this country produce no wealth and thousands of them are retained for sports and estate display. We further know that if the land of England alone was opened up so that men could produce their own food, build their own houses, and make those things which generally gratify human desires, there need not be one unemployed man in the country.

Unemployment is due to causes which are inherent in every country and no manipulation of external relationships will solve this internal problem. Over-population is a lie and exploited by the vested interests in every country. But it is the success of this lie which leads one nation after another into the vortex of armaments, nationalist policies, and tariffs. And this finally can only lead to War.

8th November, 1934.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Censorship

H. J. Whittick, Editor of *The Wolverhampton Express and Star*, in his presidential address at the conference of the Institute of Journalists, quoted in part in *The Inquirer*, London, says:

To know that two-thirds of the world's people are under the iron rule of censorship must arouse in this free country the gravest misgiving. The position baffles description, and it is unquestionably a throw-back to the ages when men nursed their fears, trembled before oppression, and were afraid even of the thoughts which, by a divine dispensation, are given to each and all as the elemental function of humanity's progress and welfare.

The Press of the world must be entirely free. Official versions handed out to a muzzled Press become a dope. evil in its effects, leaving the victims a pitiable spectacle, because those in whom freedom of conscience has been implanted are left in a condition worse than that of the slave enchained.

We are suspicious of any system which admits of the persecution of opinion, the suppression of free discussion of affairs, or the dissemination of current news.

—

A World where Death is Welcome

The following editorial occurs in *The Christian Century*:

For years it has been the fashion to discuss whether another war would bring the collapse of civilization. As we view the Hungarian miners who imprisoned themselves for five days, holding death preferable to the attempt to keep alive on less than $2 a week, isn't it time to awake to the possibility that the war we have already fought may have destroyed civilization? Consider the picture: Twelve hundred men, working in a coal mine in Hungary to make profits for British and Austrian owners, reach such depths of despair that they say farewell to their wives and children, descend to the bottom of the mine, and announce that they intend to die there. For five days they remain, awaiting death in the darkness. Food sent by their families is refused. Negotiations attempted by the government are spurned. To the world the miners send this message: "We have decided deliberately to commit suicide if our demands are not met. Suicide by starvation in the heart of the earth is no worse than slow death by starvation if we continue to accept less than $2 a week. We are Hungarians. As such we hope that our countrymen may hear our cry of pity from the depths of the mine and from the depths of our hearts." At the last possible moment the company granted most of the wage demands and the men returned to life. But a world in which such an incident can occur is a world whose civilization is perilously near collapse.

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Twentieth Century, the Age of Violence

It is no use deploring wars, revolutions and political assassinations unless we are honest enough to face the root causes of these evils. So the editor of *The Inquirer* proceeds:

Mr. H. L. Beales has told us that "the makers of history books have a way of describing past periods of human life by short descriptive terms," such as the Reformation and the Industrial Revolution, and he adds that unless things alter and alter quickly, the future historian will probably call our own age the Age of Violence. World war, national revolutions, political assassinations, and a fierce, insurgent revival of militarism in its darkest aspects in every so-called civilized community, fill the observant mind with a horrifying dread of what the morrow may have in store.

Thirty-four years ago, at the turn of the century it was confidently expected that the Twentieth Century would prove to be an age of steady social progress. The emergence of a spirit of humanitarianism, and opportunities for world commerce and travel had so vastly increased in the preceding decade, that there seemed no doubt that the coming years would see a rapid development of all the forces making for world order and peace. An ironical prophecy as seen in retrospect! To quote Mr. Beales: "It is doubtful whether save in the rather similar period between 1815 and 1850, there was ever such a time when wars and revolutions were so frequent as in our day. At bottom, the same forces were at work a century ago as now. Wars and revolutions are not accidents, nor merely just outbreaks of bad temper. Ours is an age of violence because people are so moved by ambition, or so oppressed by what they feel to be tyranny or injustice, or so determined to control the things which spoil their lives, that they will defy the forces of law and order, face discomfort and even death, for causes they feel sacred."

It is no use our deploring such tragedies—it is indeed, unworthy of us to deplore them—unless we are honest enough to face the background of social bitterness and conflict for which in some measure we are all responsible. Wars and revolutions would be very infrequent affairs were our world as well ordered as we know it ought to be. Our civilization is defective, and its machinery is not working properly, and the ugly, brutal deeds which again and again appal us are to be rightly regarded as symptomatic of diseases to be erradicated at their roots.

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India's Aspirations in the World

A meeting of the Committee of Delegates of the Confederation of Oriental Students was organized in Milan on May 5, in which Italian students were also present. Amongst others, Prof. Wadia spoke on the above subject, the

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concluding portion of which is quoted below from the *Young Asia* of Rome :

The India of tomorrow is an India full of potentialities. In the past, India has welcomed and absorbed and even assimilated multitudes of races and peoples, even as your own Italy welcomed and absorbed Etruscans and Sabines, Lombards and Goths. Yours is the land of the palm and the olive and the vine ; yours is a vaster agricultural country, rich in minerals, fertilized by the smiles of the gods who have given its rivers and forests and rains. Left to itself, free to follow out its own genius, it can become to an increasing extent the market place of the world for the free exchange of commodities on a co-operative basis :—much more it can be the market place for spiritual intercourse, where the gifts of the spirit, unlike the gifts of material goods, can grow by being shared. Gandhi and Tagore, like your own Virgil and Dante, belong to the world. Europe has nothing to fear, everything to hope for, from a free and prosperous India. Imperial preference is a passing show—the accident of our British connections. On the bases of a free and equitable exchange, India has such an abundance of raw materials of all kinds, that she can part with them without becoming impoverished. But whilst we talk in terms of material welfare and prosperity, let us also remember that even matter and material prosperity ultimately rest on imponderables, whether we call them protons and electrons, or love and trust and mutual respect. Where these are wanting, the very sources of life get dried up, making for ruin and destruction. Our freedom we may be able to win for ourselves—but this freedom will not be worth possessing, if it is not accompanied by the good will and co-operation of the rest of the world. Italy has well been proud of its past, its sense of discipline, its gifts into the world of law and organization, and its heritage of art in its highest expression. Your Duce only recently spoke of the civilization of the Mediterranean centred in Rome and resting on a basis of universalism linking East to West. Can I, in concluding, hope that the India of tomorrow, loyal to its old culture and traditions, may become also the meeting place of the East and the West, returning to Europe hundred-fold in the gifts of the spirit what it may have received, making possible once again on earth the city that is sit on the hills—the (civitas dei) ?

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EAST and West

Mr. R. Nagaraja Sarma in a review article in *The Indo-Malayan Review* says :

"If East and West are to enter into a real partnership," observes Dr. Kenneth Saunders in his latest book ("The Ideals of East and West" by Kenneth Saunders D. Litt., Cambridge University Press. 10sh 6d.) "these great teachers must be understood by men of good-will to-day", referring to Buddha, Confucius, Krishna and others who have from time to time appeared during grave crisis in the life of communities and nations and preached the gospel of virile moral and ethical dynamism. Dedicated to His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda and to the author's own students Eastern and Western, this volume of Dr. Kenneth Saunders contains a brief yet illuminating survey of "The Ethics of India", "Ethics of the Chinese", The Ethics of the Japanese", "The Ethics of the Greeks", "Ethics of the Hebrews" and "Christian Ethics" together with an anthology in prose and verse dealing with those systems, which being subjected to the control of the selective interest is made to reflect not merely the comparatively low level of ethical advancement at which the masses have often remained and become fossilized as it were, but also the exalted heights of moral and spiritual progress reached by the masters of thought. Greek and Hebrew systems form fountain-source from which Christian Ethics has been derived. Even so, the Ethical system of the Japanese has been derived from the Indian and Chinese systems. The author has thus attempted brief statement of the essentials of the Ethical systems of the Greeks and Hebrews, and of the Christian Ethics derived from them, of the systems of Indians and the Chinese, and of the Japanese system derived from the latter.

In the first chapter an account of "The Ethics of India" is attempted, the evolution of ethical theory and practice being marked off into three epochs, pre-Buddhist, the Buddhist, and the post-Buddhist. He believes that the Gita contains the finest exposition of the ideals of morality and religion prevalent in post-Buddhist India. Under three periods, the ethical evolution of the Chinese is summed up in the second chapter. Following Dr. Hu Shih, the Sinitic Age the Buddhist Era, and the Chinese Renaissance distinguished by the spread of the influence of Neo-Confucianism are the three landmarks which the author emphasizes. Tnat Japanese Ethics has been moulded largely by a blend of Buddhism and Confucianism is made clear in the third chapter. After a survey of the Ethics of the Greeks in the fourth chapter, Dr. Saunders concludes that "Devotion to mean and to moderation led too often to mediocrity and monotony." "Hebrew religion and ethics " writes Dr. Saunders in the course of the fifth chapter, "rise to great heights and fall to great depths, and progress follows a zigzag path." Dr. Saunders has written the concluding chapter on "Christian Ethics" *Con amore.*

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Broadcasting for Rural India

Lieutenant-Colonel H. R. Hardinge is of opinion that whatever be her political future, rural India badly requires some sort of enlightenment, so that the ignorance and isolation of the peasants may be minimized to a certain extent. He suggests in *The Asiatic Review* :

Wireless, a miracle of the West, can be of even greater service in the East, where scattered village communities live isolated, drab lives, and illiteracy predominates.

Whatever may be the political future of India, the rural population of that vast country is in urgent need of enlightenment, so that their lives can be made less drab and hard, and so that they can take their true position in the economic structure of the world. For the peasant is the backbone of India. He is the chief source and creator of India's wealth and greatness. And yet the life of the peasant is a precarious existence of primitive poverty, handicapped in all directions by ignorance and superstition. This state of affairs has long been appreciated, and the problems of rural reconstruction figure prominently in the records of administration in India. Much has been done, but certain handicaps have seemed insuperable.

Enlightenment has to be brought to so many people, speaking entirely disassociated languages, living in villages so widely separated that a large proportion

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of the time given to a tour of instruction is eaten up by travelling from one place to the next. And these people are almost all entirely illiterate, so that instruction must be oral. Furthermore, instruction must be reiterated at frequent intervals, for by the time a lecturer has moved on to the next village, his lesson tends to be forgotten in the one that he has just left. It is generally agreed that a material advance in the direction of raising the standard of living of the Indian villager could best be achieved by a *daily* programme of instruction, devised by experts on essential matters of rural and individual economy, presented in a manner to appeal to the simple minds of the illiterate, and interspersed with items of general information and entertainment. And the essential factor is the regular, *daily* presentation of that programme.

This programme would seem to be the dream of a visionary, outside the bounds of practicability if only on the score of expense, requiring a colossal staff of trained men and a mammoth organization. But broadcasting—that miracle of the West—now offers itself as the medium by means of which daily instruction can be imparted simultaneously to scattered villages in all directions, the voice of one expert carrying the message over an extensive area and penetrating to places where religious barriers or other factors, would ban the personal intrusion of the speaker.

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Immigration to Argentina

The question of openings for settlers in the Argentina Republic has been referred to in the 18th session of the International Labour Conference, held this year. Dr. E. Siewers has prepared a study of the question, an extract of which is reproduced below from the *International Labour Review* :

In 1932, for the first time for forty years (leaving out of account the war period), there was an adverse balance of migration in Argentina, the number of departures exceeding the number of arrivals by 12,119. The measures taken by the Government of Argentina to reduce immigration and the restrictive policy of certain emigration countries supply part of the explanation of this phenomenon. But the most important factor has undoubtedly been the agricultural depression, for migration movements in Argentina have always been immediately affected by the state of agriculture.

It is indeed difficult to see how a country of 2,797,113 square kilometres, stretching from subtropical almost to subarctic regions and possessing such a varied wealth of resources as Argentina, can be left to depend solely on the natural increase of its population for the development of this vast territory. At the same time, an immigration policy that is not based on a careful study of the real immigration requirements and the best methods of organization might easily prove disastrous both for the economic welfare of the country and for the immigrants themselves. The aim of the present article is to study the possibilities of immigration to Argentina at the present time, and the problem of land settlement as a part of the immigtation problem.

In the past the development of Argentine agriculture has been made possible by a steady influx of men and of capital, which have arrived by different routes and thus have often lacked the co-ordination needed for the efficient and profitable cultivation of the soil. Settlement schemes following a pre-established plan and combining the various factors involved on rational lines have been the exception.

Although the depression has reduced immigration to Argentina in recent years to a level below that of the departures of returning migrants, it seems probable that the country cannot in the future depend entirely on the natural growth of its population to people the rural areas. The Decrees passed in rccent years for the restriction of immigration have all made an exception in favour of experienced agriculturists with enough capital to purchase their holdings, which shows that the Argentine Government holds this view. But experience shows that the mere control of immigrants at the frontier does not always ensure their judicious distribution within the country, for on the one hand fraudulent entry is comparatively easy and on the other selection at the frontier is no guarantee that the immigrant will remain in the occupation for which he is selected. The situation is quite different when the immigrant enters the country under a settlement plan in which labour, land, and capital are linked in an organic unity. The most desirable course would therefore seem to be to encourage land settlement as part of a policy of "planned" immigration. To draw up and give effect to such a policy will be quite as important a task for the National Land Settlement Department as turning the tenant farmers already at work in the country into the owners of their holdings.

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Salesmen of Mars

Though peace campaigns have been pushed forward everywhere, the works of 'agents of death' are silently going on unperceptibly. The editor of *The Catholic World* throws some light in this direction :

Since we have drifted away from the senatorial investigation to the more stimulating subject of Death Merchants, let us cite a few more instances of their broad-mindedness. Chief of the murder-mongers is Sir Basil Zaharoff. The newspapers call him "Supersalesman of Death" He has or has had interests in Russian, Turkish, English, French and German armament companies. Zaharoff is a Greek (*timeo Danaos*), master of fourteen languages, intimate friend of Lloyd George, Clemenceau, Briand and Venizelos in the days of their power. During the War he sold munitions "on both sides of the fence," was knighted in Great Britain, wears the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor of France and is fairly loaded down with decorations from other countries. He rather favours England, has a sentimental regard for Greece and in spite of his opposition to German activity in Spain, he had offered Germany a large private loan. In the story of his life fact runs into legend, and no biographer will ever be able to discover the exact line of demarcation. In his career truth is wilder than fiction, more fantastic than legend. ..He has maintained super-regal palaces in half a dozen countries. Perhaps it is only legend that he is served at table from a solid gold service, uses spoons incrusted with jewels and that a fleet of aeroplanes is employed to bring to his kitchen delicacies from all corners of the earth. One newspaper syndicate writer has it that Sir Basil entertained "the colossal dream of forming a Near East Empire in which he could dictate to Europe, play off the Moslem against the Chirstain, control British and French oil, make and unmake world policies and be a hidden power greater than

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any king." Be that as it may, it is no dream that the sale of arms and ammunition was the foundation of of his monstrous power and that he made his way to world renown over a hundred times more dead men than Nepoleon ever saw. When he passes on, perhaps a symbolic painting of him will find its proper place beside that of Bonaparte in that chamber of art horrors, the Musee Wierz.

But Zaharoff though supreme is not unique. There are other conspicuous representatives of industrial internationalism. Alfred Nobel, who by some freak of mad logic (or may it be a stroke of saturnine humour ?) has associated his name with the movement for peace, has dynamite factories or agencies in all parts of the world, from Sweden to South Africa, from Japan to South America. I have personal reason to remember his association with South America. I happened once to be on a freight ship anchored off a small town in northern Chile when one of Nobel's fleet loaded with explosives came within an ace of crashing into us. The boards of directors of the far-flung Nobel companies are composed, with a beautiful regard for international good fellowship (or if you prefer with supreme political sagacity) of Frehchmen, Englishmen, Germans and indeed, nationals of every country in which he operates—and we have seen his protestation that he operates in every one.

The "Merchants of Death" have therefore the only complete and efficient League of Nations. I have read in a newspaper article prepared for the Scripps-Howard syndicate that munitions makers attend the the Peace Conferences at The Hague because they find it a good place to pick up contracts for war material. It is no jest. Salesmen of munitions batten upon war-rumours, and where are war-rumours more rife than at a Peace Conference ? A representative from Roumania, for example, is told in confidence that Bulgaria has placed an order for 100,000 rifles. Thereupon, naturally, Roumania places a bigger order. Very simple. And cheap, too, for the salesmen need not travel to every capital when they can find customers from all capitals gathered together in one.

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The Majesty of the Law

Mr. Edward Podolsky in *The Commonweal* advances the theory that constant trifling annoyances of misadministration of the law bring about a disregard for it and induces the average man or woman to break it. He goes on to say :

One Of the most impressive laws in biophysics is that which proclaims that if constant irritation is applied to a group of harmless and properly functioning cells dire results are very likely to follow. A mole on the cheek will remain simply a mole on the cheek if it is left alone. But if it is subjected to constant rubbing and irritation it will become something more than a mole on the cheek. It will become a skin cancer with all the fearful potentialities of skin cancers to maim and destroy.

Not only do constant irritation and trifling annoyances lead to disaster in the human body, but very frequently the same thing takes place in the social body. It is not alone disease and surroundings that make little criminals out of good people, and big criminals out of little criminals. The constant trifling annoyances of misadministration of the law accomplish the same thing.

It is very seldom one colossal error of the law which brings on the evil results. It is the constant irritating effects on the average man and woman of laws concerning trifles that finally bring about disregard for the law. Contempt for the law is brought about by the law making itself ridiculous. And it is contempt for law which induces the average man or woman to break it.

In modern society the law is constantly making so many ill-considered moves that one cannot blame the average man or woman for loathing it. With the ushering in of the motor age almost everyone has been arrested for one traffic violation or another. It is not the traffic violation in itself which is responsible for making a scofflaw out of the average citizen ; it is the interminable waiting to pay the fine, the wholesale dispensing of justice, the cattle-like crowding of traffic courts.

The newspapers mirror faithfully the workings of the law. It marches majestically across their pages. We learn that it is not the dyed-in-the-wool criminal who is the object of cop-wrath and correction by the magistrate and other minor judges. Most frequently it is the law-abiding citizen who finds himself in the clutches of the law.

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A Plea for Indignation

Mr. Charles A. Engvall writes in *The Christian Register* :

Before one works himself up into too excited a mood of righteous indignation over Nazi and Fascist tactics, it may be well to take another glimpse at the current American scene. Scarcely a week passes without newspaper mention of a lynching or of some act of racial discrimination, be it in a Washington restaurant frequented by Congressmen or in a Dallas hotel thronged by convention-goers.

Before being shocked too severely by the Hitler purge, it may be well to remember that down in Alabama Negro men will probably soon be executed as a result of the infamous Scottsboro trial. Before crying down the doctrine of Aryan purity, it may be in order to examine the anti-Semitic, anti-Oriental, anti-foreigner dispositions that are present in our land of liberty.

Self-appointed vigilantes wrecking centres of "radicalism," as in the San Francisco general strike, are akin to storm-troopers crushing labour unions. Skullduggery abroad naturally provokes indignation and resentment, but these emotions are just so much more adrenalin unless they are directed into useful purposes.

Newspapers and radio commentators reveal little of this true vigilance in their treatment of strikes, which they deem "crimes toward society" or "violations of law and order." If the codes are unjust or unenforced, if newspapers are hostile, what else can the working-men do but strike ? Fulminations about foreign agitators and anti-social behaviour do not penetrate to the root difficulty.

If one would be indignant, and there is much cause, let the emotion find piercingly intelligent and productive direction. Instead of dealing always in co-operation and toleration, the liberal church may well deal in indignation.

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Democracy Since the War

At a meeting held at Chatham House, Prof. Barkar spoke on the above subject, extracts of which are quoted below from the *International Affairs* :

"Our epoch is not particularly gay; but it is passionately interesting. It is not a heap of ruins; it is a building-yard in which, to the sound of saws and trowels and hammers, a world is being erected."

The words are those of M. Joseph Barthelemy, in a work of the year 1931 on the crisis of contemporary democracy. They are encouraging; and they are true. No old Liberal—a species of which I am—an undesponding specimen—need beat his breast to-day. Much of London has been pulled down, It has all been rebuilt, or is now in the building. Much of the world has gone into liquidation. It will emerge from the receiver's hands A great and convulsive war was fought from 1914 to 1918. Such a war does not end in peace: at any rate it does not end in the peace which is tranquillity. If we said to ourselves, in 1919,

> "Fair Quiet, have I found thee here,
> And Innocence thy sister dear ?"

the answer we received was a blunt "No." But if we did not find quiet and innocence, we found a building-yard. At first it seemed as if the building was to proceed with an American rapidity of construction. In 1920 we might hope that the war to end war had ended in a League of Nations, and the war to make world safe for democracy had issued in a rich harvest of new democratic constitutions. Three Empires, all more or less autocratic, had perished: there were Republics in Berlin and Vienna, in Prague and Warsaw, in Kovno and Helsingfors. But a change seemed to come in 1922. The building was not yet done: and a new type of construction began to appear. If autocracies had yielded place to republics, democracies now began to disappear before dictatorships. By 1930 there was a serried series of these dictatorships. They were of different forms. One, in Belgrade, was monarchical, and another, in Angora, Presidential. Others, in Madrid and Warsaw, were military. A third form—exemplified, if exemplified very differently, alike in Rome and in Moscow, and exemplified in Moscow even before 1922—was the dictatorship of a party. Differing in the forms which they assumed, these dictatorships also differed in the ends which they sought to achieve. Some were dictatorships of the Right; others were dictatorships of the Left; and one—the dictatorship of Mustapha Kemal, with its mixture of sweeping reform and authoritarian control—might be said to include both the Left and the Right. Since 1930 dictatorship has vanished from Madrid; but it has entered in Berlin and Vienna. Some would even say that it has entered in Washington. But the President of the United States, by the terms of its constitution, is always a potential dictator; and when he is backed by Congress, or the country, or both, the potentiality becomes actuality, legal actuality. *Vixere fortes ante* Franklin Roosevelt. Abraham Lincoln and Woodrow Wilson were also dictators in their hey-day.

We seem to be confronted by a great and universal trend which sets against democracy. But we must not be too hasty. Even before we attempt this analysis, there is one thing which for the sake of balance and perspective, ought to be said at once. Whatever may be our opinion of democratic institutions, it would be absurd to maintain that the democratic spirit—the spirit of interest in general community problems, the spirit of general participation in their solution—has really receded in the last dozen years. On the contrary, there has never been a time in human history when, in all countries, the minds of men were more arrested by political problems, or more intent on debating and (if it be possible) solving these problems, than they are today. If the world is a building-yard, it is crowded with busy workers and thinkers. Many as are the "anvils and hammers working," they are not more "than there be pens and heads there sitting by their studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and ideas wherewith to present, as with their homage and fealty, the approaching reformation." If, in a preliminary way, we may assume that democracy is a temper and a habit of free discussion of ideas—of free competition between ideas—when shall we say that there was more of that temper and habit than in these days ?

Prof. Barker concludes with the following statement :

We *may* lose the battle of parliamentary democracy in England for the time being, though that would not be my own prophecy. We *may*, short of that, have to modify the combination of factors which makes up our system of parliamentary democracy, though I see no particular modification which I desire, or even expect, except in matters of detail, such as the composition of the Second Chamber, the procedure of the First Chamber (which is at some points antiquated and cu brous), the methods of voting in elections, and other similar matters. But there is one thing which I believe will never be finally lost, in England or elsewhere, on a long-time view of the nature of political society and the necessary mode of its operation. The thing I mean is government by discussion—government by the free competition of different political ideas, by the process of debate between those ideas, by the method of adjusting competition and debate in a compromise which reconciles differences. No form of government can be true to the process of social thought unless it proceeds on that basis. My fundamental belief is a belief in government by discussion, free, patient, rational discussion. This to me is the highest form of democracy, when a free people, freely thinking its different thoughts, freely expresses them by different parties, freely debates them in a freely elected parliament, and freely reconciles them by the free interplay and co-operation of parties—government and opposition, cabinet and anti-cabinet—in such a parliament. Government by disscussion, by debate, by dialectic, this to me is the true democracy; and it is a thing which is inevitable when the mind of man, duly educated to his high nature of a rational being, is acting in its true and inevitable mode of operation. You may say that I believe in government by dialectic rather than in government by Demos. I reply that the Demos to which I look forward will necessarilly love dialectic, the grand dialectic of public debate. "Give me the liberty to know, to utter and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties." So said Milton. I can say nothing better, or as good; and I have nothing more to say.

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Beyond Our Senses

The report of the following amazing astronomical discovery by Dr. Abbot has been noticed in *The Commonweal* :

Supplementing the amazing discoveries of recent years that the dark spots in many parts

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of the night sky. and particularly in the milky way, are not simply vacant holes in space in which occur no stars but are "dark nebulae" or groups of black stars, is the somewhat terrifying announcement on October 2 by the Smithsonian Institution in Washington that their scientists have discovered the existence of many death-dealing stars. The death rays of these stars would wipe out all life if they could reach the earth. They are prevented from doing this only by a thin layer of ozone high in the stratosphere. These rays would not produce a sensation of light on human organisms. The stars radiating them are literally too hot to be bright, having a temperature of 36,000 degrees Fahrenheit on their surfaces, a heat three times that of the sun. The greater part of their radiation consists of ultra-violet rays of very short wave-length. Virtually all of the blue-coloured stars in the night sky were found to be of the death-dealing type. Rigel, in the left foot of the constellation Orion, is an example. The discoveries came in the course of research last summer at Mount Wilson Observatory, California, by Dr. Charles G. Abbot, secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, and his assistant, I. B. Aldrich. New astronomical instruments of superhuman sensitiveness measured almost infinitesimal amounts of star radiatioms reaching the earth after years of travelling at more than 186,600 miles a second.

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Why Japan has bought the railway

The Christian Century in an editorial observes:

Dispatches from the far east state that Japan and Russia have stopped bickering over the sale of the Chinese Eastern railway. Japan has agreed to pay 170,000,000 yen (about $51,000,000 at present exchange) and Russia has agreed to withdraw all soviet employees within six months after the bills of sale are exchanged. The sale price represents only about a fourth of Russia's first asking price, but it is an advance of 20,000,000 yen over the "last offer" which Japan made in midsummer. Consummation of this sale will help to quiet affairs in the orient, at least for the time being, but the motives which have led Japan to pay such a price for a railway she did not need should not be overlooked. That she did not need the C.E.R. can be demonstrated by a study of any recent map. From the economic standpoint, the C.E.R. has been so blanketed by other railways, rushed to completion since the Japanese occupation, many of them having more direct routes to important ports, that the old Russian line even under complete Japanese control is going to be hard pressed to pay its running expenses. From the political standpoint, troop movements to the border in case of trouble with the soviets will not be affected since the Japanese, in case of an outbreak, would have simply seized what they have now paid for. Then why has the railway been bought? For two reasons. First, the sale, nominally to Manchukuo, involves the virtual recognition of that puppet state by Russia. Second, by clearing the slate of land problems on her Siberian flank, the Japanese empire is now left with a free hand for the impending naval negotiations with Britain and the United States. Purchase of the C.E.R. is but one more indication of the determined spirit in which Japan is entering the naval negotiations and of the drastic demands which she means to present there.

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Turkey's Five-years Plan

The following discourse by Mr. Wyatt on Turkey's attempts at economic expansion occurs in the *International Affairs*:

During the past few years so much has happened to absorb our attention in the realm of international relations and in world economic problems, and besides, we have been so concerned with the difficulties of our own country, that perhaps we have rather tended to lose sight of the changes, development, and progress which are taking place in any one foreign country. In any case it is no exaggeration to say that, with the exception of Russia, where the process has been very different, no country has undergone such drastic and fundamental changes as has Turkey during past ten years.

A bare list of them is, in itself, impressive:

The abolition of the Sultanate and the end of the house of Osman, after a rule of over 600 years, in favour of a modern form of government.

The abolition of the Caliphate, with its consequent effect upon Turkey and the whole Moslem world.

The sweeping-away of the Capitulations and with them the end of all religious, legal, commercial, and fiscal privileges for foreigners in Turkey.

The cessation of the international control in Turkey of Turkish revenues by the Ottoman Public Debt Council.

The exchange of populations with Greece, which, although it has involved temporary disadvantages to Turkey in skilled and semi-skilled labour, has brought about national homogenity and is making for national soliderity.

The abolition of the old Moslem laws, established for a thousand years, in favour of modern legal codes based upon the principles of Roman law.

The emancipation of women and the abolition of polygamy.

The adoption of Latin characters for the language, the adoption of the Gregorian calender, the twenty-four hours for time, and the metric system for weights and measures.

All this, and more has been done in a space of time which counts for a day in the life of a nation. It has been accomplished without revolution or bloodshed by a man who imposed his will on the people, as he judged for their good, and by a government which has obtained from Europe complete political, economic, and financial independence for post-War Turkey.

Of all these reforms, perhaps the emancipation of Turkish women is fraught with the most far-reaching potential consequences for Turkey. Let us think what this may mean for the coming generations, when we remember that the indolence and lack of business inclination of certain classes of Turk must have been due largely to their upbringing in secluded harems by women who knew little of the world and who were often illiterate.

To-day the better-class Turkish women are already tending to become more like their foreign sisters, and their influence upon future generations is bound to be very different from the past. Taking the long view, it is probably true to say that the biggest thing the Ghazi did for his country was the grant of freedom to his womenkind, with obligatory education.

Great strides are being made in the education of the people. Already there are nearly three times as many schools and nearly four times as many teachers and pupils as there were in 1913.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Is Dictatorship desirable ?

Prof. Benoyendra Nath Banerjea, M.A., delivered an address on "Political Significance of Modern Dictatorships" at the Presidency College. *The Vidyasagar College Magazine* published a few notes from the speech, from which the following is quoted :

The "closed system" of nationalism reinforced by the insane scope given to attempts to resuscitate 'economic nationalism' under the dictation of 'big business' has ushered in dictatorial rule in many countries. Even in England rule by Orders-in-Council, even to the extent of imposing taxes without the prior concurrence of Parliament, has become the order of day. The Roosevelt experiment again is no slight departure from the Jeffersonian ideals of democracy. "Gods or Bees"? —asks Mr. Leonard Woolf in a recent address. Do we want the rule of the queen-bee in the bee-hive or a society of men exalted in the Kantian sense to that of a super-man ? The political significance of the dictatorships to-day lies in what is likely to be the answer of the 'average man' to this question.

Asked as to whether he had given Athens the best constitution, Solon is reported to have replied—'The best for this city at this time.' But are the dictatorships even the best for their countries to-day ? In an inter-dependent world, the democratic ideal cannot express itself fully, if it is limited in scope within one or a few nations. The onslaught of dictatorships have hit successfully at the *morale* of the League of Nations. Nobody denies that if 'the real function of Parliament, as it is to-day, is to prevent anything being done by endlessly talking about it,' we have to recast it and explore the alternatives to the technique of democracy. It only betokens a rash mental attitude if we go back again to mediævalism in search of a short cut. The fundamental question is not whether democracy can survive, but whether we shall allow the very fabric of the civilization we have inherited to crumble or not.

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Use and Abuse of Hospitals

Journal of The Indian Medical Association writes editorially :

Bureaucratic administration of state hospitals and need of the private hospitals for funds led to a number of unforseen results. There developed a system of partial payment by the patient for the hospital services he receives, appointment of so-called honorary medical staff, and indiscriminate medical service to many, who are perhaps able to pay for it.

The general practitioners are thus exposed to very unjust competition by hospitals and particularly the out-patient departments. A large number of general practitioners are, therefore, obliged to consider if they should co-operate in improving the hospital administration or remain as indifferent as hitherto in order to safe-guard their own position.

More alarming, however, is the question of admission or rejection of a patient at the hospitals. It is a common practice both in State and private hospitals for cases sent by the Visiting Medical Staff and administrative authorities to be held to have a paramount claim for admission and in fact they obtain admission to the exclusion of local out-patients. Admission or rejection of patients at hospitals has thus passed into hands of Visiting Staff and they are not careful to prevent admission of unsuitable cases. The logical and increasing feeling on the part of the the public is, therefore, that the patients sent by the Visiting Staff have a prior claim to admission.

Evils which indiscriminate medical charity is undoubtedly inflicting not only on the medical profession but also on the public, can only be remedied, if provisions, as in the National Health Insurance Act, Hospital Contributory Schemes or Hospital Provident Schemes etc., of England, are made available in India.

We invite the attention of the medical profession in general to the increasingly difficult problems of hospital administration in all its aspects and would welcome general scheme of hospital grouping, construction, administration and policy.

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Culture of Bengal

In an important paper on the above subject in *The Calcutta Review* Mr. Dhurjatiprasad Mukherjee, M. A., traces the history of Bengali music as follows:

The history of music in Bengal is interesting. We know that Bengal was not cut off from the main line of Hindustani music which had been repaired and reconstructed by the Moghuls in Northern India. The Kirtan was Bengal's own ; we are not so sure about the Bauddha *Dohas*. Judging by the names of melodies affixed to old *padas*, one can surmise that some of them were sung in classical melodies. One possible explanation is that classical music borrowed these terms from folk-music. The alternative explanation is that the names of classical melodies were arbitrarily fixed on the padas. Modern Kirtaniyas, however, are of opinion that the padas were really sung in high style, and that its disapperance is due to the exigencies of chorus-singing. This is of course certain that Kirtans and Dohas are older than the Hindustani style. But we do not know their technique. We have it on the authority of Dr. Prabodh Kumar Bagchi that in a manuscript found in Nepal the names of certain Raginis are given. But, unfortunately, they do not correspond to the known melodies either of the Hindustani style or of Kirtan as sung today. On the other hand, it has to be remembered that the rise of Gaudiya Vaisnavism, which is supposed to have been responsible for releasing the energies of the people of Bengal pent up since the Pala period, is fairly contemporaneous with the Muslim predominance in Bengal, as well as in Northern India It is equally historical that the music of Northern India started on a fresh and an amended

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ease of life under the auspices of the Muslims, the Pathans and Moghuls of Delhi, the Shrikis of Jaunpur, and the princes of Gwalior and Gujerat. The likely conclusion is that the Vaisnavism of Bengal, disruptive and reformative as it was of Bengali society at one and the same time, was not above assimilating the melodies propounded or popularized by the Muslim princes. Even if the affixing of names from the classical style renovated by the Muslims was not an instance of assimilation, it was undoubtedly a courteous recognition of Muslim rule or a neat return for patronage. The special point however is the process of assimilation in the mode of singing. The Hindustani classical style uses words primarily as lines to hang airs upon, the Kirtaniya plays chiefly with words and religious emotions. When words and emotions are dominant, the airs lose their purity at first, no doubt, but, later on, words and emotions clothe the airs, and a new style emerges. Its virtue is in the aptness of the fit. It evokes a new *rasa* just as much as two atoms of hydrogen mix with one of oxygen to produce water, a new substance. This merging of duality in the unity of a new *rasa* is the true source of the modern movement in music in Bengal. Yatra-music, folk-music, like Bhatial, Ramprasad and Nidhu Babu's styles down to Rabindranath, Atul Prasad and Quazi Nazrul's form one long series of attempts at the work of producing a new *Rasa*, the *Sangit-rasa*, which is neither the purely musical one of Hindustani tradition nor the mainly verbal one of chants, dohas, or recitations. The marriage of words and notes is a singularly happy illustration of the special feature of Bengal's culture, *viz.*, adaptability, and supports the contention indicated in previous paragraphs.

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The History of words

The history of words is a very interesting reading. These extracts are taken from *The Twentieth Century* :

Let us, to begin with, consider the words *idiot* and *dunce*, and we shall discover something of the Greek sense of complete living and social responsibility enshrined in the one word, and something of the conflict of ideals and outlook in the age of the Renaseance reflected in the other. *Idiot* goes back through French and Latin, to the Greek "idiotes", literally 'a private person', from "idios" meaning 'private'. The Greek noun was originally used to characterize one who undertook no public responsibility; but, since participation in public life was to a Greek a necessary part of a complete education, the word came gradually, in Greek itself, to signify an untaught or uneducated person, a layman. Something of these Greek senses of the word survives in the English of the seventeenth century, severl examples being found especially in the works of Jeremy Taylor, who more than once brackets "ideots" with "private persons". But the word is now charged with a frankly derogatory signification; from indicating one whose powers were but undeveloped it has come to denote one actually deficient, a congenital nitwit. And this deterioration is itself instructive. The deterioration of words like *crafty*, *sly*, *cunning*, which originally implied skill and knowledge, illustrates one weakness in man: his proneness to turn his superiority to evil account. The deterioration of *wanton* and *lewd*, which too, at one time, meant no more than 'uneducated' 'unlettered', 'lay', but now connote lasciviousness, illustrates another man's proneness to slip from ignorance to impudicity, from lightness of heart to incontinence of spirit. The sinking in the scale of *idiot*, *silly* (once equivalent, like German "selig", to 'blessed', 'happy'), *simple*, *innocent*, and a number of similar words illustrates a third failing : our tendency to pass from condescension to more or less open contempt in our attitude to those unversed in the ways of the world.

The history of *dunce* is very different but equally informative. The word is, by a strange irony, descended from the name of the Subtle Doctor,—"the wittiest of the school divines," as Hooker called him—Duns Scotus. For, at the Revival of Learning, the Schoolmen and all their works stank in the nostrils of the humanists, and the hair-splitting of the Scottists in particular, who were dominant in the Universities, drew the concentrated fire of humanists and reformers alike. These champions of the old learning, these Dunsmen, as they were derisively named, had only Duns learning, which has mere sophistry; they were perverse obscurantists impervious to the new learning, stupidity was the badge of all their tribe. To the new generation a Dunsman, or a duns was incurably dull-witted; and, thereafter, one needed only the illogical logic of association to 'conclude that every common or garden dullard was a dunce.

I can here only suggest how such words from place-names as *indigo*, *silk*, *copper*, *cashmere*, *calico*, *lawn*, *damask muslin*, *worsted*, *Port*, *sherry*, *madeira burgundy*—I might go on adding to the number—tell of the currents of commerce and trade and industry; how words like *mackintosh*, *macadom*, *hansom*, *nicotine*, *guillotine*, *dahlia*, *fuchsia*, *shrapnel*, *gat* (*ling*), *volt*, *galvinism*, *mesmerism*, bear witness to the devices, inventions, discoveries, and scientific achievements of the past; how *sandwich*, *chesterfield brougham*, *spencer* bespeak, if nothing else, the whims and fancies of the individuals they commemorate and incidentally, the capriciousness of Dame Fortune, who has conferred a species of immortality on four noble lords otherwise worthy of being well and truly forgotten; how the word *derrick*, on the other hand, which is a noted hangman's name transferred to a hoisting apparatus, reveals not only the grim humour of which man is capable but also the democracy of language, which admits to its parliament of words a public executioner as freely as peers of the realm; how, *maudlin*, *tawdry*, *pantaloons*, descended as they are from the honoured names of Mary Magdalene, a popular Enlish saint, St. Audrey, and St, Pantaleone, the patron saint of the Venetians, illustrate the power of more or less accidental associations to give even a saint, so to speak, a bad name. And, of course, there is the lesson of *boycott* a word that has passed into several languages, and the not very different one of *lynch*, another word of international currency, which, whether an appropriation of the name of Charles Lynch, a Virginian Justice of the Peace, or of a locality called Lynche's Creek, belongs here. And if these words are shameful reminders of the passions that often move a mob ("mobile vulgus" indeed !), *gerrymander*, enshrining the name of Elbridge Gerry, Governor of Massachusetts who manipulated electoral divisions with a view to favouring his own party, and *burke* (meaning 'smother', though only metaphorically these days), which basely immortalizes the scoundrel William Burke, who carried on a nefarious trade in dead human bodies, making the corpses he needed by smothering his unfortunate victims, are two of a class of words that equally shamefully, and, one might add, superfluously, remind us of the cupidity and greed that often impel individuals.

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The Choice of Text Books

Text Books are generally chosen as carelessly as they are written. Strict rules should be formulated to guide the selection committees in their choice of text books. *The Educational Review* writes editorially:

The great discontent which has existed in the matter of the choice of text books in various parts of the country is a matter well known to the public. Things came to a head recently in the Panjab, where the evils of patronage and canvassing for school text-books had become so serious that the Government had to appoint a committee of enquiry which has just made its recommendations. The committee recommends that an Advisory Board consisting of 27 members, nominated by the Ministry and subject to the veto of the Ministry in all matters should be constituted in place of the existing Text-Book Committee. The committee also recommends that the prices of books should be reduced and this task should be entrusted to a competent committee. In any one subject the number of alternative text-books for any one class or sets of alternative books for any one department of the school, primary or middle, should not exceed five and such books should be sent out for review by the Director of Public Instruction. The Director is expected to maintain a secret panel of competent reviewers for this purpose. These reviews are to be laid by the Director of Public Instruction before the Advisory Board. The committee further recommends that alternative text-books approved should be used in schools from the beginning of the academic year, 1937-38. The process of scrutiny and approval of text-books should be repeated every five years when books already on the list should compete afresh with the new books submitted for approval. It is desirable that these recommendations should be studied in detail by other provinces also, as no amount of care and attention can be too much, in a matter of this kind, affecting the interests of thousands of pupils and their parents.

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The Ottawa Agreement

If the tree is known by its fruit, then it may be safely affirmed that the Ottawa Agreement has proved a veritable source of evil: it has neither benefited Great Britain nor the other members of the Commonwealth. Dr. Lanka Sundaram writes in *The Mysore Economic Journal*:

There is only one test which ought to be applied to establish the fact that a trade agreement was beneficial to a country, that it was instrumental in rehabilitating her overseas trade. Judged from this standpoint, the Ottawa Agreement is a miserable failure. In the final balance-sheet of our international trade adjustments for 1932-33 we paid out for the first time during the post-war period. Our vast customary annual favourable balance of trade, which stood at a hundred and fifty-seven crores in 1925-26, was reduced to a *minus* balance of fifteen lakhs of rupees. If final figures are available for 1933-34 it could have, perhaps, been demonstrated that our overseas trade position is slightly better. It must be regretted that the Ottawa Agreement has not offered any real advantage to India. Dr. Meek's report is a depressing document, the main purpose of which was a sort of jugglery with our commercial statistics. When comparable standards of life and living are not obtaining in India today, any dogmatic apprisal of our industry and commerce must be deprecated,

The rehabilitation of our overseas trade particularly on the export side, which means so much for the restoration of the natural position of our national dividend prior to the depression, is our prime concern today. If the Ottawa Agreement has assisted us in regaining this position, all praise must be conceded to it. The whole argument of this article is that the Ottawa Agreement has decidedly not assisted us in regaining this position. When Canada, Australia and even Ceylon have destroyed the Ottawa Agreement, how long can India look up to this superimposed system of commercial dependency without demur?

Mr. Ranald M. Findlay writes in the same journal:

The Agreements with Canada and Australia affect Great Britain most. In each case the Dominions got big advantages. Foreign wheat, maize, meat, butter, cheese, eggs and fruit have all been taxed, to the advantage of Dominion producers. Over £200 millions of imported foodstuffs have become dutiable since the National Government took office and abandoned Free Trade, and the tendency is towards increased restrictions. Cadada and Australia have sacrificed little in return. Increased preferences to British goods have certainly been granted, but for the most part they have been effected by increases in the duties against foreign goods and the duties against British goods remain abnormally high.

In the two years that have passed since the Ottawa Conference there has been but a slight increase in inter-Imperial trade, and so far as Great Britain is concerned it has been secured, as was anticipated by Sir Arthur Salter, at the expense of trade with other countries. While it is rather soon to make a precise estimate of the gains and losses, the gains in inter-Imperial trade would not justify the Agreements ever if they were several times as valuable, for it cannot be doubted that these Agreements spelled the doom of the efforts that were going to be made at the World Conference to bring about reductions in world tariffs.

In another respect the Ottawa Agreements have proved unfortunate. They have stirred up all the latent jealousies existing between Great Britain and her Dominions, and perhaps a good deal of ill-feeling that has never existed before. The recent Lancashire boycott of Australian goods was an example. The amount of British goods affected by the Australian tariff increase was negligible. It was the principle of the thing that counted. A serious tariff war between Great Britain and one of her Dominions must be regarded as a possibility so long as these Agreements remain.

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Nation-Building and the Critical Spirit

Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee has contributed a thought-provoking paper in *The Bombay Chronicle Special Congress number*. Part of it is given here:

In order that people should be able to get rid of some orthodox beliefs and practices, it is necessary that a critical spirit should grow up in our midst. And it is desirable that this spirit should manifest itself within each particular community. When at first it manifested itself among Hindus, some of those who

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were critically minded became atheists, agnostics, or positivists, some turned Christians, some Brahmos. But gradually Hindu orthodoxy has lost its power and influence to such an extent that there is among Hindus quite a large number of men whose beliefs and practices are known to be heterodox. Of course, this state of things has been brought about by successive groups of critically-minded men and women bravely facing obloquy and persecution.

We know there are in the Muslim community, too, liberal-minded heterodox men. But they have not yet made up their minds to face obloquy and persecution to any very great extent. At present in the Muslim community, the most influential persons are the Mullahs and Maulanas, who issue *fatwas*.

For the birth, growth, conservation and increase of the critical spirit in our midst, we must look to a really liberal national education. It is only a truly liberal national education—not a sectarian orthodox educarion—which can give us unsectarian, liberal, national and international minds. The education given in our State-recognized institutions is not of an ideal kind; but still it frees the mind from shackles of various sorts. If the "National" institutions of various kinds can do better in this direction, they are welcome. But by "National" education Hindus, for the most part, understand an education with as much of Hindu orthodoxy in it as possible, as is proved by the celebration of the Saraswati Puja and other Pujas in many "National" institutions. Muslims also have their separate "National" "University."

But we shall never have a liberal, rational, national and international mentality unless we can shake off the authority of priests, dogmatists, theologians, etc., as such, in the fields of education and politics.

Criticism of Hindu orthodoxy by non-Hindus, of Muslim orthodoxy by non-Muslims, of Christian orthodoxy by non-Christians. etc., is not so fruitful as such criticism by Hindus, Muslims, Christians, etc., respectively. Criticism from outside produces greater friction and exasperation. Hence, the growth of the critical spirit within each community itself is necessary and desirable.

It is not in the fields of religion and social polity alone that a critical spirit is nececsary. In politics, economics, industry, and in every other field of national activity the critical spirit is absolutely necessary.

—

Chew Long—Live Long

E. H. Risley, M.D., writes in *The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health* :

The question, "What does the chewing of food really accomplish?" might be answered at this point. Flrst, the food is broken up, as already stated, into fine particles so that the digestive process of chemical character can be easily carried on. One of these latter processes is normally accomplished in the mouth. The saliva, which is secreted by several glands located in the walls of the mouth cavity, contains a chemical substance which is called ptyalin. This product acts upon cooked starch, changing it to a sugar by the name of maltose. Starch, as such is not suitable to the body's needs, and must be changed to a sugar called glucose before it can be utilized. The process involved is one of the splitting up the large starch particles into smaller ones. Saliva does not carry the starch to the glucose stage, but it does bring it down to the maltose, which is only one step from the finished product, glucose, finally absorbed into the blood. The final step is brought about by another chemical agent in the small intestines.

When food is swallowed in large chunks or masses and the milling function of the teeth is poorly carried out, very little of the starch content of the food is converted to sugar in the mouth. Since starch is a large constituent of the diet, the whole process of digestion is delayed until the food reaches the intestine, where starch is again attacked by the agents of digestion there found; but the process will probably never be so complete on account of failure to use the milling process which the teeth supply.

Failure to properly chew one's food generally calls for excessive quantities of liquid to wash the large masses into the stomach. This large admixture of fluid dilutes the digestive juices to such an extent as to hinder markedly the digestive process in both the mouth and stomach.

Chewing increases the secretion of saliva, thus aiding the swallowing process. and at the same time gives opportunity for the saliva to act upon the starchy elements of the food, as previously mentioned. The thorough mixing of the saliva with the food will also allow it to act longer upon the starch even after entering the stomach.

Masses of food which are hard and not easily broken up by the digestive work of the stomach and small intestine may pass through the entire tract to the lower bowel, and there undergo unfavourable decomposition under the influence of bacteria which are constantly present in that portion of the digestive apparatus. The proper mastication of food has an influence upon the entire digestive process.

—

The Problem of Marketing

In *The Bengal Co-operative Journal* occurs the following :

In pursuance of the Government of India's Resolution of May 4, 1934, Mr. Livingstone, formerly, Marketing Expert of the British Board of Agriculture, was appointed sometime ago to conduct a 'big drive on the question of marketing.' Recently a *communique* has been issued by the Govenment of India which provides for the appointment of several provincial marketing officers, the inauguration of marketing surveys, the appointment of special committees for staple crops and also for carrying out work on grade standards. The scope of the survey will include the following : grading, market information, special organization for marketing of perishable commodities, planning of production according to quality and demand, regulated markets and produce exchanges, warehouses, transportation and export methods. The basis of study will include (a) crops—(i) cereals, (ii) oilseeds, (iii) fibre crops, (iv) plantation and special crops, (b) animal products—(i) dairy products, (ii) livestock, (iii) live stock products (hides and skins, wool, etc.). As soon as these market surveys are completed, a programme of development will be followed which will include demostration, propaganda and distribution of information, legislation regarding standardization and market regulation and promotion of marketing organizations.

The scheme is an ambitious one and the work ahead stupendous. One misses, however, any mention of the question of the esfablishment of regulated markets, without which the ryot can hardly reap the full benefit of all the preliminary study, spade-work

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and propaganda. The Linlithgow Commission, it may be noted, observed that the establishment of regular markets must form an integral part of any plan for agricultural development. Mr. Livingstone has recently made some pronouncements on the subject. The reports of these, published in the press, do not indicate that co-operative marketing is likely to play an important role in his scheme. This seems anomalous in view of the reference to the need for co-operative marketing even in the Government Resolution of May 4. We hope that a study of local conditions will convince Mr. Livingstone that in India the ryot can secure the advantages of orderly marketing only if the co-operative machinary is properly developed and utilized.

—

Iron pillar of Dhar

The following is taken from *Tisco Review* :

The following is from a note on archæological excavations during 1932-33 by the Director-General of Archæology :

The Iron Pillar at Dhar, Central India, is one of those large-sized products of ancient Indian metal workers which have excited the unstinted admiration of modern metallurgists. It is now broken in three pieces measuring together more than 43 feet in length, and some writers believe that a fourth piece of seven feet in length has been lost sight of. The date and purpose of this interesting monument had remained uncertain, and the pillar had been assigned by some to as early a date as the Gupta period. This controversy is now set at rest by an inscription of the time of the Paramara King Bhoja of Dhar (A. D. 1018-60), fragments of which have been put together in Kamal Maula's mosque at Dhar, which occupies the site of a grammar school established by that king. One of the verses of this inscription refers to the setting up of a pillar to which could be tied the elephant of victory fettered with ropes in the form of the rays of the sharp sword of Bhoja.

The only pillar at Dhar answering this description is the Iron Pillar, and it may have been erected to commemorate Bhoja's victory over the neighbouring powers, including the Chedi ruler Gangeyadeva of Tilangana or Trikalinga. The Hindustani proverb *Kahan Raja Bhoj kahan Ganga Teli* appears to refer to this victory of Bhoja.

—

The Tata Iron Works

The same paper writes:

The following few facts will help our readers to visualize the magnitude of India's key industry :

(1) The Works of the Company at Jamshedpur are the largest and best equipped in the British Empire.

(2) Sixteen trains steam into the Company's Works *daily* bringing in raw-materials for the manufacture of Iron and Steel.

(3) Eleven trains steam out of Jamshedpur *daily* to distribute the manufactured products of the Steel Works to all parts of India.

(4) Nearly one-third of the total public traffic of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway is provided by the Company.

(5) The capital of the Company is contributed by various provinces of India including Assam, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Bombay, Burma, Central Provinces Panjab, United Provinces and the Indian States.

(6) Over 20,000 people hailing from all parts of India are employed by the Steel Company.

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Early Hindu Colonization in Malay Peninsula

Dr. R. C. Majumdar writes in *The Indian Review*:

Actual remains of early Hindu civilization in the Malay Peninsula are not altogether lacking. Mr. Evans has described the remains of a Hindu temple and a few stone images at Sungai Batu estate at the foot of Gunong Jerai (Kedah Peak). Mr. Evans observes :

"Let us now consider what some of these specimens indicate. They certainly show that some early inhabitants of Sungai Batu were Hindus, and worshippers of Siva or related deities, for we have obtained images of Durga, (?) Ganesa, the Nandi on which he rides, and one of the yoni, always associated with the worship of Siva or with that of deities of the Siva Group."

Unfortunately it is impossible to assign even any approximate date either to the shrine or to the images. But the remains of a brick-built Buddhist shrine discovered in its neighbourhood, at Kedah, may be dated approximately to the fourth or fifth century A.D. on the strength of a Sanskrit inscription found in it. Similarly remnants of pillars which once adorned some Buddhist temples have been found in the northern part of Province Wellesley. These also may be dated to the fourth or fifth century A.D. on the strength of inscriptions engraved on them. Pillars of approximately the same date have been discovered also in the eastern side at Chaya, north of Ligor. Recently a gold ornament bearing the figures of Vishnu on his Garuda has been unearthed at Selinsing (Perak), and, in a hole left by the roots of a fallen tree, a Cornelian Seal engraved with the name of Hindu prince Sri Vishnuvarman, in characters of the 5th century A.D.

More interesting light is thrown upon the Indian colonization in Malay Peninsula by the large number of inscriptions which have been discovered in different parts of the country. These inscriptions are mostly too fragmentary to yield any complete sense, but they lead to very important conclusions. They are written in Sanskrit and in Indian characters of about the fourth or fifth century A.D. Two of them distinctly refer to Buddhist creed and thus prove the spread of Buddhism in the region. As to the distribution of the inscriptions, seven of them were found at Tokoon in the centre of the Province Wellesley, four of them in the northern part of the same province, one at Kedah, one at Takuapa, three at Ligor and one at Chaya, On the whole, therefore, these inscriptions clearly testify to the fact that the Indians had established colonies, in the northern, western and the eastern side of the Malay Peninsnla by at least fourth and fifth centuries A.D. The palaeography of the inscriptions shows that the colonists belonged to both Northern and Southern India.

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Aryan Synthesis and Dravidian Culture

Prof. S. V. Venkaleswara writes in *The Aryan Path*:

Aryan talent for synthesis is evidenced by the incorporation of these elements. Baudhayana and Apastamba, among the early givers of sacred laws, relax the rigour of Aryan exogamy and permit cousin

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marriage in South India, copying the Dravidian system. They also introduce new kinds of marriage; among them is marriage by capture, which is distinctly Dravidian. Burial was allowed to the Brahmins of Malabar, and was preferred in cases of contagious diseases like the pox. The dog was permitted within the sacred enclosure at the *Vaisadeva* rite. The prejudice against the use of mud pots died away and these found their way into temples and near images. Evidence of a duodecimal reckoning is found in the *Panchavimsa Brahmana*, with multiples carried 32 times. The Aryan and the Dravidian peacefully co-operated in the foreign commerce of India by sea. Some of the Indian exports had Aryan, while others bore the Dravidian, names assigned to them in India. If muslim (*sindhu* in Babylonian) and axe (*parasu, pilakku* in Assyria) belong to the former category, the peacock (*tohai, tukheim* in Hebrew) and rice (*arisi, oryza* in Greek) belong to the latter. Lastly, the worship of the goddess crystallized into *Durga Puja* and *Sri Vidya*.

Aryan genius for sublimation and transvaluation of values is evidenced by the philosophical and symbolical significance attached to crude conceptions in iconography. One principle of Aryan ethics is the extirpation of vice or misfortune, not by combating it but by meditating on the contrary virtue or benevolence. The Dravidian Goddess of the Pox was therefore renamed Sitala (Goddess of Coolness); coolness in contemplation served to mitigate the rigour of the heat and dryness which is felt by the pox-stricken patient. To the Goddess of Divine Wrath, who was Dravidian, was attributed a mild and milky aspect as of the mother who appeased the hunger of Sambandha and Thayumanavar in Aryo-Dravidian hagiology. Aryan emphasis on the spirit and on the transitory nature of the body, relaxed the attention bestowed on the burial, as evident from a contrast of the simple burial of historical times with the meticulous preservation of the corpse in hermetically sealed earthen jars of the prehistoric period. Dravidian festivals were retained, but they were affiliated to the Aryan ones founded on astronomical or planetary mythology. Non-Aryan cults based on the phallus were sublimated into the encyclopædic system of rite, religion and philosophy known as Saivism. Dravidian scripture in the Vernacular (*Nalayira prabandham*) was recognized by Vaishnavism as a mere translation of the essence of the Vedas. The tantric cults were endowed with symbolic content and made to yield high philosophy.

—

Education and Indian Life

In a thoughtful paper in *Educational India* Mr. H. N. Mukherjee writes:

The movement for all-round educational progress must, therefore, ally itself with a movement for fundamental changes in our social and economic system and attitudes. There must be a clear-cut social purpose behind our educational movement, for without it nothing worth while can be achieved. Our educationists often specialize in certain aspects of educationl work; their field of action is inevitably circumscribed—which, in most cases, is a good thing. But their vision is limited—which is a danger to be avoided. They would forget the relevance of their work to the wider problem; they would miss their affiliation to the general movement. On the other hand, there are many among our educationists who would pride themselves as practical men; they would check the zealots, the hot-heads, who are prepared to pay the cost of their work even though it may frighten away more timorous souls. But such practical men—and the specialist, as well—would slowly wrench from those in authority only a few niggardly, irritating reforms. They shall not emphasize the claims of the immense majority of our people, which has been curelly and persistently denied, in order that the social hierarchy shall not be disturbed. They shall never enlist under their banner men and women who will work with little thought for the puny interests of themselves and their class, but with the over-mastering desire of helping, in however humble a fashion, the building of a new society where the claims of all are not only abstractly recognized, but actually served. No present-day educationist worth the name would deny, if he was pressed to give a direct answer, that there is generally among teachers in india a miserable lack, even though it is understandable, of educational idealism. We cannot harness the idealism of our people to educational reconstruction if it does not go hand in hand with a radical transformation of our social, economic and political life. There must be, I repeat, a conscious social purpose in any educational movement that hopes to be really successful.

ERRATA

P. 641, l. 1 & 9. *for* Thomas Henry Buckley *read* Henry Thomas Buckle.
Pp. 645-648, *for* Marsailles *read* Marseilles.
P. 652, l. 5 from the bottom, *for* flower *read* flour.
P. 665, i. 47 & 48, *for* curved on bronze *read* carved in bronze.

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WHOM WILL JUTE CROP RESTRICTION BENEFIT ?

By BHUPENDRA LAL DUTT

"RESTRICT your cultivation of jute"—this was the piece of advice thrust upon the Bengal cultivators from many a Congress platform during the hot days of non-co-operation. The elders refused to pay any heed to what they took to be inspired dabbling in matters economic by political demagogues. When the political tongue of the Congress was gagged, the economic tongue, too, was silent. But the Bengal agriculturist could hardly enjoy any respite. The Government of Bengal took up the cue where the Bengal branch of the Congress had left it. The agriculturist listened to the counsel of the Government with no better attention. The result has been expressed thus in the *Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture, Bengal, for the year 193-132* :

> Jute—Inspite of active propaganda, the area and out-turn of the crop were *higher** than in the previous year.

The Bengal Legislative Council was alarmed at the threatening economic crisis and in its sitting of the 21st February, 1932, a resolution to the following effect was passed :

> This council recommends to the Government that a Committee consisting of official and non-official members of the Council and experts be appointed to make a systematic examination of the present economic depression in Bengal and to make suggestions as to what temporary and permanent measures may be taken to alleviate the present distress and ensure a steady economic progress of the people of the Presidency.

Thanks to the Mont-Ford Reforms, the Indian presidencies and provinces are happy families,

> governed, in relation to reserved subjects, by a governor-in-council, and in relation to transferred subjects (save as otherwise provided by this Act) by the governor acting with minister under this Act. †

This resolution concerning 'present economic depression of Bengal' was treated as one concerning a transferred subject and was 'carefully considered' by the Government of Bengal (Ministry of Agriculture), which

> came to the conclusion that the appointment of such a committee to conduct a general enquiry of the nature contemplated in the resolution, viz., "to make a systematic examination of the present" economic depression in Bengal, would serve no useful purpose.

But the Government was not slow to realize that

> the fall in the price of raw and manufactured jute is one of the primary causes responsible for the acute depression of Bengal,

and appointed a committee with the following terms of reference :

> (1) the question of regulation of the production of jute ;
> (2) the marketing of jute, including the establishment of regulated markets, and the supply of market informations in a suitable form to the producers ;
> (3) The creation of a Jute Committee for the province of Bengal on the lines of the proposed Central Jute Committee and the minimum amount required to finance such a Committee ;
> (4) the extent to which other materials have displaced jute and the likelihood of further substitutes being found in the near future ;
> (5) the possibilities of making any other economic use of jute to an extent that might relieve the present situation.

The Committee worked for over six months and the Chairman laments :

> From the beginning, it was obvious that there were considerable differences of opinion in respect of the first three terms of reference to the committee, but it was hoped that it would be possible to compose the differences sufficiently to bring the opinions within the compass of a single report.* * *
> Attempts to reconcile these conflicting attitudes having unfortunately failed, it was regretfully decided, after discussion, that the only course open was to write two separate reports, embodying the respective views of the two groups into which the members were divided.

In fact we have three, not two, reports before us, as one of the members refused to join any group and preferred to write a separate one himself. The Committee were originally directed to submit the report by May 1, 1933, but extension was given later on to the 10th August, 1933. After full thirteen months, on the 20th September, 1934, a *communique* was issued by the Government of Bengal, Agriculture and Industries Department. It begins with the following lines :

> The Government of Bengal have for some time viewed with anxiety the serious position to which the low price of jute has largely contributed and amongst the terms of reference to the Jute Enquiry Committee the first was "the question of the regulation of the production of jute" with a view to improving the price paid to the cultivator. The report of the Committee upon this term of reference has now been considered by the Government.

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* Italics in this and the following extracts are mine.
† Government of India Act, 1919. Sec. 46.

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We confess, we cannot congratulate the Government on these lines. Procrastination is not a virtue, even with the Government. It took thirteen long months for the Government to pronounce their decision on one point of reference out of five. We do not know how many months will elapse before the Government publish their opinion on the other four points. By the way, are these points considered independently of one another ?

(2)

It would be rash to indulge in conjectures on the attitude of the Government when the points of reference were determined and the question of regulation of production was placed first. The *communique* runs :

> With one dissentient the Committee recommended against measures for compulsory restriction of the crop under legislative enactment and *for the crop of 1935* Government accept the opinion of the committee on this point. They also accept the recommendation that the measures adopted during the past two or three years for encouraging a voluntary reduction of cultivation shall be improved and intensified.

These lines, if they mean anything, mean that the Government refuse to accept the almost unanimous opinion of the Committee appointed by them and to abandon the principle of "compulsory restriction of the crop under legislative enactment." The Press Note on the scheme for reduction of the cultivation of jute in 1935 makes the interpretation clear when it says that

> The scheme does not *at present* include legislative enactment to enforce a reduction in the area under jute.

The lines from the *communique* as well as the Press Note sound like a challenge to the Bengal jute-growers that, if they fail to give a satisfactory response to the Government scheme, legislation must follow.

Further, Mr. A. C. Porter, Development Commissioner, Bengal, is reported in newspapers to have said that

> The scheme of compulsory restriction could not be adopted for the next season since *it was not possible to pass the necessary legislation within such a short time.*

Finally, we have it on the authority of the Hon'ble Nawab K. G. M. Faroqui, Minister of Agriculture and Industries, that

> "A restriction by legislation is *neither possible nor practicable at the present moment.*"

Now, with all these before us, will it be very wrong to say that the Government have committed themselves to the principle of "compulsory restriction by legislation" and the voluntary restriction scheme is a mere fore-runner to it ?

(3)

The Press Note claims for the Government that the scheme is

> a *response by the Government to public opinion* which has expressed itself *unanimously* in favour of effective measures for restricting the crop.

To a foreign reader, it would appear as if a plebiscite on the jute question had been held, or at least, an election had been fought on this question and an obliging Government has, in a truly sportsmanlike spirit, submitted to public opinion. Nothing of the kind.

The Jute Enquiry Committee was constituted with thirteen members. The President was a high Government Official. The Bengal Chamber of Commerce, the Indian Jute Mills Association, the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, the Indian Chamber of Commerce, the Muslim Chamber of Commerce had each a representative to guard the respective interests. Dr. J. C. Sinha, Professor of Economics, Presidency College, must have been taken in for his technical knowledge. The Minister had three deputies in the Director of Agriculture, the Director of Industries and the Registrar of Co-operative Societies. Thus there were only three seats left. One was allotted to a retired Divisional Commissioner, the second to a lawyer practising in a district which has very little area under jute cultivation. A seat was found for a Doctor of Law practising in the highest judicial court in the Presidency and he was introduced as Vice-President, Bengal Jute Growers Association as if to create an impression that jute-growers were not without their spokesman on the Committee. The questionnaire was distributed to

> the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, the Indian Chamber of Commerce, the Muslim Chamber of Commerce, the Marwari Chamber of Commerce, and various other organizations connected with the jute trade. Others receiving the questionaire were Commissioners of Divisions, Collectors of Districts, Chairmen of District Boards, prominent members of the Union Boards, Co-operative organizations, employers of labour, leading gentlemen in jute districts, etc.

Thus we see that the questionnaire was not a public document available to any one who might care to express his opinion. Any member of a Union Board or a gentleman in jute district, who had not been favoured with a copy of the questionnaire might be silenced by saying that he was not a 'prominent' or 'leading' man. However,

> Replies were received from 119 persons, and Commercial and public bodies.

The Enquiry Committee spared no pains to be in touch with public opinion. A Sub-Committee was formed and it made a tour

> between the 8th and the 15th April, 1933, in course of which Narayangunge, Dacca, Mymensingh, Serajganj and Rangpur were visited.

We do not desire to place before our readers a railway map and a railway time-table to show how many miles this august body travelled and how much time was occupied in travelling.

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The Sub-Committee performed a feat when during these eight days (inclusive of the time spent in travelling) in these five places (all District and Sub-divisional Headquarters and no rural area) they

> examined representatives of mofussil jute agencies, District Board Chairmen, Presidents of Union Boards, dealers in jute and cultivators.

We find no mention of the number of persons of each interest examined in these Mofussil centres, though mention has been made that

> Altogether 32 persons were orally examined in Calcutta.

Are the opinions of the Enquiry Committee constituted as such or of the witnesses requisitioned to appear before them to be recognized as *public* opinion ?

Since the Government took upon themselves the task of suppressing the Civil Disobedience Movement and lavishly used section 144 I. P. C., public meetings have been seldom held, and we have not heard of any public meeting in any part of Bengal, requesting the Government to launch a Scheme of Restriction of Jute Cultivation. Then there are Indian-owned newspapers in Bengal. We are accustomed to hear them described as mouthpiece of the discontented middle class. Correspondence and notes have been noticed in the columns of some of them in support of restriction. Do the Government now hail them as expressions of public opinion ? Lastly, there is the Indian National Congress which first raised the cry of restriction. But much water has flowed down the Ganges since that body first advocated it.

Government have peculiar ways of ascertaining facts and one may think that this official version of the unanimity of public opinion in favour of restriction of the cultivation of jute is as accurate as the official jute forecast.

(4)

The Press Note says that the Government scheme

> aims at the organization of intensive propaganda on a provincial scale *to induce* the cultivator to restrict his sowing of jute *in his own interest.*

We fail to understand why the question of inducement arises at all, if the Government action is a response to the unanimous public demand for restriction. Soon after the publication of the Government *communique*, Mr. B. R. Sen, I. C. S., Publicity Officer to the Government of Bengal, invited representatives of several Calcutta newspapers to a drawing-room conference when Mr. A. C. Porter, Development Commissioner, explained the details of the scheme. Under the sub-heading of "Executive Pressure on Black Sheep," the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Oct. 2, 1934, reports:

> After some minor discussions a representative of the Press opined that any attempt at restriction by propaganda alone will be useless since there are a few "black sheep" in every village who refuse to listen to any good advice and their examples are invariably followed by the rest of the villagers. In reply to this Mr. Porter definitely assured the Press representatives that the executive officers of the Government will never fail to adopt suitable measures in order to check the mischievous activities of the 'black sheep'.

A response to the unanimous public demand requires "suitable measures" to be adopted ! Again, a Bengal peasant, simple and sincere as he always is, understands legislative prevention and accepts it with calm resignation. We do not know how he will accept the "executive pressure".

If October opened with this Press conference, it closed with the conference of the chairmen and representatives of district boards. Before these leading gentlemen of rural Bengal the Hon'ble Minister for Agriculture was pleased to say :

> In the past, sporadic propaganda had been carried on in the villages, and the work had been more or less confined to the distribution of propaganda pamphlets and literature, leaving it entirely to the cultivators as to the quota of individual restriction. It was entirely the choice of the grower to reduce his cultivation by any amount or not at all.

Does the Minister mean to say that the grower will no longer be allowed this liberty of choice ? He proceeds to say that

> if all efforts, official,and non-official, are made to bring home to the growers that their (growers') interests lie in the immediate restriction scheme, there will be very few who will think of disregarding the strong public opinion that it is *attempted to create* in favour of the restriction scheme : and it is in that connection that Government look upon you, chairmen and representatives of district boards, to help the propaganda and utilize all your resources, influence, tact, judgment and knowledge to see that the public opinion becomes effective so that the growers *may not dare to disregard it.*

The Hon'ble Khawaja Sir Nazimuddin, Member of the Executive Council, in the same meeting said :

> If public opinion is *created* that there should be a restriction on the production of jute, it becomes the duty of every one that he does not grow more than his own quota ; and if he does, he becomes the black sheep of the village.

The Hon'ble Sir Bijoy Prosad Singh Roy, Minister for Self-Government, addressing the same band of leaders of rural public opinion, said :

> Now, you are expected to *mobilize* public opinion to carry on vigorous propaganda with conviction and courage, and to impress upon the people in the mofussil, and the agriculturists who have not yet learnt to think for themselves, that it is their duty in common interest to reduce the area of jute cultivation as much as they can.

Now, it is for the readers to judge whether the Government action is a response to unanimous public opinion or whether the Government are making vigorous attempts to

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reate and mobilize public opinion to put into tion a principle to which, for reasons best nown to them, they stand committed.

(5)

It is no surprise that in a land which is llowed a mere shadow of self-government, the linister for self-government is of opinion that griculturists 'have not yet learnt to think for emselves'. But great men do not always think like. The Minister for Agriculture, who comes om a jute-growing district and had many an ccasion to move among the agriculturists before is joining the Governor's cabinet, holds a ifferent view.

> The Bengali cultivator is no fool. He has faced and survived difficulties for countless centuries and and is capable of taking a long-sighted view when the true facts of the situation are placed before him by those whom he trusts.

What is really surprising is that this onourable gentleman who finds himself in the egislative Council mainly with the votes of the griculturists—and this proves that they trust im—has preferred to engage himself in creating nd mobilizing public opinion 'that the growers ay not dare to disregard it' before approaching hem direct with the 'true facts of the situation'.

Restriction of cultivation of jute, it has been epeatedly asserted, is to the grower's own interest. n this connection the following excerpt from the eading editorial of a local Anglo-Indian paper ill be interesting reading :

> The other menace is the serious competition of foreign jute manufacturers. It is said that in recent years many mills have sprung up, in Central and South-Eastern Europe and in Japan for example. These mills have more modern machinery than Bengal mills, they are hampered by no restriction scheme of their own, and they profit in two ways from the Indian restriction scheme. This scheme tends to keep up the price of Calcutta's manufactured jute exports, and therefore to facilitate the foreign millowners in the task of underselling Calcutta. And secondly the restriction scheme is of the one-legged variety only. There is a restriction on output of manufactures but there is none on the growth of the crop. The cultivators grow freely, the Bengal mills, governed by their own restriction scheme, cannot take more than a certain percentage, the rest is flung at the heads of the foreign millowners. It must be sold for what it will fetch, and the export tax is of little avail in keeping up the price when there is a glut. Theoretically in the case of a monopoly the foreigner pays the tax but when Bengal's jute-growers are unorganized and have to compete against one another to get rid of their crop in foreign markets the export tax does not inconvenience the foreigner very much. Japan has no more difficulty in manufacturing Indian jute and underselling Bengal than she has in manufacturing Indian cotton and underselling Bombay. Moreover, although it is recognized by Bengal manufacturers that unregulated growth of jute is an evil both for the cultivator and in the long run for the industry itself, and tends to make it the unhappy hunting-ground of speculators, in practice the manufacturer is often not averse to a situation the immediate result of which is that he gets his raw material cheap. In so far therefore as he does nothing to promote a crop restriction scheme he may be said to be the aider and abetter of his foreign competitor, who fights him with all his looms, and not with a percentage only.*

Here, we believe, a big cat is out of the bag. Here appears a powerful party that requires restriction of jute crop for its own interest.

Reuter is responsible for the following news cabled from London on July 26, 1934 :

> Far-reaching developments in connection with the jute trade of Calcutta and Dundee are pending, according to the *Financial Times*.
>
> Dundee traders have an important scheme, for which they are seeking Calcutta's co-operation, believing that, in the face of foreign competition, the producers of both centres should combine in persuading the British and the Indian Governments to impose an additional export duty on raw jute from India in parts not within the British Empire.
>
> As jute is produced within the Empire, it is contended that Empire manufacturers should have preference over foreign competitors. The unsatisfactory condition of trade both in Dundee and Calcutta has influenced manufacturers in these centres towards co-operation.

Here the bag has let loose another big cat. The Bengal millowners and their compatriots in Dundee are of opinion that none but themselves should have easy entry into the jute market of Bengal. The Dundee traders are moderates and are satisfied if non-British Empire manufacturers are pushed to a disadvantageous position by subjecting them to pay higher export duty, but the Calcutta manufacturers are extremists and do not like the idea of sharing Bengal market with others.

> It is an irony that while the ryot gets no profit from his labour and *looms are idle along the Hooghly other lands reap the benefit.*†

And it is to drive out these "other lands" from the jute market that the restriction is advocated in some quarters, and for this government action is thought necessary.

> That restriction of jute growing is necessary *if the industry is to return to health* and that Government *must* and only Government can insist on this restriction is an article of faith with a large section of the general public.‡

This large section advocates restriction of jute growing with a view to excluding a large section of purchasers. "The Bengali cultivator is no fool"; he need not be told how this exclusion of his purchasers will further his interest.

(6)

It is far from us to accuse the Government of Bengal (Ministry of Agriculture) of any

* *The Sunday Statesman*, April 29, 1934.
† & ‡ *The Statesman*, Sept. 22, 1934.

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complicity with the Bengal Millowners or Dundee traders in propounding their Scheme. Even accepting, for argument's sake, that such a complicity does exist, no grower should reject the restriction scheme for that reason if he is convinced that such a restriction will help, even to a small degree, his economic rehabilitation. The Government *communique* does not hold out any greater hope than that.

> If each cultivator complies with it, there will be grounds for a reasonable expectation of some improvement in the demand for and in the price of fibre.

These are not the words of one who is confident that one's action will bring about the desired result. "Grounds for reasonable expectation" are not, we fear, sufficient reasonable grounds to put "executive pressure" upon the cultivators to restrict the cultivation of their favourite and only money-crop. The Press Note accompanying the *communique* is silent on this important point. Mr. Porter has not explained it before the Press representatives. Even in the district board conference the Minister had no word on it. When this question was raised by Mr. Jitendra Lal Banerjee, Khawaja Sir Nazimuddin is reported to have said :

> This is the most critical point. Amongst all the people in the jute trade, both millowners and dealers and others, who have given their best thoughts to this problem, there is no difference of opinion on this question that by the restriction of production, price will go up. This is not disputed at all by anybody.

There is again the *dohai* (दोहाई) of unanimity of opinion ! The Hon'ble member goes on to say :

> At the present time, the mills in Bengal hold practically a year's supply of jute in their hands. On the other hand, the Dundee mills have practically got no stock in hand. Therefore, if we can reduce the production of jute, there is every chance that price will go up.

Whether the conclusion is justified by the premises the honourable gentleman puts forward is not undisputable but the one thing that appears to be beyond dispute is that it is the Calcutta and Dundee millowners—and none else in this vast world—who should occupy our vision when we are required to think of purchasers of jute.

Is Bengal jute cultivated, or to be cultivated for Calcutta and Dundee millowners alone ? Is the Bengal grower so to restrict his cultivation that there may not be any surplus for any purchaser besides the Calcutta and Dundee millowners ? Granting that he does so, will this restriction raise the price ?

We have been taught that when the supply exceeds the demand, the price goes down. Inverse of a theory is not always true. It would be rash to deduce from this well-established theory that when the price of a commodity goes down, the supply is necessarily in excess of the demand, and, consequently restriction will enhance the price. In the past restriction failed to create that effect.

Year	Area (in thousand acres)	Yield (in thousand bales of 400 lb.)	Calcutta price per bale (in rupees)
1922	1800	5408	87-13-5
1923	2788	8401	68-5-10
1924	2770	8062	75-13-5
1925	3115	8940	119-9-9
1926	3847	12123	98-11-6
1927	3374	10188	76-6-6
1928	3144	9906	75-0-11
1929	3415	10335	71-4-0
1930	3492	11205	50-4-9
1931	1859	5535	37-11-10

This table for ten years contradicts, as far as jute is concerned, the theory—"the less the product, the higher the price". In 1926 with the greatest acreage under cultivation and the biggest yield, the price was as high as Rs. 98-11-6, second only to Rs. 119-9-9 of the previous year. In 1927 and 1928 the fall in the acreage, and consequently in the yield did not increase the price, rather it went down—proving false to the pet theory. Again, in 1931 the acreage was nearly half of, and yield less than half of, that of the previous year, but the price did not increase ; on the other hand, it decreased by nearly 26 per cent.

(7)

For reasons best known to them, the Government of Bengal have thought it fit to reject the Bengal Legislative Council's recommendation to appoint a committee 'to make a systematic examination of the present economic depression in Bengal'. Nor did they institute a public enquiry to discover the causes that led to the fall in the price of raw jute. Nor are we told of any departmental enquiry. But we have a Press Note published in May last which gives the opinion of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. It says :

> There is no question in this case of the depressing action of the principle of economic nationalism, for no country other than India is able to produce jute and even in India 90 per cent of jute is produced in Bengal, the adjacent provinces of Bihar and Assam.
>
> Nor is it a question of synthetic substitutes replacing jute, as they did in the last century in the case of indigo and as they are threatening to do in the present century in case of lac.
>
> * * * *
>
> In the face of the steady increase in the prices in the thirty years from 1900, it seems difficult to maintain that there has been over-production in the past.

Where then lies the cause of the depression ? The Press Note says :

> The real cause of the decline in export of jute is that international trade in agricultural produce has shrunk since the depression and in the absence of commodities to transport there is no

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demand for containers. To use a common analogy, if people wrote fewer letters stationers would have fewer envelopes to sell.

We quite appreciate the analogy of the author of the Press Note. But we may be permitted to remind him that fall in the consumption of envelopes may not necessarily bring in the fall in the demand for paper which has a hundred other uses. This analogy does not hold good unless he declares that a container is the only thing for which jute can be utilized. Indeed in some quarters there are persons who think that jute is, or should be, cultivated for making a container only for commodities for transport. Even Dundee manufacturers do not think so. The Dundee Chamber of Commerce published 'A Tree of Jute"—a chart to show the various uses of jute. It cannot be said that the Tree is complete. How many mills, here on the Hooghly or in Dundee, are engaged in manufacturing all these articles ? There is no denying the fact that

> For many years now the jute industries have been content to plod along manufacturing their jute into the same articles year after year. *
>
> We are also told that
> there are far too many "conservative" firms, which term generally means that they are backward, distrustful and hostile to all progress in business.... Progress which appears to all reasonable businessmen and producers an absolute necessity and a fundamental rule, is regarded by the backward part of the industry as "dashing" or "modern" in the extreme.

It is a sad day for an agriculturist when he is told to restrict his cultivation of raw material because the manufacturer does not like to be "modern" and prefers to remain "conservative", "backward, distrustful and hostile to all progress" and persists in manufacturing "the same articles year after year."

Here, in his own land, the Bengali cultivator is advised to restrict his cultivation of jute as "there is no demand for containers" but in other lands there are already cries for suitable substitutes for jute and paper and other containers are gradually capturing the market.

* *Jute*, 1931.

SCHEME FOR AMELIORATING RURAL INDEBTEDNESS IN BENGAL

By MATISWAR SEN

THE problem of agricultural indebtedness is perhaps one of the most pressing economic questions of India today. In this paper I shall attempt an outline of a general scheme for a possible adjustment in Bengal, with reference to the Government enquiry on debt reconcilation referred to the Economic Board. Obviously each of the twenty-six districts of Bengal, with their varying local conditions, would require special study before the scheme could be worked out in detail and put into operation in any particular district, but for the province as a whole I put the following alternative methods for ameliorating the unhappy condition of the agriculturists.

(1) An attempt may be made to improve the existing credit and marketing agencies of the Mahajans.

(2) For the present agencies, we may substitute :

(a) A Credit Agency,

(b) A Commodity Marketing Agency, with storing arrangements in consuming markets to meet consumers' demands,

(c) An Organization for Storing Surplus Commodities in Rural Areas to protect from seasonal slumps in commodity prices.

These credit, commodity marketing and storing agencies should be so planned as to permit their gradual conversion into organizations of co-operative credit, co-operative commodity marketing and co-operative storing.

(3) In place of the suggested Commodity Marketing Agency, but functioning with the proposed Credit Agency and Organization for Storing Surplus Commodities in Rural Areas, a Sales Depôt for handling all salable commodities of the agriculturists may be organized throughout rural Bengal. In this case, as above, a co-operative basis should be the ultimate aim.

The Amount and Nature of Rural Indebtedness in Bengal

For the present purpose I am basing the following notes on the *Report of the Bengal Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee*, published in 1930.

(1) The agricultural indebtedness for the province is estimated at Rs. 100 Crores, of which (a) 44 per cent is accounted for by mortgage

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transactions, but according to the Report, 62 per cent represents long-term credit, *i.e* ., including a portion of debt secured by simple bond. (b) co-operative credit accounts for 4·33 per cent. (See Table V of the *Annual Report on the Working of the Co-operative Societies in the Presidency of Bengal, for the year ending 30th June, 1933*, in which the amount due is given as Rs. 4.33 Crores. (c) The paddy loan and other minor sources are estimated at 7 per cent. (d) The balance of debt may be assumed to be secured by simple bond.

As a result of the prevailing economic crisis, the mortgage percentage of the loan has been increase and we cannot be far wrong in believing that it would show a 10 per cent increasing on the average for the various districts. We may then estimate the different sources of the loan to be : (*i*) mortgage, 54.0 per cent, (*ii*) simple bond, 34.67 per cent, (*iii*) co-operative, 4.33 per cent, (*iv*) paddy loan and other minor sources, 7.0 per cent.

(2) The value of land held by agriculturists in Bengal is estimated by the Bengal Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee at Rs. 690 Crores.

A careful study of available data on the extent of indebtendness of agriculturists in Bengal reveals that there are families having debts up to one year's income, two years' income, three years' income, and in excess of three years' income. Such families may be classed as (a), (b), (c), and (d) respectively, and it has been found that classes (c) and (d) together form more than a third of the indebted families, and classes (b), (c), and (d) more than one half of the total.

For purposes of comparison regarding the alarming growth of indebtedness among agriculturists in proportion to income, we may refer to the observations for Faridpur District, presumably based on figures for 1913 1914 of Mr. O'Malley. (See *Faridpur District Gazetteer*, page 57.) He says : "Only 6 per cent are seriously embarrassed, to the extent that their debts are equal to a year's income or more, and a quarter of these are hopelessly involved."

Unfortunately no definite data are at hand to show the prevailing rate of interest on the outstanding debt, but if we assume it to be as low as 20 per cent per annum, then it follows that classes (c) and (d), with outstanding capital debt up to or in excess of three years' income, must be paying at least 60 per cent of their annual income as interest on their indebtedness, and class (b), with an outstanding capital debt of two years' income, must be paying 40 per cent of its annual income as interest alone.

Since 1928 the fall in prices of commodities has effected a 50 per cent reduction in the income of agriculturists, while expenditure has fallen by 40 per cent. It becomes clear that the degree of indebtedness must be increasing from year to year, and that the Bengal agriculturists are sinking deeper into a morass from which they will never be able to extricate themselves without the assistance of the Government.

Relations of the Mahajans and Agriculturists

Without making any attempt here to discuss problems of freight, final grading of produce in Calcutta, in which millions of pounds sterling are invested, the possible development of Empire and other foreign markets, or the complex subject of exchange, all of which bear on agricultural prosperity, I shall restrict myself to the basic problems of credit and commodity marketing with reference to the local conditions in Bengal. And this means, to begin with, a brief survey of the existing relations between the agriculturists and the mahajans who act both as a credit and a marketing agency.

It is the mahajans who finance production, buy up the crops and market them, and at the same time supply the agriculturists with the necessaries of life. As such, they would appear to play a valuable and indispensable rôle in the economic life of the rural communities. But in view of the excessive interest charged on loans and the unfair compensation exacted for services rendered in marketing the produce, the mahajans must assume part of the burden of responsibility for the wretched position of the agriculturists.

In district towns, subdivisional centres, *bandars* and all other important market places, the mahajans have office godowns, and in jute areas they have jute press premises. They buy and sell the agricultural produce and industrial products of the region, which, after necessary gradings, they export to Calcutta and other large consuming markets. Their places also serve as shops for the piece-goods, salt, kerosene oil and other necessaries required by the people, including raw materials for cottage industries, imported by the mahajans. On the financial side, they advance money to the agriculturists, weavers and artisans on different terms of interest, depending on the urgency of the demand, the purpose for which the loan is taken, the resources of the family concerned and the honesty and efficiency of the borrower. These loans are given against mortgage or simple bond, or are entered in special books against advance sale of crops. For artisans, except those of highest standing, who are given longer terms of credit, loans are usually recorded in small account books, *chitta*, in which weekly transactions are set down. Generally the terms of such loan transactions are that the produce of the cultivators and the products of the artisans shall go to the mahajans, and with these the accounts of interest or of principal shall be partly or wholly settled. Sometimes the mahajans act as agents for rich merchants of Calcutta; sometimes they themselves employ their own agents in Calcutta.

Accepting the figure of Rs. 100 Crores as the probable indebtedness of the agriculturists of

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Bengal, and out of this deducting (a) accrued interest on the loan, (b) co-operative credit, and (c) some portion of paddy loan and other items for which agriculturists themselves are responsible, we may roughly take 80 Crores as the capital invested in the form of loans by mahajans among the agriculturists of Bengal. A like sum may be assumed, further, to cover the additional activities of the mahajans in the rural areas. While some of them have very little in loans but a large amount in stores, others reverse this arrangement, and my experience leads me to believe that a 50-50 investment in loans and other activities represents the average. The total investment, therefore, comes to something like Rs. 160 crores. If this sum draws interest or makes a profit of 20 per cent per annum, Rs. 32 crores are transferred annually from the income of agriculturists and artisans to the mahajans, in their capacity of middlemen and financiers, obviously an exorbitant price for the agriculturist to pay for the services rendered. Since under existing conditions this credit and these marketing services are themselves indispensable, however, the question of improving the unhappy lot of the agriculturists resolves itself into the development of some scheme whereby a reasonable rate of interest for loans advanced and a fair compensation for services in delivering commodities to the consumiug market will be assured.

First, as already suggested, we may organize and improve the existing agencies of the mahajans, stimulating efficiency, scaling down the indebtedness, and controlling rate of interest and compensation for services rendered in marketing commodities, particularly with regard to those smaller local agencies which customarily lend out money at the highest possible rate of interest and do all they can to depress the price of the village commodities over which they have a monopoly. Secondly, we may replace the existing agencies by developing new agencies, including a credit agency, a commodity marketing agency and an organization for storing surplus commodities in rural areas, through the joint effort of the Government and the people concerned, or through a purely Government organization set up for the purpose of adjusting and co-ordinating rural problems. Or, thirdly, a sales depôt may be organized, as a substitute for the commodity marketing agency, to function in connection with a credit agency and a system of storing surplus commodities to prevent seasonal price slumps.

Reform of the Present Credit and Marketing Agencies

If it is possible to reorganize the existing agencies of the mahajans on a satisfactory basis to meet the requirements of the situation, this method will involve the least drastic change, the least expense, and the least experimenting in new fields. To begin with, then, Government may hold conferences with the mahajans in all important centres in rural Bengal and in Calcutta, showing the urgency and importance of changes in the present methods of working and also indicating alternative methods for the Government to relieve the agriculturists in their present crisis and provide for their greater stability in future. In the event, that the mahajans are willing to undertake reforms, an attempt should be made to persuade them to develop their organizations gradually into co-operative institutions.

As a result of the proposed conferences, we shall know whether the existing agencies can be modified and improved to meet the needs of the situation. Of course the Government must be willing to hear and consider alternative suggestions to its own and to find out if jointly the Government and the mahajans can arrive at a satisfactory solution. The Government may have to make more than one attempt in this direction. But even if success is not complete, the fact that the Government is itself taking an interest in the working of the existing system will act as a check on certain abuses now practised by the mahajans. Thus the mahajans may be brought to realize that it will be better for them to accept the Government proposals, since otherwise they may be compelled to withdraw their present activities from rural areas altogether. If, however, we ultimately fail to develop a satisfactory programme with the mahajans, the second alternative must be considered.

A Credit Agency, a Commodity Marketing Agency and a Storage Organization

In this case the Government in co-operation with the agriculturists will create a long term mortgage and credit agency and an efficient and strong marketing agency, with an organization for storage of surplus commodities in rural areas to protect against seasonal price fluctuations. The marketing agency will be the guide and security for the credit agency, in regard to that portion of the agricultural loan which cannot be covered by mortgage. It will be found that when a commodity is marketed through an organized and efficient agency, the sales records act as an indicator and usually attract voluntary credit. Provided rural families agree to dispose of all salable commodities through the agency, credit can safely be extended to any family without land mortgage, and there should be no serious difficulty in realizing both the interest on loans and yearly part payments of the principal. This point may well be considered by the Government of India, Finance Department, which has recently pointed out the difficulties of extending mortgage credit help to agriculturists on account of complex land rights. Of course, when necessary, the credit agency might take hypothecation of the belongings of the debtor family, including livestock and standing trees.

Co-operative credit is best suited for agri-

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culturists. But co-operative activities have so far failed to expand in the most desirable fields. In spite of noble and able efforts the Government co-operative credit department has failed to solve the difficulties and has been compelled to suspend further expansion during the present economic crisis. Since the inception of the co-operative credit organization in India in 1904, a period of more than three decades has elapsed, and yet the credit department has not been able to cover any substantial portion of the total debt of the agriculturists of Bengal, as is evident from the fact that its loans constitute less than 5 per cent of the total outstanding indebtedness.

The recent success of the co-operative organization in the Sunderbun zamindari of Sir Daniel Hamilton is mainly due to the fact that an efficient commodity marketing organization has been developed, including a rice mill for the paddy growers, operated on a co-operative basis, and this organization again is the result of the direct attention and personal interest given by the proprietor. Further, the conditions prevailing in this area differ from those prevailing in the long settled rural areas.

The new co-operative land mortgage credit scheme, based on the Co-operative Land Mortgage Bank Limited, with its very suitable plan and by-laws, now offers the agriculturist facilities of which he should take advantage. Unlike certain other types of co-operative credit, in this only concrete security is dealt with, and hence no time need be wasted in bringing the plan into operation by an attempt to introduce unfamiliar methods of working. This credit scheme will, we hope, make rapid progress, with its comparatively low rate of interest, and will shortly cover a substantial portion of the outstanding mortgage loan in Bengal. At the same time I am afraid that without any substitution of existing marketing agencies by an agency such as that proposed, which will ensure a healthier and freer economic life to the agriculturists, it may not fulfil all the high hopes at present entertained for it.

We shall find, however, if I am not very much mistaken, that an agency or agencies functioning in a twofold capacity both to finance agricultural production and to purchase commodities, as well as to supply the principal necessaries of life to the agriculturists, will rest on a more intimate and friendly relationship than a pure credit agency. Such an agency will act almost as a commodity exchange place for the agriculturists, which is what they want. Because of this service rendered in the past, the mahajans have secured preference for their credit even with a high rate of cash interest as compared with co-operative credit. Undoubtedly the unlimited liability of co-operative credit is a drawback to its acceptance by many agriculturists but the existence of a co-operative commodity marketing agency will bring the co-operative credit agency into direct relation with the life activities of the agriculturists and do away with the present marked separation. Since, however, co-operative commodity marketing on a large scale is not immediately possible with the limited outlook of the agriculturists and their lack of education, it would appear advisable to begin with marketing, storing and credit agencies of a non-co-operative nature, having provision in their constitution for subsequent development along co-operative lines at such time as the community has been sufficiently trained to appreciate the advantages of the new system.

The different sources of the total loan (Rs. 100 crores) have already been explained. Speaking generally, the land held by indebted agriculturists in the different districts is of the same order. In some districts of Bengal the mortgage percentage is as high as 70 per cent or even higher.

A credit agency which could extend credit on the basis of mortgage and also assume responsibility for a large part of the agricultural debt now covered by simple bond or unspecified sources would serve the needs of the agricultural community far more effectively than the present Land Mortgage Bank with its limited operations. With the help and guidance of the proposed community marketing agency, there is no apparent reason why it could not function for the benefit of all concerned, including the Government, which would derive a suitable revenue from its operation.

It should be possible to increase the mortgage percentage of the agricultural loan and decrease the simple bond percentage, thus reducing the risk of extending credit. In the event of the formation and proper functioning of the proposed commodity marketing agency, I suggest as an objective that 67 per cent of the total loan, instead of the present 54 per cent, be based on mortgage, (now 62 per cent long term cridit), 11 per cent on co-operative undertakings, instead of 4. 33 per cent and only 19 per cent instead of the persent 34.67 per cent on simple bonds. As stated above, the agriculturists' land, however, is valued at Rs 690 crores.

I propose, then, the organization of a credit agency with a capacity to deal with at least 85 per cent of the total indebtedness of agriculturists in Bengal, or for Rs. 85 crores, for twelve years. This agency will have the following objectives:

(1) To extend long term credit to agiculturists on land mortgage ;

(2) To extend long term credit to agriculturists against security of the proposed commodity marketing agency for the portion of the credit required which cannot be covered by land mortgage;

(3) (a) To help to bring the present 54 per cent or as proposed 67 per cent mortgage loan into a co-operative land mortgage credit seheme;

(b) To help to bring the present 34. 67 per cent

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or as proposed 19 per cent simple bond loan into a co-operative credit scheme;

(4) To maintain operation by

(a) Compulsory payments of interest from season to season in the year, with an extension allowance of five months;

(b) Compulsory small part payments of principal from season to season in the year, such parts to be fixed from time to time depending on commodity prices and debentures, with an extension allowance of twelve months.

Although a term of twelve years for repayment of loans will be guaranteed to agriculturists, the rate of interest will be subject to change every three or four years, since debentures will be floated for such periods. Thus opportunity will be afforded to change the working plan into one of co-operative credit, or co-operative land mortgage credit.

The question arises whether by bank rules advances can be made against the security of a marketing agency for the 19 per cent simple bond portion of the loan. It is an established fact that banks do advance short term money against hypothecation of pure crops. Since the new scheme will substitute a long term loan, not only the crops but the livestock and other assets of the family can be made to serve as security. Moreover, since the borrower's land will be mortgaged to the same agency, the credit agency will be in a more secure position.

It may be assumed, then, that the Government will authorize a credit agency to finance loans against the security of the marketing agency, when necessary, taking hypothecation of additional assets of the family, until the co-operative basis of the credit agency can be established. If, however, the question of this 19 per cent of the loan cannot immediately be agreed to by the Government, in spite of the fact that failure to provide for the simple bond portion of the loan will weaken the general position of the agencies at the start, we must proceed in any case with the marketing agency and its allied storing organization in rural areas, the completion of which will strengthen the credit agency and place it on a firmer basis.

To ensure an effective flow of co-operative credit, a strong commodity marketing agency under Government control, registered under the Companies Act, must be organized with branches throughout the rural area. It should have the following objectives:

(1) To reduce the prices paid by the consumers and to increase the agriculturists' share in the final price. The agency will have to buy commodities directly from the agriculturists and supply directly to the consumers, stocking same at the consuming market.

(2) To protect agriculturists from seasonal slumps in the prices of commodities. The agency will be required to stock surplus commodities in the rural areas in available godowns or, where unavoidable, to put up temporary buildings to serve as commodity storehouses, and it will also from time to time, when necessary, make part and advance payments through the credit agency, until the commodities are sold at a satisfactory price, when the accounts of advances can be adjusted and the balance handed over to the agriculturists.

(3) To render services required to stimulate production and when advisable control same and introduce new crops.

(4) To develop a special department for leasing available godowns and, where necessary, to build new ones in rural areas, and also for leasing godowns in Calcutta, the consuming market.

(5) To organize a department to store (a) raw materials for cottage industries, (b) salt, (c) cloth, (d) kerosene oil. Such supplies of necessaries easily made accessible to agriculturists will cement the working of the general scheme, since agriculturists prefer to buy their principal necessaries of life from the same place at which they sell or arrange to sell their commodities. Such a centre will serve as a commodity exchange and ultimately will help to establish more pleasant relations between all parties. To avoid risks involved in the fluctuation of prices, articles should be stored only to the extent of thirty days' requirements.

As previously pointed out, all these departmental activities should be so planned as to permit their future development as co-operative commodity marketing and co-operative stores.

It is unnecessary to elaborate here all the details of the financial working of the proposed scheme. As far as the credit agency is concerned it could be launched through arrangement with the Government of India for a sum amounting to 10 per cent of the capacity of the credit agency, at not more than 4 per cent interest. Of this, one quarter or $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent might be granted immediately, and the balance secured at subsequent periods. The working capital, guaranteed by the Government, could be floated through debentures issued by the Imperial Bank of India at $3\frac{1}{2}$ or 4 per cent interest. This rate might be raised, however, as commodity prices rose. The rate of interest charged for agricultural loans should not exceed 6 per cent which is the maximum amount the agriculturists can afford to pay. We may note here that with the existence of a commodity marketing agency and commodity storing in rural areas the establishment cost of the credit agency would be less than that commonly accepted for large scale rural banks. In the event of the formation and proper functioning of the proposed agencies, the bulk of the capital now forming agriculturists' indebtedness in Bengal, when repaid, would reflow to the same borrower through the debentures of the proposed credit agency, and, further, it may be expected that these debentures would be accepted in repayment of loans.

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A rough estimate of the required capital investment can be set down as: (a) For establishing a credit agency, Rs. 8·5 crores, (b) For estsblishing a commodity marketing agency with necessary godowns in rural areas, Rs. 8·5 crores.

Of this total of Rs. 17 crores, 25 per cent. or about Rs. 4·25 crores, may be granted at the start.

With the proposed reorgranization of the present credit and marketing agencies and the creation of a suitable storing organization, I estimate that the agriculturists' income can be increased 12 to 36 per cent by proper credit facilities, according to the different "debt classes", 8 per cent by efficient marketing of commodities, 8 per cent by control of seasonal price slumps through storage of surplus commodities. These figures, which are moderate, would thus jointly increase the agriculturist's income by at least 28 per cent.

Substitution of a Sales Depôt for a Commodity Marketing Agency

In case Government do not approve undertaking commodity marketing on a large scale, we must have recourse to a third alternative, which will substitute a sales depôt, with some dozens of sales departments in each district in all the suitable and important places. Since the problem of reducing agricultural indebtedness depends, in the first instance, on a provision for the flow of easy term credit, a credit agency must be established, but instead of working in conjunction with a commodity marketing agency, it will have to operate with the sales depôt.

It should be the duties of such a depôt to stimulate and, when necessary, to control production, to introduce new and improved crops, and, above all, to secure for the agriculturists better prices for their commodities. The actual marketing of products to consumers, in this case, will be left to the existing agencies of the mahajans. If nothing more, however, the organization of efficient sales departments for agriculturists throughout the rural areas will bring a very desirable change in the whole structure of the existing agencies of the mahajans, and will prevent the present malpractices during the time of assembling the commodities. Competition in buying the commodity at the sales depôt will almost at once increase the income of the agriculturist, 5 to 10 per cent, since at present he suffers not only from the monopoly control of the mahajans but from his own ignorance as to the prevailing commodity prices. A sales depôt will also create a field and atmosphere suitable to co-operative activity, and other joint enterprises can subsequently be developed without great difficulty.

Though the credit agency should at the earliest possible moment be placed on a co-operative basis, this should preferably not be compulsory at the start. It should, however, have a department in connection with its mortgage operations, through which it may either possess godowns or supply the agriculturists with galvanized iron sheets, bolts, nuts, etc., or the equivalent cash, to enable them to build for themselves their little godowns, thus minimizing the cost, and the credit agency or bank could take hypothecation of these when necessary as security for loans. With the help of the village panchayats and chowkidars and with the good feeling engendered in the agriculturist by the assistance rendered him, an arrangement might be made for stocking surplus commodities and advancing from time to time part value of the commodity stocked. When this was finally disposed of through the sales depôt at a satisfactory rate, the account with the bank could be adjusted.

In the event that factors should arise interfering with the development of the required volume of transactions by this system, general legislation might be enacted to sanction compulsory sale of all agricultural commodities through the sales depôt wherever credit is to be extended to an agricultural family without mortgage of real property. In addition, the credit agency could further safeguard its operations by making a valuation of the annual resources of each of the families seeking its help and taking hypothecation of the same. Since a definite relation will be set up between the credit agency and the sales depôt, security will thus be provided to enable the credit agency to extend credit for such portion of any loan as cannot be covered by mortgage.

With the proposed credit facilities we now estimate that the agriculturist's income will be increased, as in the previous case, 12 or 36 per cent, according to debt class, 8 per cent, by the organization for storing commodities in the rural areas, and 5 to 10 per cent through the sale of commodities at the sales depôt. Jointly, we obtain an estimated increase in the agriculturist's income of 25 per cent.

Thus with either of these two schemes, even with existing unfavourable world conditions and low price levels, the agriculturists of Bengal would be able not only to meet their present 10 per cent deficit but to secure a margin of 15 to 18 per cent to meet other dues and possibly obtain for themselves a little ease and comfort.

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PLASTIC FORM IN BENGAL CLAY

By G. S. DUTT

THE recent revival of interest on an all-India scale in the resuscitation of the village industries of India has come none too rly. It is fortunate that it has come now fore the complete extinction, through lack of equate recognition and business organization, the hereditary artistic traditions and skill of village artisans of India. In the efforts at are being made, however, at present in rious quarters for the revival of rural indus-

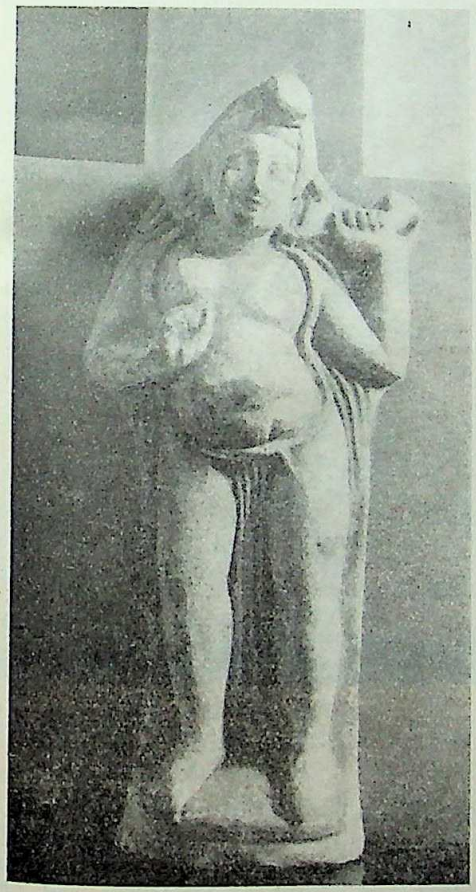

Fig. 1. Mahādeva

ies, one notices a singular lack of appreciation the importance of what is perhaps the most portant factor that is necessary to secure in der to enable village industries to withstand mpetition with the factory industries; namely, e conservation of the traditional artistic skill the village artisans. It is mainly by their herent artistic quality that village industries ill not only hold their own against the factory dustries but will capture the most lucrative arkets by catering to the demands of the people with taste and discrimination. From this point of view too much stress cannot be laid on the importance of conserving the hereditary artistic genius of the rural artisans of the villages of India and particularly of Bengal which has been for several centuries past sadly neglected owing partly to mis-education of our monied classes and partly to the poverty and want of organization of the artisans themselves. Once this traditional artistic genius is lost it would take many generations to bring about its rebirth, whereas by discriminating encouragement of the traditional skill of the indigenous village artists it is possible to give the products of village industries their peculiar national stamp and thereby a unique market value.

A striking illustration of the survival of the hereditary traditional skill and artistic genius of village artisans, inspite of centuries of neglect, is afforded by the clay images which are even now

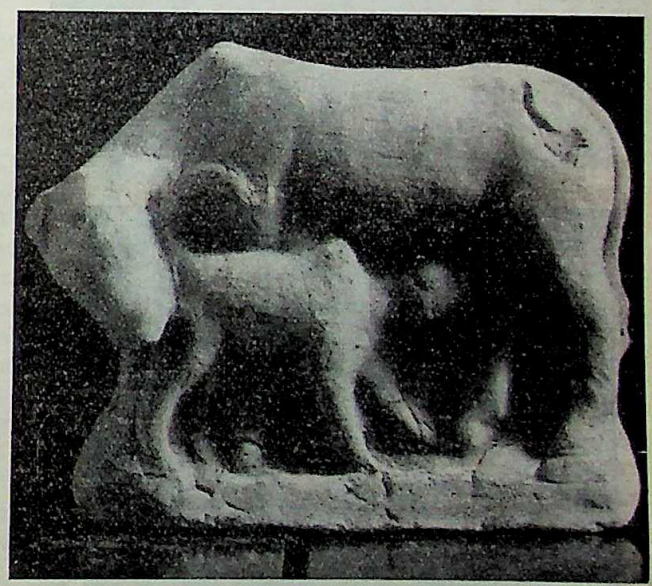

Fig. 2. Mother and child

turned out in many parts of Bengal by the village potters. In the case of the recently discovered Mathurapur monument in the district of Faridpur I had occasion to show how in the sphere of architecture and red terracotta sculpture the village potters of Bengal achieved results which challenge comparison with the famous stone sculptures of Western India. In the present article a few examples are given of clay images by contemporary potters in Eastern and Northern Bengal which exhibit plastic

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Fig. 3. Jagaddhātri.

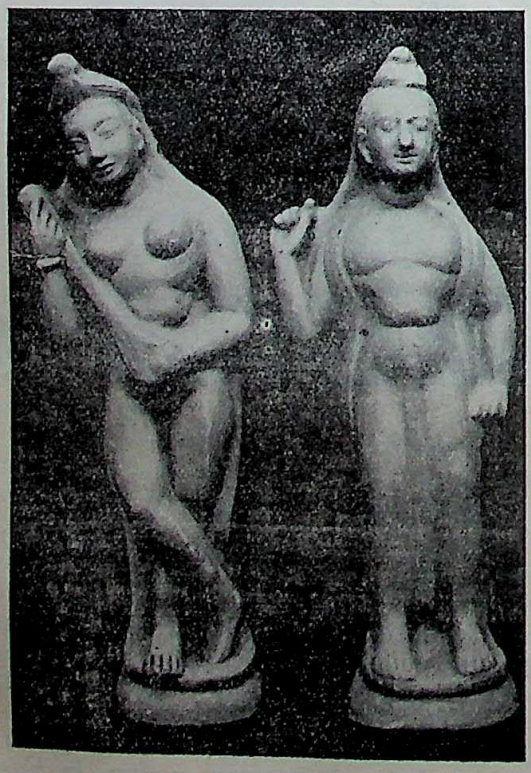

Fig. 4. Saraswati Gauranga

talent of a remarkable character and which demonstrate that among the poor illiterate village potters of Bengal there still survives a precious art tradition inherited from the master artists of medieval Bengal by virtue of which they can produce, out of the humble native clay of Bengal, images which throb with life and movement and exhibit as high a degree of plastic genius as has ever been found in any sculpture wrought out of the more aristocratic medium of stone or marble.

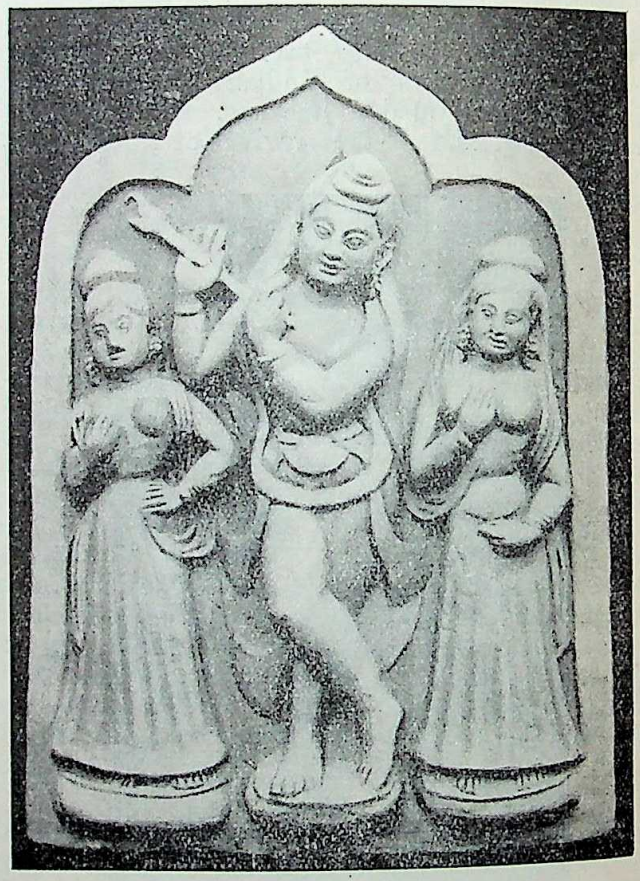

Fig. 5. Krishna and Gopinis

Perhaps the most remarkable of these images which are in my collection and of which reproductions are given here, is the burnt clay image of Mahadeva (*Fig. 1*). This was discovered by me twelve months ago in the village of Mathurapur in the district of Faridpur under the very shadow of the Mathurapur monument. This Mahadeva image is the work of a contemporary potter of the village who is the direct lineal descendant of the master artists who produced the Mathurapur monument. An exquisite plastic quality is shown in the dignity, repose, grace and balance of its pose, in the easy rhythm of its limbs and in the strength, determination and robustness of the stance of its legs. The image is remarkable for the spiritual quality of its form conveying a state of transcendental ease and a supreme detachment from worldliness which is the essence of the Siva

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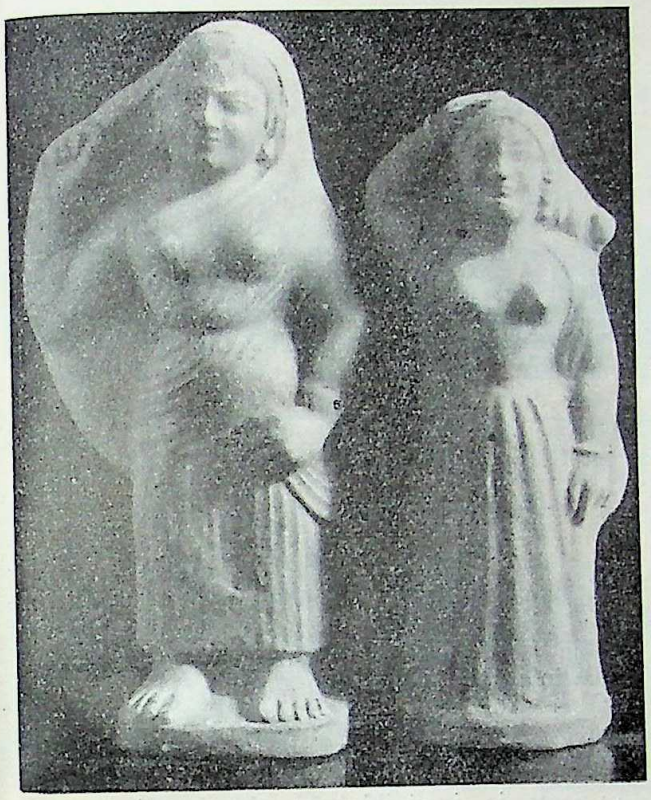

Fig. 6. Two women

conception. In the image of the suckling cow and calf (*Fig. 2*) is embodied the eternal mother and child theme in living clay. This remarkable piece of moulded clay was procured by me from the district of Rangpur. The youthfulness, energy and vigour of the calf, the motherly pride, tenderness, protectiveness and affection of the cow have been here brought out by a few bold and simple touches of the artist's fingers without any effort whatever in bringing out any anatomical details, with the result that in the significant sweeps of its lines and in the harmonious rhythm with which the various parts of the design have been welded into one single whole, this image might be described as a masterly creation of form in what appears at first sight to be a formless lump of clay. Indeed, these two images of Mahadeva and the cow and calf may aptly be described as classics in clay.

Fig. 3 representing the Goddess Jagaddhatri riding on two lions; *fig. 4* repre-enting Saraswati playing on a Vina and Gouranga; *fig. 5* representing Krishna with a Gopini on each side; *fig. 6* representing two women and *fig. 7* representing Krishna in the act of attempting to regain the love of Radha with the traditional benevolent *Baraiburi* solicitously hoping for his success in his endeavour, are specimens collected from the village of Nalia in the district of Faridpur. They all exhibit, although perhaps in a less remarkable degree than in the specimens already dealt with, the village potter's skill in plastic design. The quality of robustness is a typical feature in all these specimens of the village potter's art unlike the usual all-too-neurotic and effeminate products of the urban artists of modern Bengal. The type of lions represented as the mount of the Goddess Jagaddhatri is perhaps a survival of the traditional lion *motif* of ancient India from the time of the Asoka pillar at Sarnath. There is a simplicity and sweetness in the representations of Saraswati and Gouranga which is peculiar to the work of

Fig. 7. Māna lilā

the village artists of Bengal. The skilful plastic composition in the *mana lila* group and the rhythmic harmony with which the three separate figures as well as the crowning arch with its graceful curve have been welded into a unity and wrought into one single whole reveals the artist's traditional genius for plastic design.

It is by fostering this hereditary artistic skill and the precious art traditions of the village artisans that a value can be conferred on the products of the village industries which will place them above competition from factory products. The examples given here are only a few random instances of the remarkable art tradition that still survives in the villages of Bengal but which, unless duly encouraged forthwith, will before long become extinct beyond recovery.

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ENGLAND-AUSTRALIA AIR RACE

THE England-Australia Air Race has been also called the London-Melbourne Air Race and the Mildenhall-Melbourne Air Race. The competitors started from the R. A. F. aerodrome at Meldenhall, Sussex, England. This race is connected with the Melbourne centenary celebrations, in connection with which there will also be a World Press Conference.

According to *The Indian*, Melbourne was founded in 1834 as a village.

The honours for the first permanent settlement of Melbourne have been divided between Edward Henty and John Batman. Thomas Henty, a Sussex farmer, and his seven sons were settlers in Tasmania, and in 1834 part of this family, led by Edward Henty, crossed to Port Phillip Bay in Victoria. In the following year Batman, inspired by the Hentys, landed at Port Phillip, found the Yarra River, and picked out as his site for a village the site on which Melbourne now stands. None of the other capital cities in Australia stands today on the same site as was originally intended. Batman found some natives, and he entered into an agreement with them whereby he purchased 600,000 acres of land (an area eight times as large as the whole City of London) for the following articles: 40 pairs of blankets, 130 knives, 42 tomahawks, 18 red shirts, 40 mirrors, 62 pairs of scissors, 250 handkerchiefs, 4 flannel coats, 4 suits, and 150lb. of flour.

The news of these settlements spread and by 1836 the population of Melbourne was 236. Today the population is 992,000 and that of Victoria 1,800,000.

The race was divided into two sections: one—a speed contest for a first prize of £10,000 and a gold cup valued at £650, a second prize of £1,500 and a third prize of £500; and a handicap race for prizes of £2,000 and £1,000. The donor of the prizes, totalling £15,000, was Sir MacPherson Robertson, the Melbourne millionaire chocolate manufacturer. All nations could enter the lists, with any type or power of machines. Originally sixty-four entrants wanted to compete; but some of them withdrew from the contest later. It was arranged that, for checking purposes, landings must be made at the control points at Baghdad, Allahabad (air station Bamrauli), Singapore, Darwin and Charleville, and there were other checking stations *en route* for the convenience of competitors. The total distance to be covered was 11,333 miles, divided into hops of 2,554 miles to Bagbdad, 2,299 miles to Allahabad, 2,219 miles to Singapore, 2,084 miles to Darwin, 1,389 miles to Charleville, and 791 miles to Melbourne. A map of the direct route is given here with acknowledgments to *Flight*.

Scott and Black were the first to reach Melbourne, thus becoming entitled to the first prize in the speed race.

Final Speed Results

Melbourne, Nov. 5.

Official placings in Mildenhall-Melbourne handicap race are:

Scott and Black	...	...	I
Parmentier	...	...	II
Melrose ...	...	...	III

Handicap Result

As Scott is ineligible for the handicap prize money, Parmentier and Melrose take the first and second prizes, respectively.

Timings of Journey

Melbourne, Nov. 5.

Cathcart Jones and Waller have been awarded third speed prize in the air race according to official results. The second prize goes to Americans Roscoe Turner and Pangborne owing to the decision of Dutchmen Parmentier and Moll to accept first prize for the handicap race instead of second speed prize.

The official times are:

Scott and Black: Whole journey 70 hours 54 minutes 18 seconds. Flying time: 65-24-13, Nett handicap flying time: 68-48 49.

Parmentier and Moll: Whole journey 90-13-36, Flying time: 81-10-36, Nett Handicap flying time: 76-38-12.

Handicap race flying times are:
Melrose 79-17-55.
Stodart and Stodart 79-32-30.
Macgregor and Walker 82-43-34.
Hewett and Kay 85-42-28.
Hanson 87-45-21.

Apart from questions of national glory and prestige, this air race has strategic, political and commercial importance.

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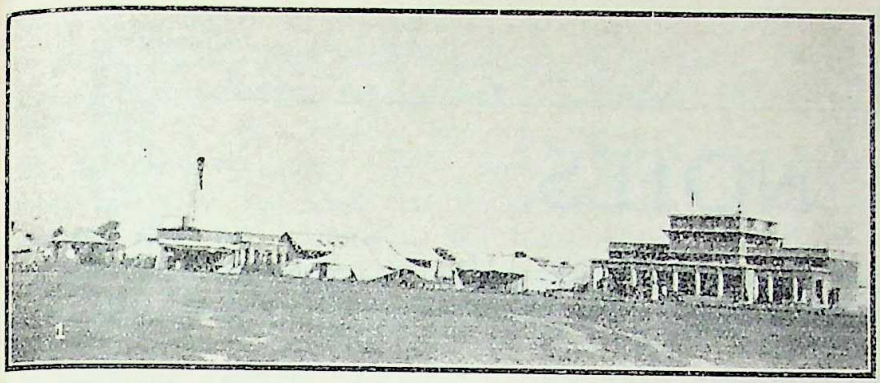

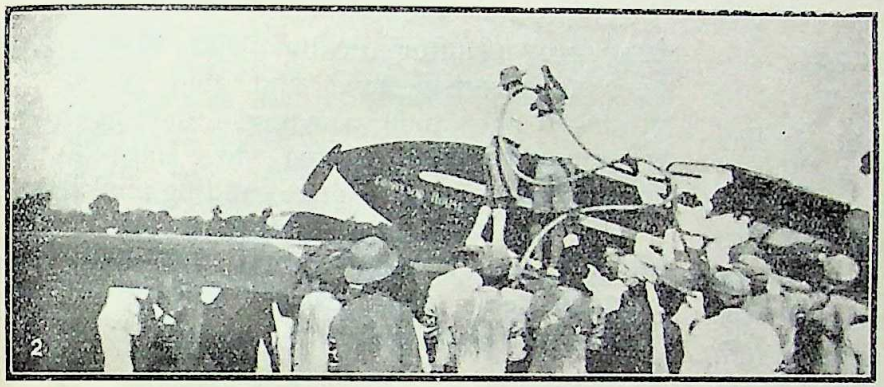

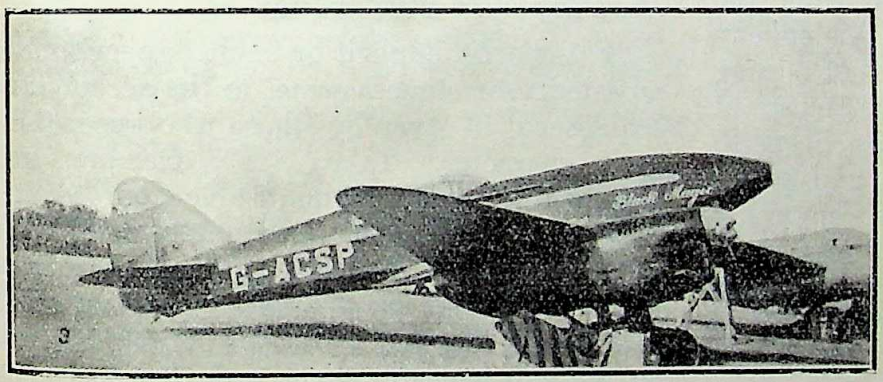

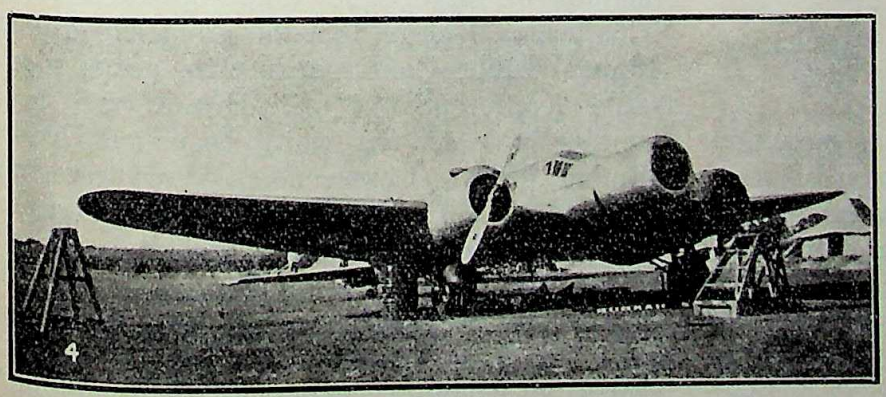

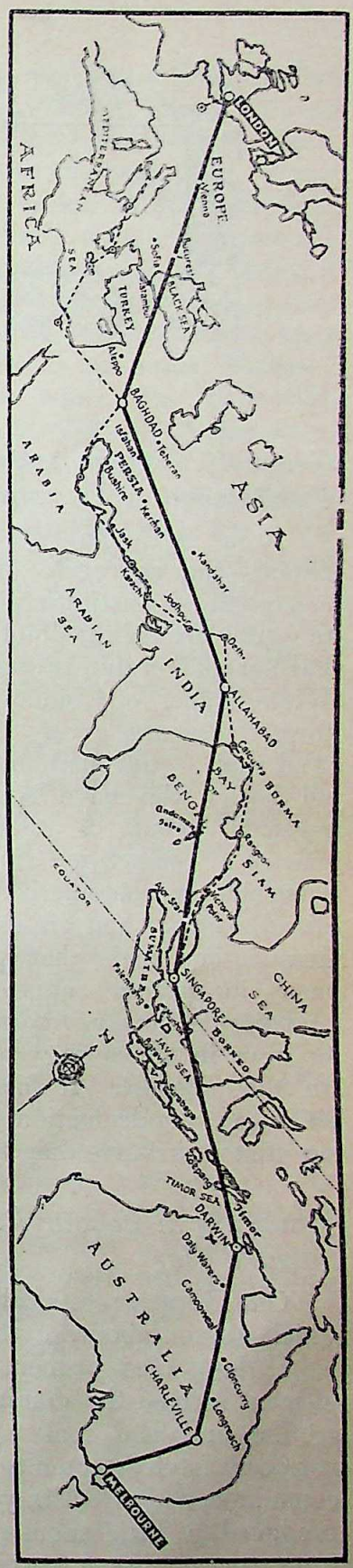

Left : 1. Aerodrome Station at Bamrauli, Allahabad. 2. D. H. Comet, Gipsy six, piloted by Scott and Black being refuelled at Bamrauli. 3. The Mollisons' æroplane, the 'Black Magic' with one of its engines out of action, at Bamrauli. 4. Pand S4, Wright "Whirlwind" piloted by D. L. Astes and G. J. Geysendorfer, with its engines broken and two of the propellers taken off. (Photos by Mr. Sudhindranath Saha.) *Right* : London-Moulbourne air route.

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NOTES

General Condemnation of Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report

From the point of view of the Indian nation—the aggregate of all the races and communities constituting the people of India—the "Report of the Joint Select Committee of Parliament on the proposals contained in the White Paper on Indian Constitutional Reforms" deserves very strong condemnation. And such condemnation it has received from all those who have considered it from the national point of view. Though nobody started a competition in the use of strong language in characterizing it, the sense of dissatisfaction and resentment has been so great in our midst that publicists and public men in general appear to have naturally and spontaneously vied with one another as it were in delivering severe verbal attacks on the Report. It may be considered a sufficient condemnation of the Report to say that it is worse than the White Paper.

Mountain in Labour Produces Plague-infected Rat

Old Æsop wrote a fable about a mountain, which was in labour, producing a mouse.

If the bodies of men, of whom the British element formed the dominant and controlling section and had real power, and who were variously styled commission, conference and committee, had after six years of labour really produced a little mouse able to free India from the meshes of subjection by nibbling at them, that is, had given to Indians a self-expanding constitution with the smallest beginnings of automatically developing self-rule—some little real final power, however small, which could have grown automatically—that would have been some satisfaction. But they have not produced even such a mouse—they have not recommended the giving to Indians the smallest modicum of self-expanding final power.

Instead, they have produced a plague-infected rat, a constitution infested with communalism and other disruptive and disintegrating poisons.

Starting with Falsehoods

Falsehoods, explicit or implied, persistently repeated, sometimes come to be accepted or acquiesced in even by those who know their true character. Take, for example, the expression "Indian Round Table Conference." Properly speaking, a round table conference is "a conference between political parties in which each has equal authority, and at which it is agreed that the questions in dispute shall be settled amicably and with the maximum amount of 'give and take' on each side." This makes it clear that the so-called "Indian Round Table Conference" was not a round table conference at all. Hence, we have repeatedly used the word 'so-called' before 'Round Table Conference', when referring to it, though it is rather tiresome to do so. Take next the expression "Communal Award." When Mr. Ramsay MacDonald gave his decision on the Indian communal problem, he did not call it a communal award. He used the words "decision on communal representation." Moreover, the "Proceedings of the fourth meeting of the Consultative Committee of the Round Table Conference, held in the Committee Room in the Viceroy's House, Delhi, at 10-30 a. m. on the 24th February, 1932,"

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with His Excellency Lord Willingdon in the chair, show conclusively that it was not an arbitral award. The Chairman brought that meeting to a close by saying that the Prime Minister's offer to arbitrate was not accepted. His Excellency's exact words were : "I am advised that at that time the Prime Minister made an offer as Chairman of the Committee, but that was not accepted." Therefore, the Communal Decision should not be called an Award. It is not binding on anybody. But recently the Director of Public Information has tried to show that it was an award. And now we find the J. P. C. Report calls it the Communal Award in paragraphs 118-120. But no amount of repetition can convert an untruth into a truth.

These two examples will show that persistent repetition of falsehoods may deceive people into believing them to be true.

The first paragraph of the summary of the Report of the Joint Select Committee supplied to the Press runs thus :

> "In presenting their Report to Parliament the Joint Select Committee place on record their appreciation of the help derived from their discussions with the Indian delegates. Particular mention is made of the Joint Memorandum signed by all the British Indian delegates which is stated to have been of great service to the Committee as focussing British Indian views."

The paragraph in the Report (vol. i, part i, p. vii) in which this has been done runs as follows :

> "We desire to place on record our appreciation of the assistance which we have derived from our full and frank discussions with the Delegates, for many of whom so long an absence from their own country must have caused great personal inconvenience and sacrifice. Their advice and co-operation have been of the greatest value to us. Many of them have furnished us with separate memoranda on various points, but we would mention in particular the Joint Memorandum signed by all the British Indian delegates who were still in England, which has been of great service to us as focussing British Indian views and to which we shall have occasion often to refer in the course of our Report."

The Committee know that the Indian gentlemen referred to were only nominees of the British Government. As "delegate" means "elected representative sent to conference" and as these persons were not elected by any group of Indians, large or small, in British India, it is wrong to call them British Indian delegates. Their views cannot be rightly regarded "as focussing British Indian views."

The signatories to the Joint Memorandum were the Aga Khan, Abdur Rahim, Shafaat Ahmed Khan, A. H. Ghuznavi, Zafrullah Khan, Henry Gidney, Phiroze Sethna, Buta Singh, M. R. Jayakar, H. S. Gour, B. R. Ambedkar, and N. M. Joshi. There is no Congressmen among them. The opinions of any body of men none of whom is a Congressman cannot be rightly called Indian views, though they may be called "opinions of some Indians." Only a few years ago the Governor-General of India spoke of the Congress as the most important political organization in India. And today, after the elections to the Assembly, nobody can deny that Congress is by far the largest and most representative organization in India. And yet the views of twelve non-Congressmen are referred to as British Indian views ! British perhaps they are. But how far Indian, need not be said.

The Committee profess to attach great value to the Joint Memorandum of these Indian gentlemen. They have considered it so valuable that almost every one of the suggestions contained in it has been rejected !

Why J. P. C. Valued Joint Memorandum

As indicated above, the value which the Joint Select Committee of Parliament attached to the Joint Memorandum which the so-called delegates from British India submitted, is not obvious, for the Committee have rejected almost all their suggestions or proposals. Perhaps the Committee valued the Memorandum for some peculiar reason. Perhaps they thought that even the proposals and suggestions, embodying the irreducible demands of a body of Moderates, contained in them the seeds of India's political and economic freedom, and Indian ingenuity might be able to make these seeds germinate and grow up into mighty trees. Therefore, the Committee's task of preventing the evolution of India's political and economic freedom was made easier by the rejection of those minimum demands. The value of the Joint Memorandum lay in presenting within a brief compass the least which would satisfy even very moderate opinion in

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India. By rejecting even these minimum demands, the Committee have been able axiomatically to reject the demand of *Purna Swaraj* made by the Congress.

Superiority of J. P. C. Report over White Paper

Though the recommendations of the J. P. Committee are worse than the White Paper proposals, the J. P. C. Report is in one respect superior to the White Paper—it possesses higher literary merits. But its higher literary value does not make it more acceptable to India.

J. P. Committee's Unwarranted Assumptions and Sophistry

English is a highly developed lauguage, and has been used for centuries for diplomatic and imperialistic purposes. Its ample resources can, therefore, be used for purposes of sophistry and obfuscation.

By unwarranted assumptions, and sophistry, the J. P. Committee have tried to produce the impression that the "safe-guards" are like substitutes for some of the conventions which have grown up in Great Britain's parliamentary procedure and administrative operations, but which are not to be found in that country's written constitution, and that the dictatorial powers recommended by the Committee to be given to the Governor-General and the provincial Governors are like the executive powers possessed, for example, by the President of the United States of America !

No Indian, no body of Indians, possesses at present, the power to counteract the mischievous attempt of the Committee to prevent India from attaining self-rule. But that Committee may rest assured that the Indian intellect has not been and cannot be obfuscated by their Report. Its sophistry and unwarranted assumptions can all be exposed. They will be and are being exposed to a considerable extent, though not fully.

Why Thorough Exposure of J. P. C. Report Is Impracticable and Perhaps Waste of Energy

If there be not a thoroughgoing criticism and exposure of the J. P. C. Report, it will not be because the intellect and the fund of political knowledge and information of politically-minded Indians are not equal to the task. It will be because sufficient time will not be available and cannot be given for its performance. And perhaps to some extent the penal laws and the uncertainty of their interpretation and administration may be some discouragement.

The present long-drawn endeavour to keep Britain's political and economic grip over India unimpaired, of which the J. P. C. Report is the latest manifestation, began some six years ago with the Simon Commission. There were auxiliary committees to assist in its work. The Government of India took a long time to consider its report and give expression to their opinions. Then followed the so-called Round Table Conferences. The Joint Select Committee themselves, during their two sessions in 1932-33 and 1933-34 in the course of eighteen months, have held 159 meetings in all and have examined over 120 witnesses. The two parts of Volume I, Report and Proceedings, contain more than a thousand pages. The three booklets of Records contain more than a hundred pages of small print. We have not yet recieved Volume II, which contains the Records of the Joint Committee [*Session 1933-34*]. The Proceedings, Evidence and Records of the Committee [*Session 1932-33*] are to be found in other parliamentary publications.

To master all the literature produced by the J. P. C. alone in 18 months, not to speak of those produced by other bodies mentioned above, is a task which cannot be performed in the course of a few days or weeks or months. And the Bill, forming the draft of the future Government of India Act, will be before Parliament till July, 1935, after its introduction in January, 1935. Assuming, what is not true, that any Indian criticism can effectively influence the present House of Commons, the time at the disposal of any Indian or any Indian representative body is not sufficient for a thorough examination and exposure of the views of the J. P. C. Such criticism and exposure would require at least as much printed space as the thousand and odd pages of Vol. I. of the J. P. C. Report and Proceedings. No Indian newspaper or

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periodical can devote so much space to the task.

But supposing so much space could be given, would it be worth while? The answer must be in the negative. The same practical contempt for and indifference to Indian opinion which characterize the J. P. C. Report are characteristics of the majority of sitting M. P.'s.

Nevertheless, as the majority of politically-minded Indians, including our readers, do not possess the leisure and the opportunities to get acquainted with and to study the facts and arguments at first-hand which newspaper men possess, we shall in succeeding issues, with the help of our kind contributors, present our readers with some detailed criticism of the J. P. C. Report. Of course, this is being done already by the leading newspapers.

Imperial Splendour of the Mogul Empire and the British Empire

Paragraph 6 of the J. P. C. Report records "the British Achievement." Paragraph 7 is devoted to the Mogul Empire. That paragraph contains the words: "The imperial splendour became the measure of the people's poverty." That could be said also of the Czarist regime in Russia.

It cannot be doubted that the British Empire also possesses "imperial splendour." Look at the palaces of the State in New Delhi and the provincial capitals and the Victoria Memorial in Calcutta.

As regards the material condition of the people, only two official statements need be quoted:

(1) The Montagu-Chelmsford Report, signed by Mr. Montagu, the then Secretary of State for India, and Lord Chelmsford, the then Governor-General, states in section 132 that "the immense masses of the people [of India] are poor, ignorant, and helpless far beyond the standard of Europe."

(2) The J. P. C. Report itself states in paragraph 2 that in India "the average standard of living is low and can scarcely be compared even with that of the more backward countries of Europe."

Whether "imperial splendour" has any universal and necessary connection with "popular squalor" cannot be definitely asserted without examining the condition of the subject people under all empires, past and present. But there appears to be some such connection in some cases at any rate.

"The Educational and Material Progress of India."

It is stated in paragraph 9 of the J. P. C. Report:

> "...it can be claimed with certainty that in the period which has elapsed since 1858, when the Crown assumed supremacy over all the territories of the East India Company, the educational and material progress of India has been greater than it ever was within her power to achieve during any other period of her long and chequered history."

Regarding educational progress, let it be assumed that the claim has been rightly and correctly made. What is the extent of this educational achievement? In the Report itself it is admitted in paragraph 2:

> "Literacy is rare outside urban areas, and even in these the number of literates bears but a small proportion to the total population."

To be exact, only 8 per cent of the population are literate and 92 per cent are illiterate. Among civilized countries India holds the record for illiteracy. Japan began to be "modernized" by her native rulers much later than India was intentionally or unintentionally subjected to "modernization" by her foreign ones. Yet, except among infants, literacy is practically nniversal in Japan among both sexes, and no country at present surpasses her in literacy. The aboriginal Negroes in Africa were an alphabetless and literatureless people. Those of them who were sold into slavery in America and their descendants could be educated legally only after December 11, 1865, the date of their emancipation. Before that date it was a penal offence to teach them or for them to receive education. Yet in sixty-five years since 1865, education spread among them to such an extent that in 1930 only 16.3 per cent of them were illiterate. In Russia in 1926 the percentage of illiterates was 48.7. At the end of 1930 it was 33. And at the end of 1933 it was only 10.

These statistics show that the authors of the J. P. C. Report should have avoided

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referring to educational progress in India. Such progress can and ought to be measured only by the spread of education among the masses, of however rudimentary a character; not by the production of a number of graduates and undergraduates. That being so, perhaps it may be said that there has been little educational *progress* in India worth mentioning so far as the masses are concerned. For the late Mr. Keir Hardie wrote in his work on *India*, page 5:

> "MaxMuller, on the strength of official documents and a missionary report concerning education in Bengal prior to the British occupation, asserts that there were then 80,000 native schools in Bengal, or one for every 400 of the population."

There is not in Bengal even now an educational institution of any kind or grade for every 400 of the population.

Keir Hardie continues:

> "Ludlow in his history of British India says that 'in every Hindoo village which has retained its old form I am assured that the children generally are able to read, write, and cipher, but where we have swept away the village system, as in Bengal, there the village school has also disappeared'."

Mr. Edward J. Thompson writes in *The Reconstruction of India*, published in 1930, p. 255, that in pre-British India, "there was more literacy, if of a low kind, than until within the last ten years." But even now there is practically literacy only of a low kind among only 8 per cent of the population; and we have adduced evidence above to show that there was more of it before. If there is at present a small class of English-book-learned men, there was formerly a similar small Sanskrit-book-learned or Persian-book-learned class.

Mr. Thompson speaks of the state of things "ten years ago," that is in 1920. Well, in 1921 the percentage of illiteracy in India was 92·9, and in 1931 it had become 92. And even this imperceptible progress is illusory. For whereas in 1921 there were 29,34,31,580 illiterates in the country, the number of illiterates in 1931 had increased to 32,16,28,003.

In the previous note we have given two official statements relating to the material condition of the masses, who form the vast bulk of the people. An indication of the material condition of the people of a country is afforded by their "expectation of life" in years at birth. A table of the "expectation of life" in different countries is reproduced below from the Census of India, 1931, Vol. I, Part I, pages 171-172:—

Country.	Expectation of Life at Birth in Years. Males.	Females.
Australia	55·20	58·84
Denmark	54·9	57·9
England	48·53	52·38
France	45·74	49·13
Germany	44·82	48·33
Holland	51·0	53 4
India	22·59	23·31
Italy	44·24	44·83
Japan	43·97	44·85
Norway	54·84	57·72
Sweden	54·53	55·98
Switzerland	49·25	52·15
United States of America	49·32	52·54

What the J. P. C. Report Recommends

It is difficult to state briefly what the J. P. C. Report recommends. Such reports generally give at the end of the chapters or at the end of the volumes the recommendations in collected form. This report does nothing of the kind. By having the introductory matter and the Proposals printed in separate sections the White Paper made it easy for the reader to find out the proposals. In the case of the J. P. C. Report one has to wade through the entire contents of the first part of Volume I to find out what the Committee's recommendations and suggestions are. The summary officially supplied to the Press is necessarily meagre.

In going through the Report proper, the reader will find that the Committee recommends the shadow of self-government to be given instead of the substance. It would be mockery to call it constitutional reform.

Far from recommending the grant of Dominion Status and Responsible Government the Report does not even theoretically accept these as the distant ideal or goal.

It fully maintains the control of the Government of India from Britain.

The future Indian legislature will not be competent to amend the constitution.

Defence, External Affairs, and practically also finance, currency, exchange, etc., will be outside the jurisdiction of the Central Legislature, the Governor-General being expressly or by implication invested with dictatorial powers over these matters.

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There is to be no statutory declaration of fundamental rights.

Like the present Government of India and Central Legislature the future Federal Government and Legislature will have no power to accelerate the Indianization of the army, or to reduce the white garrison or to reduce the present extravagant military expenditure.

All national governments possess and, when necessary, exercise powers to promote national industry and commerce by legislative and administrative means. In order to "hang" all such methods of promoting the economic interests of India, the White Paper and the J. P. C. Report give them the "bad name" of "commercial discrimination." In this matter the Committee go further than the White Paper.

> "The Committee accept the White Paper proposal that the Governor-General and Governors should have a special responsibility for the prevention of discrimination, but consider it should be made clear in the Act that this responsibility would extend to the prevention of administrative discrimination in any of the matters in respect of which provision is made against legislative discrimination."

Not the Government of India and its Legislature but a statutory railway authority almost independent of them will have control over state railways. Hence the promotion of Indian industry and commerce and the convenience and comfort of Indian passengers through these railways will be beyond the power of the Indian legislature if the statutory railway authority be not merciful.

There is to be no direct election to the Assembly, but the method of indirect election discarded in 1919 is to be adopted with the additional disadvantage of separate communal election by provincial legislatures.

The Communal Decision of the Prime Minister is accepted in full.

There is no knowing when Federation is to come, and, when it comes, the autocratic rulers of the states and the bureaucracy will have complete power to hold Indian nationalism in check.

> "Federation should not come into existence until the Rulers of States representing not less than half the total population of the States and entitled to not less than half the seats alloted to the States in the Federal Upper Chamber have signified their desire to accede." "The accession of a State cannot take place otherwise than by the voluntary act of its Ruler." "There can be no question of compulsion so far as the States are concerned."

The Rulers of the States (and others who have inside knowledge) know that these exalted personages are not exactly free agents. They know that they cannot go against the wishes of the Residents and Political Agents in any important political matter. Therefore, it is clear that it will be possible for the latter to postpone the birth of Federation as long as may be considered necessary by preventing the 'voluntary' accession of a sufficient number of States.

In the meantime there is to be so-called provincial autonomy.

> The Committee endorse the general plan of the White Paper for a statutory delimitation of the respective spheres of government between the Central and Provincial Governments. However carefully the lists of subjects of legislation are drawn up including a list of subjects of concurrent jurisdiction, nevertheless a residue is inevitable. Accepting the White Paper proposal, the Committee agree that the allocation of the residue should be left to the Governor-General.
>
> The White Paper plan to create new Provinces of Sind and Orissa is approved.

These deficit Provinces will be subsidized by the Central Government. Provincial autonomy will be nominal. For the Ministers will be dummies and the Governors will have dictatorial powers. "Safe-guards," "special responsibilities," "Governors' Acts," the power to withold assent to legislation, and so on, are mere cloaks for investing the Governors with such powers. "The Committee agree that for the discharge of his special responsibilities the Governor will need power to secure finance and legislation."

Ministers and the Legislature will have no power over officers of the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service. Ministers will not be competent to amend Police Acts or even revise Police Regulations without the concurrence of the Governor.

Not only Bengal, Bihar and the United Provinces but also Bombay and Madras are to have second chambers.

The Governor-General and Viceroy is to be the Super-dictator. He is to be a greater Dictator than he is now.

Burma is to be separated from India simultaneously with the inauguration of "reforms" in the Indian provinces, the

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prevailing Burmese anti-separatist opinion being ignored or brushed aside.

Unity of India Jeopardized

In order that India may be free and remain free it is necessary that she should be united and remain united. One of the reasons why she could be enslaved so often was that she was not united. But the J. P. C. Report divides her into separate units by giving her the semblance of provincial autonomy and relegating the federation of these units with the States to an indefinitely distant future. And even when, if ever, this federation comes, it will be, not a federation, but a sort of confederation, with the foreign autocrats and bureaucrats lording it over the whole of India with the rulers of the States at their beck and call.

British autocratic and bureaucratic rule was, perhaps unintentionally, accelerating the unification of India in various ways. The mock provincial autonomy intended to be given to India will reverse that process and may end in her disruption and disintegration unless the people of India are able to exert all their powers to remain united and become free.

Danger to India of Provincial Autonomy

Provincial autonomy, or rather its semblance, has all along been liked by British Imperialists, as, for example, the following extract from Major B. D. Basu's *Consolidation of the Christian Power in India* will show :

> One of the proposals for the consolidation of the Christian power in India, after the suppression of the Indian Mutiny, was what was euphemistically called "provincial autonomy," but which was really the policy of "Divide and rule." Before the Parliamentary Committee on the Colonization and Settlement of the Britishers in India, Major G. Wingate, who appeared as a witness on 13th July, 1858, on being asked, "7771. You speak of the dangers that arise from a central government and you say that it leads to a community of aims and feelings that might be dangerous ?"
>
> answered :
>
> "Yes. I think that, if there be any one subject in which the whole population of India would be interested, that is more likely to be dangerous to the foreign authority, than if a question were simply agitated in one division of the empire ; if a question were agitated throughout the length and breadth of the empire, it would surely be much more dangerous to the foreign authority than a question which interested one Presidency only."
>
> "7772. *Mr. Danby Seymour*—
>
> "Is what you mean this, that all the people of India might be excited about the same thing at the same time ?"
>
> "Yes."

On these questions and answers Major Basu's comments in his book are :

> He (Major G. Wingate) gave expression to the feeling which was uppermost in the minds of the Britishers at that time, not to do anything which might "amalgamate" the different creeds and castes and provinces of India. So everything was being done to prevent the growing up of a community of feelings and interests throughout India which would make the people of India politically a nation. Of course, they have been a nation in a different sense since antiquity.

These extracts may indicate the conscious or sub-conscious feeling which has perhaps led the J. P. Committee to grant the "boon" of so-called provincial autonomy at once to the people of India, relegating federation to an uncertain future.

Disintegration and Re-integration

It has been generally recognized, and that rightly, that Mr. Attlee's Draft Report is statesmanlike and better than the J. P. C. Report. Mr. Attlee writes in his Draft with reference to the disintegration and re-integration involved in provincial autonomy and federation respectively :

> "The Indian Statutory Commission pointed out that the formation of a Federation entailed a double process : that of the creation of autonomous Provinces and their re-integration in a Federation. We have no doubt that the double process must be embodied in the same Statute and that the time lag which may be necessary between the establishment of Provincial autonomy and the creation of the federation should be no longer than that which is absolutely dictated by administrative necessity."

Mr. Attlee evidently knows that without Federation provincial autonomy would destroy the unity and power of India. He, therefore, does not agree that the accession of a sufficient number of States should be a condition precedent to Federation. Says he :

> "The White Paper suggests that a federation which comprised the Provinces and only a small number of the States would hardly be deserving of the name. We are unable to agree. We consider that the forces making for Federation are so strong that it is certain that before long a majority of the States, in numbers and population, will accede."

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So far as the feelings of the Rulers themselves of the States are concerned, the last-quoted sentence is most probably correct. But if their masters, the Residents and Political Agents, will otherwise, the result may be different.

Mr. Attlee continues :

> "At the same time it is possible that there might be some hesitation at the beginning and we see no reason why the rest of India should wait for a certain number of Rulers of States to change their opinions before enjoying responsibility at the Centre. We would prefer that the Federation should start with a very large proportion of the Indian States included in it, but we believe that in any event a start should be made and that it should be possible to build up a Federation by a gradual accretion of States."

But Mr. Attlee's draft was summarily rejected and the opinions and policy of the would-be disintegrators of India have prevailed.

Does J. P. C. Deliberately Want to Destroy Indian Unity ?

The Joint Parliamentary Committee know that Provincial Autonomy would have a disruptive effect without Federation being brought about. Yet they do not insist upon Federation even half as strongly as on Provincial Autonomy. Why, they do not even really believe in Indian unity while professing to do so ! We quote below a few sentences from their Report in support of our observations.

> "We have spoken of unity as perhaps the greatest gift which British rule has conferred on India ; but, in transferring so many of the powers of Government to the Provinces, and in encouraging them to develop a vigorous and independent life of their own, we have been running the inevitable risk of weakening or even destroying that unity. Provincial Autonomy is, in fact, an inconceivable policy unless it is accompanied by such an adaptation of the structure of the Central Legislature as will bind these autonomous units together."

The men who say that unity is the greatest gift of British rule also say the following !

> "A completely united Indian polity cannot, it is true, be established either now or, so far as human foresight can extend, at any time."
>
> "...a responsible British-India Centre is not a possible solution of the constitutional problem, or would, at most, only be possible at the price of very large deductions from the scope of its responsibility."

Shipping in the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report

In the section dealing with commercial and other forms of discrimination, the Joint Committee devote a short paragraph to shipping. Shipping is singled out for the application of the principle of reciprocity, partly because of the special nature of shipping legislation and partly because of the vital importance of shipping to British economic life, not to mention the desire to prevent any legislation like reservation of Indian coastal trade for Indian-owned shipping in future. The principle of reciprocity which is to regulate shipping registered in British India and the United Kingdom is one that cannot bear scrutiny. Reciprocity as a basis of economic relationship between England and India, especially in an industry like shipping, is meaningless because of the disparity between the interests which Indians have or could have in England and the interests which Britishers have and will continue to have in India. Moreover, the divergence in the economic development of the two countries and the fact that British shipping dominates not only the overseas but the coastal trade of India make the plea of reciprocity simply preposterous. The inferiority of Indians, as compared to Britishers, whether in India or in England, rests not on legal principles but on economic facts. It is because Great Britain has nothing to fear from a weak and industrially backward India that she is prepared to concede this formal but unreal reciprocity. As Mr. G. L. Mehta remarked in his article on "Commercial Discrimination," published in this journal in April 1933, "to grant to Indians the right to start steel works in Sheffield or cotton mills in Lancashire or shipping firms in Liverpool in return for the same privilege to Britishers in India is a joke which may be entertaining to its makers but seems cruel to Indians."

The White Paper recommended in paragraph 123 that provision will be made on the same lines for equal treatment on a reciprocal basis of ships registered respectively in British India and the United Kingdom. The Joint Committee in paragraph 354 deal, therefore, with the same point. It will be noticed that "ships registered in the United

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Kingdom are not to be subjected by law in British India to any discrimination whatsoever as regards the ship, officers or crew or her passengers or cargo, to which ships registered in British India would not be subjected in the United Kingdom." If, for instance, in order to give effect to the policy of Indianization of marine services and to assist the employment of Indian navigation officers and engineers trained in the "Dufferin" and elsewhere, the Government of India propose to make the employment of Indian technical staff as a condition precedent to plying on the Indian coast or receiving mail subsidy, it will have no power to do so, because no corresponding legislation exists in England. Similarly, if owing to Japanese or other foreign competition or owing to rate-wars between British and Indian shipping companies plying on the coast, the Government want to introduce a licensing system laying down conditions under which ships could be engaged in the maritime trade of India, the Government would be precluded from doing so. Coastal reservation would, of course, be rendered impossible and the Government of India would be deprived in future of the powers which they possess even at present, because in theory, at any rate, there is nothing to prevent the present Legislature passing a measure like the Coastal Reservation Bill. It is a patent argument of British interests that Britain herself does not protect her coastal trade against foreigners. This is absolutely irrelevant, because as stated by Mon. Reny Mausaize in his work on shipping, the real reason for throwing the English coast open to all ships was not a matter of principle but an urgent necessity for domestic industries, especially coal, to be properly served. In fact, however, British shipping is so strong that more than 90% of British coastal trade is carried on by British vessels alone. Nevertheless, even in recent years there have been proposals of reserving the British coastal trade to British shipping and even the inter-Imperial trade to vessels flying the British flag, in which, of course, the shipping of the United Kingdom being the largest would have the lion's share. We are aware of the passion for reciprocity and partnership which has suddenly inspired Whitehall and Delhi, but we are afraid their desire for equality is taking rather ominously fantastic and inequitable forms!

Indirect Election to the Federal Legislature through the Provincial Legislatures

The indirect method of election to the Central Legislature, adopted in the Minto-Morley reforms, was discarded in 1919 and the direct method adopted instead. But the J. P. C. Report reverts to the indirect method. Lord Reading, Lord Ker and Mr. Foot moved an amendment in favour of the direct method. They opposed the indirect method for five main and very weighty reasons. These are stated and elaborated in a long paragraph (pp. 373-375, vol i, part ii). We shall quote only the reasons.

> In the first place it means that the provinces, in effect, will be able to control the Central Legislature and therefore the Ministry. The supreme problem in India is the maintenance of its constitutional unity. The breakdown of its central government is the greatest catastrophe which could overtake the country. Yet to constitute the central legislature by what, in effect, will be provincial delegations, the majority of whom will hold their seats on the nomination, and at times of re-election at the discretion, of the Provincial Governments and the parties which support them in office, would, in our view, aggravate the tendency to provincial separatism which already exists and endanger the unity of India... In the second place the system inevitably involves the confusion of provincial and all-India issues at times of election with bad results for both central and provincial legislatures....In the third place the system inevitably opens the door to corruption, for it means that each member of the central legislature, which will deal with matters vitally affecting business and finance, will be elected by a number of provincial electors on the average not more than 7 or 8 in number. . . . . Fourthly, the system of electing the central legislature by the provincial legislatures is bound to be extremely intricate and confusing with its combination of electoral colleges elected by enormous constituencies in some provinces with election by the provincial Upper Houses which are themselves elected in part by the Provincial Assemblies, in others. It is likely to be caucus-ridden and it will inevitably make necessary large numbers of provincial bye-elections whenever an election to the central legislature takes place, with possibly unfortunate results on the stability of the provincial ministries. Finally, this form of indirect system involves reversing a system which has already been in operation for the Indian Legislative Assembly not unsuccessfully for thirteen years and which has the support of the great majority of Indian political leaders."

But with their practical contempt for

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Indian public opinion the J. P. C. could not possibly be influenced by the fact of the direct system being supported by the great majority of Indian political leaders.

In their first and second reasons Lord Reading and his two colleagues wanted that members of the central legislature should be men of a National, an all-India, outlook, and not of a merely provincial outlook. But such reasoning could not possibly find favour with the majority of the members of the J. P. C., who wanted to destroy Indian Nationhood and establish separatism and parochialism in its stead.

Inconsistencies in J. P. C. Report

There are so many good principles laid down in the J. P. C. Report with recommendations of an opposite character that it would be difficult to enumerate them. Nor have we space to do so. We must rest content with simply mentioning the fact.

Public Opinion Disregarded, though its Existence is Admitted

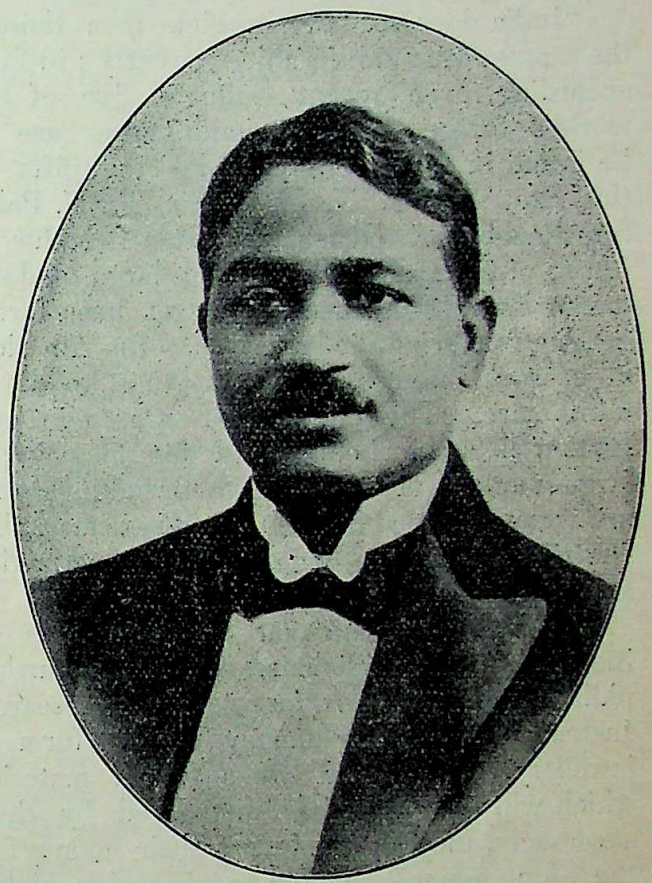
The J. P. Committee recognize the reality of Indian political aspirations, though in a very grudging spirit. They also admit that in India "a public opinion does exist." Yet their contempt for it is so great that, far from accepting to the smallest extent the opinions of the Congress, which represents the largest number of courageous and self-sacrificing politically-minded citizens, the Committee observe :

> "Indeed, we recognize that even moderate opinion in India has advocated and hoped for a simpler and more sweeping transfer of power than we have felt able to recommend. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that there is a section of opinion in India with whom the prospect of agreement appears to be remote."

Is it this that the Committee appear to drive at, that, as there is no chance of placating Congressmen, who alone count, there is no need of rallying the Moderates, who do not count? Whatever the answer to this question may be, the J. P. C. console themselves with the discovery of the emergence of "a body of central opinion." Precious discovery!

Professor S. S. Bhatnagar's Self-Sacrifice

We print below a note by Prof. M. N. Saha, F. R.S., on the munificent donation of Prof. S. S. Bhatnagar for the encouragement of chemical research in the Panjab University.



Prof. S. S. Bhatnagar

"The princely donation of the sum of a lakh and a half of rupees by Prof. S. S. Bhatnagar to the Panjab University is a unique event in the history of education in India. For Prof. Bhatnagar is neither a Rajah nor a millionaire, but comes from the hungry middle class ; he had to struggle through early years of comparative want to his present position as Professor of Chemistry at Lahore, which he won through sheer industry and merit, and, like many other Indian Professors in a like position, he has to provide for his family and numerous poor relations and needy students. The sum of a lakh and a half may not be anything to a millionaire, but is a fortune to Bhatnagar ; but with rare largeness of heart, he has handed over the sum to his alma mater for scientific work.

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"There is one unique precedent for such a donation by a teacher of science for the promotion of scientific reseach alone, *viz.*, the gift of Sir P. C. Ray to the Calcutta University, whose example, the writer is informed in a private letter, has been the source of inspiration to Bhatnagar.

"India does not lack in rich men though the masses are sunk in abject poverty ; in fact, according to a recent estimate, five of the world's fifteen foremost millionaires are to be found in India. But, besides the gifts of the late Mr. J. N. Tata, Sir T. N. Palit, Sir Rashbehari Ghosh, and Rao Bahadur D. Lakshmi Narayana of C. P., no large endowments from rich men have yet been forthcoming for scientific research. In America, it is considered to be a disgrace to die a millionaire. The millions of Carnegie and Rockefeller are being used for financing a large number of scientific undertakings and are responsible for the recent remarkable contributions of the United States of America to the progress of Science.

"The gift of Bhatnagar should act as an incentive to our millionaires for making further philanthrophic gifts for scientific research. Instead of hoarding money in the form of jewellery, bullion and other frozen material, which will one day be squandered by their successors, they should invest their money in the young generations, for provision for higher education of the coming generation is the best investment for the future. The writer has the experience of half a generation of young men eager to do scientific work and get a name for themselves and their country. They can give as good an account of themselves as any European or American youth, provided they are helped in their work by gifts and organizations like the Carnegie and Rockefeller Trusts of America."

The "Statesman" on Minorities

In its editorial on the above subject of November 15th last *The Statesman* has probably referred to me in the following words : "We hope that the Professor of Economics who lately accused Great Britain of a violation of international law knows more of economics than he does of international law." But the reference is sadly mistaken both in its form and in its contents. I happen to be a Professor of History whose business is to deal with its sources and documents. A special study of these has led me to the following conclusions :

(1) The States-members of the League of Nations (including India and England) have agreed that "the problem of minorities is to be treated as a matter of international concern and not as a domestic concern of any individual sovereign State."

(2) Those Minorities alone are eligible for protection who form "a considerable proportion of the population," at least 20 to 25 per cent of the population.

(3) The protection of Minorities who satisfy the above numerical test is to be strictly confined only to their linguistic, racial, and religious differences and interests.

(4) Minorities should not be protected to a fault and in a manner which is subversive of the State itself.

These conclusions embodied in regular treaties, known as Minorities Guarantee Treaties, rule out separate electorate and communal reservations of representation.

Sir Austen Chamberlain states these conclusions thus : "It was certainly not my intention or of those who had devised this system of Minority protection to establish in the midst of a nation a community which would remain permanently estranged from national life."

This is echoed thus by another State representative : "We must avoid creating a State within a State. We must prevent the Minority from transforming itself into a privileged caste and taking definite form as a foreign group, instead of becoming fused in the society in which it lives."

The number of complaints being lodged with the League of Nations by European Minorities lead *The Statesman* to conclude that the system is not working well in Europe. It does not know the fact that the complaints are due to supposed violations of the treaties and not to the treaties themselves or their provisions. But the chief source of the complaints lies in the fact that the treaties are treated as being only one-sided, and as binding on one set of Powers, the vanguished in the Great War, and not on the victorious Powers (including

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India and England) who imposed the treaties on the vanquished. The ground of this complaint was admitted both by France and England, who explained that "they have not signed any such Minorities Treaties because they had no Minorities. To find Minorities in France or England, they would have to be created in imagination." Ultimately a compromise was effected by the Victors and the Vanguished by resolving that the States not legally bound by the Minorities Treaties are nevertheless morally bound by their principles in the treatment of their respective Minorities.

The situation was further clenched by Arthur Henderson as President of the League Council by his declaration that "the League's scheme of Minority Protection now forms a part of the Public Law of Europe and of the world."

Perhaps *The Statesman* considers that India is not a part of that world and lies outside the domain of International Law. Perhaps *The Statesman* does not like India to continue as a member of the League with all its cultural burden and international obligations.

RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI

Congress Victory in the General Elections

In the general elections Congress has proved its claim to be by far the predominant representative organization in the country. In the new Assembly Congress Members, of the Congress Parliamentary Board Party and the Congress Nationalist Party combined, will be the largest single political party.

The New Assembly & J. P. C. Report

The strength of the Congress group in the new Assembly is, no doubt, not such as will enable them to carry any of their motions without the help of members of other groups. But nevertheless they will be a powerful body. And so far as the J. P. C. scheme of "reforms" is concerned, they are likely to be joined by some M. L. A.s of other groups either in wholesale or piecemeal condemnation of it. If such a condemnatory motion be carried in the Assembly, or, in any case, if the majority of elected members vote in favour of such a motion, what will the British Government do? Colonel Wedgwood tried to sound Sir Samuel Hoare on the matter, with no satisfactory result, as the following questions and answers show :

LONDON, Nov. 26.

In the House of Commons Col. Wedgwood asked whether official nominated members of the Legislative Assembly will be authorized to vote on the issue of acceptance of the new Federal constitution.

Sir Samuel Hoare replied, Col. Wedgwood will hardly expect an answer to the question without knowing the terms of any resolution which may be moved in the Legislative Assembly on the subject of constitutional reform.

Col. Wedgwood asked: "May we take it that the measure will not come into force unless passed by a majority of the elected members?

Sir Samuel Hoare:—I cannot give an assurance of that kind. You are raising a hypothetical issue.

Col. Wedgwood: Have you not yet considered that position?

Sir Samuel Hoare: I have considered it and many other questions.

Col. Wedgwood: Have you come to any conclusion?

Sir Samuel Hoare did not reply.

The Cabinet held a special meeting yesterday morning and it is understood discussed the business connected with the Select Committee report.—*Reuter.*

Congress Nationalist Victory in Bengal

All the six seats in the Assembly open to Hindus in Bengal have been won by candidates of the Congress Nationalist party. It shows that Bengal Congressmen are for the unequivocal condemnation and rejection of the Prime Minister's communal decision. The Congress bureaucracy should note this fact. While doing so, they should also bear in mind the fact that Bengal Congressmen have not been backward in undergoing suffering and sacrifice for the Congress cause and that members of the Congress Nationalist party are as much Congressmen as others.

Non-inclusion of Any Bengali Congressman in Working Committee

We do not think the non-inclusion of any Bengali Congressman in the Congress Working Committee was due to any deliberate intention to spite or slight Bengal. But the fact is to be deplored nevertheless. Congress has divided India into twenty-one linguistic provinces, but the number of ordinary members of the Working Committee is only 14. Therefore, the non-inclusion in the Committee of the representatives of at least

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7 provinces in any year is certain ; and more provinces may be excluded, as generally some provinces have more than one member in it. We have, therefore, urged before, and do so again that the number of C. W. C. members should be raised to 25, or at least to 21. Twenty-five is not a very large number for a large country like India.

The Congress provinces are linguistic provinces. In India the numbers of speakers of the principal languages above two crores are: Hindusthani languages, 121,254,000; Bengali, 53,468,000; Telugu, 26,373,000; Panjabi and Lahnda, 24,660,000; Marathi and Konkani, 21,361,000; Tamil, 20,411,000. The language which is spoken by the largest number of persons next to the Hindusthani languages should not go unrepresented in the Congress Working Committee.

A British Periodical's Appreciation of Dr. Sunderland

Town and Country Review, a London illustrated monthly magazine, has published an appreciative character-sketch of the Rev. J. T. Sunderland, who is by birth an Englishman and by naturalization an American. In India he is generally known as the author of "India in Bondage." There are other facts regarding his life and work which are worth knowing and are reproduced below from the above-mentioned British periodical.

Dr. Jabez T. Sunderland is of particular interest to Englishmen for two especial reasons—he was born in Yorkshire, England, as long ago as 1842, being taken to America by his parents at the age of two years, and as the author of "India in Bondage, ..."

Dr. Sunderland was educated at the University of Chicago, from which he was graduated in 1867 with the degree of B.A. He obtained his Master's degree in 1869, and holds the degree of D.D. of Tufts University.

He was ordained to the Baptist Ministry in 1870, and has been pastor at a number of important churches in the United States and Canada. He went to India in 1895 on commission from the British Unitarian Association to study and report upon the educational, social and religious conditions of the Indian people, and has been the non-resident Lecturer on sociology and the religions of India in Theological Schools in Meadsville, Pennsylvania, and Canton, New York. Since his return from India he has been a devoted student of Indian History, Literature, Art, Civilization, and especially Social, Political and Economic Problems.

In 1913-14, he was Billings Lecturer of the American Unitarian Association to India, China and Japan. While in India, was president of the All-India Theistic Conference. Has been President of the India Information Bureau of New York (1918-22); Editor of Young India (New York, 1918-21), and President of the India Society of America (1923-28). Is now Honorary President of "The American League for India's Freedom" and Vice-President of "The All-World Gandhi Fellowship." He contributes extensively to Indian periodicals, and is the author of twenty books, five of which are published in India. . . . . .

In other schools of thought and teaching, Dr. Sunderland has also been active. In his early Ministry, he established, and for twelve years edited "The Unitarian," a monthly magazine which obtained a large circulation among the Unitarian Churches of the United States and also a considerable circulation in England. In this connection he is the author of "What Do Unitarians Believe?" a statement which he wrote and had printed in Ann Arbor, Michigan, for use in connection with his student work there, and 85,000 copies were circulated before the booklet was published by the American Unitarian Association (25, Beacon Street, Boston) who now issue it as No. 11 of their publications, the pamphlet, which has reached a circulation of more than 300,000, being made available through the fund for the distribution of free literature. Copies may therefore be obtained from the American Unitarian Association.

Dr. Sunderland has written profusely since 1878, when he produced "A Rational Faith" and "What is the Bible?" right along up to 1925 when his "Evolution and Religion" was published. His two religious books which are the most popular and have the largest sale are his "Origin and Character of the Bible" and "The Bible and Bible Country." The former has been translated into the Russian and Bulgarian languages.

As might be expected, Dr. Sunderland has always been deeply interested in Foreign Missions. No other Unitarian has done so much to carry liberal Christian thought to the Orient. During all of his ministry Dr. Sunderland has laboured steadily to bring lovers of religious liberty into sympathy and co-operation. His pulpit exchanges have been not only with Unitarians, but with Universalists, Liberal Jews and to some extent with liberal ministers of orthodox churches.

He has always secured a great following. In Toronto his Sunday evening addresses were such as to give him the unique experience of being visited by the Chief of Police and informed that unless measures were taken to overcome the crowding of his church, the law would be enforced upon him and his congregation!

Lord Zetland on the Communal Decision as Affecting Bengal

It appears from the proceedings of the Joint Select Committee, June 29, 1934, that the Marquess of Zetland (formerly Lord Ronaldshay, ex-Governor of Bengal) moved an amendment to lessen the injustice done to Bengal Hindus—particularly the "caste" Hindus

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by the Communal Decision and the Poona Pact combined. Nine members, including Lord Zetland and Lord Lytton (ex-Governors of Bengal), Lord Hardinge (ex-Viceroy) and Sir Reginald Craddock (ex-Governor of the Central Provinces), voted for the amendment. Fourteen members, including two ex-Viceroys, who had no experience of Bengal, voted against it. So the amendment was lost. The amendment and the reasons for it are to be found in the paragraphs, pp. 338-341 of part ii, vol. i of the J. P. C. Report, quoted below. They are long, but will amply repay perusal. It will be seen that Lord Zetland's arguments are in many cases the same as those which we have urged in these columns.

("121. We have found ourselves in some difficulty in dealing with this aspect of the problem, owing to the declaration of the Government, referred to in paragraph 119, that they would entertain no suggestions for the alteration of their Award which had not the support of all the parties affected, and we might well have felt justified in the circumstances in holding that the matter was one which had been placed beyond our purview. This course was rendered difficult however, by the representations of those who desired to give evidence before us, as to its effect upon the development of responsible self-government particularly in the Presidency of Bengal; and by deciding, as we did, that such evidence was admissible, we automatically brought the matter within the scope of our enquiry. The original Award was strongly criticised by more than one witness who appeared before us on the ground that it must operate inequitably in the case of Bengal; and it was urged that the disadvantage at which the caste Hindus would be placed under it would be greatly intensified as a result of the adoption of the Poona Pact. Particular objection was taken to the reservation of seats and the employment of separate communal electorates in a province in which the community in whose interest the reservation is made forms a majority of the population. We cannot but be impressed by the force of this contention and we think it desirable that we should set forth our views as to the purpose for which the reservation of seats and the device of separate electorates should be employed.

"The system was introduced at the time of the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909 with a view to safeguarding the interests of minorities and in particular the Moslem Minority; and while, on general grounds, we may deplore the necessity for such a device we have reluctantly come to the conclusion that in existing circumstances in India the necessity persists. We do not, therefore, propose to elaborate the objections which may be urged against the system as a whole. But it is one thing to concede separate communal electorates for the purpose of giving Minorities reasonable representation in the various legislatures; it is an entirely different thing to employ the system for the purpose of conferring upon a majority community in any particular province a permanent majority in the legislature unalterable by any appeal to the electorate. Such a course has never hitherto been adopted. It was considered and rejected by the Statutory Commission, who declared that a claim submitted to them which in Bengal and the Punjab would give to the Moslem community a fixed and unalterable majority in the *general constituency* seats, was one which they could not entertain; 'it would be unfair', they wrote, 'that Muhammadans should retain the very considerable weightage they now enjoy in the six provinces and that there should at the same time be imposed, in face of Hindu and Sikh Opposition, a definite Moslem majority in the Punjab and in Bengal unalterable by any appeal to the electorate.' This is the position which will arise if the distribution of seats proposed in the White Paper for the Legislative Assembly of Bengal, is given effect to. The Legislative Assembly is to consist of 250 seats. Of these 51 are allotted to Special interests, leaving 199 general seats. Of these general seats 119 are to be reserved for Moslems leaving 80 for the Hindus. But under the terms of the Poona Pact 30 of these 80 seats are to be reserved for the so-called depressed classes, hereafter to be known as the Scheduled Castes, and the number of general seats open to the Caste Hindus is thus reduced to 50. It is probable that in the case of the 20 special interest seats which are open to Moslems and Hindus, the great majority will fall to the Hindus; but even if the Caste Hindus were to secure the whole 20 seats they would still be arbitrarily limited by Statute to 70 seats in a Legislative Assembly of 250. To restrict in this way the possible share in the government of the province, of the community which plays a predominant part in its intellectual and political life, seems to us to be both unwise and unfair. Before making our recommendations we have one further comment to make on the effect in Bengal of the Poona Pact. The object of reserving seats for the depressed classes should be in our view, to secure to the real depressed classes—that is to say the Sudras, or outcasts—a voice in the legislature. We believe that in Bengal the number of such people is small; and we fear that the result of extending the list of scheduled castes as proposed in the White Paper, will be to defeat the object in view, for it will not then be members of the real depressed classes who will be returned for the Scheduled Caste Seats, but members of the powerful Namasudra and Rajbansi Castes who experience no difficulty in getting returned to the legislature even now without any reservation of seats at all, and whose interests are as much opposed to those of the untouchables as are the interests of the highest castes themselves.

"We have now to submit our recommendations. With the Moslems in a majority in any particular province, we think that no reservation of seats for them ought to be necessary, and the logical solution of the problem would be to make no provision for a separate Moslem electorate but to throw the whole of the *general* seats open to Moslems and Hindus, so that candidates whether Moslems or Hindus would have to stand on their merits and make their appeal to the electors at large. We realise, however, that in this case that which is desirable is not necessarily expedient and we feel constrained to suggest a less radical alteration. We therefore, recommend as a general principle that in any province in which seats are reserved for a community which constitutes a majority of the population, a decision whether election in the case of the general seats, including

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those reserved for the majority community, should be by separate or by joint electorate, should rest with the minority.

"There remains the question of the Poona Pact. We need not recall the circumstances in which the so-called pact was concluded. We do not think that those who were parties to it can be said to have been accredited representatives of the caste Hindus or to have possessed any mandate to effect a settlement. We think that the arrangements for the representation of the depressed classes contained in the original award of His Majesty's Government were preferable and we recommend their adoption. In the appropriate place we give tables setting forth the distribution of seats in the legislatures in accordance with our proposals.

"Apart from the general alteration in the distribution of seats due to a return to the original Communal Award in the case of the Depressed Classes, our proposals involve some further redistribution of the seats in the case of the Legislative Assembly of Bengal and we think it desirable to explain here the reasons for the alteration which we propose. Under the proposals contained in the White Paper the Assembly in Bengal will consist of 250 members. Of these 250 seats 51 will be reserved for the representation of special interests, leaving 199 general territorial constituencies. Of these general seats 119 are to be reserved for Moslems leaving 80 only for the Hindu community including the Depressed Classes. Since the population ratio is approximately 55 per cent. Moslem and 45 per cent. Hindu it follows that so far as the general territorial constituencies are concerned the Moslems are being given ten seats more and the Hindus ten seats less than they would be entitled to on a population basis. It is true that this disparity will almost certainly be lessened as a result of the elections to the special interest seats which will be open to Moslems and Hindus. These number 20 and various estimates of the proportions of them which will be won by Moslems and Hindus respectively were submitted to us in the course of the evidence which was laid before us. We think that the Moslems may be expected to secure six of the 20 seats, which would bring their total representation up to 125 seats as compared with 94 seats in the case of the Caste Hindus and the Depressed Classes taken together. But even supposing that the Moslems were to secure none of the 20 seats they would still fill 119 seats as compared with 110 which is the maximum number of seats open to the Caste Hindus and the Depressed Classes combined under the proposals of the White Paper.

"We have already stated our objections to conferring upon a community by statute a definite majority unalterable by any appeal to the electorate. When the relative position of the two communities in Bengal in everything except actual numbers is taken into account, it will be seen that the reasons against placing the Hindu community in a position of permanent statutory inferiority in the legislature are particularly strong. Under British rule the Hindus have played an enormously predominant part in the intellectual, the cultural, the political, the professional and the commercial life of the province. More than 64 per cent. of those who are literate in Bengal are Hindus; nearly 80 per cent. of the students attending High Schools, nearly 83 per cent. of those in Degree classes, and nearly 86 per cent. of the postgraduate and research students are Hindus. A similar preponderance is found in the case of the professions, and in the case of Banking, Insurance and Exchange. In all previous Constitutions the significance of these facts has been admitted. Under the Lucknow Pact (an agreement between Moslems and Hindus arrived at in 1916) the Moslems in Bengal were allotted no more than 40 per cent. of the seats proposed to be filled by Indians by election; and under the Constitution now in force there are reserved for them only 46 per cent. of the general territorial constituencies.

"In the circumstances set forth above we should have felt justified, had the slate upon which we have to write been a clean one, in recommending that in Bengal all general territorial constituencies should be open to candidates of both communities without reservation of seats or separate electorates (except in the case of the 10 seats reserved for the Depressed Classes). But as we have already pointed out, the slate upon which we have to write is very far from being a clean one, and we have felt obliged to steer a middle course between the claims of the Hindus and the expectations which have been aroused in the minds of the Moslems. Broadly speaking, as will be seen from an examination of the Appendix, the effect of the changes which we proposed in the scheme of the White Paper will be as follows:—

(1) To give to Moslems or to Hindus, whichever is the minority community in any particular province, the right to decide whether election in the case of the general territorial constituencies shall be by separate or by joint electorates;

(2) In the case of Bengal to allot the general territorial seats between Moslems and Hindus on a population basis; and

(3) To give to the Depressed Classes in all provinces the representation given to them by the Government under their original Award before it was modified by the Poona Pact.

There is one other point to which we wish to refer. Under the provisions of the White Paper* no change in the distribution of seats under the Communal Award is to be made during the first ten years during which the Constitution is in operation, and thereafter no proposals for modification will be taken into consideration which do not carry with them the assent of the communities affected. We think that it is unlikely that such assent will be given by a community entrenched in a position of statutory superiority in the legislature; and we recommend, therefore, that it should be open to either community at the expiration of ten years to petition Parliament to modify the Award.")

The only change in the Communal Decision to which the J. P. C. have agreed is contained in the following words of their Report (p. 68, part i, vol. i):

". . . . . objections to the (Poona) Pact in relation to Bengal have since been strongly urged by caste Hindus from that Province; and if by agreement between the communities concerned, some reduction were made in the number of seats reserved to the Depressed Classes in Bengal, possibly with a compensatory increase in the number of their seats in other Provinces where a small addition

* Paragraph 49 of the Introduction to the White Paper.

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in favour of the Depressed Classes would not be likely materially to affect the balance of communities in the Legislature, we are disposed to think that the working of the new Constitution in Bengal would be facilitated."

We may be permitted *now* to quote the following extract from a letter written to us by Mr. C. F. Andrews on September 27, 1934 :

"Last year when I left Allahabad I tried my utmost to help in the two matters I mentioned to you—the excess of European seats and the excess of Harijan seats, which reduced the Hindus of Bengal to an insignificant minority compared with the number of seats in the Council. I saw different Europeans about their excessive number of 25, but found very little response. Dr. Ambedkar agreed with me about the excess in Bengal of Harijan seats and was prepared to surrender some of them if other provinces would add to their own numbers . . . As you know, I took up these points purely because of the injustice which was to me so flagrantly apparent in the present position."

It may be added that Mr. Andrews was convinced as regards the injustice after he had listened to our arguments and seen some official papers placed before him by us at Allahabad. It will be noticed that the amendment which the J. P. C. are prepared to accept is the same to which Dr. Ambedkar agreed. It is not known whether Sir Samuel Hoare consulted Dr. Ambedkar.

Pandharpur Orphanage and Asylum for Homeless Widows

Pandharpur is a well-known place of pilgrimage in the Bombay presidency. But many widows who, falling victims to seduction, become mothers, go there for a different purpose. Hence many foundlings have to be provided for in that place. Moreover, those widows who are not taken back into their homes by their relatives after delivery have to be given shelter and maintained. The orphanage and asylum at Pandharpur serve these very humane and philanthropic purposes. They require new buildings, for which funds are needed. We cordially associate ourselves with the Appeal issued for the purpose, which will be found printed among advertisements in this issue.

Indian Women's University

If education has made insignificant progress among the population of India in general, its progress among our girls and women is still more unsatisfactory. Hence, whatever differences of opinion there may be as to co-education or separate education for the sexes, the same curricula or partly different curricula for them, and the same universities or different universities for men and women, advantage should be taken of all methods, curricula and institutions. The Indian Women's University of Poona and Bombay, founded by Professor D. K. Karve, who has devoted himself to the cause of women's education during his long life with exemplary self-sacrifice, persistence and industry, is an institution worthy of every support. Owing to the interest of the donation of Rs. 15 lakhs made to it by the late Sir Vithaldas D. Thackersey having been withheld, the university has had huge deficits during the last few years. For this reason, public support has become all the more necessary. An appeal for help has been issued signed by many well-known public men. It has our entire support. It will be found printed among the advertisements in this issue.

Professor Dwijadas Datta

Professor Dwijadas Datta of Comilla died last month at the age of 82 years. He was active till the last. After obtaining the degree of M. A. of the Calcutta university he proceeded to England as a State scholar to receive education in agriculture at Cirencester College. On returning to India after finishing his education there, he was appointed a Deputy Collector. Later he became a professor at the Government Engineering College at Sibpur. He was a great friend of the peasants and supported peasant proprietorship of land. He wrote a series of articles on the cultivation of jute in the Bengali monthly *Prabasi*, which were later published in book form, in which, among other things, he showed that the jute crop was not really profitable to the peasants, as they did not generally get more than their wages as labourers and the cost of maintenance

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of their plough and cart cattle—sometimes they did not get even that. He wrote from personal knowledge and experience.

He was a great scholar and had a sound knowledge of Sanskrit and Arabic. He devoted the last years of his life to showing that there was essential harmony between the Vedic teachings of Hinduism and the teachings of the Koran. He was a man of sterling independence and purity of character.

B. N. Sasmal

It is a tragedy that just when the election of B. N. Sasmal, barrister-at-law, to the Assembly by a large majority of votes was announced he had an attack of apoplexy and passed away after hovering between life and death for six days. His death at the present juncture is a great loss to the public life of the country—particularly to his native district of Midnapur in Bengal, for which he worked so hard and suffered so much, including imprisonment. His leadership in his own district during Non-co-operation days was so effective that the district magistrate had to pass an order prohibiting him from entering it.

At public meetings and at a meeting of the Calcutta Corporation eloquent tributes have been paid to his worth. Presiding over a meeting convened by the All-Bengal Radical Party, Mrs. Nellie Sen Gupta said in part:

> Birendranath, a born fighter all his life, fought unfailingly in the cause of truth and justice. In the pursuit of truth he had occasionally to alienate his best friends and devoted colleagues. But that did not matter to him. To him truth was far above all the rest.
>
> For the maintenance of the right of his people Sasmal was always in the forefront of the struggle. So long as he realized that to be a true and just cause he never gave it up. Nothing could move him from that. Whenever the oppressed and down-trodden cried for help Birendranath with his indomitable courage stood out against the oppressor. To the afflicted and distressed he lent his helping hand without fail.
>
> His victories were great. Two years ago he had won a remarkable victory in the Corporation election. A few days ago he won another victory.
>
> Birendranath was a great friend of both the Hindus and the Mahommedans. In him there existed no communal feeling. In his death the Mussalmans had lost a true ally.
>
> It was disastrous that we had lost him at such a moment when the country's need for him was the greatest. It seemed our destiny to lose our leaders when their need was the most.
>
> Striking a personal note the president referred to the day when in 1923, after the memorable Assam-Bengal Railway strike she with her illustrious husband was met at the steamer station by Sj. Sasmal. During the non-co-operation movement, when enthusiasm was at its height, in response to a query from Deshapriya whether all those sacrifices would not lead them to the goal Sj. Sasmal decisively replied, "No, we are to go through tremendous sacrifices before we attain Swaraj."
>
> All through his life Birendranath never bowed down to anybody; in death too he kept his head erect.

At the Calcutta Corporation meeting, Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, the Mayor, observed in part:

> In party politics many of us, and I am one of them, have exchanged blows with Mr. Sasmal; but he was as great in dealing one as he was generous in enduring another. Mr. Sasmal will be respectfully and affectionately remembered even by his opponents as a kind and sincere friend. His supporters and followers will cherish him as a valiant comrade with whom it was a privilege and pride to work.
>
> In all his actions Mr. Sasmal was unconcerned about being unpopular whether inside his party and with his fellow-workers or with the outside public, if he felt his cause to be right. He was the last man ever to temporize. And in these circumstances his enormous hold on his supporters, his acquisition of an authoritative position in the political circle, and the respect he commanded from his opponents as well, were truly remarkable. Even in the work of the Corporation we have found that he knew no deviation or compromise, and he used to insist always on his own method. Divergence of opinion and adoption of different methods are inevitable in politics, as in almost every other walk of life, but Mr. Sasmal will be respectfully and affectionately remembered even by his opponents as a kind and sincere friend. His supporters and followers will cherish his memory as a valiant comrade with whom it was a privilege and pride to work.
>
> I think I express the sentiments of you all in saying that the outstanding quality of Mr. Sasmal's character, which, in fact, guided all his actions was that in any matter, big or small, he was absolutely unbending and unflinching, irrespective of any consequence to himself when he knew or believed in its justice or correctness. Such straightforward and unequivocal honesty of purpose, such fearlessness in giving expression to his own opinion, even if it pushed him to the borderline of being disregarded, are not the qualities very frequently to be observed in the public life of the country. In our present conditions particularly, I feel, such plain speaking and straight action according to conviction have become quite imperative. Mr. Sasmal's example, I hope and trust, will bear fruit.

Mr. Sasmal's compatriots of his own district of Midnapur did not yield to any one else in their appreciation and praise of their leader. At a condolence meeting, his worthy rival for the seat in the Assembly, Mr. Manmathanath Das, said:

ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY MUSIC CONFERENCE, 1934

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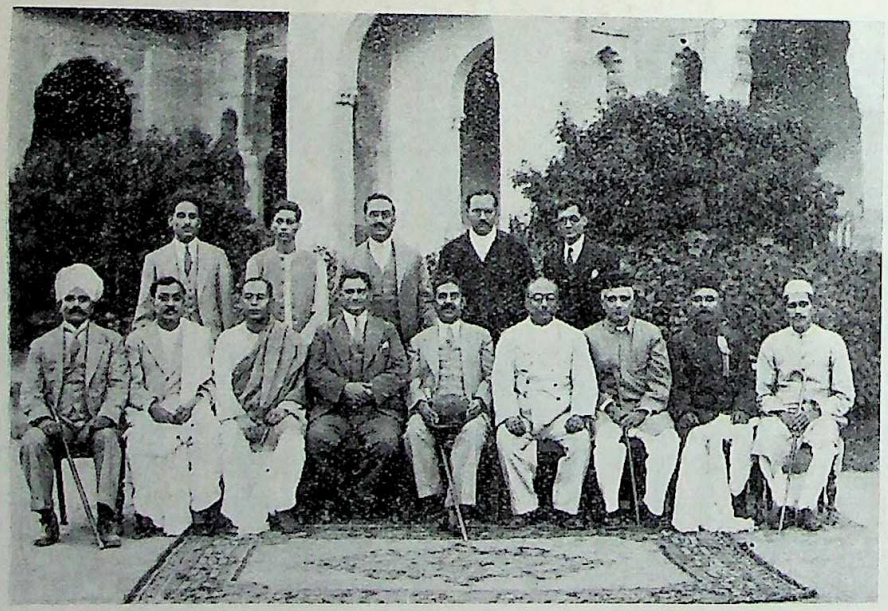
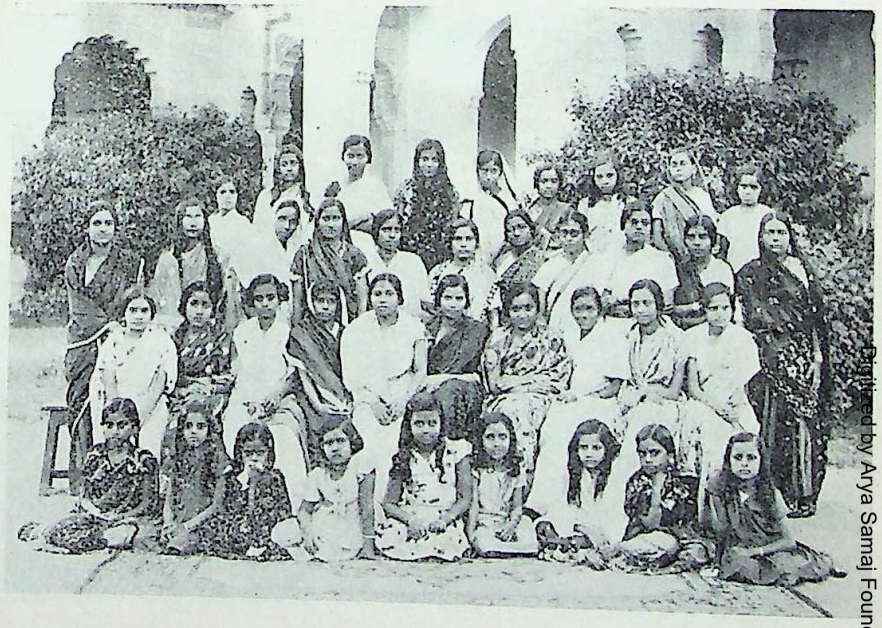
ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY MUSIC CONFERENCE, 1934

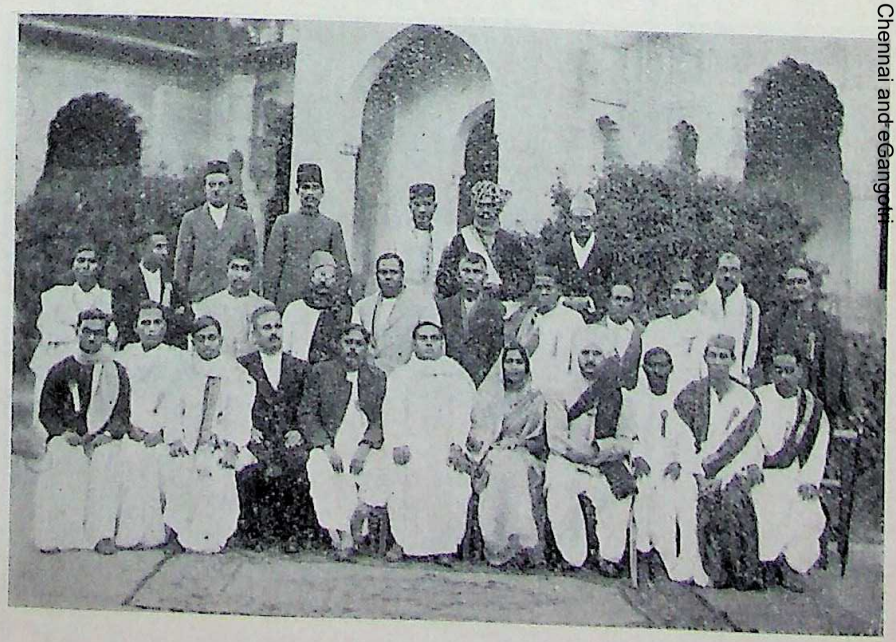


President, Judges and the Reception Committee



Girl Competitors

Bhattacharya Family—winners of the Championship Cup



Musicians

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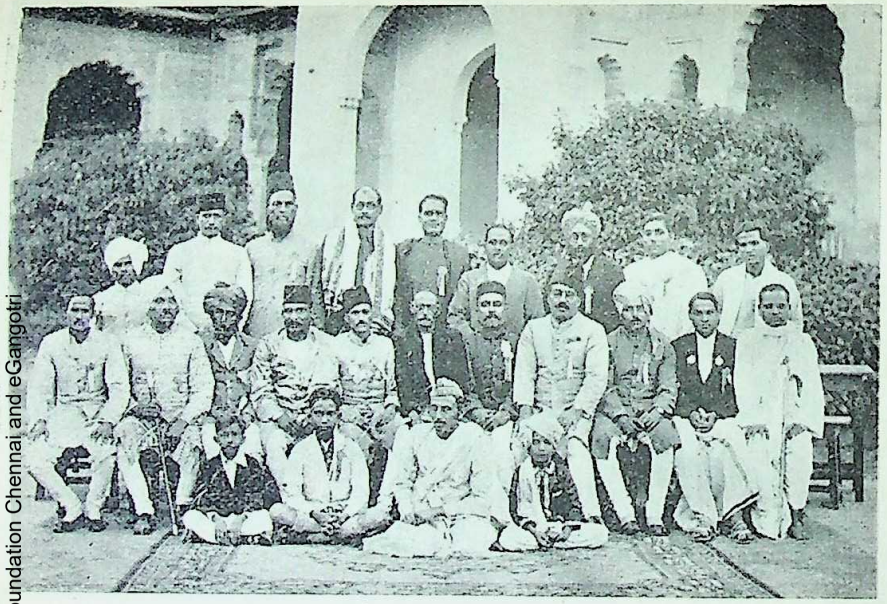
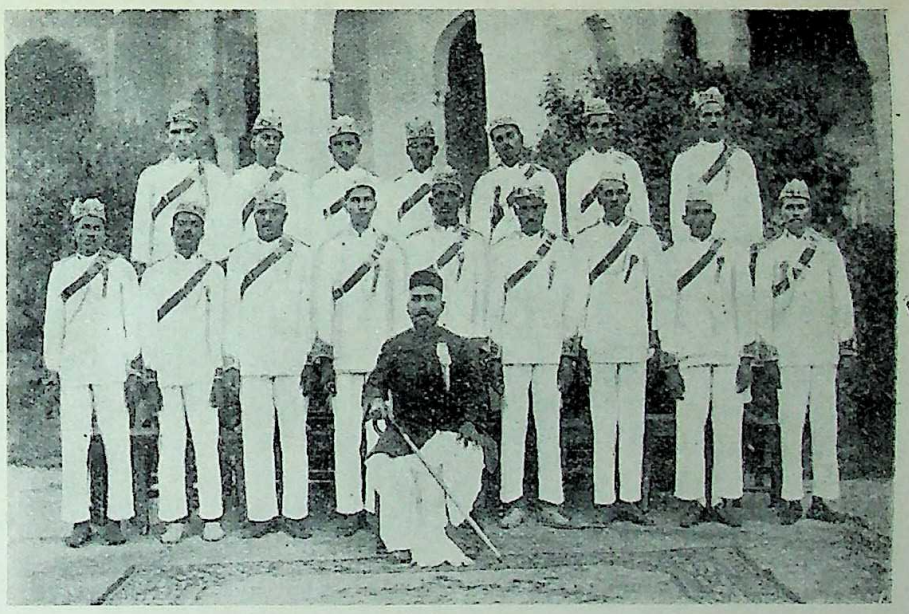
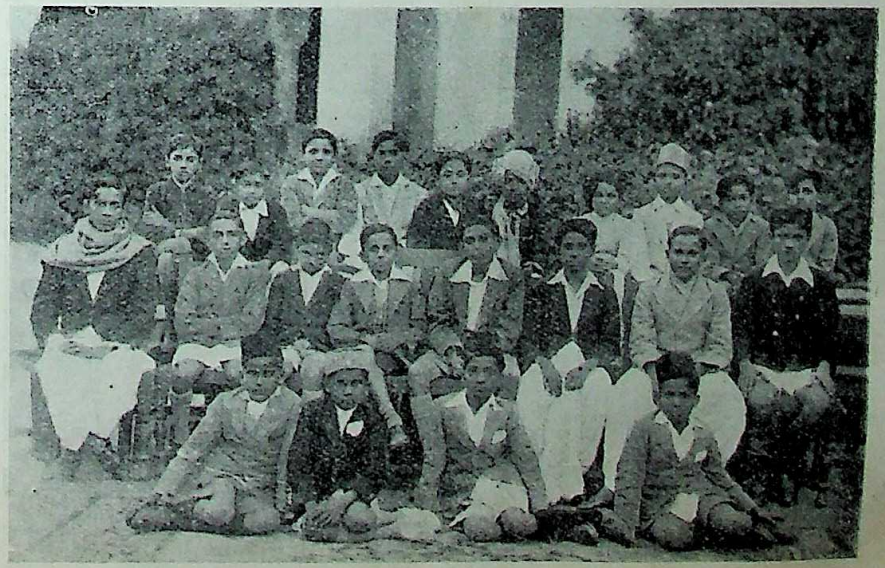


Musicians



Maihar Band Party

Boy Competitors (Senior)



Boy Competitors (Junior)

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Sj. Sasmal was Midnapore's guardian angel, always protecting her against all dangers and difficulties. He was Midnapore's trusted friend and leader—one to whom the people of Midnapore could look forward with confidence to give them a helping hand in their troubles and difficulties. Sj. Sasmal had no parallel: He was a type by himself and could be compared to himself alone. What was most striking about him was his indomitable will and grim determination to do what he thought right in the face of all difficulties and obstacles.

Chinese Attack On Mount Everest

SHANGHAI, (By Mail).

Armed with a letter of introduction from the Panchenlama to the Tibetan authorities, four young Chinese explorers have left Peiping for Tibet with the avowed intention of climbing Mount Everest, the highest peak in the world. They expect to be gone for about six months. The youthful explorers intend also to study the customs and modes of living of the people in China's border districts.—*Reuter.*

The example of these four enterprising Chinese young men ought to inspire some Indian young men—particularly those who live nearest to Mount Everest—to do likewise.

No Contribution for Bihar Relief from British Exchequer "Necessary"!

LONDON, Nov. 26.

Questioned by Mr. Morgan Jones (Lab.—Glamorg.) in the House of Commons today, Sir Samuel Hoare (Secretary of State for India) replied that he did not think it necessary to ask the British Exchequer for a contribution towards relief of the victims of the earthquake in North Bihar.

Sir Samuel Hoare said that no request had been made to him in that connection, but, even if it had been made, he would say that it was not necessary to accede to it. He pointed out that, in addition to £690,000 voluntarily subscribed, large sums were being sent to the Government of Bihar and Orissa from the Central India Exchequer and there was no reason to suppose that adequate funds would not be available.—*Reuter.*

British contributions for Bihar relief, including that by His Majesty King George V., have not been commensurate with Britain's wealth or Bihar's sore need. The £690,000 voluntarily subscribed has not come from Britain. That the British Exchequer would not be asked to contribute, and would not contribute even if asked, was known too well to require to be stated. But it is not at all correct to say that adequate funds would be given from the Central Indian Exchequer.

Pandit Tarakeswar Ganguli

By the sudden and untimely death of Pandit Tarakeswar Ganguli the Mayurbhanj State in Orissa has lost a devoted servant and true friend. He worked as confidential adviser to His Highness the present Maharaja and his predecessor. He did much in various ways to enable them to attain a higher status. In their domestic matters, too, his wise advice and exertions could always be counted upon. He was directly instrumental in making known to the public the ancient contribution of Mayurbhanj to Indian architecture and sculpture.

Allahabad University Music Conference

The fifth session of the Allahabad University Music Conference opened formally on the 5th November last at the Senate House. Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha presided and Sir J. P. Srivastava, Minister for Education, inaugurated the conference. In concluding his inaugural speech, the Minister observed :

"The present need is propaganda. Such a conference as this annual conference of the Allahabad University does much to popularise the art, and during the five years of its existence it had accomplished a great deal in this direction. I hope that it will go from strength to strength, year by year attracting more musicians to demonstrate their genius." Concluding he paid a tribute to Dr. Bhattacharya.

Mr. Sinha observed in the course of his address :

'Of the importance of music in a system of education the ancient Greeks had no doubt. They divided education into the two branches, of gymnastic and music, and these, they held, should be so balanced and proportioned that the man should become a harmonious whole.'

'You have had for the past several years music classes here, and you hope before long to institute, I understand, a diploma in music. In the West, as you are doubtless aware, several universities award even doctorates in music. It is my fervent hope that, in the fulness of years, here too music will form a subject for a University degree.'

'To Dr. Dakshina Ranjan Bhattacharya, who has so successfully organized these conferences, our thanks are due in special measure and I am sure you all will join me in conveying to him our sense of appreciation of his great work in this matter.'

Before distributing the prizes to the winning competitors Kunwar Jagdish Prasad, the Home Member, made a brief speech, in the course of which he said, among other things :

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There were certain things which were lacking for the proper development of music, in this province. The absence of a faculty of music in the University was the one disadvantage.

Another point which the speaker impressed upon the audience was that in their desire to propagate the art of music they should not forget the professional. In the West unless people devoted their whole life to the profession of music, no advance was possible. All that they had to see was that the profession was not only lucrative but honourable.

In conclusion, Kunwar Jagdish Prasad paid a tribute to Dr. Bhattacharya for the labour and care which he had taken in organizing the conference.

As the result of the competitions, the Bhattacharya family was again judged to be the best and was awarded the best musical institution prize, having secured 78 marks. The second and third institution prizes were awarded to the Allahabad University and Crosthwaite Girls' College, which secured 51 and 32 marks respectively. The teachers' first prize was given to Prof. Shankar Rao Tewari (46 marks) and the second prize to Mr. Har Narain (28 marks). —*The Leader.*

The number of competitors who enrolled themselves for competition was over 300, of whom about 100 were declared to be prize winners. Nearly a hundred musicians, amateur and professional, from all parts of India attended the Conference. The following competitors secured over 70 per cent. marks:

Class I. Vocal.
1. Miss Shanti Lata Banerji.
2. Miss Provabati Mittra.
3. Miss Shantana Bhattacharya.

Dancing.
1. Miss Shantana Bhattacharya.

Sitar.
1. Miss Usha Devi Govila.

Class II. Violin.
1. Master Samir Kumar Banerji.

Dancing.
1. Master Niranjan Bhattacharya.

Class III. Dancing.
1. Miss Maya Bhattacharya.
2. Miss Shova Bhattacharya.

Sitar.
1. Miss Renuka Saha.

Class IV. Vocal.
1. Master Sudhir Lal Chakravarty.

Harmonium.
1. Master Hem Chandra Joshi.
2. Master Jagdish.

Tabla.
1. Master Phulu Mukerji.
2. Master Hem Chandra Joshi.
3. Master Nishitesh Banerji.

Class V. Vocal.
1. Miss S. Champak Lakshmi.

Class VI. Vocal.
1. Mr. N. R. Bhattacharya.

Tabla.
1. Mr. Suraj Kumar Paul.

Sitar.
1. Mr. N. R. Bhattacharya.

Sarod.
1. Mr. Radhika Mohan Moitra.

Class VII. Vocal.
1. Mr. Chandra Shekhar Pant.

Tabla.
1. Mr. S. R. Bhattacharya.

Class VIII. A. (a) Vocal.
1. Kumari Gouri Rani Ghosh.
2. Miss Binapani Mukerji.

Harmonium.
1. Miss Binapani Mukerji.

Class VIII. A. (b) Vocal.
1. Miss Susama Dey.

Harmonium.
1. Miss Bindubasini Roy.

Class VIII. B. (a) Vocal.
1. Master Devi Prasad Bhattacharya.

Class VIII. B. (b) Vocal.
1. Mr. Rathindra Nath Chatterji.
2. Mr. K. C. Majumdar.
3. Mr. V. J. Joshi.

Pakhawaj.
1. Mr. Pratap Narayan Moitra.

Tabla.
1. Mr. Anath Nath Mukerji.
2. Mr. Gyanada Nath Majumdar.

Baroda Government's Lead

BARODA, Nov. 17.

The Government of Baroda have issued orders asking the public and State servants to show the defects of the working of Government Departments and suggest constructive proposals.

The Government have also issued a notification asking for support of the public to stamp out the evil of Ankfarak Gambling.

The Government, it is understood, propose to enact a Bill for regulation of building of religious institutions in order to ensure complete communal harmony. Orders have also been issued to the person or persons controlling religious funds to submit details of receipts and expenditure to the Government.—(*United Press*).

Government Interference in Jubbulpore Municipal Affairs

NAGPUR, Nov. 17.

The Central Provinces Government has announced to-day that the Jubbulpore Municipality has been excepted from the application of certain provisions of the C. P. Municipalities Act and new rule framed whereby the president of the said committee shall be appointed by the Government. Accordingly Pandit Dwarka Prasad Mishra has been removed from office and Rai Saheb Murli Manohar Prasad Seth, E. A. C., Jubbulpore, has been appointed president of the committee.

This development is the sequel to Pandit Mishra's refusal to carry out Government's order reinstating Mr. Sharma, Secretary to the Municipal Committee, in the place of Mr. N. N. Sil.—(*A. P.*).

JUBBULPORE, Nov. 17.

After a constitutional struggle for the last five days by Mr. Dwarka Prasad Mishra, President of the Jubbulpore Municipality, who refused to carry out the orders of the Local Government reinstating Mr. Chiranjilal Sharma as Secretary while the C. P. Municipal Act existed in its present form, curtain was at last rung down this evening by removal of Mr. Dwarka Prasad Mishra from presidentship.

Interviewed Mr. Mishra stated that it was no occasion to express regret for his removal from presidentship and Government's action was a confession that whatever he had done was strictly in accordance with the provisions of law.

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Mr. Mishra further stated that this ordinance in the shape of Government notification had deprived the local Municipality of the right to elect its chairman. This undoubtedly was Government's admission of the confidence reposed in him by the local tax-payers.—(United Press).

Government action in the Central Provinces in this matter has been arbitrary. If the C. P. Government thought that Mr. Mishra had acted against the law, they ought to have asked the Jubbulpore Municipality to elect another president after he had been removed.

Is the Simon Commission Report Free From Mistakes ?

The Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Reforms opens with the following statement :

"The conditions of the problem with the examination of which we have been entrusted are brilliantly described in the comprehensive survey which forms Volume I of the Report of the Statutory commission. We are not aware that the accuracy of this survey has been impeached, and we are content to take it both as the starting point and the text book of our own investigation." [P. 1, Vol. I, Part 1.]

The Simon Commission's two volumes do contain several serious mistakes. Some of them have been noticed in official publications, and many more in non-official criticisms. When the J. P. C. say : "We are not aware &c." challengingly, we poor Indians may take them not to have read even the official documents.

We shall give one or two examples below :

The Simon Commission in Vol. I, Part III, Chapter 6, dealing with "the course of Indian Politics since 1920 in the light of the Reforms," says with regard to the Central Provinces at p. 260, paragraph 215 :

"The Third Central Provinces Council met in January, 1927. A Ministry was appointed, but lasted only a few days. Once more the transfer of subjects was suspended, and all departments were administered by the Governor-in-Council up to February, 1928. Since then there have been two Ministries with an interval, during which dyarchy was again suspended."

This they were penning in London on the 12th May, 1930.

The Chief Secretary to the Central Provinces Government writing on the 12th August 1930, in the Views of the Local Governments on the Recommendations of the Simon Commission, says :

"The statement in paragraph 285 of Volume I of the Commission's report that the ministry appointed in January. 1927, in the Central Provinces lasted only a few days is incorrect. The ministry lasted for nearly two years. It is not necessary to elaborate the matter, but the Commission has missed the *whole point* of the constitutionally interesting Central Provinces experience." [See p. 368, foot-note.]

The italics are mine. What a fine compliment to the Simon Commission after their two years' tour in India !

The Bihar and Orissa Government, in their Views of the Local Governments, &c., at p. 347, say :

"The local Government notice that in the second volume of their Report, the Commission have omitted Angul from the list of backward tracts in this province. This omission must be due to inadvertence, as parts of Angul, particularly the Khondmals, are among the most backward parts of the province."

J. M. DATTA.

Sloyd in Santiniketan

We are glad to learn from *Visva-bharati News* for November that the Sloyd Association of Sweden has sent Miss Jeanson with a full complement of looms, instruments, etc., for running the Sloyd department in Santiniketan. Sloyd is a system of manual training, originally Finnish, which has made great progress in Sweden.

"The Mother of Parliaments"

Englishmen generally think and say that their parliament is the mother of all parliaments elsewhere. But Swedes claim that they had parliamentary institutions before the British parliament came into existence. A note received from the *Swedish International Press Bureau*, dated October 24, 1934, says :

"Sweden could celebrate the thousandth anniversary of parliamentary institutions in the time of Gustav Vasa (400 years ago)," declares Professor Sune Lindqvist in an interview in a Stockholm newspaper.

The Professor has carefully sifted the evidence of archæological research and of old chronicles. He has rejected all conclusions which he considers based on insufficient evidence.

All-Inaia Bengali Cultural Conference

The annual conference known by the name of "Prabasi Banga-Sahitya Sammelan" is really an all-India Bengali

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cultural conference in which Bengalis residing in different provinces in India take part. The proceedings are conducted and addresses delivered, poems recited or read and papers read in Bengali. The conference is non-political and non-sectarian. The subjects of the speeches and papers are Bengali language and literature, science, philosophy, history, arts and crafts, music, pedagogy, journalism, economics and industry, Bengali settlers outside Bengal, etc.

This year the conference will be held in Calcutta on the 27th, 28th, 29th and 30th of the current month of December. Sir Lal Gopal Mukherji, retired Judge of the Allahabad High Court, will preside. Besides the general president, there are sectional presidents. The sectional presidents so far selected are: Literature, Mr. Kedarnath Banerji, novelist and story-writer; Science, Professor Dr. Biman Bihari Dey, Presidency College, Madras; Economics, Professor Dr. Bhanubhushan Das Gupta, Lecturer, Colombo University, and Secretary, Ceylon Banking Commission; Arts and Crafts, Mr. Devi Prasad Roy Chaudhuri, Principal, Madras Government School of Arts; Journalism, Mr. Suresh Chandra Bhattacharjee, Editor, *The Rangoon Mail*, Rangoon; Pedagogy, Professor Dr. Subimal Chandra Sarkar, Head of the Department of History, Patna University; History, Professor Dr. Bijan Raj Chatterjee, Meerut College; Philosophy, Professor Nishi Kanta Sen, Registrar, Delhi University; Ladies Section, Srimati Sailabala Devi (Mrs. J. K. Sen), New Delhi.

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore will open the conference, which will be held in the Calcutta Town Hall. Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee has been chosen chairman of the reception committee.

The League of Nations' System of Minorities Protection

The Statesman in its leader of the 15th November last referred to what the Polish delegate to the Assembly of the League of Nations "recently" said at Geneva with regard to the League's system of minorities protection. We reproduce below the whole passage in the League of Nations' *News for Overseas*, September, 1934, devoted to the subject of Minorities discussed in the recent fifteenth Assembly of the League:

> The question of universalising the system of minorities protection provoked considerable discussion at the Assembly. A proposal to this effect was submitted by the Polish delegation, which argued that it was unfair that this system should apply only to certain States and added that until other countries accepted similar obligations the Polish Government would not co-operate in the application of the minorities treaties. This led to statements by the British, French and Italian delegates, who pointed out that the minorities treaties were concluded between Poland and certain other countries at the Peace Conference and that these countries could not admit the right of unilateral repudiation. Repudiation was not, however, they added, a construction that need necessarily be put upon the Polish statement.
>
> In the subsequent discussion, the Polish representative said he would not press for a vote on the universalisation of the minorities system or even its extension to the whole of Europe, because it was clear that although there was considerable support for the proposal there was also a good deal of opposition.

Explorations in Sind

We welcome the publication of *Explorations in Sind* by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, M.A., Assistant Superintendent, Archæological Survey of India, being No. 48 of Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India. Ever since the discovery, as a pre-historic site, of Mohen-jo-Daro and its excavation by the late Mr. R. D. Banerji, following the excavation of and unearthing of finds in Harappa by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, the "Indus Valley Civilization," as it has been called, has excited great curiosity. Since then explorations and excavations have been made in Sind and Baluchistan by several archæologists, Indian and European. The work of the Indian officers of the department has not been less important than that of the European archæologists. We are here concerned with Mr. N. G. Majumdar's work. Without intending to anticipate the views of what qualified reviewers will say of his achievement in our pages, we may be allowed to observe that he has shown great capacity for spotting, exploring and excavating sites. His labours have yielded splendid results, as set forth in the very well got-up and fully illustrated volume before us.

Considering the work done by the late Mr. R. D. Banerji, Rai Bahadur Daya Ram

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Sahni, Mr. K. N. Dikshit, Mr. N. G. Majumdar and others, we do not see any reason for the Government of India's giving licences to foreign archæologists to explore and excavate sites and carry away precious finds out of India. Our archæologists in India are quite competent to do such work. The expense, too, is not at all prohibitive. In fact, considering the value and importance of archæological work, the expense is insignificant.

Our universities should train every year a few postgraduate students in archæological work. Some Indian States have archæological departments of their own, and no State of even moderate size should be without one. It is satisfactory, therefore, to note that Baroda has added an archæological department to its existing educational, historical and cultural departments.

Does Homage to Soviet Flag Amount to Sedition ?

On the 24th of November last Mr. Sukumar Sen, I. C. S., Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta, acquitted Mr. Niharendu Dutta-Majumdar, Bar-at-Law, and four other labour leaders of the charge of conspiracy to commit sedition and class hatred for their having hoisted the Soviet Russian Flag at the last annual conference of the Port and Dock Workers' Union held on April 29 on a plot of land off Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta, and for having extolled the flag with salutes and shouts of revolutionary slogans. The Magistrate delivered an important and lengthy judgment, in the course of which he ovserved :

> "Great stress has been laid by the prosecution on the hoisting of the Soviet Flag and the homage paid to it. This is said to amount to sedition. I fail to see how this is so. Soviet Russia is a country at peace with His Majesty's Government and extollation of the Soviet Union or its flag cannot be said to be any more objectionable than the extollation of, say, the Nazi regime in Germany or the Fascist regime in Italy or the Republican system of Government in France or the United States of America. I do not agree that such extollation gives rise to any implication of contempt or hatred of the existing system of Government in India."

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose Not Permitted to Return

On account of the very serious illness of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's father, his (Mr. Subhas Bose's) mother had asked Government to permit him to return to India to enable him to see his father. "The *Associated Press* understands on inquiries made in responsible quarters that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose will not be permitted to return to India at the present moment." Government's decision is to be regretted. Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's return and stay in India for a few days would not have injured the State to any extent.

Probable Future Status of Irish Citizens

An Irish Citizenship Bill has been introduced in the Irish Free State Dail. Its passage may be taken to be certain. With reference to such an event *Reuter* has sent the following cable :

> LONDON, Nov. 29.
>
> 'After the Citizenship Bill becomes law, nobody in the Irish Free State will be a British subject', declared Mr. de Valera in the Dail yesterday; "otherwise all the principles agreed upon by previous Imperial Conferences would go by the board."
>
> Continuing, Mr. de Valera said, "It will be impertinence for the British to call Free State nationals British subjects after the Bill becomes law."—*Reuter.*

Bengal Cotton Mills Faced with Crisis

The Bengal National Chamber of Commerce have addressed a lengthy representation to the Government of India, Commerce Department, on the subject of the proposed reduction of import duties on British piece-goods, which concludes thus :

> "The Bengal Mills would be the worst sufferer in case any further reduction is allowed on the duties of British cotton goods. The Bengal Mills drawing their supply of cotton from distant provinces at considerable cost supply the local markets and the proximity of the latter to the Calcutta port dangerously expose the mills in this Province to foreign competition in so far as any reduction in the duties on imported goods must, from the very nature of the case, bear its fullest effects on port markets as well as places within easy reach of ports. While thus a reduction in duty would threaten the Bengal mills with the most intense form of foreign competition the latter are the least equipped to withstand and survive the shock as the cotton industry in this province is not fully developed and must yet take some time to attain its deserved measure of expansion and consolidation."

Madras Women's Conference Support Sarda Act

> MADRAS, Nov. 3.
>
> "Our conference does not engage itself in party politics but deals with all questions relating to the

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welfare of women and children. Hence women of all shades of opinion and all parties may find a place in this body," observed Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddi addressing the annual conference of the Women of the Madras constituency of the All-India Women's Conference in the Senate House today. The conference passed a resolution expressing its wholehearted support to the Sarda Act, and pledging itself to ensure its successful operation. At the same time the conference urged it was absolutely essential for the operation of the Act that it should be amended to render its working more effective.

A Course in Journalism

The Indian Express of Madras writes :

At the Senate Meeting of the Madras University, a resolution was moved by Mr. V. Ramanathan asking the Syndicate to take early steps to institute a degree in journalism in consultation with the Academic Council. The idea was warmly supported and the resolution has been referred to the Syndicate for consideration and report.

As was remarked by one speaker, the profession of journalism is bound to be of increasing importance in our country. When literacy spreads, it will be able to absorb annually thousands of gifted young men and women. It is, therefore, but just that the University should make a beginning in the provision of facilities for entering a journalistic career.

Efforts are also being made to introduce courses in journalism in the Calcutta, Bombay and Annamalai Universities.

Legal Disabilities of Women

November 24 last was fixed by the All-India Women's Conference for the observance of an All-India Day for discussing the legal disabilities of women. Meetings were accordingly held at various important centres. The Calcutta meeting was attended by men and women alike. Lady Sircar, wife of Dr. Sir Nilratan Sircar, presided. She pointed out that

"Indian women of the present day did not base their claim for the removal of legal disabilities on the great rights and privileges enjoyed by Indian women in the past. It did not matter whether the Sastras sanctioned their claims or not. The women's demand for the removal of the legal disabilities was based upon justice and equity. It was high time that Indian women asserted themselves for the removal of their legal disabilities."

Other speakers followed. A resolution urging the Government to appoint an All-India Commission to enquire into the legal disabilities of women with a view to amending the existing laws was unanimously adopted. Such a commission should be appointed. It is hoped that the ladies who ask for just rights, and quite justly and naturally so, will be prepared to perform the duties attaching thereto and shoulder the domestic and public burdens which are bound up with those rights.

William Carey Centenary

On Saturday the 24th November last a crowded public meeting was held in Overtoun Hall to celebrate the centenary of the death of William Carey, the pioneer Protestant Christian Missionary in Bengal. Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee presided. The proceedings began with a hymn of praise in English sung by "children of many lands," appropriately dressed. Principal J. R. Banerjea spoke in English on Carey as a Missionary. Miss Jyotirmayi Ganguli, M. A., paid her homage of respect to Carey as a social reformer. She spoke in Bengali. Mr. Arthur Moore, editor of *The Statesman*, traced the close connexion of his paper with Carey, who was the founder of the *Friend of India*, which was now merged in the *Statesman*. Professor Priya Ranjan Sen, speaking in Bengali, confined himself to describing Carey's contribution to Bengali literature. Carey helped the growth of the Bengali language, said Mr. Sen, not only by his translations but also by writing a Bengali grammar and a Bengali dictionary. Dr. Urquhart dealt with Carey's educational activities, observing that it was his work as a missionary which made him an educationalist. Recalling that Carey was the founder of the Agri-Horticultural Society of India, Mr. Percy-Lancaster said that he was mainly instrumental in popularizing the cultivation of European vegetables, such as green-peas, carrots, cauliflowers, cabbages, etc., in this country. Sir Hasan Suhrawardy said that Carey's life held the great message for the India of today that there were many spheres in which men of all races and religions could work in harmony for the progress of the motherland. Principal Angus referred to the genesis of the founding of the Serampore College. Carey established 126 Vernaculer schools with 10,000 pupils.

After describing how Carey and his colleagues founded the college at a cost of £15,000, all contributed by themselves, and how the Royal Charter was obtained by Marsden from the then King of Denmark, Mr. Angus said that when they thought over Carey's educational work what struck them most was his comprehensiveness and the modernness of his views. "Most of all Carey wanted to see run through all his educational work the spirit of religion," concluded the speaker.

The president, speaking in Bengali, said that on reviewing Carey's life, the thought that impressed itself on his mind was that although he came to

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a foreign land, he served it wholeheartedly. "If we Indians, each one of us according to his capacity, do our little bit for our country, then we will be paying true tribute to his memory."

He also referred to his great versatility, and pointed out that, just as Carey, the cobbler, was revered, so were many Indian saints of lowly origin revered, nay, worshipped, in this country.

Rev. W. Carey, a great-grandson of Carey, speaking both in Bengali and English, said that if his illustrious ancestor had been present at the meeting, he would have been grateful for the kindly feeling displayed towards him by the audience.

At intervals of speeches there were Bengali songs sung.

Hindu Widows' Home at Puri

The Bihar and Orissa Government have done the right thing by sanctioning a monthly grant of Rs. 50 to the Lady Basanta Kumari Hindu Widows' Home at Puri. Perhaps when financial stringency will be over, that Government will increase the grant.

Congress and the Indian States

In a statement issued by him Babu Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President, has explained the attitude of the Congress towards the Indian States. Says he :

> The position remains unchanged since the Calcutta session of the Congress defined its attitude towards the States in 1928. By the resolution which it passed at that session the Congress urged the ruling Princes in the Indian States "to introduce responsible Government, based on representative institutions, in the States and immediately issue proclamations or enact laws guaranteeing the elementary and fundamental rights of citizenship, free speech, free press and security of person and property." It also assured the people of the States of its sympathy with the support to their legitimate and peaceful struggle for the attainment of full responsible Government in the States.

This is a correct statement of the Congress attitude and policy six years ago. But on account of the possibility of an All-India Federation, autocratic rule may be indefinitely prolonged and strengthened. Will Congress do nothing actively to enable the people of the States to obtain at least as much freedom as the people of British India ? Will Congress remain satisfied with merely exhorting the Princes to be constitutional rulers and with assuring their subjects of its sympathy ? These questions have to be answered.

Crimes Against Women

A resolution adopted at the annual meeting of the Calcutta constituency of the All-India Women's Conference stressed the necessity for taking special measures to put down the growing evil of crimes against women. Public opinion has for years demanded effective measures. But nothing has yet been done. Of course, the law as it stands may be more effective, if properly enforced. In a recent case at Howrah Mr. S. N. Modak, I.C.S., sentenced one scoundrel, guilty of abduction and rape, to transportation for life. That is the kind of deterrent punishment needed. In addition there may be flogging, and also emasculation, as in Germany.

Mahatma Gandhi on Village Industries

> "As the author of the Congress resolutions on village industries and as the sole guide of the association that is being formed for their promotion, it is but meet that I should, as far as possible, share with the public the ideas that are uppermost in my mind regarding these industries and the moral and hygienic uplift that is intimately associated with them."

Mahatma Gandhi begins with these words an article on village industries in *Harijan*. He elucidates in the following passage his opinion that cotton mills have taken the bread out of the mouths of villagers :

> Mechanization is good when the hands are too few for the work intended to be accomplished. It is an evil when there are more hands than required for the work, as is the case in India. I may not use a plough for digging a few square yards of a plot of land. The problem with us is not how to find leisure for the teeming millions inhabiting our villages. The problem is how to utilise their idle hours, which are equal to the working days of six months in the year. Strange as it may appear, every mill generally is a menace to the villagers. I have not worked out the figures, but I am quite safe in saying that every mill-hand does the work of at least ten labourers doing the same work in their villages. In other words, he earns more than he did in his village at the expense of ten fellow-villagers. Thus spinning and weaving mills have deprived the villagers of a substantial means of livelihood. It is no answer in reply to say that they turn out cheaper, better cloth, if they do so at all. For, if they have displaced thousands of workers, the cheapest mill cloth is dearer than the dearest khadi woven in the villages.

Indianization of the "Indian" Army !

LONDON, Nov. 7.

In the House of Lords today, replying to Lord Strabolgi, who asked for information regarding the progress of the Indianization of the army and enquired what developments were contemplated, Lord Halifax, for the Government, reminded the House that the interests of India were too vital to allow of any step which would endanger the efficiency of her

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defence forces, but, subject only to this, it was the British Government's purpose to continue the programme recently laid down, with the approval of the Government of India and the British Government, by the Commander-in-Chief in India, and any suggestions that hesitation to proceed more rapidly arose from prejudice or vested interests were entirely without any solid foundation.—*Reuter.*

Indian public opinion cannot accept the plea that it is only in the interests of India and in order to keep the army in a state of efficiency that it has not been Indianized. Nor is it at all obvious that the present Commander-in-Chief, Sir Philip Chetwode, whose scheme postpones indefinitely—perhaps to the Greek Kalends—the complete Indianization of the army and who asked on September 5 in reply to a critic in the Council of State, "Do he and his friends think that a war-worn and war-wise nation like the British, who won their empire at the point of the sword and have kept it by the sword all these years, are to be turned aside by arm-chair critics?" is free from prejudice and uninfluenced by "vested interests." Is keeping India for Britain "by the sword", to use his words, a disinterested act, or has it got anything to do with vested interests? It is a funny idea that the most intelligent, best informed and most patriotic Indians care less for the interests of India than any Englishman!

As for "efficiency," the Shea Committee, all of whose members were experienced and seasoned military officers, thought that the Indian army could be completely Indianized in thirty years, and of course without impairment of efficiency. Another Committee, presided over by Sir Andrew Skeen, also a distinguished military officer, thought that the army could be Indianized to the extent of 50 per cent by 1952 without loss of efficiency. Why were the opinions of these committees brushed aside? And if their opinions were to be brushed aside, why were they at all appointed?

Dictionaries of Indian Languages

Some time ago we read the following two paragraphs in some papers:

It is understood that the Government of India have lately forwarded a letter, which in their turn they had received from the India Office, London, written to the latter by several important literary associations in England; including the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, the Council of the Philosophical Society and the Academic Board of the School of Oriental Studies, to all Provincial Governments, asking them to bring to the notice of the educational bodies in their respective provinces the desirability of encouraging lexicographical and other work on the languages of India.

The points which these bodies have particularly stressed are that some of the important languages of India lack satisfactory dictionaries; that the existing good lexicons are in urgent need of revision and that many of the less known languages and dialects are likely to die out without ever having been adequately recorded. The London School of Oriental Studies, it has been further pointed out in the letter, is prepared to lend advice and co-operation of a body of scholars engaged in the teaching of and research into the Indian languages.

Some years ago the Nagari-pracharini Sabha of Benares undertook to publish a comprehensive dictionary of Hindi. Perhaps it has now been completely published. Under the munificent patronage of the Maharaja of Gondal a comprehensive lexicon of Gujarati was projected some years ago. Perhaps this, too, is complete. Mr. Gopal Chandra Praharaj of Cuttack has been publishing a large Oriya dictionary, with Hindi, Bengali and English equivalents, with the help of the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj and the Bihar and Orissa Government. We have seen and noticed three volumes of it. We also saw at Cuttack last year that the fourth volume was much advanced. Perhaps all the six volumes are now available. A comprehensive dictionary of Bengali is being published by Pandit Hari Charan Bandyopadhyay of Santiniketan at his own expense. It is too costly an undertaking for a poor pandit. The Government of Bengal, the Tripura State, the Cooch Behar State, and the rich men of Bengal could have helped him.

Abolition and Existence of Slavery

A century ago, on and from the 1st of August 1834, slavery was abolished in the British Empire. But Lady Simon has recently written in *The Manchester Guardian* that "today there are probably more than five million persons over whom somebody holds a 'property' right."

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RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

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ERRATA

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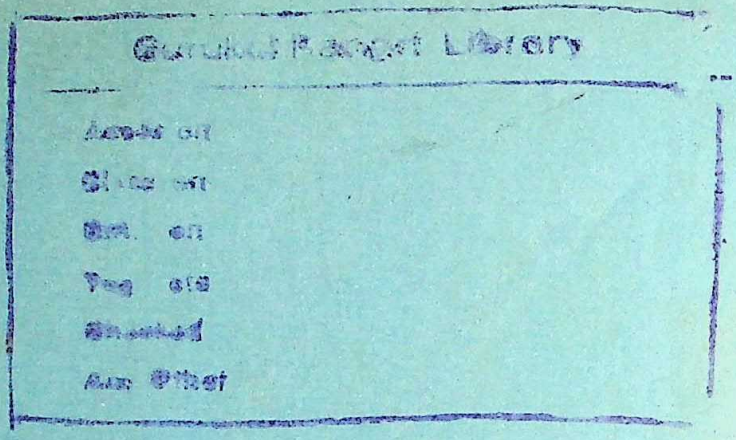

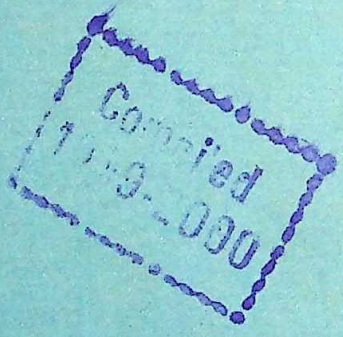

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